

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0166-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90733
Folder ID Number: 90733-003

Folder Title:
Thursday, November 5, 1992 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	35	2	6	0

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. List	Cabin Assignments Re: 5-8 November 1992 (1 pp.)	11/8/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	
02. List	Re: Helo Manifest (Staff/Guests) (1 pp.)	11/8/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	
03. List	Re: Motorcade [FOIA exemptions redacted] (1 pp.)	11/8/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	
04. Cable	052318Z [originally closed as 01] (2 pp.)	11/05/92	(b)(1)	C

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Thursday, November 5, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: DJC3232

OA/ID Number: 90733-003

Date Closed: 10/8/2019

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 5, 1992

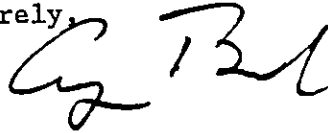
Dear Leigh,

I loved reading your nice letter. It brightened my day. Mrs. Bush and I are grateful for all our wonderful young supporters, like you. Thanks so much for writing me.

Hope you like this picture of me and my dog Ranger. Say hello to your Mom and Dad for us.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

Miss Leigh McCormick
5112 Doliver
Houston, Texas 77056

RZ

This letter was given to OPA for mailing.

Miss Leigh McCormick
5112 Doliver
Houston, Texas 77056



To Leigh McCormick
With best wishes, *Les Bunt*

President
And this is
Henry
McCormick's
daughter ???



I hope you win
the election. You are
a Good President. I
like you. You are
funny.

LEIGH MCCORMICK



8 Nov 92

MEMORANDUM

From: Command Duty Officer
To: Distribution
Via: (1) Executive Officer
(2) Commanding Officer

Subj: VISIT REPORT FOR 5 - 8 NOVEMBER 1992

Encl: (1) Cabin assignments
(2) Helo manifests
(3) Arrival/departure access lists

1. Enclosures (1) through (3) provide added details for the subject Presidential visit.

ARRIVALS/DEPARTURES**Thursday, 5 November 1992**

1352 - MSCM Orlando Frilles (Valet) and Paula Rendon (WHSM) aboard. (C1)

1640 - President and Mrs. Bush aboard via motorcade. (M1)

Friday, 6 November 1992

0600 - Carpet vehicle #6 aboard with one package for the First Lady and newspapers.

0632 - Carpet vehicle #6 ashore.

1336 - Cindy Walsh aboard. (P3)

1604 - Mrs. Colin Powell and Maria Powell aboard. (C2)

1604 - Mr. and Mrs. Michael Powell, and Jeffrey Powell aboard. (P2)

1605 - General Colin Powell aboard. (H2)

2005 - John and Jodie Bush aboard. (P1)

Saturday, 7 November 1992

0547 - Carpet vehicle #18 aboard with newspapers and two packages.

0602 - Carpet vehicle #18 ashore.
1049 - General and Mrs. Colin Powell, and Maria Powell ashore. (C2)
1049 - Mr. and Mrs. Michael Powell, and Jeffrey Powell ashore. (P2)
1135 - Troy Pyle aboard. (P4)
1201 - Janine Koroscil aboard. (P5)

Sunday, 8 October 1992

0602 - Carpet vehicle #21 aboard with newspapers.
0616 - Carpet vehicle #21 ashore.
0715 - MAJ John Deken aboard. (C2)
0833 - MAJ John Deken ashore. (C2)
1208 - Janine Koroscil ashore. (P5)
1335 - Cindy Walsh ashore. (P3)
1335 - MSCM Orlando Frilles and Paula Rendon ashore. (C1)
1342 - John and Jodie Bush ashore. (P1)
1533 - President Bush, Mrs. Bush and staff ashore. (H3)
1535 - Troy Pyle and LCDR Mary Jackson ashore. (P4)

GUEST ACTIVITIES

Aspen Movie Thursday - "Pure Country"
 Friday - "Enchanted April"
 Saturday - "Sneakers"

The staff/guests checked out nine beta videos during the visit.

Bowling

The Powell Family used the Camp David Bowling Lanes on Friday evening and the staff used them on Saturday afternoon.

Golf Carts

The President and First Lady rode golf carts on the perimeter road and nature trails each day.

Walks

The First Lady and Jodie Bush went on a walking tour of Camp on Saturday and Sunday. The President, First Lady and the Powell family went on a walking tour on Saturday.

Wallyball

The President and staff played Wallyball Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning.

Wye Oak

The First Lady used the treadmill on Friday, and the Lifecycle on Friday and Saturday.

Chapel Services

Chaplain Frusti conducted an interdenominational service at 0900 in Evergreen. The President, staff and crew members and dependents were in attendance for a total of 77. Chaplain Deken conducted Catholic service at 0730 with six personnel in attendance.

KUDOS

Navy - CM2 Dressel and EO3 Arnold
Marines - LCPL Porter and LCPL Bates

Very respectfully,


B. H. MALLADY
LT, SC, USN

Distribution:

CO

XO

Dept Heads

Visit File

OOD Passdown Log

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. List	Cabin Assignments Re: 5-8 November 1992 (1 pp.)	11/8/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Thursday, November 5, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/8/2019	OA/ID Number: 90733-003
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- (b)(1) National security classified information
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. List	Re: Helo Manifest (Staff/Guests) (1 pp.)	11/8/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Thursday, November 5, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/8/2019	OA/ID Number: 90733-003
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. List	Re: Motorcade [FOIA exemptions redacted] (1 pp.)	11/8/92	(b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Thursday, November 5, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/8/2019	OA/ID Number: 90733-003
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

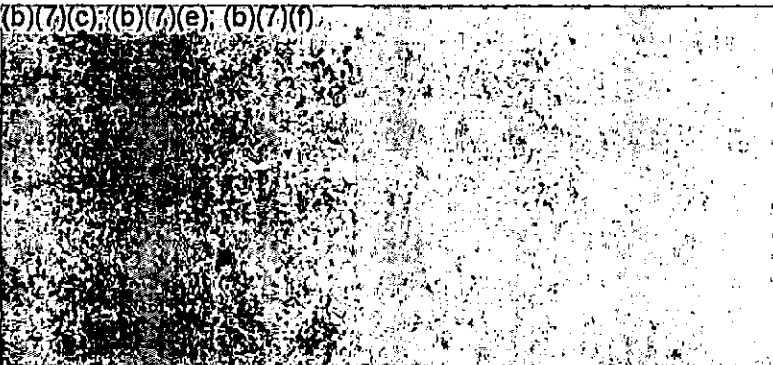
POV (STAFF/GUESTS)

<u>CODE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>ARRIVE</u>	<u>DEPART</u>	<u>VEHICLE ID</u>
P1	JOHN BUSH JODIE BUSH	GUEST GUEST	2005/FRI	1342/SUN	PLYMOUTH NY LKF211
P2	MICHAEL POWELL JANE POWELL JEFFREY POWELL	SON DAUGHTER IN LAW & GRANDSON OF CHAIRMAN JCS	1604/FRI	1049/SAT	MAZDA 929 VA 2KZ173
P3	CINDY WALSH	WIFE/MILAIDE	1330/FRI	1335/SUN	HONDA ACCORD NJ EON96X
P4	TROY PYLE	HUSBAND/NURSE	1135/SAT	1535/SUN	NISSAN MD 112458
P5	JANINE KOROSCIL	WIFE/DOCTOR	1201/SAT	1208/SUN	PLYMOUTH VA MEQ855

CARPET/GOV'T VEHICLE (STAFF/GUESTS)

<u>CODE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>ARRIVE</u>	<u>DEPART</u>	<u>VEHICLE ID</u>
C1	PAULA RENDON MSCM ORLANDO FRILLES	WHSM	1352/THU	1335/SUN	WHSM VAN
C2	SFC OTIS PEARSON ALMA POWELL MARIA POWELL	DRIVER WIFE & DAUGHTER OF CHAIRMAN JCS	1604/FRI	1049/SAT	CADILLAC LIMOUSINE
C3	MAJ JOHN DEKEN	PRIEST	0715/SUN	0833/SUN	GOV'T VEH

MOTORCADE

<u>CODE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>ARRIVE</u>	<u>DEPART</u>	<u>VEHICLE ID</u>
(b)(7)(c);(b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)		1640/THU	1533/SUN (b)(7)(c); (b)(7)(e); (b)(7)(f)	MOTORCADE FROM THURMONT ALZ

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 5, 1992

Dear George,

Thanks for your note of October 29. Although winning was just not in the cards, we gave it our best shot.

Soon, we'll be shifting gears to private life, grandkids, and friends. We're so grateful for the support we received from you. With warmest best wishes to you and Janice,

Sincerely,



Mr. George F. Kettle
10831 Lockland Road
Potomac, Maryland 20854

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

This letter was given to OPA for mailing



Real Estate Of The Mid-Atlantic States, Inc.

George F. Kettle
Regional Owner

Oct. 29th

Dear Mr. President -
Yesterday! We sent
out over 500 of these
200 are Christmas Card list
231 Century 21 Brokers
employing 3,500 Sales agents.
you will hear - will be
praying for you on Tuesday
With love George

Each Office is Independently Owned and Operated

also - 200 Brokers +
2500 agents in E. PA.



Real Estate Of The Mid-Atlantic States, Inc.
7601 Lewinsville Road, Suite 400
McLean, Virginia 22102
Business (703) 821-3121
Fax (703) 821-0491

Patty Presock

October 28, 1992

George F. Kettle
Regional Owner

*2 liner
POWS should
see &
sign out soon!
P.*

Dear Friend:

If you are inclined to pull that lever for Clinton please consider the following.

"He is, at any moment, what he thinks you want him to be."

"He could look you in the eye and convince you he was going to do what he told you and then do the exact opposite."

Carolyn McGowan - former commissioner on the
Arkansas State Board of Education

In 1983, as part of his massive education reform package, Clinton at the last minute, to ensure its passage, added a measure requiring competence tests for all Arkansas teachers. "We felt like we had been used."

Peggy Nabors - Executive Director of the Arkansas
Educators Association

"The I-Didn't Inhale episode showed how he can carry evasiveness to silly lengths. When he gets into a defensive mode, when he's not sure, that's when his slickness is most naked."

Paul Greenberg - Editorial Editor for the Arkansas
Democrat-Gazette

Yours for the re-election of the President,

George F. Kettle

Enclosure

P.S.: Gore has NEVER voted against a spending bill in all the time he has been in Congress.

P.P.S.: Reminder - The top tax bracket under Kennedy was 90% !!

Forbes

SICK SOLUTION

GOVERNOR CLINTON'S version of a "play or pay" health care plan will devastate both the economy and our health care system. Under it, companies that don't offer adequate insurance to employees will eventually—denials to the contrary—be forced to pay a stiff payroll tax into a government-run pool that would provide coverage for

individuals who don't have it.

The scheme would ruin small and many medium-size businesses. Most don't have the profit margins to support such social largesse. Clinton promises to "control" health prices and phase in the program so as to avoid or minimize company costs. Most objective observers don't believe it.

Clinton vs. Clinton

• Middle Class Tax Cut "Central"

"I want to make it very clear that this middle-class tax cut, in my view, is central to any attempt we're going to make to have a short-term economic strategy and a long-term fairness strategy, which is part of getting this country going again."

ABC News, Primary Debate, Manchester, 1/19/92

• Middle Class Tax Cut Not "Central"

"But to say that this middle class tax cut, ... is the center of anybody's econom[ic] package, is wrong."

ABC News, Democratic Candidate's Debate, Dallas, 3/5/92

"...I would emphasize to you that the press and my opponents always made more of the middle-class tax cut than I did."

ABC "Good Morning America," 6/6/92

• Embraces Private School Choice

"I am fascinated by that proposal [allowing parents to choose a private school and receive financial assistance via tax credits or vouchers]... I'm concerned that the traditional Democratic Party establishment has not given you more encouragement. The visionary is rarely embraced by the status quo."

Clinton Letter to Wisconsin State Representative Polly Williams, 10/18/90

• Opposes Private School Choice

"We shouldn't give our money away to private schools in a system that will undermine the integrity of the public school system."

Town Meeting with the NEA, 7/7/92

• Restrain Spending

"We need to give the people a sense that there's some discipline and some restraint in spending."

NBC Nightly News, 3/18/92

• Spend

Proposes \$219.52 billion in new spending.

Putting People First, page 19, 6/20/92

• Opposes Tax for Health Care

"We don't need to lead with a tax increase that asks hard-working people who already pay too much for health care to pay even more..."

Bill Clinton for President Primary Committee,
"American Health Care Plan," Issue Paper

• Proposes Payroll Tax for Health Care

"There will be—there will be a buy in tax, which they can call a payroll tax."

USA Today editorial meeting, 8/12/92

• Never Opposed the Draft System

"Clinton said that he never was opposed to the draft."

Arkansas Democrat, 6/4/82

• Opposed the Draft

Clinton: "From my work [at Georgetown] I came to believe that the draft system itself is illegitimate...."

Letter to Col. Holmes, 12/3/69

• Agrees With Opponents of Gulf War

"I agree with the arguments of the people in the minority on the resolution—that we should give sanctions more time and maybe even explore a full-scale embargo ...before we go to war."

AP story in the Pine Bluff Commercial, 1/15/91

• Supports Gulf War

"I supported the Persian Gulf War because I thought it was right and in our national interest...."

U.S. News & World Report, 3/23/92

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Dennis DeConcini
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

(By courier) :



THE PRESIDENT

November 5, 1992

Dear Dennis,

Just wanted to let you know that I did receive your
message and appreciate your thoughtful phone call.
Sorry I missed it. Thanks for thinking of me.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush".

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc) ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable John R. McKernan, Jr.
Governor
State of Maine
Station One
State House
Augusta, Maine 04333



THE PRESIDENT

11-5-92

Dear Josh,

Your letter is so very welcome.
The people have indeed
spoken; and now I'm beginning
to think ahead. Maine will be
in our plans of course. Will
move back to Texas on inauguration

day.

Right now all the criticism
is not very pleasant; but I
know in my heart we've done
some very good things.

Friends are so important.
That's where you come in! Keep
up the great work up there and
+ thanks for being so kind - Ag Bush

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (3cc) ✓



STATE OF MAINE
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
AUGUSTA, MAINE
04833

JOHN R. MCKERNAN, JR.
GOVERNOR

Nov. 5, 1992

Dear Mr. President -

Now that you are back at the White House, I wanted to let you know how proud we all are of you and the job you have done for our country. History will prove the voters were wrong. In fact, the voters themselves must be having second thoughts after seeing the way you have handled the election results.

I have never admired or respected you more than in the last few days. Hang in there! Please give Olympia's and my best to Barbara.

See you soon,
Joe

(No need to respond in writing!)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Cable	052318Z [originally closed as 01] (2 pp.)	11/05/92	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Thursday, November 5, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/8/2019

OA/ID Number: 90733-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information

(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency

(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute

(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information

(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy

(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes

(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions

(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information

C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information

C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]

P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Admiral David E. Jeremiah,
U.S. Navy
Vice Chairman
Joint Chiefs of Staff
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20318-0001

THE PRESIDENT

November 5, 1992

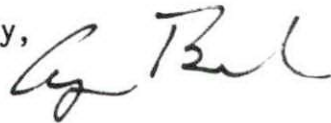
Dear Dave,

I have just read your wonderful note and can't begin to tell you how much it means to me. Although winning was just not in the cards, Barbara and I gave it our best shot.

Soon, we'll be shifting gears to private life, grandkids, and friends. We'll always be grateful for your support and service to Country. With our warmest best wishes to you and Connie,

You have done such a great job - You will always have my profound respects, admiration. too

Sincerely,



CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)
Jan Burmeister -
update address on
Priv



VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-5000

November 4, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Connie and I are very disappointed that our nation could not see the virtues we have had the opportunity to see first hand.

It has been, and continues to be, a remarkable privilege to serve under you as Commander in Chief. All of us owe you a debt of gratitude for your spectacular leadership during these four years of enormous change in the world -- positive change due in large measure to your leadership and skill.

With enormous respect and
very respectfully

Dave Jeseniah

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

11/5/92

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

- ✓ 1. thank yous
- ✓ 2. Christmas lists —
new, campaign etc
- ✓ 3. Houston office
- 4. Recovery
- 5. Debrief TV
a la D. Ston

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Thursday, November 5, 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)

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1992 ★

WASHINGTON, D.C.

PHONE: (202) 636-
SUBSCRIBER SERVICE: (202) 636-



Photo by Kevin T. Gilbert/The Washington Times

Bittersweet return: President Bush and his wife, Barbara, greet political appointees yesterday outside the White House. "Let's finish this job with style," the president said. Story, A6.

1063



Photo by Don Prouser The Washington Times

President Bush, after returning from Texas, takes his turn addressing supporters on the South Lawn of the White House with wife Barbara, Marilyn Quayle and Vice President Dan Quayle.

2063

Bush urges finishing job 'with style'

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush told thousands of loyalist political appointees he will support "the new president" as he returned in defeat yesterday to the White House, where tears competed with the light drizzle.

"I can think of nothing other to say except let's finish this job with style. ... Now we will go inside, start re-adjusting, but you have given us a marvelous lift," an emotional Mr. Bush told a crowd whose energy seemed so spent that even the Marine Band couldn't stir them much.

He took pains to praise the strength and help of Vice President Dan Quayle, who was beside him.

"It's been a wonderful four years and nobody can take that away from any of us," he said with what sounded like lingering hostility to the press coverage he accused of having the worst bias in the history of American politics. "I think we've really contributed something to the country and maybe history will record it that way."

After making his battles with Congress an issue in the election, he got in a last shot at Congress on the flight back from Texas by vetoing the massive 647-page tax bill. Senate Democrats and lobbyists theorized he might renege on a veto pledge after the election to leave a legacy of pet projects the bill also contained in spite of a \$33 billion tax increase and other provisions Mr. Bush found onerous.

It was the 46th veto of his administration. Only one was overridden.

His stand required him to forgo provisions he wanted since it also would have repealed luxury taxes, created 50 inner-city "enterprise zones," eased the rules on alternative minimum taxes, restored real estate "passive loss" provisions lost in 1986, allowed those who buy businesses to write off "good will," and continued credits for research and development, low-income housing and targeted jobs programs.

"The original focus of the bill, to help revitalize America's inner

cities, has been lost in a blizzard of special-interest pleadings," Mr. Bush said.

The usually cool and composed Barbara Bush seemed deeply affected by the outpouring of affection

from workers of all ranks. She wiped tears from her cheek as Mr. Bush waved with both arms from the top of the steps on the South Portico, where they were joined by three grandchildren and Dan and Marilyn

Quayle.

Notably among the missing was Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, whose transplant from secretary of state to campaign chief 10 weeks before the election failed to save the

day.

"My immediate plans are to go to my South Texas ranch and start shooting birds," a blue-jeaned Mr. Baker told reporters in Houston.

The president seemed overcome by a gift of roses, and it took six tries during an awkward stillness for him to start the next sentence after laying down the law to his staff for transition behavior.

"Let's get this job done, cooperate fully with the new administration. The government goes on, as well it should, and we will support the new president and give him every chance to lead this country into greater heights," Mr. Bush said from a platform set up where his helicopter usually lands.

He started it all by responding to cheers and a blur of tiny flags waving back and forth with a joke on himself: "Maybe you didn't read the election returns. It didn't work out quite the way we wanted."

Almost no one laughed, however.

The welcome ceremony was tempered by the fact that virtually everyone present had just gotten the equivalent of two months' notice that they are out of work and that their governing philosophy will be out of power after 12 years.

Junior aides cried. Some swapped business cards and home telephone numbers. They packed close to shake Mr. Bush's hand as he took a long walk across the wet South Lawn among crowds that got 10 or 20 deep on both sides of him.

Many workers brought spouses and children.

Emotion knew no rank. Transportation Secretary Andrew Card clutched a colleague at the White House diplomatic entrance. At a quiet corner of the lawn two very senior aides — acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and the president's personal physician, Dr. Burton Lee — consoled each other with a bear hug.

Mr. Bush singled out Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole for special praise, calling the Kansas Republican's election night comments "a class act."



President Bush and wife Barbara make their way to Marine One at Andrews Air Force Base.

Reuters

ELECTION 1992: THE PRESIDENCY



BY JAMES M. THRESHER—THE WASHINGTON POST

President Bush, Barbara Bush and Vice President and Marilyn Quayle, to First Lady's left, bask in welcome from staff and other supporters at White House.

NATIONAL ELECTIONS

Loyal Throng at White House Turns Out to Welcome Bush

■ **Homecoming: 'Finish this job in style,' the President urges appointees and other employees.**

By ROBERT L. JACKSON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—President Bush returned to the White House from Houston on Wednesday to the warm embrace of a cheering, flag-waving throng of loyal supporters and urged them to help him "finish this job in style."

Under leaden skies that seemed to match the mood of many who had gathered on the White House's South Lawn, the President tried to keep the moment upbeat, joking: "What a fantastic welcome back! Maybe you didn't read the election returns. It didn't work out quite the way we wanted."

Repeating the theme of his concession speech

Tuesday night, he urged the crowd of political appointees and other employees to "cooperate fully with the new Administration." But he acknowledged the bitter pill of political defeat, saying, "Now we will go inside and start readjusting. You have given us a marvelous lift."

"The government goes on, as well it should," he added, "and we will support the new President and give him every chance to lead this country to greater heights."

In an emotion-choked voice, Bush concluded: "I'm very grateful to all of you. It's been a wonderful four years and nobody can take that away from any of us."

Some employees hugged each other, took pictures and wiped away tears. Many said that as political appointees they had not yet made plans for future employment once President-elect Bill Clinton is inaugurated in January.

Most in the crowd waved small American flags or red, white and blue pom-poms. One supporter held a

sign reading, "Time Will Prove You're Right."

The President was accompanied by his wife, Barbara, and Vice President Dan Quayle and his wife, Marilyn. After Bush's remarks, the four ascended to the south balcony of the executive mansion and waved to the crowd as it dispersed.

Earlier Wednesday, Quayle suggested that the Republican ticket may have been robbed of the election by last Friday's disclosure of a new document in another Iran-Contra perjury indictment of former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger.

Appearing on ABC's "Good Morning America," Quayle said that "what really put the nail in the coffin" was Iran-Contra independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh's release of a Weinberger memo that seemed to show Bush lied when he said he had known nothing of the arms-for-hostages deal.

"To have this come the Friday before the election and the Democrat lawyer from San Francisco—I hope you in the media and others look into that very carefully," Quayle said. He was referring to James

Brosnahan, a California attorney whom Walsh recently appointed to prosecute Weinberger.

Weinberger's 1986 memo said "the VP"—meaning Bush—was among those who favored the swap of missiles for American hostages.

Quayle's comment broadened arguments made earlier by his aides that the memo had reversed the momentum of the campaign just when one poll showed the race narrowing to a margin of about 3 percentage points. Aides contended that the memo, heavily publicized in the media, neutralized Republican arguments that Bush was the most trustworthy of the candidates and refocused attention on the economy.

Sources close to Walsh have denied the disclosure was politically timed. They said the new indictment was filed by the end of October to keep Weinberger's trial from being postponed beyond its Jan. 5 start date.

Times staff writer Paul Richter contributed to this story.



AL STEPHENSON / For The Times

President, Barbara Bush and Dan Quayle return to flag-waving supporters Wednesday at the White House.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1992

THE 1992 ELECTIONS

DISAPPOINTMENT



Jose R. Lopez/The New York Times

Back at the White House after Tuesday's defeat, Vice President Dan Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, and President Bush and his wife, Barbara, waved to a throng of supporters on the South Lawn.

THE REPUBLICANS

Rain but No Tears as Bush Returns to Capital

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4 — He has unashamedly and publicly misted up many times before, at religious ceremonies and speeches about war and memorials for dead sailors and farewells to old friends. If a practiced catch in the throat was a hallmark of Ronald Reagan, a handkerchief has been one of George Bush's most reliable studio props.

"We Bushes cry easily," he told David Frost in 1989.

But not today.

Today Mr. Bush, returning in defeat to a White House where he will reside for but 78 more days, faced down a crowd of more than a thousand cheering, pom-pom-waving well-wishers and donned his most sportsmanlike demeanor.

He did not mention the reporters and photographers whom he has frequently blamed in recent weeks for his political decline. He had nothing but kind words for the new Administration of Bill Clinton.

Coatless in a Drizzle

He started with a joke. "Maybe you didn't read the election returns," he told the crowd. "It didn't work out quite the way we wanted."

Standing coatless in a drizzle on a platform on the South Lawn, shunning the lectern and Presidential seal that shield him at virtually every speech, Mr. Bush talked, informally, for about two minutes. He paid tribute to his Cabinet, to Republican leaders of Congress, to his running mate and to the two men's wives.

"We are so grateful to Dan Quayle for everything he did," Mr. Bush said. "And so — hey — the guy, he almost killed himself out there. Hard work, day in and day out. And what he wasn't doing Marilyn was, and so was Barbara Bush," he said, the crowd applauding.

"But I can think of nothing other to say than let's say let's finish this job with style. Let's get the job done,

cooperate fully with the new Administration. The Government goes on as well it should, and we will support the new President and give him every chance to lead this country into greater heights."

Waving the Flags

Mr. Bush's staff tried hard today to infuse his return to Washington with the image of triumph he was denied Tuesday in Houston. His motorcade arrived from a Pentagon helicopter pad to a scene crowded with Federal workers bused in from nearby offices and handed thousands of tiny flags to wave.

A Marine color guard stood at attention as Mr. Bush worked his way to the speaking platform, shaking

His sense of humor intact, the President has kind words for Clinton.

hands down an alley of well-wishers. His Cabinet was there to greet him, as was the Senate minority leader, Bob Dole of Kansas; the Republican Party chairman, Richard N. Bond, and his adviser and chief of staff as Vice President, Craig Fuller.

And there were aides and supporters who have been with him through much of his career, like Rose M. Zamaria, the head of White House operations, and Katherine L. Super, his scheduler.

With Mrs. Bush waving a flag and the Quayles beside him, the President said that it had been "a wonderful four years, and nobody can take that away from any of us."

"It's been good and strong, and I think we've really contributed some-

thing to the country," he said. "Maybe history will record it that way."

A band struck up "God Bless America," and the Bushes disappeared into the White House, only to reappear moments later on the second-floor balcony overlooking the South Lawn, waving and smiling.

"There were some tears around there," one senior aide said later, but not from Mr. Bush. Flying to Washington this morning from Houston, the aide said, the President had called close staff members into his cabin to buck them up.

Before leaving Houston this morning, Mr. and Mrs. Bush shook hands with about 100 supporters at a local air base where Air Force One awaited them. The President kissed about 10 women at the foot of the plane's stairs before bounding up and turning for one last wave.

Teeter to Bed Early

The victory party that the Bush campaign had so hopefully planned for Tuesday evening was less notable for those who did show up than the many who did not.

Among the no-shows was Mr. Bush's campaign chairman, Robert M. Teeter, who left a CNN reporter literally speechless when he failed to appear for a scheduled interview at the reception. Today, Mr. Teeter said he was "tired and down" and had gone to bed early.

The White House political director, Ron Kaufman, said he spent Tuesday evening in his hotel room, monitoring the vote with his two daughters, ages 11 and 13.

Upon learning of Mr. Bush's loss, Mr. Kaufman said, the younger girl was dispirited. "Does this mean Mike Deland will be out of a job?" she asked, naming one White House official she knew, the head of the Council on Environmental Quality.

"You dummy," her sister was said to have replied. "Every adult you know is out of a job."



Associated Press / MARCY NIGHSWANDER

President Bush speaking to the well-wishers waiting when he returned yesterday to the White House. With him were Barbara Bush and Vice President and Marilyn Quayle.

11.62

Somber President calls for a classy finale

"It's been a wonderful four years," Bush tells the gathering on the White House lawn.

By Christopher Scanlan
and Ellen Warren
INQUIRER WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON — President Bush, his voice hoarse with fatigue, told a somber gathering on the White House's South Lawn yesterday that he wanted to write a classy ending to his years of power. "Let's finish this job with style," he said.

"It's been a wonderful four years, and nobody can take that away from any of us," he told the crowd of several thousand Republicans as rain dampened their flags and red-white-and-blue pompoms.

"It's been good and strong. And I think we've really contributed something to the country. And maybe history will record it that way."

The defeated President even attempted a joke. "Maybe you didn't read the election returns," he said as

he began his talk. "It didn't work out quite the way we wanted."

Displaying the same grace as he had the night before in Houston in conceding defeat, Bush said: "I can think of nothing other to say than let's say, Let's finish this job with style. Let's get the job done, cooperate fully with the new administration. The government goes on, as well it should, and we will support the new president and give him every chance to lead this country into greater heights."

At that point, Bush seemed briefly at a loss for words, fumbling for his next point until a burst of applause and cheers helped steady him. He then finished his brief remarks before walking up a winding White House stairway, pausing at the balcony to wave before disappearing inside.

The crowd included cabinet offi-

cials, other administration jobholders, low-level campaign workers and even classmates of Vice President Quayle's teenage son Benjamin. The faithful had begun converging on the lawn an hour before the President arrived at 2:50 p.m. Those entering on the Pennsylvania Avenue side had to suffer the indignity of passing a man in front of the gate who wore a Bush mask and carried a sign: "Out of Work. Will lie for food."

People in the crowd, wearing Bush-Quayle pins on their lapels and administration credentials dangling from their necks, hugged and asked, "How are you doing?" with the solicitous tone of someone who knows the answer: "Lousy."

Pecking a teary-eyed woman on the cheek, a man in a Burberry raincoat told her: "Good job. Whatever happened, good job."

"Are you guys hiring?" one young aide asked a woman in a red blazer. "Send your resume," she told him. "You never know."

"I wouldn't call it a wake," insisted White House counsel C. Boyden Gray. "Look, he did more in four years than many presidents do in eight and history will treat him very well."

"It was kind of sad," said Serafin Gomez, 16, who stood with friends from the private school where Benjamin Quayle is a classmate. At Gonzaga College High, the Republican defeat hit home in a personal way. "A lot of our friends' parents lost their jobs," said Brian Christin, a junior.

Bush began his final days in office the same way he conducted much of his presidency: saying no to Congress. He vetoed a \$27 billion urban aid and tax bill, saying it had "numerous tax increases, violates fiscal

discipline and would destroy jobs and undermine small business."

As aides worked to fulfill the President's pledge of a smooth transition, Bush was pondering his retirement. Bush and his wife, Barbara, will buy or build a house in Houston, their adopted home town where he launched his political career with an unsuccessful 1964 Senate bid. It will be their 30th home in 46 years.

They will divide their retirement time between Houston and Kennebunkport, Maine, where they own a seaside home. Barbara Bush is working on a book, based on the diaries she has kept for three decades.

Bush is expected to begin work on his memoirs, oversee his presidential library at Texas A&M University and — as he put it election night — "to serve and try to find ways to help people."

ELECTION '92

30-year career coming to an end

Bush, too, must plan transition

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

For President Bush and first lady Barbara Bush, it's attitude adjustment time.

Today they head for a long weekend at Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland's Catoctin Mountains, to absorb the crushing loss to President-elect Bill Clinton and plan a graceful ending to a 30-year political career.

First there's a Cabinet meeting to begin transition plans.

On Wednesday, hundreds of White House staffers, Cabinet members and campaign and congressional supporters ushered them back into the White House after 17 straight days on the campaign trail.

The emotional burst of flag-waving, hugging and kissing on the White House lawn moved Bush to say: "Maybe you all didn't read the election returns. It didn't turn out quite the way we wanted."

Bush called the rally "a wonderful lift." Until he saw the polls Tuesday afternoon, he'd counted on winning, as he had said, "because I deserve to."

But true to his Yankee traditions, he kept a stiff upper lip and kept his remarks brief.

"Let's finish the job with style," he said. "Let's get the job done. Cooperate fully with the new administration. The government goes on, as well it should. We will support the new president."

Standing with Bush before 50 state flags, the first lady wiped away tears. Vice President Quayle looked stolid. Marilyn Quayle seemed to quiver.

"It's been a wonderful four years, and nobody can take that away from us," Bush said. "I think we've really contributed something to the country, and maybe history will record it that way."

The welcome-home rally was bittersweet, not just because Bush lost but because many in the White House say it didn't have to happen — that the campaign was bungled.

"For a lot of people, it just hasn't sunk in yet that we lost," said Meg Brackney, a spokeswoman for the Office of Man-

agement and Budget. "But a lot of people are glad it's over."

White House halls were quiet. People spoke of the vote in subdued tones.

"It's a little bit closer than people reported," said Robert Grady, a domestic policy adviser. "I think (Ross) Perot ate into the president's support in a lot of the key precincts and states that we needed to win — New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan

and Delaware, for example."

The Perot challenge wasn't anticipated, said campaign chairman Robert Teeter, and the Bush organization failed to come up with an effective strategy for it.

"What can you do?" Teeter asked.

When it wasn't Perot, it was some other problem, Teeter said, recalling conservative Pat Buchanan's primary chal-

lenge, and revelation last Friday of a memo in which former Defense secretary Caspar Weinberger seemed to contradict Bush's "not in the loop" claim in connection with the Iran-contra scandal.

The Bush camp sees the timing of Weinberger's indictment as tailor-made to help Clinton. But Teeter isn't sure Bush would have won if it hadn't happened.

"It seemed every time we got rolling, something came along to knock us back."

Bush has given no public post-mortems. But privately, the first lady and his children are said to be seething over what they see as disloyalty — writing Bush off before the election — by people they thought were friends.

1. - 6 2



By Robert Groux, Agence Franco-Presse

WHITE HOUSE WAVE: On the Truman balcony, President Bush, wife Barbara and Dan Quayle wave to well-wishers Wednesday.



CINDY ADAMS

BARBARA BUSH to me when we talked a while back about the possibility that she and George might be out of the White House sometime soon:

"I'll always be grateful for every day I had in the President's House. And I'll thank God for it. Yes, I'll miss this. It's been an extraordinary life for me. But there's still my husband, my children, my grandchildren, and friends and Millie and our memories. And I'll go on with this blessed life, happily digging away in my garden."

At the time I asked what she thought the attitude would be toward them if they were out. Said Barbara:

"I'm realistic enough to understand that what goes up comes down. I can see lots of examples around us every day. Washington is a perfect place for an example of how you're in one day and then, when you leave your job, you're just not invited any more — unless you have an extraordinary personality."

"I can point to my best friend, who is now a widow of a Supreme Court justice, and she would definitely have been excluded from every list but she just happens to be so wonderful that she wasn't dropped. Most of them are, though."

"When you're out, you're out. George and I expect that, and we don't disdain it. We understand the process, and we've been around long enough to know this is what happens."



BARBARA BUSH

IT'S over, done, finished, it's too late. Many bigtime hotshot New Yorkers, Republicans all, were angry at the dyslexic White House. One CEO of a major company was just totally ignored. Never invited. He's given hundreds of thousands, and once Bush was elected four years ago, this guy was dropped.

Alex Trebek, fulltime worker on the Board of Literacy Volunteers, was stiffed on a White House visit. Fals had to call an aide named Deborah, who was a facilitator in charge of visitors, to facilitate it.

Somebody on TV said: "George Bush ignored the people for four years." He also ignored supporters who were there for him. I mentioned that once to Barbara, who replied: "There are many people to invite. It's a big country." I mentioned that once to

First Brother Jonathan Bush, who replied: "I guess that's just the way it is."

Friends like Robert Stack well know that Bush did not pay back his debts.

Looks like these forgotten friends paid back theirs.

ELECTION 92

EXCERPTS OF BUSH, PEROT TALKS

Bush: Time to support the winner

Thank you very much. . . . The way we see it, the country should see it, that the people have spoken and we respect the majesty of the democratic system.

I just called Gov. Clinton over in Little Rock and offered my congratulations. He did run a strong campaign. I wish him well in the White House and I want the country to know that our entire administration will work closely with his team to ensure the smooth transition of power.

There is important work to be done and America must always come first. So we will get behind this new president and wish him — wish him well.

To all who voted for us, voted for me, here — especially here, but all across the country, thank you for your support and we have fought the good fight and we've kept the faith and I believe I have uphold — upheld the honor of the presidency of the United States.

. . . Now I ask that we stand behind our new president and regardless of our differences, all Americans share the same purpose, to make this the world's greatest nation more safe and more secure and to guarantee every American a shot at the American dream.

And I would like to thank so many of you who have worked beside me to improve America and to literally change the world. Let me thank our great Vice President Dan Quayle. . . . He stood for what he believes in and he will always have my

profound gratitude and certainly my respect.

. . . I also want to salute the members of the Cabinet, all of whom have served — who have served this nation with honor, with integrity and with great distinction.

And I would like to single out two leaders who represent the ideals of publics — the ideal in public service. Together they've helped lead the world through a period of unprecedented transition. I'm talking, of course, about my national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and . . . my good friend and fellow Texan, our Secretary of State Jim Baker.

Finally, of course, I want to

thank my entire family, with a special emphasis on a woman named Barbara. X

She — she has inspired this entire nation and I think the country will always be grateful.

But tonight is really not a night for speeches. But I want to share a special message with the young people of America. I am absolutely . . . convinced that we are a rising nation. We have been in an extraordinarily difficult period, but do not be deterred, kept away from public service by the smoke and fire of a campaign year or the ugliness of politics.

As for me, I plan to get — I'm go-

ing to serve and try to find ways to help people, but I plan to get very active in the grandchild business and in finding ways to help others. But I urge you, the young people of this country, to participate in the political process. It needs your idealism. It needs your drive. It needs your conviction.

And again, my thanks, my congratulations to Gov. Clinton, to his running mate Sen. Gore and my special thanks to each and every one of you — many of you who have been at my side in every single political battle. May God bless — may God bless the United States of America.

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT:

■ Those were some of Bill Clinton's top aides sitting in the front row and trying to make the president-elect laugh as Al Gore delivered his oh-so-serious speech election night.

■ Senate Judiciary Chairman Joe Biden—who campaigned for the Democratic women Senate winners who



Joe Biden, waiting.

had in turn campaigned against his all-male committee—is quite anxious to get any of them on his panel. But among Illinois's Carol Moseley Braun, California's

Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, and Washington's Patty Murray, none has come a-knocking yet.

■ Sherry Lansing yesterday was named by Paramount Pictures to head its Motion Picture Group. Lansing has had her own firm for the past few years, and before that she and Paramount honcho Stanley Jaffe teamed up to produce such hits as "The Accused" and "Fatal Attraction."

■ Bill Clinton delivered his acceptance speech so late (12:20 a.m. EST) because he was simply having a good time greeting the thousands of friends who were in Little Rock, aides say.

■ Hyper-ambitious Rep. Dave McCurdy has finally told Tom Foley that he'll support him in his bid for reelection as

House speaker—after months of letting speculation swirl that he might challenge him. Must be time for Foley to reappoint him to the chairmanship of the House Intelligence Committee.

■ White House Political Director Ron Kaufman's 12-year-old daughter asked

Studio exec
Sherry
Lansing,
on to
Paramount.



as election returns poured in: "Does this mean (Council on Environmental Quality Chairman) Mike Deland is out of a job?" Her 13-year-old sister Carly replied with the condescension of an elder: "Katie, you dummy, every adult you know is out of a job."

■ The Willard announces that as of yesterday all Evian water will be pulled from the hotel's bars and replaced by Mountain Valley Spring Water from Arkansas's Hot Springs National Park—where else. The great suck-up has only just begun.

■ Heavyweights Evander Holyfield and Riddick Bowe will duke it out on the bowling lanes in Las Vegas Sunday to benefit Cities in Schools, a national nonprofit dropout prevention program. Among the Hollywood big hitters due to join them in the alley—Arnold Schwarzenegger, Sylvester Stallone, James Woods and Randy Quaid.

■ First Lady Barbara Bush has invited First Lady-elect Hillary Clinton over to tour her new digs. No word on when she'll go.

■ Ladies, the Democratic sort, were having a great time trying on inaugural ball gowns at Saks in Tysons yesterday.



Evander Holyfield, on to the alleys.

Upbeat Bush ends race with grace

President thanks Quayle, Baker

By Timothy J. McNulty
Chicago Tribune

HOUSTON—"The people have spoken," George Herbert Walker Bush, 41st president of the United States, told a sad and teary audience Tuesday night in a small Houston ballroom. "And we respect the majesty of the democratic system."

With his family arrayed behind him, Bush conceded defeat in his bid for re-election to Democrat Bill Clinton and pledged to ensure a smooth transition of power.

"We will get behind this new president and wish him well," he said.

Bush, who had learned six hours earlier that his effort to be re-elected was doomed, told his supporters. "We have fought the good fight and we have kept the faith and I believe I have upheld the honor of the presidency of the United States."

The president thanked the man he had chosen as his vice president, Dan Quayle, saying that Quayle took "a tremendous pounding" during the last four years. He also thanked those closest to him in politics and government.

He gave special thanks to his chief of staff and personal confidant, James A. Baker III, the man who came to the presidential suite Tuesday at 4 p.m. and told him the exit polls showed he could not possibly win. When Baker introduced him Tuesday night, he began with mild humor, "It's real hell to lose these squeakers, isn't it?"

But Bush had known, and played the father figure all day long trying to keep his aides' spirits up. Bob Grady, who had breakfast with him in the morning, said the president was "at peace with himself."

The small ballroom at the Westin Galleria Hotel was far different than the gala planned four years ago. Half of those present were television technicians and photographers. Just before Bush arrived, the press corps that had traveled with him came into the ballroom and Bush's supporters began to chant, "No more press!"

The president's announcement was short and bittersweet. Moments after he left, half of those who had come to cheer him followed out the door.

Throughout Election Day, amid his closest friends and most loyal supporters, Bush appeared to be the most upbeat person around the hotel.

Indications had been evident for days that the president who had won approval ratings of over 90 percent after the Persian Gulf war was going to lose the election. But on Tuesday Bush seemed determined that his final campaign for office would end gracefully.

It even seemed that he wanted to signal his pending retirement: The president went out Tuesday not to campaign but to buy a bass fishing reel and seven country and western music tapes. He took \$6 out of his wallet to renew his one-year Texas hunting license.

A more subtle indication that he felt the campaign was truly over was his decision to wait until after the morning network news programs to get in the presidential motorcade and drive to his voting station in the St. Mary's Seminary gymnasium.

Bush and his wife, Barbara, joined some 50 other voters punching holes in their ballots shortly after 8:30 a.m.

"It didn't take me long," the First Lady said, chatting with reporters and television crews. Asked if he was glad the campaign was over, Bush replied in a low voice, "Very, very pleased."

Campaign officials said that the president did not want to hear about the early exit polls that showed him trailing Clinton in a majority of states.

But the president allowed the mask of cheerfulness and optimism to slip while he walked in a hotel corridor on his way to a private dinner for about 100 close friends. Asked how he felt, he replied, "I've been better, but we'll see." Then he added, "It doesn't look too good. I've been happier."

Until then, in every public appearance, Bush gave the obligatory thumbs-up sign, but he acted as he were a man beginning a long vacation: He tossed horseshoes with three of his four sons, Marvin, Neil and George W., and then watched them play tennis, and he had lunch with his wife, who had spent the last two weeks campaigning on her own.

From morning until night, some presidential aides looked weary but relieved. Others sounded bitter, specifically blaming the news media for what was clearly a rout for the man in whom they believed. When two reporters entered a local barbeque restaurant, they happened upon White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater and his entire press office staff having lunch. They were not too happy to see the reporters.

No one knows exactly when Bush understood that he was likely to lose his bid for re-election. Perhaps even he is not conscious of when it set in his mind. But on his way back to Texas, during a rally Monday night in an old, wood-roofed airplane hangar in Baton Rouge, La., Bush sounded reflective as he told the boisterous rally, "I'm proud to have been president."

Bush's day began with a two-mile morning jog through Memorial Park along with his daughter, Doro, and about 70 others in running gear, many wearing Bush-Quayle campaign shirts.

White House officials said the president would return to Washington as scheduled Wednesday and then on Thursday begin a long weekend at the presidential retreat at Camp David, Md.

When asked what he would do after Tuesday night, Bush said simply that he was going to "go back home and then figure it out."

2-22

Election '92



AP photo

President Bush gets a hug from his sister-in-law, Patty Bush, at a reception in Houston Tuesday night where the Bush family watched election returns. Bush later conceded.

ELECTION '92

Bush accepts defeat graciously

President bids brief farewell to a political career in the city where it began

By Michael Kranish
GLOBE STAFF

HOUSTON — Ending his political career where he began it 28 years ago, President Bush last night delivered a brief, gracious political farewell, conceding defeat to Bill Clinton and declaring that he wanted simply to "get big in the grandchild business."

Surrounded by an adoring, emotional crowd in the Westin Hotel near the site where he first ran for Congress in 1964, Bush stood by his campaign-style declaration that "we are a rising nation," refuting what he has called Clinton's view that the United States is in decline.

But Bush seemed to sum up the explanation for losing when he talked about "the extraordinarily difficult period" the nation has been through during a recession. Referring to the negative nature of the campaign, Bush said he had a "special message" for America's youth, urging them not to be deterred from entering politics.

The president said he would get involved in an unspecified way to help young people, but he said his first order of business was to tend to his 12 grandchildren, with daughter Dorothy Koch pregnant with the 13th.

At 11:15 p.m. Eastern time, Bush appeared at the hotel ballroom and told his supporters that he just telephoned Clinton to concede the election.

"We have fought a good fight and kept the

faith, and I believe I have upheld the honor of the presidency of the United States," Bush said. "I ask you to stand behind the new president and regardless of our differences, all Americans share the same purpose — to make this, the world's greatest nation, more safe and more secure and to guarantee every American a shot at the American dream."

At what had been planned to be a victory party for Bush, the president voiced no regrets, nor did he speak of strategies that might have changed the outcome.

Instead, there was the somber spectacle of the defeated president surrounded by his ever-present family and friends, the supporters who Bush held up above all others in this year when he has said "faithless Republicans" and "faithless Democrats" abandoned him.

For Bush, the news — the worst possible election news — had come at midday.

As the president sat in his suite at the Houstonian Hotel, Bush's aides told him about exit polls taken by the television networks that showed Clinton would sweep to victory.

"We came in during the afternoon and told him about the exit polls," Bush campaign manager Fred Malek said in an interview, referring to voter surveys taken at polling places around the nation. "He is very attuned politically; he knows what these things mean."

So Bush, barely skipping a beat, went from

being leader of the nation to leader of his family, according to Malek. Bush would do or say nothing to let members know of his deep disappointment.

"His mood was buoyant," Malek said, then reconsidered. "Well, not buoyant, but like the father who has to buck up his family."

Despite a tightening in the race last week, the Bush camp seemed to have resigned itself to defeat for the last couple of weeks. Still, the enormous sweep of the Clinton victory came as a shock. Aides said that the president, while always hoping for a miracle, had resigned himself to expect the worst. The big question at the Bush gala was not whether Bush would be reelected, but whether he would carry Texas.

"It's real hell to lose these squeakers, isn't it," Bush's longtime friend, chief of staff James A. Baker 3d, said in introducing the president.

While Bush was brief with his words last night, the day's story was told with simple elegance in a little strip shopping center on the west side of Houston.

For it was there, early yesterday morning, that Houstonians would have found the president of the United States. In a store called Oshman's, Bush paid \$6 for a hunting license and picked out a new fishing reel. As he walked to the black bulletproof presidential limousine, Bush jerked back his hand in an exaggerated fishing motion, reeling in an imaginary bass.

D.C.'S NEWEST TOP 40 HITS

By DAVID HINCKLEY

News Critic-At-Large

It's tough at the top; just ask George Bush, Dan Quayle or Jim Baker. Losers all.

But that's the American way. In the high-stakes presidential game, every change in the Oval Office has a domino effect: Policies, players and even cultural trends fall while new ones rise to fit the style of the new leader.

Here's some of what the Daily News crystal ball sees:

IN: Imus. WFAN's morning jock has the juice. He's practically on a first-name basis with the new Prez. ("Howdy, Bubba.")

OUT: Rush Limbaugh. loudmouth conservative and Bush favorite trusts no one to the left of Pat Buchanan.

IN: Lawyers. Bill and Hillary have Yale Law School pedigrees. Clinton's real dirty secret is that his biggest contributors were trial lawyers.

OUT: Oilmen. George Bush used to be one in the good old days.

IN: Elvis. Clinton's musical patron saint.

OUT: Randy Travis. Big Bush man.

IN: "Murphy Brown." Any enemy of Quayle's has to be okay with Clinton.

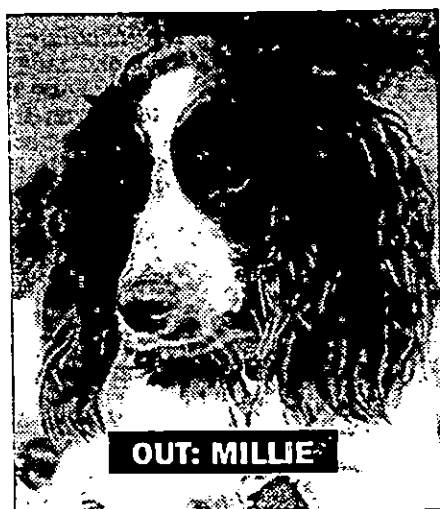
OUT: "Major Dad." Gerald McRaney, star of "Major Dad," called Clinton a yellow-bellied draft-dodger. Trouble is, McRaney never served in the military.

IN: Mango ice cream. Clinton's favorite.

OUT: Pork rinds. Bush seemed to pound down the greasy devils every time you turned around when he took office in 1989.

IN: Cute kid in the White House. Chelsea, the new First Child, follows in Amy Carter's footsteps.

OUT: Cute dog in the White House. **X** Millie who?



IN: Hearts. Clinton knows how to shoot the moon.

OUT: Croquet. A game to which Bush was born.

IN: Wooden-Mannered Al Gore jokes. Hey, it's the vice president's job to take hits for his boss.

OUT: Wooden-Headed Dan Quayle jokes. We'll miss him.

IN: Clinton political guru James Carville. A down-home guy and the latest certified political wizard.

OUT: Bush campaign mouthpiece Mary Matalin. Carville's main squeeze, they've just flown off together for an Italian holiday. First bottle of wine is on her.

IN: Saxophone. Clinton's instrument of choice.

OUT: Steel guitar. On the outs, along with Randy Travis.

IN: President's wife's career. Hillary won't just bake cookies.

OUT: President's son's career. Now about that savings and loan scandal.

IN: Rolling Stone. Clinton's still wiping himself dry from Stone's wet kiss.

OUT: Field and Stream. Bush spent part of Election Day getting his hunting and fishing licenses in order.

IN: Realistic families. You know, when mom works.

OUT: "Family Values." The slogan that couldn't.

IN: Two weeks in the Ozarks. An Arkansan's Utopia.

OUT: Maine WASP retreats. Kennebunkport just won't be the same — to the delight of natives.

IN: MTV. The first rock 'n' roll leader of the free world.

OUT: The parts of MTV Tipper Gore doesn't like. Tipper thinks that until you vote, your parents should be warned about the music you like.

IN: Talbot's. Hillary has the look.

OUT: Faux pearls. Barbara Bush wore them with style.

IN: Barbra Streisand. She threatened to leave the country if Clinton lost.

OUT: Bruce Willis. His latest flop.

N: Fleetwood Mac. The Baby Boomer ticket danced to "Don't Stop."

OUT: Lee Greenwood. Singing "Country Roads" reduced Bush to tears.

DATE:

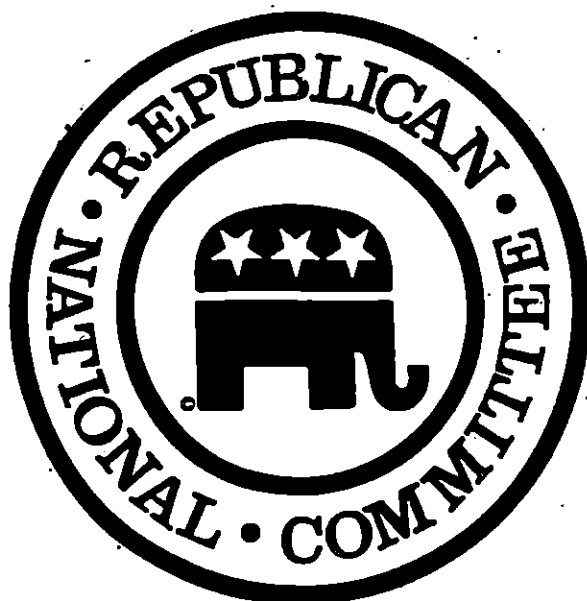
NOVEMBER 5, 1992

CONTACT:

KEITH WRIGHT

PRESS: 863-8550

THE DAILY NEWS SUMMARY



Republican National Committee

310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

To:

JAN BURMEISTER
19 OEOB

Bush urges finishing job 'with style'

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush told thousands of loyalist political appointees he will support "the new president" as he returned in defeat yesterday to the White House, where tears competed with the light drizzle.

"I can think of nothing other to say except let's finish this job with style. ... Now we will go inside, start readjusting, but you have given us a marvelous lift," an emotional Mr. Bush told a crowd whose energy seemed so spent that even the Marine Band couldn't stir them much.

He took pains to praise the strength and help of Vice President Dan Quayle, who was beside him.

"It's been a wonderful four years and nobody can take that away from any of us," he said with what sounded like lingering nostalgia to the press coverage he accused of having the worst bias in the history of American politics. "I think we've really contributed something to the country and maybe history will record it that way."

After making his battles with Congress an issue in the election, he got in a last shot at Congress on the flight back from Texas by vetoing the massive 64-page tax bill. Senate Democrats and lobbyists theorized he might renege on a veto pledge after the election to leave a legacy of pet projects the bill also contained in spite of a \$3.5 billion tax increase and other provisions Mr. Bush found onerous.

It was the last veto of his administration, one that was overridden.

His stand required him to forgo provisions that would have repealed luxury taxes, created 50 inner-city "enterprise zones," eased the rules on alternative minimum taxes, restored real estate "passive loss" provisions lost in 1986, allowed those who buy businesses to write off good will and continued credits for research and development, low-income housing and targeted jobs programs.

"The original locus of the bill, to help revitalize America's inner

cities, has been lost in a blizzard of special-interest pleadings," Mr. Bush said.

The usually cool and composed Barbara Bush seemed deeply affected by the outpouring of affection from workers of all ranks. She wiped tears from her cheek as Mr. Bush waved with both arms from the top of the steps on the South Portico, where they were joined by three grandchildren and Dan and Marilyn Quayle.

Notably among the missing was Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, whose transplant from secretary of state to campaign chief 10 weeks before the election failed to save the

day.

"My immediate plans are to go to my South Texas ranch and start shooting birds," a blue-jeaned Mr. Baker told reporters in Houston.

The president seemed overcome by a gift of roses, and it took six tries during an awkward stillness for him to start the next sentence after laying down the law to his staff for transition behavior.

"Let's get this job done, cooperate fully with the new administration. The government goes on, as well it should, and we will support the new president and give him every chance to lead this country into greater heights," Mr. Bush said from a platform set up where his helicopter usually lands.

He started it all by responding to cheers and a blur of tiny flags waving back and forth with a joke on himself: "Maybe you didn't read the election returns. It didn't work out quite the way we wanted."

Almost no one laughed, however.

The welcome ceremony was tempered by the fact that virtually everyone present had just gotten the equivalent of two months' notice that they are out of work and that their governing philosophy will be out of power after 12 years.

Junior aides cried. Some swapped business cards and home telephone numbers. They packed close to shake Mr. Bush's hand as he took a long walk across the wet South Lawn among crowds that got 10 or 20 deep on both sides of him.

Many workers brought spouses and children.

Emotion knew no rank. Transportation Secretary Andrew Card clutched a colleague at the White House diplomatic entrance. At a quiet corner of the lawn two very senior aides — acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and the president's personal physician, Dr. Burton Lee — consoled each other with a bear hug.

Mr. Bush singled out Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole for special praise, calling the Kansas Republican's election-night comments "a class act."

White House 'Family' Embraces Bush

By Ann Devroy and Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush, described by aides as stoic in defeat, returned to a subdued and bitter White House yesterday for the beginning of the end of 12 years of Republican rule. "Let's finish this job with style," he told tearful aides, Republican leaders and members of his official family.

"I can think of nothing other to say except let's finish this job with style, let's get the job done, cooperate fully with the new administration," he said to thousands of supporters who greeted him on the White House lawn. "The government goes on as well it

should. We will support the new president and give him every chance to lead this country into greater heights."

At mention of President-elect Clinton, the president spoke haltingly, perhaps responding to someone in the audience. Just then the crowd began to again cheer him wildly and wave flags and he hurriedly concluded his brief remarks.

"I'm very grateful to all of you. It's been a wonderful four years, and nobody can take that away from any of us," the president said. "It's been good and strong. And I think we've really contributed something to the country. And maybe history will record it that way."

Many in the crowd were in tears and others were exchanging thoughts on what job they would find next. When Bush first arrived on the podium, he joked, "Maybe you didn't read the election returns; it didn't work out quite the way we wanted."

White House aides said that despite the uniform prediction in the preelection polls that Bush would lose, many in the administration, like Bush himself, did not believe it or chose not to. "A lot of people didn't expect it," said one administration official. "You can't believe the number of people who still thought we would win. There is a feel of a family breakup here, of people who have lived together a decade breaking apart to go their separate ways and it is

very, very difficult. . . . We are grownups. We lost. But it will take time to adjust."

Bush aides said it was unlikely he would go to Russia in the next weeks, as officials had hinted. One aide said before the election that the president wanted to "return to the former Soviet Union as a site of the historic change his administration and Ronald Reagan's had brought" but most said yesterday he would probably not do so.

Officials also discounted rumors that White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III would try to reengage in the Middle East peace process between now and January as a way of ending his public career with

an effort to achieve peace, rather than as the major player in a losing presidential campaign.

But a source said Baker, while having had the suggestion made, is highly unlikely to take it up.

"He knows we lost, that we are the outgoing administration, the caretakers. And he knows the players in the Middle East know that. He can't make deals with them that mean anything. That is up to the new team now," said an administration official.

Baker remained behind in Texas to go hunting there and at his ranch in Wyoming over the next several days. He had never disguised

his distaste for being involved in another presidential campaign and yesterday morning, appeared in the garage of Bush's hotel in Houston dressed for bird-shooting and anxious to be away.

White House officials said Bush will spend several days at Camp David and may take a vacation next week. Asked in the final days of the campaign whether he, like Clinton, would start immediately into dealing with the economy if he won, Bush was adamant that win or lose, he was going on vacation. Aides had kept him away from Kennebunkport this summer, despite original plans to spend some time there in August, and he may return there in coming weeks.

Asked what the dozens of White House senior aides will do the next months, one of them was blunt: "Look for a job. There isn't anything much else to do." Unlike the lame-duck months of the last losing president, Jimmy Carter, no crisis looms now. Carter worked feverishly to free the Americans held hostage in Iran before leaving office.

Many of Bush's appointees remain bitter toward the news media, blaming them for the president's loss. He and his campaign have run for weeks against the media, and yesterday some of the crowd booed and jostled reporters as they waited for the president's arrival on the South Lawn.

THE REPUBLICANS

Rain but No Tears as Bush Returns to Capital

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4 — He has unashamedly and publicly misted up many times before, at religious ceremonies and speeches about war and memorials for dead sailors and farewells to old friends. If a practiced catch in the throat was a hallmark of Ronald Reagan, a handkerchief has been one of George Bush's most reliable studio props.

"We Bushes cry easily," he told David Frost in 1989.

But not today.

Today Mr. Bush, returning in defeat to a White House where he will reside for but 78 more days, faced down a crowd of more than a thousand cheering, pom-pom-waving well-wishers and deeded his most sportsmanlike demeanor.

He did not mention the reporters and photographers whom he has frequently blamed in recent weeks for his political decline. He had nothing but kind words for the new Administration of Bill Clinton.

Coatless in a Drizzle

He started with a joke. "Maybe you didn't read the election returns," he told the crowd. "It didn't work out quite the way we wanted."

Standing coatless in a drizzle on a platform on the South Lawn, shunning the lectern and Presidential seal that shield him at virtually every speech Mr. Bush talked, informally, for about two minutes. He paid tribute to his Cabinet, to Republican leaders of Congress, to his running mate and to the two men's wives.

"We are so grateful to Dan Quayle for everything he did," Mr. Bush said. "And so — hey — the guy, he almost killed himself out there. Hard work, day in and day out. And what he wasn't doing Marilyn was, and so was Barbara Bush," he said, the crowd applauding.

"But I can think of nothing other to say than let's say let's finish this job with style. Let's get the job done,

cooperate fully with the new Administration. The Government goes on as well it should, and we will support the new President and give him every chance to lead this country into greater heights."

Waving the Flags

Mr. Bush's staff tried hard today to infuse his return to Washington with the image of triumph he was denied Tuesday in Houston. His motorcade arrived from a Pentagon helicopter pad to a scene crowded with Federal workers bused in from nearby offices and handed thousands of tiny flags to wave.

A Marine color guard stood at attention as Mr. Bush worked his way to the speaking platform, shaking

His sense of humor intact, the President has kind words for Clinton.

hands down an alley of well-wishers. His Cabinet was there to greet him, as was the Senate minority leader, Bob Dole of Kansas; the Republican Party chairman, Richard N. Bond, and his adviser and chief of staff as Vice President, Craig Fuller.

And there were aides and supporters who have been with him through much of his career, like Rose M. Zamaria, the head of White House operations, and Katherine L. Super, his scheduler.

With Mrs. Bush waving a flag and the Quayles beside him, the President said that it had been "a wonderful four years, and nobody can take that away from any of us."

"It's been good and strong, and I think we've really contributed some-

thing to the country," he said. "Maybe history will record it that way."

A band struck up "God Bless America," and the Bushes disappeared into the White House, only to reappear moments later on the second-floor balcony overlooking the South Lawn, waving and smiling.

"There were some tears around there," one senior aide said later, but not from Mr. Bush. Flying to Washington this morning from Houston, the aide said, the President had called close staff members into his cabin to buck them up.

Before leaving Houston this morning, Mr. and Mrs. Bush shook hands with about 100 supporters at a local air base where Air Force One awaited them. The President kissed about 10 women at the foot of the plane's stairs before bounding up and turning for one last wave.

Teeter to Bed Early

The victory party that the Bush campaign had so hopefully planned for Tuesday evening was less notable for those who did show up than the many who did not.

Among the no-shows was Mr. Bush's campaign chairman, Robert M. Teeter, who left a CNN reporter literally speechless when he failed to appear for a scheduled interview at the reception. Today, Mr. Teeter said he was "tired and down" and had gone to bed early.

The White House political director, Ron Kaufman, said he spent Tuesday evening in his hotel room, monitoring the vote with his two daughters, ages 11 and 13.

Upon learning of Mr. Bush's loss, Mr. Kaufman said, the younger girl was dispirited. "Does this mean Mike Deland will be out of a job?" she asked, naming one White House official she knew, the head of the Council on Environmental Quality.

"You dummy," her sister was said to have replied. "Every adult you know is out of a job."

DATE: 11-5

PAGE: 13

Bush's Final Promise Of the Campaign: To Finish With Style

* * *

**Foreign Affairs Are Expected
To Fill President's Time;
Overseas Trips Are Possible**

By JOHN HARWOOD
And GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Beneath bleak skies, a defeated President Bush wasted no time discarding his slashing "campaign mode" and resuming the gentlemanly demeanor he has preferred through most of his quarter-century of work in Washington.

"Let's finish this job with style," Mr. Bush told flag-waving loyalists in a brief but emotional ceremony on the White House's South Lawn.

Still, the final days of his presidency promise to be a trying time for Mr. Bush and his staffers alike. "It's like working in a twilight zone," said Stuart Eizenstat, Jimmy Carter's domestic policy adviser, who worked during the transition to Ronald Reagan in 1980. "You're thinking about your own future, worrying about your administration's legacy and constantly going over the what-ifs."

Foreign Affairs

It's widely expected Mr. Bush will spend his remaining time in office focusing on foreign affairs, the subject that he prefers, that he retains the most capacity to influence and that he regards as his main legacy. The administration is considering a post-election trip to the Middle East by White House Chief of Staff James Baker to keep the Arab-Israeli peace process moving forward.

There also has been speculation that Mr. Bush, whose term saw the end of the Cold War, might engage in personal diplomacy of his own, perhaps traveling to Berlin or Moscow. Some aides say a Moscow trip would be unwise, however, because Russian President Boris Yeltsin already suffers politically from a perception that he gives in too much to outside pressure and worries too much about pleasing Westerners.

In any case, Mr. Bush is likely to do what he can to help the embattled Russian leader. First, the U.S. will continue to send humanitarian aid to Russia to help it get through the winter, at least a symbolic show of support. And second, the U.S. and its European allies have been holding negotiations with Russia on debt rescheduling, and the Bush administration will continue to push there for more help for Russia.

It's less clear if Mr. Bush can do much to advance the free trade principles that became a central part of his economic platform. World trade talks appear to be breaking down. Moreover, even if Mr. Bush and the European Community somehow came up with a breakthrough on their long-running dispute over agricultural trade, world trade talks remain far too complex to wrap up by Jan. 20.

Canada and Mexico

Mr. Bush and his counterparts in Canada and Mexico also must decide whether to sign the North American Free Trade Agreement as scheduled on Dec. 17. Once the treaty is signed, the U.S. is supposed to submit implementing legislation to Congress. But there's virtually no chance it could be passed before Mr. Bush leaves office, and Mr. Clinton has said he won't sign any implementing legislation until he negotiates side deals with Mexico over the environment and worker rights.

Mr. Bush also might tackle the question of improving relations with Vietnam in the wake of Hanoi's decision to grant U.S. access to its wartime archives. Mr. Bush isn't expected to fully normalize relations, but he might take steps in that direction. U.S. businesses would welcome an easing of the trade embargo against Vietnam, for instance.

The essentially non-ideological Mr. Bush isn't expected to expend much energy on gestures to placate Republican factions on his way out. Nor does it seem likely that he'll rush to help out old political allies with 11th-hour appointments or judicial pardons. There's not much of an appointment backlog in any case, because the White House has been briskly filling vacancies on various boards and commissions this year in anticipation of possible defeat.

Domestic Business

But the president faces some unfinished domestic business, including:

—The budget. Aides say Mr. Bush will present an abbreviated budget to Congress in January but won't use the document to attempt to embarrass Mr. Clinton with misleading deficit estimates or other gimmicks. The budget is expected, however, to include projected savings from the cap on the growth in entitlement programs that Mr. Bush proposed in his campaign.

—An experiment in health-care rationing. The administration recently rejected Oregon's request for a waiver from Medicaid regulations so that it could decline to cover certain medical services and use the saved funds to finance basic health-care services to all poor residents. The waiver was turned down on grounds that it violated the Americans With Disabilities Act, but officials said it might be approved if Oregon finds a way of avoiding that pitfall and submits it again.

—Foreign investment in U.S. airlines. Transportation Secretary Andrew Card has said he'll decide whether to permit British Airways to buy a big chunk of USAir by Dec. 24, the date on which either airline can abandon the proposed deal. But some in the aviation community believe the Bush administration will punt this controversial issue to the Clinton team unless Britain commits unequivocally to open its skies to U.S. carriers.

President Vetoes \$27 Billion Tax Bill

Bush: Urban Aid Measure Lost Focus

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush yesterday made good on his pledge to veto the \$27 billion tax bill, shattering the hopes of some Democratic leaders and special-interest groups that he might sign the measure after the election.

Bush, who promised during his reelection campaign to never "ever" again to raise taxes, issued a "memorandum of disapproval" yesterday. In it, the president complained that the measure contained numerous tax increases, violated fiscal discipline and would have destroyed jobs and undermined small businesses.

"The original focus of the bill—to help revitalize America's inner cities—has been lost in a blizzard of special-interest pleadings," Bush said. He signed the veto message aboard Air Force One as he flew here from Houston following his loss to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton in Tuesday's election.

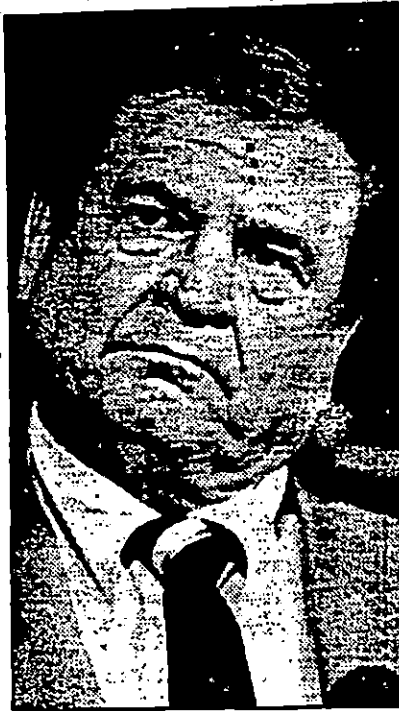
House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), a chief architect of the urban aid and tax package, said the veto is "a sin" because the bill contained many of the tax incentives and benefits for inner cities that the administration proposed.

"There are so many good things in that bill that the president recommended," Rostenkowski said. "But the grains of politics infiltrated the process, and now he's vetoed it."

An aide to House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) blamed Bush for boxing himself in by taking a campaign position that would have made it virtually impossible to pass any type of tax-relief legislation. Democrats and Republicans alike complained that Bush was following a double standard by condemning the tax bill because of its offsetting tax increases while agreeing to sign an energy bill that also contained tax increases.

"He created a standard that probably wasn't the wisest choice," said the Foley aide.

The legislation, originally proposed as a long-term response to the Los Angeles riots and the nation's urban crisis, would have created 50 urban and rural enterprise zones; restored Individual Retirement Account benefits for middle- and upper-income taxpayers; provided a series of tax breaks for the



DAN ROSTENKOWSKI
... "so many good things in that bill"

real estate industry and corporations; and extended a dozen other popular tax breaks, such as credits for low-income housing and research and development.

The bill also would have repealed the 10 percent luxury tax on boats, airplanes, jewelry and furs.

Bush said that in adopting the bill, Congress left out proposals to provide a credit for first-time home buyers, capital gains tax relief for beginning businesses and incentives for investment in capital equipment.

He also said the bill's sections dealing with distressed urban areas were inadequate and fell short of the administration's "weed and seed" proposals for beefing up policing and social services for inner-city areas.

"While the enterprise zones provisions are a step in the right direction, more than 75 percent of all seriously distressed communities are left out in the cold," he said.

House and Senate Democratic leaders intentionally delayed sending the bill to the White House after some Democrats became convinced Bush might sign the bill after the election, when free of campaign pressures. Bush had until midnight today to either sign the bill or allow it to expire as a "pocket veto."

This was Bush's 37th veto. Congress has overridden only one veto: a bill tightening regulation of the cable television industry.

Republicans' Next Contest Is Strictly Internal As Party Fights to Avoid Democrats' Fate in '70s

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Next on the agenda for the Grand Old Party: finger pointing; pandemonium; bickering.

"They will now dip into factional, ideological fights," says maverick GOP theoretician Kevin Phillips. "The Republicans in the '90s threaten to become the political cousins of the Democrats in the '70s."

At the presidential level, the Republicans are now a party in which Pat Robertson, the fundamentalist preacher and leader of the Christian Coalition, becomes a power broker. It is the party in which Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, TV commentator Pat Buchanan, HUD Secretary Jack Kemp, Vice President Dan Quayle, among others, will seek a more conservative image with an eye to winning the party's nomination in 1996. For the party's moderates, their best bet may turn out to be Gov. Bill Weld of Massachusetts, a budget slasher and a tough law-and-order man, who takes liberal positions sparingly, on such issues as abortion, the environment and gay rights.

Some Rays of Hope

Below the presidential level, there were some rays of hope for the party. In the House of Representatives, the Republicans picked up about 10 seats. The GOP also made significant, but mixed, inroads at the state level — capturing the state Senate in Illinois and reaching a tie with Democrats in the Florida Senate (but losing the state Senate in Washington and dropping to a tie in the state Senate in Pennsylvania). In Texas, the Republicans elected two statewide judges won a spirited contest for railroad commissioner, and picked up four seats in the state Senate.

But what really riles the party's movers and shakers is presidential politics, and this is where the blood will flow.

"It really is comeuppance time for the Republican Party," says Brent Bozell, chairman of a conservative media-watch group. "They've been in power for 12 years, they've taken in \$1 billion from contributors, and what do they have to show for it? Bill Clinton."

The Republicans, once seen as a party neatly divided by Goldwater conservatives and Rockefeller moderates, are now a much more fractured and contentious lot. There's the religious right (Mr. Robertson), the supply-siders (Mr. Kemp), traditional fiscal-responsibility advocates (Senate leader Bob Dole and, with a hard edge, Mr. Gramm), hard-line nationalists (Mr. Buchanan), traditional conservatives (Mr. Quayle) and quasi-moderates (Mr. Weld, maybe California Gov. Pete Wilson).

They are already off and running. On Tuesday, when the election returns still hadn't come in, Sen. Gramm called Christine Whitman's office in New Jersey and volunteered to campaign for her in January. Ms. Whitman is running for governor in what will be a contested primary next June. Gov. Weld has also volunteered to campaign for her during the primary season. And Secretary Kemp has sent word he would help to raise money for her political

action committee.

Presidential Front-Runner

Many conservatives figure Mr. Kemp is the early front-runner for the 1996 GOP presidential nomination. "He's the overwhelming favorite among party elites," says conservative activist Jeff Bell. "He's the leading Republican figure today," says retiring Rep. Vin Weber of Minnesota, "and he has the ability to play a role in uniting the Republican Party. If he does play that role successfully, he will be a serious candidate in 1996." Skeptics point out that Mr. Kemp tried running for president once before, in 1988, without much success.

What is no longer acceptable to nearly all of the GOP factions is the George Bush political establishment. "These people must be held accountable," says Mr. Bozell. "Our goal should be to take this party back to where it stood in the '80s," a party based on solid conservative principles. "If that doesn't happen, we will end up in the Ice Age."

Burton Pines, a conservative GOP activist, fingers three of Mr. Bush's economic advisers — Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, budget director Richard Darman and chief White House economist Michael Boskin. "They provided three years of economic catastrophe," he told reporters yesterday.

The first battle — this one is traditional — will be fought over a new chairman of the Republican National Committee, succeeding Mr. Bush's choice, Rich Bond. Former Gov. Pete du Pont of Delaware is already campaigning for the job. Other names being tossed around: Mr. Weber; former Army Secretary Howard "Bo" Callaway of Georgia; former Education Secretary Bill Bennett; Mississippi political operative Haley Barbour; Spencer Abraham, co-chairman of the GOP congressional campaign committee; Bay Buchanan, Pat Buchanan's sister and manager of his 1992 presidential campaign; and Bush campaign strategist Charles Black. The selection will take place during a meeting of the Republican National Committee in late January.

There are also rumors that Mr. Robertson's Christian Coalition may be quietly pushing a candidate among its own supporters, who have managed to infiltrate party organizations at every level.

The Religious Right

Of all the internal problems facing the GOP, the surge of the religious right, with its new "stealth" tactics, may be the most challenging. When the religious right first became active in modern-day American politics, in 1980 with Jerry Falwell's Moral

Majority, it tended to start at the top, the presidential level, and try to trickle down.

With the demise of the Moral Majority, Mr. Robertson — himself a presidential candidate in 1988 — began building a quite different organization. People for the American Way, a self-appointed overseer of right-wing activities, says the religious right already controls GOP processes in both Washington state and Iowa.

The religious right fielded four congressional candidates Tuesday — and they all lost. One of them, Doug Wead, once served as Mr. Bush's liaison to the Christian right. He was defeated in Arizona by Democrat Karan English (she was endorsed by Barry Goldwater). In Colorado, Democratic incumbent David Skaggs defeated Bryan Day, pastor of a small fundamentalist church in Arvada. Democrats Nathan Deal in Georgia and Lee Hamilton in Indiana also defeated candidates supported by conservative religious groups.

Local Contests

But the early basic thrust of the new religious right is local contests. "The real battles of concern to Christians are in neighborhoods, school boards, city councils and state legislatures," Ralph Reed, the organization's executive director, has explained. Even so, the ultimate goal is to build a national organization that would, according to the coalition's statement of mission, "reverse the moral decline and encroaching secularism in this country."

The coalition has 250,000 members

in 550 chapters in 50 states, according to People for the American Way.

Their motto:

"Think like Jesus.

Lead like Moses.

Fight like David.

Run like Lincoln."

The coalition

boasted that more

than 300 delegates

at the Republican

National Convention

in Houston —

which was addressed

by Mr. Robertson —

were coalition members.

The trick for Republican mediators will be to bridge the gap between these Christian fundamentalists, who did most of the footwork for George Bush on Tuesday, and the rest of the party's squabbling factions. It won't be easy and it won't be resolved soon.

Republicans believe that if they put their house in order, they will be in a position to capitalize four years from now on an unsuccessful Clinton presidency. But, notes Mr. Phillips, the GOP theoretician, "If Mr. Clinton fails, that means the country will have had back-to-back failures by both parties. And that means that you will be facing huge numbers of people who believe it is time for a new party, a third force." Enter, once again, Ross Perot.



Jack Kemp



Pat Robertson

Voters rejected Bush, not Reagan Revolution

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush's electoral disaster Tuesday was not a rejection of conservatism or the principles Ronald Reagan brought to government 12 years ago, according to analysts and exit polling.

Exit surveys taken for the four major television networks show that most voters support those principles.

NEWS ANALYSIS

When asked by Voter Research & Surveys whether they prefer a government that provides "more services but costs more in taxes" or fewer services for lower taxes, voters went 2-to-1 for smaller government.

And the VRS poll confirmed that most Americans are conservative on values: Sixty-eight percent said the government should promote traditional family values rather than "nontraditional" family values.

The exit poll showed that voters didn't put values near the top of their priorities "because of the bumbling

way Bush presented it," Don Eberle, president of the Commonwealth Foundation, a think tank in Harrisburg, Pa., said yesterday.

Following the advice of people who cared about family values only as an election gimmick, Mr. Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle seemed to bash single mothers indiscriminately rather than promote individual responsibility, Republican pollster John McLaughlin said.

"Bush divided Americans when they wanted more than anything else to be a people united," he said.

Mr. McLaughlin agreed with Mr. Eberle that Mr. Bush "was seen to be exploiting the values issue to serve himself."

"When you have such a hollow vessel as we had in Bush, people reject

what he says even if they basically agree with it," he said.

Mr. Clinton and the Democrats succeeded in destroying the Republican coalition by separating the

middle from the right. In Mr. Eberle's view, the GOP now must "reclaim the middle from the radical and cultural left."

Former Education Secretary William Bennett said Mr. Reagan projected a concern with values that was positive but Mr. Bush seemed like a sanctimonious, judgmental bully. Mr. Reagan's concern forged alliances with people who didn't think of themselves as conservatives.

Mr. Reagan spoke to the broad middle of politics, to the Americans who Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas said "pull the wagon instead of riding in it." Mr. Reagan told them he understood what they wanted: to get government off their backs. They elected him and re-elected him.

Mr. Bush reversed what Mr. Reagan had done. Mr. Bush expanded government, nondefense spending and regulation, his conservative critics say.

"Bush had the largest increase in the size of government of any president since World War II," said Donald J. Devine, who drastically cut the government payroll as head of the Office of Personnel Management in Mr. Reagan's first term.

Lacking passionate beliefs on economics, crime, family values and even the defeat of communism, the president and his advisers floundered for three years like bureaucrats in a fog of ideas.

They never quite explained why they were different from Democrats in general and liberals in particular.

And critics say that when Mr. Bush and his advisers tried to mouth what they dimly perceived as conservative ideas, what came out was a grotesque caricature of conservatism that frightened or offended many voters.

"Bush and his advisers attempted an 11th-hour conversion to conservative policies on the economy and family values only when their voter research showed irrefutable signs of impending disaster in the elections," said William Myers, president of the South Carolina Public Policy Foundation.

But, Mr. Myers said, they came off looking like cartoon characters in an anti-conservative satire, presenting an image of conservatism so distorted that it begged to be laughed off the stage — and was.

Mr. Bush consistently blurred the differences between Republican conservatism and Democratic liberalism, between no-nonsense law and order and a bribe-the-looters mentality, and between equal opportunity and racial-ethnic-gender quotas.

The economy was the issue, because the president taxed it to death in the name of saving it. He didn't believe deeply in anti-tax or pro-tax

theories, in government activism or nonactivism toward the economy. When taxes didn't work and the economy slid into recession, Mr. Bush became inactive, ignoring the growth formulas of lawmakers in his own party.

The price: Bill Clinton, who got 2 million fewer votes than Michael Dukakis got in 1988, is being hailed as the man bringing America together and giving it hope again.

Mr. Bush ignored runaway illegitimacy and crime — and the welfare dependency that Mr. Reagan said fostered them — until someone told him he needed an issue other than the economy to save his presidency.

Mr. Bush's costliest mistake for himself and his party was his handling of the Los Angeles riots.

"I think the election was decided right there. From Nixon through Reagan, many former loyal Democrats swallowed hard and voted Republican in the belief that when the thugs came out, the Republican Party would be tougher on them than the Democrats," Free Congress Foundation President Paul M. Weyrich said.

Critics say the turning point was when people saw the Republicans and Democrats reacting the same way to the Los Angeles riot.

"The subject changed at that point," Mr. Bennett said. "It wasn't about the economy. It was about right and wrong. Most people in south-central Los Angeles were not rioters, but victims."

But Mr. Bush seemed to say that although the rioters behaved badly, they had a point.

Mr. Bennett's recommendation at the time: "We go in, with the cooperation of the local government, and go door to door, asking people, 'Who do you want running your streets, the Bloods and the Crips or the federal state and local task force?'"

Savvy Democrats were stunned by Mr. Bush's reaction to the riot. Adam Walinsky, a Democratic activist and former aide to Sen. Robert Kennedy, said, "Here Bush had an electorate more worried about race and crime than ever," but he seemed almost to coddle the rioters.

Mr. Walinsky said polls taken in the spring reveal what national polls and exit polls don't. "When you ask people in a big urban setting what is the most important issue in their city or neighborhood, it's crime by enormous margins," he said. "In New York, crime and drugs placed over 55 percent, with the economy ranking next at 20 percent."

"Los Angeles was a major blunder. It reinforced the impression that Bush doesn't really believe in anything, that he would rather flow with the ebb," said Matthew J. Glavin, president of Georgia Public Policy Foundation Inc.

"He should have been out there in south-central Los Angeles a little more quickly and ordered the troops ... [to take] the streets back," independent pollster Brad Coker said.

What Went Wrong, and Right

Bush: As the Loss Sinks In,
Some Begin Pointing Fingers

By MAUREEN DOWD

It was beginning to sink in, very painfully, that he had been fired and now he was expected to go back to Washington and take all his stuff out of the Oval Office, the worn Yale baseball mitt, the drawers full of tennis balls, the family pictures, the black and white horseshoes, his black Swiss army knife with "President Bush" engraved in silver.

As George Bush got ready to leave Houston yesterday morning and fly back to the capital, he took a call from one of the senior Administration officials who had remained loyal to the end.

Could he have been better served by the people in charge of his campaign, the official asked, in an account of the conversation.

Frustration and Anger

"Don't get me started on that," the President snapped, his voice raw with anger, frustration and blame.

On his flight back to Washington from Indianapolis, Vice President Dan Quayle was openly critical of the campaign management, telling reporters that their defeat was less a result of the depressed economy than of the failure of the campaign to articulate its own domestic agenda.

They never had a message, he said scathingly, because "that takes a strategy."

A Republican electoral debacle is not a pretty thing. The finger-pointing and back-stabbing that had consumed the White House and the party for months got even worse yesterday, with everyone blaming everyone else for "the worst campaign ever seen" in the words of Ed Rollins, the Republican strategist who presided over Ronald Reagan's 1984 landslide and defected this year to briefly help run Ross Perot's campaign.

End of Cold War

Trapped in an atmosphere described by one White House official as "a little surreal," Republicans offered dozens of reasons for the humiliating rejection of the man who had been wildly popular only a year and a half ago, reasons stretching back to the beginning of the Bush Administration and going right up to the last weekend of the campaign.

"Look, we ran out of steam in the second half of the second Reagan Administration," said William J. Bennett, a former official of the Reagan and Bush Administrations. "We've been in office for 12 years. We got tired. We forgot why we came."

And in a poignant echo of the Democratic message that the 68-year-old President's time had passed, Mr. Bennett added: "It's generational. George Bush genuinely believed that the major job he had was to win the peace and end

the cold war."

While there were acres of criticism about the dispirited leadership of James A. Baker 3d, the maladroit management of Robert M. Teeter and Frederick Malek, the politically disastrous economic advice of Richard G. Darman and Nicholas F. Brady, there was also a sense that George Bush was responsible for his own failure in the end, because he was unable to read or give voice to the public's mood and imbue his Presidency with passion, poetry and a plan.

"It's him," Mr. Rollins said of the President. "He's a guy who thought he was a great politician because he had been the national party chairman and because he knew the name of every national committeeman and state party chairman. But he never understood what was going on in the country. Ronald Reagan was never a state party chairman and he didn't

One Republican
leader says Bush
didn't know where
the country was.

know the names of any committeemen, but he always knew where the country was."

Although his manner was modest, Mr. Bush is a politician, with a politician's ego, and he grew complacent, freezing out old friends and advisers who long ago tried to sound the alarm, and surrounding himself with politically tone-deaf economic advisers who were reviled by the conservatives who helped elect the President.

"As down home as he and Barbara were," said one old friend of the President, "after a while they got used to the idea that they were in the White House and that's the way it ought to be."

Realization Sets In

It was a measure of Mr. Bush's alienation that as late as Saturday, Mr. Teeter was telling reporters on the President's final campaign train trip through Wisconsin that they were still working on consolidating the Republicans' base. And it was not until Saturday morning that Mr. Bush began to realize that he might have underestimated Bill Clinton, when the President saw that he had dropped 10 points after Thursday night's internal tracking polls showed the election in

a dead-heat at 39-to-39, and many of the respondents on Friday night had mentioned the day's news reports suggesting there was more to his role in the Iran-contra scandal than he had admitted.

"Our numbers just went in the tank after that," said a senior campaign adviser, who believed the Iran-contra report was the most damaging thing that happened in the stretch, along with the bite that Ross Perot took out of Mr. Bush's support in Louisiana, Ohio, Michigan and New Jersey.

There were sharp paradoxes here. George Bush had made a point of distinguishing himself from the Reagan style as soon as he was elected, implying that his predecessor was too packaged, too handled and too out-of-touch.

"Wake me, shake me," Mr. Bush said at his first post-election news conference, responding to a question that recalled the time that Mr. Reagan was not awakened to deal with the Soviet Union's downing of a South Korean airliner.

"The joke is he speaks of himself as a hands-on person when he's as hands-off as Reagan in his own way," said one Bush intimate outside the Administration, who could talk for an hour straight at the top of his lungs about the way Mr. Bush had surrounded himself with second-rate talent and clones. "He was only comfortable with a damn white-bread crowd, a bunch of white male Protestants numbers-crunchers and bean-counters. He lacked a Lee Atwater."

He also lacked any women in his governing inner circle, and today top campaign officials were mourning that lack of diversity in the mix of advice the President received. "The place where we really got killed was in the suburbs, where Republican women left us," said one Bush campaign official, who believes it was a mistake, given the party's unyielding anti-abortion stance, to veto the family leave bill.

There was a debate within the campaign in September about whether the President should reverse his position and sign the bill, which would have required employers to give leaves to workers for medical and family emergencies. Margaret Tutwiler, Mr. Baker's chief aide, argued in favor of a reversal and Mr. Darman, Boyden Gray and Mr. Quayle argued against the idea because it would give Mr. Bush an appearance of waffling. Mr. Baker was uncharacteristically undecided.

Everything about the Republican campaign seemed three beats behind, a strange phenomenon given the fact that Mr. Baker was considered "the gold standard for running Presidential campaigns in this era," as James Carville, the Clinton strategist said, yesterday.

Mr. Baker, who deeply resented the move and loathed the prospect of being a handler once more, waited until the last minute to move to the White House from the State Department. When many Republicans urged the President to fight back against the pounding he was getting from Democrats and Patrick J. Buchanan in the primaries, he insisted he would stick to his habit of starting the campaign as late as possible, after Labor Day.

Many of Baker's own aides agreed with Mr. Carville's assessment that the Republican convention was "idiotic," and many high-level Republicans privately pronounced themselves ashamed of the strident tone. Mary Matalin, the deputy campaign manager, went to the President to complain that the party was getting an image of being "intolerant" and "homophobic," but Mr. Bush seemed surprised that she could say that.

He had handed off responsibility for the tone of the convention to his former aide, Craig Fuller, who felt that a dramatic play was needed to consolidate the disenchanted conservative base. Mr. Baker refused to become engaged in the convention planning, only reviewing Mr. Bush's speech, because he took a brief vacation in Wyoming after his efforts in the Middle East.

After the convention, Mr. Baker was never able to focus Mr. Bush as tightly as he had in 1988. Even campaign officials who admired Mr. Baker said it was clear to everyone inside that "had lost his edge, and was much more indecisive and not sure of his own judgment."

Mr. Baker, who had spent much of the last four years out of the country, was ambivalent about the campaign and relying on old instincts that were now out of sync, his campaign staffers said, adding that he was slow to pick up on the Perot-inspired revolution in media. Mr. Bush "waited way too long to go the Larry King route," one senior campaign official said.

Mr. Baker decided to hide in the White House, avoid the press that he had once courted so brilliantly. "He wasn't sharp, he wasn't boning up every day by dealing with press questions," said one campaign official.

With Mr. Baker working hard but in a slump, fearing he would end up on the cover of a magazine with James Carville, as though he had never been a statesman, Mr. Bush was left more to his own devices.

The President did not keep pounding away on the economic message he had presented in a speech in Detroit at the beginning of the fall campaign and in the end, was reduced to an almost completely negative message bashing Clinton on trust and character.

"At the end of the day, Bush was always more comfortable attacking Clinton and tearing him down than he was articulating his own vision," said one campaign official. "He never convinced voters he was going to do something here at home. He never offered a compelling picture of what he would do or how he would do it."

A year ago, when the country was growing anxious about the economy and the conservatives were demand-

ing that Mr. Bush adopt an aggressive economic agenda and a confrontational stance toward Congress, Mr. Bush decided to go by his own internal clock and the official Washington political calendar. At Mr. Darman's urging, he waited more than a month for the State of the Union address and repackaged his familiar, tepid agenda.

As long ago as September of 1991, when Mr. Bush's popularity was still topping 70 percent, Bill Kristol, Mr. Quayle's chief of staff, and others in the White House were alarmed at the polling numbers showing that more than 75 percent of the respondents thought the country was on "the wrong track."

Mr. Bush did not care. From the beginning of his Administration, it was clear that he had no ideas or programs he wanted to enact, that his greatest pleasure came from simply being President. After his first hundred days in office, it was clear that he was practicing the politics of minimalism, and pundits were charging that he had no agenda, no money, no strategy, no message, no ideology, no world view and no explanation of his mysterious role in the Iran-contra scandal.

Unlike Mr. Reagan, Mr. Bush had no fixed principles to fall back on, because his ideology was friendship. So he was only as good or as bad as the advisers he relied on, and many of his advisers in the last four years have been remarkably inept and unpopular.

Stress on Status Quo

His advisers' plan from the beginning was to maintain the status quo on domestic affairs and only to do enough to have something to run on in 1992. The plan for foreign affairs was not much more ambitious before war in the Persian Gulf intervened, and

Mr. Bush's advisers dubbed his initial policy toward the Soviet Union "status quo plus."

In the fall of 1990, after Congress had passed the Americans with Disabilities Act and amendments to the Clean Air Act, John H. Sununu, Mr. Bush's abrasive chief of staff, said that as far as the Bush Administration was concerned, Congress could take the rest of the President's term off because "there's not a single piece of legislation that needs to be passed in the two years" remaining.

Words meant little to him. The first act of his White House was to downgrade the speechwriters and take away their White House mess privileges. On the campaign, Mr. Baker no longer reviewed all of Mr. Bush's stump speeches and they were written by Steven Provost, a former public relations officer for Kentucky Fried Chicken who was reviled by Mr. Baker's aides as "the chicken salesman writing Bush's speeches."

When Mr. Bush broke the "Read My Lips" pledge about not raising taxes, and made the joke "Read My Hips," he truly believed that Americans did not expect politicians to keep such pledges.

"When he rescinded read my lips, he asked people to read his mind," said Peggy Noonan, who wrote the "Read My Lips" line into Mr. Bush's speech.

"He was a doomed President because he simply misunderstood, as a pol with an ego, what had happened to him in 1988," she said. "He thought that the American people elected him resoundingly in a landslide because of his own charming, gallant, ambivalent self. They elected him because of what he said he was, a continuance of Reaganism."

In Defeat, GOP Talks Of 'Betrayal' and '96

defeat is like blaming the sinking of the Titanic on a waiter who dropped some dishes," said Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed.

DATE: 11-5-92
PAGE: 30

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Republicans emerged from President Bush's shattering defeat yesterday divided not only about the meaning and the cause of their loss but even about whether losing the White House was really such a bad thing for the GOP.

For a party that had come to see itself as the nation's natural holder of executive power, Tuesday's voting was cause for both recrimination and introspection. Bush's share of the presidential vote was the party's lowest in 28 years, and exit polling showed the Republican vote reduced to its hard core: the relatively well-to-do and the religious conservatives.

Not all the news Tuesday was bleak for Republicans. They gained at least seven seats in the House—an encouraging showing, though far less than they had hoped to pick up in a reapportionment year. They held their losses in the Senate to one that might be canceled out, depending on the outcome of a Georgia runoff election later this year.

Republican National Chairman Richard N. Bond boasted that the party posted a net gain of nine state legislatures, and that even in defeat Bush retained much of the party's base in the South and the Rockies.

But the leadership void was palpable, and some Republicans immediately moved to fill it.

Few did so more eagerly than Senate Republican leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.). He claimed the mantle of spokesman for the 57 percent of the electorate that voted either for Bush or independent Ross Perot. Dole, who frequently has battled for more balanced budgets against his party's tax-cutting wing, said he has a right to "stake a claim" to Perot's constituency since he shares its concerns over the deficit.

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp kept a low profile, not wanting to seem ungracious to Bush. But Kemp plainly wants to run for president in 1996 and would like to speak not only for his party's conservative wing but also for moderates who see the need to reach out and build a new majority coalition.

Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), another 1996 presidential possibility, also refused to criticize the defeated president. But he said the party was in danger of losing sight of the "only two fixed stars in the political heavens . . . peace and prosperity." In this election, he said, his party simply did not talk enough about the economy.

The post-election recriminations among Republicans took two forms: criticisms of the Bush campaign, and charges and countercharges among factions.

About the Bush campaign, few Republicans actually had much good to say. Even Vice President Quayle conceded on ABC's "Good Morning



Senate GOP leader Robert Dole is staking a claim to become the spokesman for Bush and Perot voters.

America" that "Bill Clinton certainly ran a much better campaign."

More significant for the long term were the first skirmishes over the party's direction. Party moderates, and some conservatives, already are moving to contain the power of the party's evangelical Christian wing and its leader, the religious broadcaster Pat Robertson.

"We can't appeal to a narrow group of voters and merely attempt to secure a base that . . . doesn't move us to a wider group of voters who have their natural home in the Republican party," said Steven I. Hofman, assistant secretary of labor for public affairs. Labor Secretary Lynn M. Martin is likely to strike that theme if she seeks the Republican national chairmanship.

But Robertson, backed by the electoral statistics, boasted that evangelicals have been Bush's most loyal constituency. "I don't see how you can take them out of the Republican party and have anything left," he said in an interview.

In fact, an exit-poll by Voter Research & Surveys found that 28 percent of Bush's voters were white evangelicals or fundamentalists, compared with 9 percent of Clinton's and 14 percent of Perot's.

Fully 27 percent of Bush voters listed "family values" as a voting issue, compared with 8 percent of Clinton's and 9 percent of Perot's.

"Blaming the evangelicals for this

In the meantime, a long list of conservatives already have blamed Bush for abandoning conservative economic principles, notably by raising taxes. Paul M. Weyrich, president of the conservative Free Congress Foundation, yesterday added Bush's handling of the Los Angeles riots to the causes of his defeat. Weyrich said Bush wasn't tough enough.

The party's moderate wing, on the other hand, said the GOP moved too far right in its platform and at its convention. "The ultimate betrayal of Bush will be to say he wasn't conservative enough," said former congressman Peter Smith, president of the moderate Ripon Society. "It was, in fact, the embracing of this platform at the convention that sealed the president's doom."

Beyond the left-right battles lurked an anxiety among Republicans that Bush's troubles were rooted in a conservative intellectual malaise. "For the last six years, we've been much less certain of our ground, of our principles, of our North Star," said former education secretary William J. Bennett, another possible 1996 candidate.

Bennett is part of a group of younger conservatives who want to promote new policy approaches and more aggressive political outreach programs. Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.) said he and his allies have secured pledges of financial and political support for an organization that will do both intellectual and organizing work.

Weber said the new group will be modeled after Americans for Democratic Action, formed in the 1940s to promote the liberal agenda while separating liberalism from any association with communism.

Weber, a Kemp ally, said "the need for a counterpart organization of conservatives became more urgent" with the emergence of Patrick J. Buchanan and the Christian Right as major players in 1992 Republican politics. The idea will be to define not only what conservatism is, but also what it shouldn't be.

Weber wants to enlist Bennett, William Kristol, Vice President Quayle's chief of staff, and R. Spencer Abraham, a Quayle staff alumnus who has run the National Republican Congressional Committee, in the cause. Bennett said he is sympathetic to Weber's idea, but is not sure what form it should take.

The one organizational certainty is a battle for the Republican chairmanship, since Bond has announced that he is stepping down.

The list of potential candidates grows daily and includes Martin, Bennett, Weber, Abraham, Kristol, former Delaware Gov. Pierre S. "Pete" du Pont IV, Mississippi Republican National Committeeman Haley Barbour, former Colorado state chairman Howard H. "Bo" Callaway, Education Secretary Lamar Alexander and political operative Charles Black.

Bennett, for one, took a philosophical view of his party's loss, arguing that Republicans actually could profit from a spell out of power. "We've been in for 12 years," he said. "We've been running out of steam."

Bush Defeat Blamed on Bad Campaign, Bad Economy, Bad Agenda

DATE: 11-5-92
PAGE: 36

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

On Labor Day weekend, as President Bush went into what he calls "full campaign mode," one of his senior advisers described the address Bush would give the next week in Detroit as "the vision speech, the agenda speech."

"We've got to do the high road before we go to the low road where you move the numbers," said the aide.

For the next six weeks, the Republicans, with Bush leading the effort, aimed a negative barrage at Democrat Bill Clinton that far exceeded the fusillade aimed at Michael S. Dukakis in 1988 and concluded with a last-minute whispering campaign.

But nothing much happened. And if 1988 represented the ultimate triumph of "going negative," 1992 turned out to be something much different. That fundamental misjudgment was only one in a long line of sins laid yesterday by Republicans at the feet of the White House and Bush campaign. Robert M. Teeter, the campaign chairman, said he did not want to "pick over the bones" of this defeat, but that was just what was happening.

"It is not that negative campaigning does not work, it is that the voters this year did not want it," said Edward J. Rollins, the Republican political operative who ran Ronald Reagan's 1984 "morning in America" campaign, expressing a widespread view in GOP circles. "And George Bush talked about the draft about 200 times and his economic agenda about three times."

Another Republican involved in Bush's campaign shook his head and said: "The basic premise of negative campaigning is you don't go after the other guy until your positives are high. Every time Bush hit Clinton on trust and taxes, it reminded them that he broke his tax pledge and he has credibility problems with Iran-contra."

"I thought the Dukakis campaign was the worst in presidential history, until the Bush campaign this year," said Rollins, and even those involved in the campaign seemed to agree. "I think at the presidential level, the Democrats ran a better campaign," said Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bood. "Bill Clinton ran a much better campaign," said Vice President Quayle.

Republicans experienced in presidential politics pointed out yesterday that Bush, with 38 percent of the vote, had the lowest percentage of any incumbent since William Howard Taft in 1912, and saw the reason for that in both the final years of the Bush administration and the hapless months of the Bush election campaign.

The president and his team are widely accused of misunderstanding the electorate's yearning for a broad discussion of significant issues and an offering of specific solutions in their passion to replay successes of Clinton. J. J. Heck, the secretary of Housing and Urban Development put it in a recent interview: voters this year "want to know what you are for, not what you are against . . . Politics is not about the past, it is about the future."

But Bush's campaign advisers, while making some nominal attempts to produce and sell a Bush agenda for the future, spent far more effort trying to focus attention on Clinton.

With little more than a week to go in the campaign, reporters at The Washington Post and other news organizations received repeated calls from officials in the Bush campaign or other Republicans offering the same basic story: Clinton was having an affair, the Secret Service knew about it, and someone should write about it.

On Monday night, less than 24 hours before voting began, Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich.), the head of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, held a news conference in Omaha and went public with the allegation.

No one covered the Vander Jagt charge but the local television affiliate, however, the congressman sent news outlets throughout Washington, including The Post, a transcript. Yesterday, Vander Jagt said he did not want to pursue the issue anymore because Clinton "was the candidate then. He's the president" now.

An aide said Vander Jagt had not been asked to raise the issue by the Bush campaign and had done so "because he had heard the rumor and was concerned . . ." A Secret Service spokeswoman said the agency views the Vander Jagt remarks as "unfounded" and said there were no reports of any of their agents being involved in the story.

The whispering campaign was preceded by others, public and private, questioning Clinton's version of his draft record, his health, his marriage and his patriotism. The president, in a move widely believed by Republicans to have backfired, suggested darkly in one interview that Clinton's visit to Moscow as a Rhodes scholar was suspect. He frequently raised questions about Clinton's draft history. About the only subject he did not raise publicly was Clinton's marriage.

In the view of virtually every Republican interviewed yesterday, it was the sour economy and the perception of Bush's failure to do anything about it, as well as his inability to empathize with average Americans suffering through it, that was the major cause of his loss.

What they disagreed about was whether he could have somehow inoculated himself from a stalled economy and whether the Republican National Convention in August was the point when time actually ran out for the president.

The Houston convention remains a sore point for many Republicans and responsibility for the negative perception it projected is not something anyone has stepped forward to accept. Several Republicans official-

ly involved in it said yesterday they were following someone else's orders and that the event emerged as an anti-gay, anti-working woman, hard-right-wing interlude by mistake. "Everyone was doing this piece or that and no one was in charge of the overall portrait of what it would look like in toto to America," said one official.

While Teeter gets much of the blame, others said that his senior adviser, Charles Black, the major link to the conservative wing of the party, was the one who had argued that the "one absolute thing the convention had to do was satisfy the right-wing."

But the prevailing view among administration officials is that the genesis of Bush's fall lies much earlier, in the afterglow of the Persian Gulf War, when he ignored contrary advice and sided with then-White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu's position that it was unnecessary to engage in an activist battle with Congress over economic policy.

"In retrospect, the failure to advance an aggressive domestic and economic policy then was a basic mistake from which we never recovered," said William Kristol, Quayle's chief of staff. "All the subsequent efforts to go activist failed. It allowed Bill Clinton to portray the choice as one between change and the status quo and it denied us the credibility in saying it was a choice between two competing agendas for change."

To many Republicans unwilling to blame Bush, Sununu remains the ultimate villain. Wayne Berman, a senior adviser to the campaign who worked at the Commerce Department during Sununu's tenure in the White House, said the chief of staff "ruined" the Bush presidency by shutting the door on all calls for activist economic policy and brushing aside many "creative" policy proposals.

Sununu, he said, "ignored the continuum" which suggested that Bush was losing support because of the economy before the Gulf War and certainly after it. Sununu said many times in that period that the economy would recover and Bush's war triumph would assure his victory in any case.

But there was plenty of other blame to go around yesterday, and some did center on Bush and on White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III for being part of an old generation of Republicans who, along with Teeter, did not understand the new generation of voters, were wedded to the old verities of politics that include negative assaults, and were unwilling to listen to younger political operatives with more contemporary views of the electorate.

"As President Bush once said, 'Mistakes were made,'" said one aide, a wry reference to Bush's efforts during the Iran-contra affair to acknowledge the Reagan administration had made mistakes without saying who, exactly, had made them.

Bush's staff blamed

Offensive team waited too long

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Monday morning quarterbacking began in earnest yesterday in Republican circles, and, not surprisingly, the White House offensive team bore the brunt of the criticism.

Facing the first Republican presidential defeat since 1976, White House and Bush-Quayle '92 campaign officials laid the blame for Tuesday's landslide Electoral College defeat on President Bush's lackluster re-election effort, his fumbling campaign and the recession.

"The two words that cost the Republicans the election: the economy and the campaign," Vice President Dan Quayle told an interviewer. "Bill Clinton ran a much better campaign and the economy wasn't good."

"We didn't have as good a message on the economy as the fears that Bill Clinton raised about the economy," Republican Party Chairman Rich Bond said.

"I think, when you really boil it all down, without having had a chance to really reflect on all the data yet, is they had a better message on the economy than we did. People had more confidence in Bill Clinton to handle the economy than George Bush," said Mr. Bond, who plans to step down soon.

While many Bush aides blamed the administration's lack of ideological direction and Mr. Bush's violation of his 1988 "no new taxes" pledge, most agreed that the inability to focus the campaign and provide voters a reason to choose Mr. Bush was the key to failure.

"We never ever had a plan that would work. It was haphazard and day to day," said a senior administration official. "And it didn't work."

Even the heralded return of Secretary of State James A. Baker III to the White House did little to turn the tide other than bring discipline to the campaign operation, according to administration sources.

Sam Skinner, ousted to make room for Mr. Baker, noted shortly after the Republican convention that "now the election is his [Mr. Baker's] to lose."

Administration officials said Mr. Baker underestimated the ire of conservatives, the middle class and conservative Democrats at Mr. Bush and thought he would be able to turn the situation around by the end of September.

But by the time he entered the picture, Mr. Bush was quickly sinking in the polls and had given Mr. Clinton a massive edge the president would never be able to recover from.

Campaign and White House officials yesterday couldn't cite one event or a special period in which the president began losing the election, but instead said it was a combination of missed opportunities, missteps and the tug of war between senior campaign officials who sought an aggressive campaign and White House officials who wanted Mr. Bush to remain "presidential" for as long as possible.

The pitfalls:

- Mr. Bush failed to take advantage of his huge popularity after the Gulf war to launch a "domestic storm," aides said. Instead of using the popular mandate to push his demand for a line-item veto, a balanced-budget amendment or a cut in the capital gains tax, he sat in the White House and managed his government. "Time after time he failed us," said a senior administration official.

- The spirited challenge by conservative columnist Pat Buchanan sapped conservative support away from Mr. Bush, who did little to win it back. Instead, Mr. Bush and his aides, notably former Chief of Staff Skinner, simply warned conservatives that they had no other choice than Mr. Bush.

- Once he conceded that a recession was gripping the nation, Mr. Bush waited before coming up with a fix-it plan. And when he presented his six-point plan in the spring, it was ridiculed as being unimaginative. In addition, Mr. Bush appeared to do little to push it through Congress. "You cannot just propose an idea and then not follow it up," said a Bush aide.

- The president waited too long to get into the campaign. "For a long time I decided I wouldn't get in the arena. . . . Some thought it was a little late. I've had some criticism of that from my own party," he said last week on CNN's "Larry King Live."

- The formation of Bush-Quayle '92 was delayed until late last year, long after Mr. Bush has sunk in the polls and become the butt of Democratic jokes.

- The recruitment of Mr. Baker didn't revitalize the campaign as expected. Instead, the campaign looked like a repeat of the negative attack on Michael Dukakis in 1988.

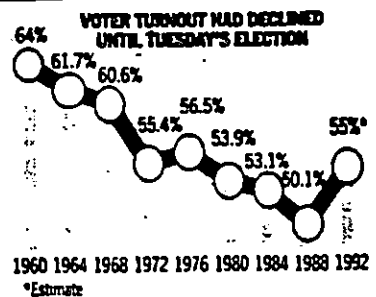
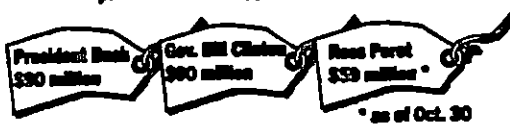
- Neither the campaign nor the White House produced any imaginative ideas to lure new voters to the Republican ticket.

DATE: 11-5-92
PAGE: 15

THE 1992 ELECTION

CLINTON, BUSH AND PEROT IN HISTORY

THE PRICE TAG
Spending by the three major candidates for president, in round terms, including primaries where applicable:



CLINTON

Democrat Bill Clinton yesterday won a victory similar to that of Richard Nixon in 1968. As in that three-way contest, Clinton won less than 45 percent of the popular vote yet took a solid majority of the electoral college.



PRESIDENTIAL WINNERS SINCE 1920 (Ranked by percent of vote)

Winner	Year	% vote	States won	Electoral votes
Roosevelt	1936	61	46	523
Johnson	1964	61	44	486
Nixon	1972	61	37	520
Harding	1920	60	37	404
Reagan	1984	59	49	525
Hoover	1928	58	40	444
Roosevelt	1932	57	42	472
Eisenhower	1956	57	41	457
Roosevelt	1940	55	39	449
Eisenhower	1952	55	39	442
Coolidge	1924	54	35	382
Bush	1988	53	40	426
Roosevelt	1944	53	36	432
Reagan	1980	51	44	489
Truman	1948	50	29	303
Carter	1976	50	26	297
Kennedy	1960	50	27	303
Nixon	1968	43	32	301
Clinton	1992	43	32	370

MINORITY PRESIDENTS

...and Clinton became the 14th president elected with less than 50 percent of the vote.
(Ranked by percent of vote)

Percent	Name	Year
49.72	Kennedy	1960
49.54	Poin	1844
49.52	Truman	1948
49.24	Wilson	1916
48.50	Cleveland	1884
48.27	Garfield	1880
47.95	Hayes *	1876
47.82	Harrison *	1888
47.28	Taylor	1848
46.05	Cleveland	1892
45.28	Buchanan	1856
43.42	Nixon	1968
43.29	Clinton	1992
41.84	Wilson	1912
39.82	Lincoln	1860
30.92	Adams *	1824

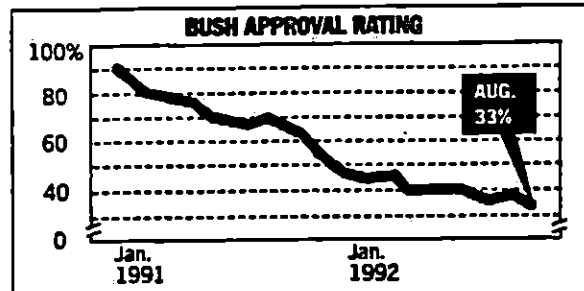
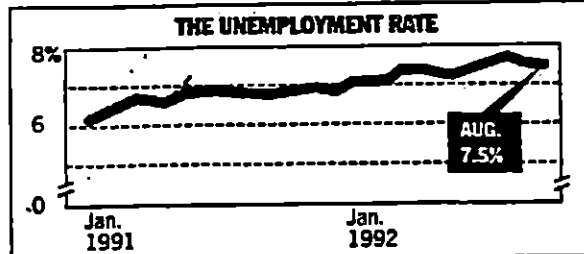
* Trilled opponents in popular vote.

NOTE: Woodrow Wilson and Grover Cleveland were two-time minority presidents.

—Compiled by Jeannette Bellevue, Barbara J. Saffir, Mark Stencel

SOURCES: America Votes, Gallup Poll, Commerce Department, Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections, "Facts About the Presidents"

BUSH



Had Bush won, it would have been the greatest comeback in U.S. political history—even greater than that by Harry Truman: (Based on August polling figures, final results. Winner in bold.)

Year	Aug.	Nov.	Aug.	Nov.
1992	Bush 34%	39%	Clinton 60%	43%
1960	Nixon 50	49	Kennedy 44	49
1948	Dewey 48	45	Truman 37	50

President Bush yesterday became the ninth incumbent president in U.S. history to be defeated for reelection. His approval rating plunged as the Persian Gulf War victory receded in public memory and the economy stagnated.



SITTING PRESIDENTS DEFEATED IN THE GENERAL ELECTION:

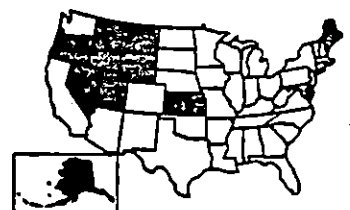
PRESIDENT	YEAR
John Quincy Adams	1828
Martin Van Buren	1840
Grover Cleveland	1888
Benjamin Harrison	1892
William Howard Taft	1912
Herbert Hoover	1932
Gerald R. Ford	1976
Jimmy Carter	1980
George Bush	1992

PEROT

Ross Perot won the highest number of votes ever for an independent or third-party candidate and the highest percentage since Theodore Roosevelt. Only nine independent or third-party candidates have ever received more than a million votes.



25% or more voted for Perot



Maine	30%
Utah*	29%
Alaska	28%
Idaho	28%
Kansas	27%
Nevada	27%
Montana	26%
Wyoming	26%
Oregon	24%

*Placed second, to Bush

(Ranked by popular vote totals)

YEAR	Candidate	Party	Popular vote	%	Electoral vote	%
1992	Ross Perot	none	19,237,247	19	0 of 538	0
1968	George C. Wallace	American Independent	9,901,151	13	46 of 538	8
1980	John B. Anderson	National Unity	5,720,060	6	0 of 538	0
1924	Robert M. LaFollette	Progressive	4,814,050	16	13 of 531	24
1912	Theodore Roosevelt	Progressive	3,119,207	27	88 of 531	16
1948	Strom Thurmond	States' Rights Democrat	1,169,134	2	39 of 531	7
1948	Henry Wallace	Progressive	1,157,087	2	0 of 531	0
1972	John G. Schmitz	American	1,090,673	1	0 of 538	0
1892	James B. Weaver	People's	1,102,280	8	22 of 444	5

STATE-BY-STATE RESULTS

Unofficial returns. The first column of numbers is votes received; the second column is the percentage of vote received (may not total 100 because of rounding).
✓ Denotes the winner of the state

ALABAMA (99% OF VOTES COUNTED)		
✓ Clinton	686,571	41%
✓ Bush	798,439	48
Perot	180,514	11
ALASKA (99%)		
Clinton	63,498	32%
✓ Bush	81,875	41
Perot	55,085	27
ARIZONA (99%)		
Clinton	525,031	37%
✓ Bush	548,148	39
Perot	341,148	24
ARKANSAS (99%)		
✓ Clinton	498,548	54%
Bush	333,909	36
Perot	98,215	11
CALIFORNIA (100%)		
✓ Clinton	4,815,039	47%
Bush	3,341,726	32
Perot	2,147,409	21
COLORADO (99%)		
✓ Clinton	626,207	40%
Bush	557,706	36
Perot	362,813	23
CONNECTICUT (100%)		
✓ Clinton	680,276	42%
Bush	575,778	36
Perot	347,638	22
DELAWARE (100%)		
✓ Clinton	125,997	44%
Bush	102,436	36
Perot	59,061	21
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (100%)		
✓ Clinton	186,301	86%
Bush	19,813	9
Perot	9,284	4
FLORIDA (100%)		
Clinton	2,051,845	39%
✓ Bush	2,137,752	41
Perot	1,041,607	20
GEORGIA (99%)		
✓ Clinton	1,005,889	44%
Bush	989,804	43
Perot	307,857	13
HAWAII (100%)		
✓ Clinton	178,893	49%
Bush	136,430	37
Perot	52,863	14
IDAHO (99%)		
Clinton	136,249	29%
✓ Bush	201,787	43
Perot	129,897	28
ILLINOIS (99%)		
✓ Clinton	2,379,510	48%
Bush	1,718,190	35
Perot	832,484	17
INDIANA (99%)		
Clinton	829,176	37%
✓ Bush	970,457	43
Perot	448,431	20
IOWA (100%)		
✓ Clinton	583,669	44%
Bush	503,077	38
Perot	251,795	19
KANSAS (100%)		
Clinton	386,832	34%
✓ Bush	444,599	39
Perot	310,458	27
KENTUCKY (100%)		
✓ Clinton	664,746	45%
Bush	616,517	42
Perot	253,682	14
LOUISIANA (99%)		
✓ Clinton	815,305	46%
Bush	729,880	42
Perot	210,604	12
MAINE (100%)		
✓ Clinton	261,859	39%
Bush	207,122	31
Perot	205,076	30
MARYLAND (100%)		
✓ Clinton	941,979	50%
Bush	671,609	36
Perot	271,198	14
MASSACHUSETTS (100%)		
✓ Clinton	1,315,016	48%
Bush	804,534	29
Perot	630,440	23
MICHIGAN (99%)		
✓ Clinton	1,858,275	44%
Bush	1,587,105	37
Perot	820,855	19
MINNESOTA (97%)		
✓ Clinton	998,552	44%
Bush	737,649	32
Perot	552,705	24
MISSISSIPPI (99%)		
Clinton	392,929	41%
✓ Bush	481,583	50
Perot	84,496	9

ELECTION

1992

RESULTS AT A GLANCE

The Presidency

ELECTORAL VOTE

Clinton:	370	Bush:	168
----------	-----	-------	-----



The Congress

SENATE PARTY CONTROL

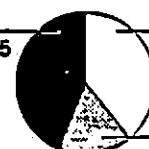
Democrats:	57
Republicans:	42
RUNOFF IN GEORGIA	1

HOUSE PARTY CONTROL

Democrats:	255
Republicans:	173
Independent:	1
INCOMPLETE RESULTS	6

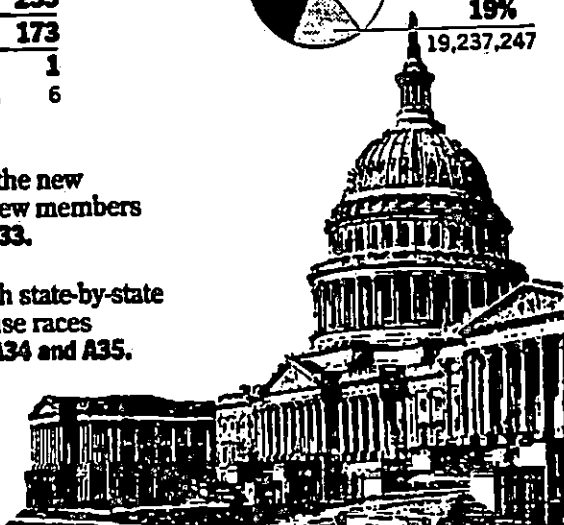
POPULAR VOTE

Clinton:	43%	Bush:	38%	Perot:	19%
43,728,375		38,167,416		19,237,247	



A profile listing of the new Congress and its new members appears on Page A33.

A national map with state-by-state roundup of all House races appears on Pages A34 and A35.



The Post's coverage of Election 1992 appears in two sections:

MISSOURI (100%)		
✓ Clinton	1,053,040	44%
Bush	811,057	34
Perot	518,250	22
MONTANA (100%)		
✓ Clinton	153,899	38%
Bush	143,702	36
Perot	106,869	26
NEBRASKA (100%)		
Clinton	214,064	30%
✓ Bush	339,108	47
Perot	172,043	24
NEVADA (99%)		
✓ Clinton	185,401	38%
Bush	171,378	35
Perot	129,532	27
NEW HAMPSHIRE (100%)		
✓ Clinton	207,264	39%
Bush	199,623	38
Perot	120,029	23
NEW JERSEY (99%)		
✓ Clinton	1,366,609	43%
Bush	1,309,724	41
Perot	505,698	16
NEW MEXICO (99%)		
✓ Clinton	259,500	46%
Bush	212,393	38
Perot	91,539	16
NEW YORK (99%)		
✓ Clinton	3,246,787	50%
Bush	2,241,283	34
Perot	1,029,038	16
NORTH CAROLINA (99%)		
Clinton	1,103,716	43%
✓ Bush	1,122,608	44
Perot	353,845	14
NORTH DAKOTA (100%)		
Clinton	98,927	32%
✓ Bush	135,498	44
Perot	70,806	23
OHIO (100%)		
✓ Clinton	1,965,204	40%
Bush	1,876,445	39
Perot	1,024,598	21
OKLAHOMA (100%)		
Clinton	473,066	34%
✓ Bush	592,929	43
Perot	319,978	23
OREGON (98%)		
✓ Clinton	525,123	43%
Bush	394,356	32
Perot	307,860	25

PENNSYLVANIA (99%)		
✓ Clinton	2,224,897	45%
Bush	1,778,221	36
Perot	896,177	18
RHODE ISLAND (99%)		
✓ Clinton	198,924	48%
Bush	121,916	29
Perot	94,757	23
SOUTH CAROLINA (99%)		
Clinton	476,626	40%
✓ Bush	573,231	48
Perot	138,140	12
SOUTH DAKOTA (100%)		
Clinton	124,861	37%
✓ Bush	136,671	41
Perot	73,297	22
TENNESSEE (100%)		
✓ Clinton	933,620	47%
Bush	840,899	43
Perot	199,787	10
TEXAS (99%)		
Clinton	2,279,269	37%
✓ Bush	2,460,334	40
Perot	1,349,947	22
UTAH (100%)		
Clinton	182,850	26%
✓ Bush	320,559	45
Perot	202,605	29
VERMONT (99%)		
✓ Clinton	125,803	46%
Bush	85,512	31
Perot	61,510	23
VIRGINIA (99%)		
Clinton	1,034,781	41%
✓ Bush	1,147,226	45
Perot	344,852	14
WASHINGTON (99%)		
✓ Clinton	855,710	44%
Bush	609,912	32
Perot	470,239	24
WEST VIRGINIA (100%)		
✓ Clinton	326,936	49%
Bush	239,103	36
Perot	106,367	16
WISCONSIN (100%)		
✓ Clinton	1,035,943	41%
Bush	926,245	37
Perot	542,660	22
WYOMING (100%)		
Clinton	67,863	34%
✓ Bush	79,558	40
Perot	51,209	26

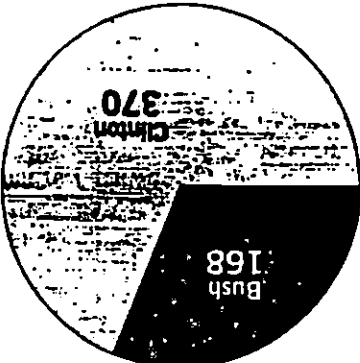
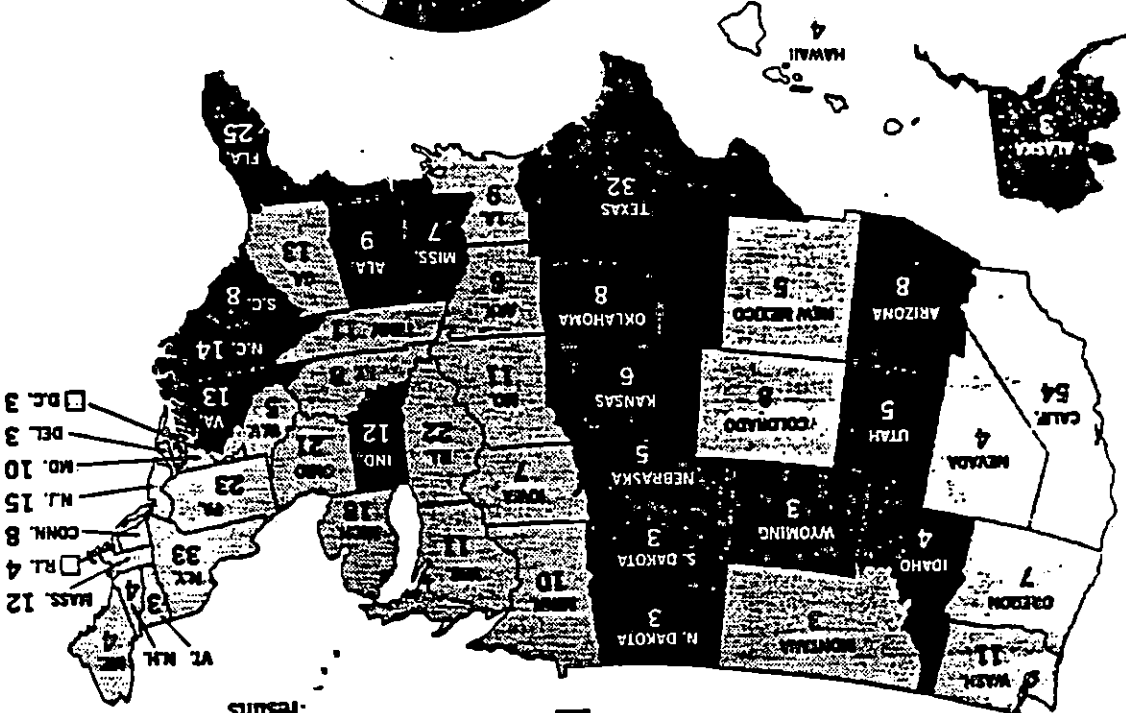
PRESIDENT



THE NATIONAL OUTLOOK

Unofficial returns. Here's who won each state, and its electoral votes.

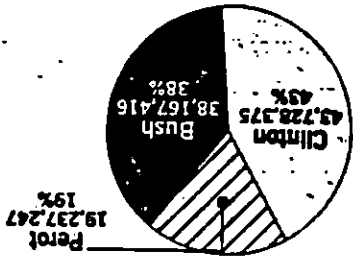
- George Bush (R)
- Bill Clinton (D)
- Ross Perot (Ind.)
- incomplete
- results



THE ELECTORAL VOTE
Unofficial returns. The winner of a state's popular vote is awarded all the electoral votes from that state. To win, 270 electoral votes are needed.

THE POPULAR VOTE

Unofficial returns.



HOW THE WASHINGTON AREA VOTED

JURISDICTION (RETURNS)	BUSH	CLINTON	PEROT
District (100%)	19,813	186,301	9,284
MARYLAND			
Montgomery County (100%)	107,996	185,959	39,946
Prince George's County (100%)	60,065	163,723	22,580
Howard County (100%)	50,170	117,763	15,464
Anne Arundel County (100%)	77,203	65,183	33,922
Calverton (100%)	18,423	19,817	8,261
VERMONT			
Franklin County (100%)	26,371	47,739	7,927
Washington County (100%)	18,460	13,648	7,109
Cheshire County (100%)	35,430	25,487	12,072

THE SOUTHWEST

In a year of discontent with the Republicans' stewardship of the White House, voters in the traditionally conservative Southwest rewarded President Bush with all but five of their 53 electoral votes and returned two Republican incumbents to the Senate.

However, Democrats in the four southwestern states—Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona—increased slightly their representation in the House, adding four seats to their current 25 with the help of retirements and redistricting, while Republicans in the House stayed even with 16 seats.

Democrats fared best in vote-heavy Texas, which last voted Democratic in a presidential contest in 1976. But they also held their own in House races in strongly conservative states such as Arizona, where they matched the Republicans' three seats, and Oklahoma, where they retained all four of their places in Congress.

Incumbents in the Southwest, including those tainted by the House Bank overdraft scandal, showed little evidence of the predicted anti-Washington voter backlash against sitting lawmakers.

Only two of 41 incumbents representing the region—one in Texas and one in Arizona—were rejected by the voters. One of them, Rep. Albert G. Bustamante (D-Tex.), said after conceding defeat, "I guess I'll go home and pull weeds in my garden."

ARIZONA

■ The closeness of the presidential race in Arizona was a measure of Bush's weakness nationwide.

In this traditional home of conservative Republicanism, Bush barely defeated Clinton, 39 percent to 37 percent, to take Arizona's eight electoral votes. The president's lead had been considered tenuous enough to warrant a visit from former president Ronald Reagan late last week. Perot's unusually strong showing, with 24 percent of the popular vote, suggested a discontent with the status quo that was reflected only spottily in congressional voting.

Sen. John McCain (R), one of the "Keating Five" whose relationships with a savings and loan executive were the subject of an ethics investigation, easily outpolled Claire Sargent, the Democratic nominee. Evan Mecham, a Republican governor who was impeached and removed in 1988, came in third, with 11 percent of the vote.

The House delegation, now lopsided with four Republicans and one Democrat, will be one seat larger and evenly split between the parties next session.

Sam Coppersmith, a Democratic lawyer from Phoenix, ousted Rep. John J. Rhodes III, the Republican incumbent who was nearly defeated in the primary.

In the newly created 6th District, Karan English, a Democratic first-term state senator, handily defeated Doug Wead, an Assemblies of God minister who moved to Arizona two years ago after serving as liaison to the religious right for Bush.

The four other incumbents—three Republicans and one Democrat—were reelected.

NEW MEXICO

■ New Mexico, which had voted for Republican presidential candidates for the last 28 years, this year gave its five electoral votes to Clinton, thanks in part to the Democrat's strong showing among Hispanics.

Despite last-minute campaigning from Reagan, Bush got only 37 percent of the popular vote. Clinton, who included New Mexico in his cross-country blitz the morning before the election, took 46 percent, and Perot, 17 percent.

There was not, however, any detectable anti-incumbent mood in the House elections. All three members of the delegation—two Republicans and one Democrat—kept their seats, with margins of victory ranging from 12 percent to 37 percent. Neither senator, nor the governor, was up for reelection.

OKLAHOMA

■ There were few surprises in Oklahoma, which has not voted Democratic in a presidential contest since 1964 and whose eight electoral votes were written off early by the Clinton campaign in this traditionally conservative state.

Bush captured 43 percent of the vote, a 9 percent advantage over Clinton, while Perot's 23 percent fell only 11 points off the Democratic president-elect's mark.

Sen. Don Nickles (R), who felt secure enough in his bid for a third term to accept the fractious role of chairman of the Republican platform committee, rolled up a 59 percent to 38 percent victory over his Democratic challenger, former state representative Steve Lewis. Nickles increased his margin by 4 percentage points over his last Senate reelection bid.

None of the five incumbents in the state's six congressional districts was ousted, and the current House split of four Democrats and two Republicans was retained.

With redistricting making Tulsa County's 1st District even more Republican this year, Rep. James M. Inhofe (R) overcame personal financial difficulties and won a 53 percent to 47 percent victory over Democrat John Selph, a Tulsa County commissioner with strong ties to the business community.

TEXAS

■ Texas gave its 32 electoral votes to Bush, as expected, but by a much narrower margin than the president, who outspent Clinton on direct media outlays by \$3.5 million to a meager \$50,000, might have anticipated.

The narrowness of Bush's 40 percent to 37 percent edge was attributed to Perot's 22 percent showing in his home state, drawn largely from the vote-heavy Dallas-Fort Worth corridor, and in Houston, where Bush had rolled up comfortable pluralities four years ago.

In Texas's 30 House races, Democrats captured 21 seats to nine for Republican candidates, a net gain of two seats that resulted, in part, from the addition of three congressional seats in redistricting aimed at achieving more equitable vote balances for Democratic Party-leaning Hispanics.

In the face of nationwide anti-Washington and anti-incumbent pre-election fever, sitting House members were reelected in 26 of the state's 27 existing congressional districts, with Rep. Albert G. Bustamante (D) being the only incumbent casualty, in the San Antonio-Laredo 23rd District.

Bustamante, who has represented his poor, mostly Hispanic border district since 1985, was defeated, 61 percent to 39 percent, by Republican Henry Bonilla, a Hispanic television executive who focused voter attention on Bustamante's House Bank overdrafts and on an as yet inconclusive three-year investigation of Bustamante by a federal grand jury.

However, other Democratic incumbents endangered by alleged improprieties, including Reps. Ronald D. Coleman and Charles Wilson, were reelected by comfortable margins.

—William Claiborne, David Brown and Elizabeth Hudson

THE PLAINS

The forces of electoral change hit a windbreak Tuesday in the Great Plains states.

Just as they have in every presidential election since 1968, voters in Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota stuck with the Republican nominee, giving President Bush the region's 17 electoral votes. But they also gave independent presidential candidate Ross Perot one in four votes.

These heartland agricultural states also largely stuck with the status quo down the ballot. Though they passed congressional term-limit initiatives in Nebraska, South Dakota and North Dakota, voters in the region reelected every congressional incumbent on the ballot. Incumbent senators prevailed in Kansas and South Dakota, and in North Dakota, a longtime House member won an open Senate seat. All eight incumbent House members will return for another term.

Only one major office changed hands, a North Dakota voters turned their governorship over to the GOP.

NORTH DAKOTA

■ North Dakotans came out heavily in support of Bush with 45 percent voting for the GOP ticket. Clinton got 32 percent of the vote and Perot came in third with 23 percent. Breaking with its recent tradition of voting Democratic for governor, voters elected Republican businessman Edward T. Schafer over Democratic Attorney General Nicholas Späth. Schafer replaces Gov. George A. Sinner (D), who did not seek a third four-year term.

Democrat Byron L. Dorgan, for 12 years the state's House member, easily won the Senate seat vacated by Democrat Ker Conrad. State Insurance Commissioner Ed Pomeroy, a Democrat, won the House seat.

North Dakotans go to the polls again in December, to fill the seat of the late Sen. Quentin N. Burdick (D). Conrad, who retired from the Senate after one term—said he felt obliged to honor a campaign pledge to leave if he had not reduced the federal budget deficit—has responded to party entreaties to seek Burdick's seat.

■ The Democrats threatened in the GOP bastion, but Bush kept it the Republican column with 39 percent of the vote, thanks in part to Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole, who defeated challenger Gloria O'Dell by a 2-1 ratio in winning his fifth term. Clinton came in with 34 percent of the vote and Perot took 27 percent.

Republican House members Pat Roberts and Jan Meyers and Democratic members Jim Slattery and Dan Glickman all won reelection by handsome margins, although Democrats had worried about Glickman. The eight-term member not only had the burden of 107 overdrafts from the House Bank, but had been targeted for defeat by the local cable television industry because of his support for the cable reregulation bill.

NEBRASKA

■ Bush came in with one of his best showings in Nebraska, garnering 47 percent of the vote to Clinton's 30 percent and about 24 percent for Perot.

With the exception of Democratic Rep. Peter Hoagland, whose fate always seems to be determined late into the night in his fiercely contested Omaha district, incumbents had an easy time.

Rep. Doug Bereuter (R), was reelected to an eighth term in his eastern district, defeating Democratic financial planner Gerry Finnegan. Freshman Republican Bill Barrett, the oldest member of the 1990 class in the House, won another term in his vast western Nebraska district, beating Democrat Lowell Fisher, a cattle rancher.

Hoagland eked out a third term by beating Republican former county attorney Ronald L. Staskiewicz by less than 6,000 votes.

SOUTH DAKOTA

■ In South Dakota, voters came out for Bush with 41 percent voting Republican, 37 percent voting for Clinton and 22 percent for Perot. Sen. Tom Daschle (D) won a second Senate term with a 2-1 ratio over Republican challenger Charlene Haar, the only woman to win a GOP nomination for Senate this year. Rep. Tim Johnson (D) won his fourth term.

South Dakotans refused to enact income and corporate taxes, vetoed a proposal for a landfill to handle out-of-state garbage and retained a three-year old video lottery. South Dakotans passed a referendum calling for term limits of 12 years for members of the House and Senate.

—Tom Kenworthy and Spencer Rich

THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Not since Lyndon B. Johnson was reelected in a landslide 28 years ago has a Democratic presidential candidate won a Rocky Mountain state. But in this fiercely independent region, Clinton took Colorado, Montana and Nevada. Bush held onto Utah, Idaho and Wyoming, where he had registered some of his most impressive margins in 1988.

It was also Perot country. The independent enjoyed his most solid support here, capturing more than a quarter of the votes in five of the six states, running second to Bush in Utah with 29 percent of the vote. Perot ran stronger in Utah than anywhere else except Maine. His poorest showing in the region, 23 percent in Colorado, was still well above the national average.

In Colorado, Clinton's four-point victory over Bush delighted Democrats like Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D). "I've never seen so many happy faces," she told Associated Press. Republican State Chairman Bruce Benson said Bush's campaign in the state "started coming apart" last weekend, in part because of renewed questions over the president's role in the Iran-contra scandal.

Colorado was the site of a closely watched congressional race, in which Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D), an American Indian, was elected to the Senate.

The region became a battleground over the issue of incumbency, and even freshman members of Congress had to combat the notion that they were "insiders." Abortion was also a key issue, especially in the Colorado Senate race and the gubernatorial contest in Montana.

COLORADO

■ This unpredictable state, which traditionally supports Republicans for presidents and sends both staunch conservatives and liberals to Washington, ran true to form.

The Senate seat vacated by retiring Timothy E. Wirth (D) stayed in the Democratic column with Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell's resounding defeat of former state senator Terry Considine (R). Campbell, a 59-year-old rancher and designer of Indian jewelry, attributed his hard-won victory to female voters. Campbell supports abortion rights; Considine strongly opposes them.

Considine, who had pushed through term limitations in Colorado, furiously attacked Campbell for missing committee votes in the House and taking a free trip to Alaska.

Colorado voters adopted a controversial measure banning state and local governments from enacting gay rights legislation. Gov. Roy Romer (D) strongly opposed the ban, which rescinded existing gay rights protections in Boulder, Aspen and Denver.

"It is not you who are gay and lesbian who have lost the fight," said Romer after the vote, according to news services. "It is all of Colorado."

In another controversial measure, Coloradans soundly rejected a school choice program similar to a national plan proposed by the Bush administration. Under the program, parents would receive vouchers they could put toward the cost of sending their children to any public or private school.

In the House race to fill the seat va-

cated by Campbell, state Rep. Scott McInnis (R) easily defeated Lt. Gov. Mike Callahan (D).

IDAHO

■ One of the states considered most likely to vote Republican for president, Idaho held no surprises, giving Bush 43 percent to Clinton's 29 percent and Perot's 28 percent. For Bush, this was a sharp drop from his 1988 tally of 62 percent.

Republicans retained the Senate seat vacated by retiring Steve Symms (R). Republicans had feared they might lose one of their two Senate seats, but Dirk Kempthorne (R), the mayor of Boise who campaigned against Washington insiders, came from behind to defeat Rep. Richard Stallings (D), a former college professor who opposed gun control and abortion.

"I'm not going to go back there and just become part of a bunch of finger-pointers," Kempthorne told the press Tuesday.

In House races, Michael D. Crapo (R), who has served as president of the state Senate, won the open seat vacated by Stallings. He defeated state auditor J.D. Williams (D).

And incumbent Rep. Larry LaRocco (D) prevailed over former state Sen. Rachel S. Gilbert (R), who contended that the freshman LaRocco had become an "instant insider" in Washington.

MONTANA

■ Clinton, who had run a strong media campaign in Montana, edged Bush 38 to 35 percent, while Perot claimed 26 percent of the vote.

Like other female gubernatorial candidates across the country, state Rep. Dorothy Bradley (D) was defeated, losing her bid to become Montana's first female governor to state Attorney General Marc Racicot (R).

The tight race to succeed retiring Republican Gov. Stan Stephens turned highly negative, especially in the final hours. "This was an anguishing experience," Racicot said at his victory party.

Both candidates favored a new 4 percent state sales tax, but fought over the best way to spend the new revenue in a state with chronic fiscal problems. Abortion also figured prominently, with Bradley taking a pro-choice stance and Racicot firmly opposed to abortion rights.

Montana was one of 14 states to consider and adopt a measure limited the number of years elected officials can serve.

The most closely watched race was the hotly contested battle between two congressional incumbents forced to face each other after the state lost one of its two House seats through reapportionment. By a slight margin, Rep. Pat Williams (D) defeated staunch conservative Rep. Ron Marlenee (R).

The candidates took virtually opposite positions on many issues, including abortion, labor and wilderness preservation. Williams's election could clear the way for the state to resolve what has been a two-decade-old dispute over the wilderness issue.

NEVADA

■ History suggested that Nevada would go Republican like its Rocky Mountain neigh-

bors, but Clinton skidded by, winning with a margin of about 6,200 votes.

Voters also gave Sen. Harry Reid (D) a second term, rejecting Republican rancher Demar Dahl, a political unknown who ran an anti-incumbency campaign.

Nearly 13,000 people—three percent of voters—rejected all Senate candidates and chose "none of these."

In House races, Nevada voters returned two incumbents, although the challengers campaigned hard on anti-"insider" themes.

Reno Mayor Pete Sferazza (D) attacked Rep. Barbara Vucanovich (R) for supporting a congressional pay raise and accepting out-of-state political action contributions. But Vucanovich, who held a slight margin with results in from all but one county, countered that Sferazza was himself a career politician who backed pay raises for city government workers, including himself.

Rep. James Bilbray (D) successfully fended off attacks from state Rep. Jimmy Coy Pettyjohn (R), despite Pettyjohn's support from some well-known Republicans including Utah Sen. Orrin G. Hatch.

UTAH

■ In a state where Republicans outnumber Democrats 2 to 1, Bush seized 46 percent of the vote, a lackluster finish compared with his 72 percent in 1988.

Tuesday's turnout—82 percent of registered voters—was the highest in Utah history.

Insurance executive Mike Leavitt (R) prevailed in a three-way race to succeed retiring Gov. Norman H. Bangerter, also a Republican. A third-party candidate, Merrill Cook, finished second and Democrat Stewart Hanson, a lawyer, received less than a quarter of the votes.

Utah voters haven't elected a Democratic senator in more than 20 years, and this year was no different. Robert Bennett (R), a millionaire making his first run for public office, trounced Rep. Wayne Owens (D) with advertising that focused on Owens's 87 overdrafts at the House Bank.

State Sen. Karen Shepherd (D) prevailed in a tough House race against another female candidate, lawyer Enid Greene (R), to keep the seat vacated by Owens in Democratic hands. As expected, incumbents held onto the state's other two House seats.

WYOMING

■ Despite pre-election polls that showed Clinton leading in the state, 40 percent of Wyoming voters chose Bush, while 34 percent settled on Clinton and 26 percent on Perot.

Voters approved a measure limiting the terms of elected officials, with the number of years in office capped at six for House members and 12 for members of the Senate.

Incumbent Rep. Craig Thomas (R) easily beat back Democratic challenger Jon Herschler, an eye surgeon who moved to Wyoming only a few years ago. Herschler focused his campaign on health care; Thomas advocated term limitations as a cure for congressional paralysis.

—Barbara Vobejda and Sharon LaFraniere

THE PACIFIC

Clinton swept the Pacific states with some of the largest regional margins of victory over Bush, who won only Alaska. Perot's strongest showings also came here, where he won more than 20 percent of the popular vote in all but Hawaii. Alaska, as expected, was among states with the highest percentage of votes for Perot.

Nowhere was "The Year of the Woman" more visible than on the West Coast, where California's two Senate seats went to Democrats Dianne Feinstein, the former San Francisco mayor, and Rep. Barbara Boxer. Washington's Patty Murray also rode to a Senate victory on the tide of discontent among female voters angered by the treatment accorded Anita F. Hill during testimony last year before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Five other women were elected to new or open House seats in California, joining two female incumbents. Washington's lone female incumbent will be joined by two new members who won open seats. Oregon's only open seat went to a woman, and one of the two House members from Hawaii is a woman.

As usual, ballot initiatives were numerous. Congressional term limits were approved in California, Oregon and Washington. A bitterly divisive anti-gay measure was defeated in Oregon, as was a California proposal to allow physicians to help the terminally ill commit suicide.

The House Bank scandal, which played a factor in the retirement of a record number of members of Congress this year, did not ultimately lose elections for incumbents with overdraft records.

ALASKA

■ Bush carried Alaska, although he made his concession speech one hour before polls closed there. Republicans held their ground in the Senate, with incumbent Sen. Frank H. Murkowski winning a third term over Tony Smith. Rep. Don Young pulled ahead in his tight race against former Valdez mayor John S. Devens. Observers said Young benefited from his televised apology early in his race for being "abrasive and arrogant."

CALIFORNIA

■ Women made history in the nation's most populous state, where two Democrats, Rep. Barbara Boxer and former San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein, were victorious in Senate races.

Their triumphs, along with House victories for two incumbents and five newcomers who are women, came as Clinton swept to a huge victory in the state, taking its 54 electoral votes. But the anti-incumbent mood that helped boost Clinton did not materialize in congressional races, despite voter disgust with the House Bank scandal and the state's struggling economy.

In Senate races, Boxer overcame a campaign dead heat and her 143 overdrafts at the House Bank to beat Reaganite conservative Bruce Herschensohn (R), a television commentator and former Nixon administration aide, for the six-year seat being vacated by Sen. Alan Cranston (D).

Feinstein, who held a lead of 14 percentage points before the election over less well-known Sen. John Seymour, won the seat vacated by now-Gov. Pete Wilson (R). She will serve a two-year term.

Speaking to her supporters in San Francisco late Tuesday night, Feinstein played up the dual win. "We will be the Cagney Lacey, one-two punch for the state of California," she said. "So Washington, ready or not, here we come."

In House races, California gained seven seats in redistricting after the 1990 census increasing the delegation to 52. Although Republicans apparently won five of those new seats, it was not enough to overtake the Democratic majority, which increased by five and stands at 31 to 21.

Two members of the House Democratic leadership were reelected. Rep. Vic Fazio, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, beat conservative Republican H.L. Richardson in the reshaped 3rd District. In the San Bernardino area, Rep. George E. Brown Jr., chairman of the Science, Space and Technology Committee, trounced Dick Rutan, a retired Air Force lieutenant colonel, in a redrawn district.

One incumbent, Republican Rep. Frank D. Riggs of the Eureka district, was defeated. Another, Democratic Rep. Richard H. Lehman of the Central Valley district around Fresno, held a lead of less than a percentage point over Republican Tai Cloud in what may be one of three California House races recounted after absentee ballots are tallied.

The other close races include a new district that encompasses the southern Sacramento area and the northern San Joaquin Valley, where Democrat Patricia Garamendi, wife of the state's high-profile insurance commissioner, apparently lost to Republican rancher Richard Pombo by about half a percentage point.

In the Riverside County area of Southern California, Democrat Mark Takano, a Japanese-American junior high school teacher, apparently defeated Republican Kenneth Calvert by about seven-tenths of a percentage point.

Women won in five new or open districts, and the two female incumbents, Rep. Maxine Waters of the south-central Los Angeles district and Rep. Nancy Pelosi of the Berkeley district, won by huge margins. The number of women in the state's delegation increased from three of 45 to seven of 52.

California is home to two of six new Hispanic House members, both the beneficiaries of the coattails of retiring Rep. Edward R. Roybal. In the East Los Angeles/Pasadena district created with 40 percent of Roybal's constituents, Roybal's daughter, state Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard, easily defeated Republican Robert Guzman, an educational consultant. In an adjacent east-central Los Angeles district with the remainder of the senior Roybal's constituents, state Rep. Xavier Becerra won a resounding victory over Republican Morry Waksberg, an ophthalmologist.

In a closely watched race, an upset by Democrat Anita Perez Ferguson, another Hispanic, did not materialize as Republican Rep. Elton Gallegly won comfortably. Another upset possibility also fizzled in San Diego. Republican Rep. Duncan Hunter's 399 overdrafts at the House Bank did not make him vulnerable, and Democratic challenger Janet Gastil, a schoolteacher, lost.

Boxer's 6th District seat in Sonoma and Marin counties went easily to Vice Mayor Lynn Woolsey, a Democrat, whose opponent, state Rep. Bill Filante, has a brain tumor that prevented him from campaigning.

Like voters in the 13 other states with such a proposal, Californians passed a ballot meas-

ure calling for limits on the terms of elected officials. They rejected an effort to make employers pay for health care and said no to 25 percent cuts in welfare benefits and to doctor-assisted suicide.

HAWAII

■ Clinton trounced Bush by one of the widest margins in the country, and Democratic congressional incumbents retained their seats. Five-term Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D) survived a last-minute charge that he had sexually harassed his hair stylist 17 years ago, an allegation first aired during a television ad by his opponent, state Sen. Rick Reed (R). Inouye denied it. Both House Democrats, Neil Abercrombie and Patsy T. Mink, were reelected.

OREGON

■ Clinton carried Oregon, and Sen. Bob Packwood (R) won election to a fifth term over Rep. Les AuCoin (D) in a tight race voters criticized for its negative themes. Packwood spent more money than any candidate in the state's history, while AuCoin had to overcome his 83 overdrafts at the House Bank.

Peace activist Elizabeth Furse (D) will take AuCoin's seat, after beating state Treasurer Tony Meeker (R), whose opposition to abortion, pollsters believe, cost him support even as redistricting brought more Republicans into the district.

Incumbents survived in the four other House races.

A bitterly contested referendum on homosexuality failed. It asked citizens to amend the state constitution to declare homosexuality "abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse." State Rep. Gail Shibley of Portland, a lesbian, said, "I think there is hope for all of Oregon to say 'no' to bigotry, to say 'no' to prejudice."

Also defeated were two ballots proposals that would have shut down the state's only nuclear power plant immediately, rather than in four years as planned.

WASHINGTON

■ Democrats and female candidates were victorious, and voters approved term limits.

Clinton was a big winner, and state Sen. Patty Murray (D), who called herself a "mom in tennis shoes," defeated moderate Rep. Rod Chandler (R), a formidable opponent. The seat is being vacated by Sen. Brock Adams, who announced his retirement after allegations that he sexually harassed several women years ago.

"We've been a middle-class American family, and they call us the outsiders," Murray said at a victory party. "What this election is all about is making us the insiders."

Former representative Mike Lowry won the governor's mansion in a tight race with state Attorney General Ken Eikenberry.

Democrats, including House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, won eight of nine House seats, and Republicans lost two of three open seats. Chandler's vacated southern Puget Sound seat went to former Republican Party chairman Jennifer Dunn, an abortion-rights moderate from wealthy Bellevue who held a wide margin over Mercer Island business executive George O. Tamblyn.

She will be joined in the House by two other women, state Rep. Maria Cantwell (D), of Puget Sound's western and eastern area, and incumbent Rep. Jolene Unsoeld (D) in the southwest.

—Lou Cannon, Lynne Duke and Dana Priest

THE NORTHEAST

Bill Clinton swept the Northeast, winning every state from New Jersey to Maine—the first presidential candidate to do that since Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964 and only the second Democrat in history to accomplish the feat. But the region's voters went their own way in U.S. Senate and House contests and gubernatorial races, concentrating on local issues and voting out members of Congress tainted by scandal.

Independent Ross Perot ran strongly throughout the region. In Maine, where President Bush has a summer home, Perot came within a handful of votes of finishing second.

The anti-incumbent fever that swept the region a year ago seemed to have dissipated, as most incumbents who sought reelection were returned to office and voters in Vermont, Rhode Island, Maine and New Jersey endorsed the status quo.

Clinton carried New York by a wide margin, but he was unable to pass his support down to the Democratic Senate candidate, Robert Abrams, who failed by a narrow margin to oust incumbent Republican Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato.

In New Hampshire, where Perot picked up about 23 percent of the presidential vote, Clinton was unable to help Democratic Senate candidate John Rauh, who lost to Republican Gov. Judd Gregg.

Except in New York, where redistricting reshuffled the state's U.S. House delegation, most U.S. representatives throughout the region were reelected with little difficulty. But veteran Rep. Nicholas Mavroules (D-Mass.), who is under federal indictment for fraud, and Reps. Joseph D. Early (D-Mass.) and Thomas J. Downey (D-N.Y.), caught in the House bad-check scandal, were defeated.

CONNECTICUT

■ Connecticut's voters reelected all six of the state's representatives, but not without giving a scare to Rep. Sam Gejdenson, a liberal Democrat seeking a seventh term in the state's 2nd District, home to such defense contractors as General Dynamics' Electric Boat Co. Gejdenson, who swept to victory two years ago with 60 percent of the vote, this time squeaked by with a margin of about 4,000 votes out of nearly 242,500 cast after Republican candidate Edward W. Munster accused him of being a check bouncer and enjoying House perks.

In the affluent 5th District, Rep. Gary A. Franks, the House's only black Republican, won a second two-year term with about 45 percent of the vote, his opposition split between two Democrats, one running as an independent.

MAINE

■ Voters in Maine reelected both incumbent House members. In the 1st District, which includes President Bush's Kennebunkport vacation home, Democratic Rep. Thomas H. Andrews—a self-described advocate of the middle class—won a second term, turning back a challenge from conservative GOP activist Linda Bean by 2 to 1.

Washington Post

DATE: 11-5-92
PAGE: 36

In the 2nd District, veteran GOP Rep. Olympia J. Snowe survived a strong challenge from former Democratic state Rep. Patrick K. McGowan, who had lost a bid to unseat her in 1990 by only 5,000 votes. Although Snowe may have been hampered by the unpopularity of her husband, Gov. John R. McKernan Jr. (R), who has struggled with budget problems, she benefited from a divided opposition, capturing 48 percent of the votes to McGowan's 42 percent. The remaining 10 percent went to Jonathan Carter, candidate of the environmentalist Green Party.

MASSACHUSETTS

■ The equation in strongly Democratic Massachusetts was simple: The Democrats held all 10 U.S. House seats and would have retained them, except two incumbents were tainted by scandal. Rep. Joseph D. Early, who came in with the reform-minded Watergate class of 1974, was a victim of his 140 House Bank overdrafts and lost to Republican state Rep. Peter Blute. Rep. Nicholas Mavroules, who is facing a 17-count federal corruption indictment, was beaten by Republican state Rep. Peter Torkildsen.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

■ Bill Clinton will be the first president since World War II to go to the White House without winning his party's presidential New Hampshire primary—he was beaten by Paul E. Tsongas—and his narrow victory in the state Tuesday showed he still has only lukewarm support there. He won 39 percent of the vote to 38 for President Bush, and Ross Perot picked up 23 percent in the recession-wracked state.

It was the first time, too, in 80 years that New Hampshire voted to turn out a sitting Republican president.

Clinton's squeaker did little to help other Democrats on the ticket. Republican Gov. Judd Gregg narrowly defeated Democrat John Rauh, a businessman, to keep in GOP hands the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Warren B. Rudman. Former state attorney general Steve Merrill, a close associate of former White House chief of staff John H. Sununu, trounced Democratic state Rep. Deborah "Arnie" Arnesen to succeed Gregg as governor. Arnesen had pledged to seek a statewide income tax, a position that remains anathema in a conservative state.

NEW JERSEY

■ Voters in New Jersey's heavily urban 13th District, which includes Newark, Elizabeth and parts of Jersey City, elected state Sen. Robert Menendez (D) to be the state's first Hispanic U.S. representative. Running for an open seat in a district redrawn to increase Hispanics' political presence to 43 percent of the population, Menendez defeated GOP lawyer Fred J. Theemling Jr. by 2 to 1.

In two other contests for open seats, state Rep. Bob Franks, a former state Republican Party chairman, was elected to succeed retiring GOP Rep. Matthew J. Rinaldo in the 7th District, while Democrat Herbert C. Klein overcame Republican and independent opponents to claim the seat of retiring Democratic Rep. Robert A. Roe in the 8th District. In other House races, voters reelected all 10 incumbents.

NEW YORK

■ The U.S. Senate race here was by far the most bruising contest in the Northeast, and the outcome—Republican incumbent Al

fonse M. D'Amato's razor-thin victory over Democratic state Attorney General Robert Abrams—was a product of New York's unique brand of ethnic politics.

Abrams, who began as a clear favorite, lost because he was apparently deserted by parts of three key constituencies: party-line Democrats who resented his tactics against Geraldine Ferraro in the Democratic primary; Jews, who followed former New York Mayor Edward I. Koch into D'Amato's camp; and blacks, still resentful over Abrams's handling of rape allegations by a black teenager, Tawana Brawley, in the mid-1980s.

New York's U.S. House delegation will be changed substantially, largely because of redistricting, which cost the state three of its 34 seats. Of the state's 34 members in the current House, eight retired, one died and one was defeated in the primary election. On Tuesday, Rep. Bill Green (R) lost because the strongly Democratic Upper West Side of Manhattan, grafted on to his "Silk Stocking" district, supported Democratic City Councilwoman Carolyn B. Maloney.

On Long Island, Rep. Thomas J. Downey (D), who wrote 151 bad checks on the House Bank, was ousted by Republican Rick A. Lazio. But Rep. Gary L. Ackerman (D), who wrote 111 bad checks and was redistricted, survived by a narrow margin.

RHODE ISLAND

■ The Democrats had such a lock on this small, recession-plagued state that none of the three presidential candidates bothered to campaign there. Gov. Bruce Sundlun cruised to reelection over his Republican challenger, auto dealer Elizabeth Ann Leonard, and Democratic U.S. Rep. John F. Reed shrugged off Republican James W. Bell by 3 to 1. But Rep. Ronald K. Machtley (R), who wrote 21 bad checks in the House Bank scandal, also won big in what had been a traditionally Democratic district before he captured it in 1988.

Rhode Island voters approved a proposal to extend the terms of top state officials from two to four years, but limit the officeholders to two terms.

VERMONT

■ Voters in the Green Mountain State delivered a ringing endorsement of the political status quo, granting Democratic U.S. Sen. Patrick J. Leahy a fourth term, reelecting at-large Rep. Bernard Sanders, the only independent in the House of Representatives, and electing Democratic Gov. Howard Dean to a full two-year term.

Dean, elected lieutenant governor in 1990, became the state's chief executive last year on the death of Republican Gov. Richard Snelling. On Tuesday he captured about 75 percent of the vote in turning back three challengers.

Sanders, a self-described Socialist and former mayor of Burlington who was first elected to Congress in 1990, won about 60 percent of the vote against Republican Tim Philbin and Democrat Lewis E. Young. Leahy took about 55 percent of the vote against Republican Secretary of State James H. Douglas.

—Thomas W. Lippman, Gustav Niebuhr, Laurie Goodstein and Christopher B. Daly

THE MIDWEST

The industrial Midwest, although virtually swept by Clinton, emerged looking only slightly more Democratic as incumbents, with a few notable exceptions, held on to their seats.

The most closely watched race was in Illinois, where Cook County Recorder of Deeds Carol Moseley Braun (D) became the nation's first female African-American senator.

Despite high hopes, Democrats managed to gain only one Senate seat in the eight-state region, with upstart liberal state Sen. Russell D. Feingold defeating incumbent conservative GOP Sen. Robert W. Kasten Jr.

They picked up one governorship as Missouri's Lt. Gov. Mel Carnahan (D), emphasizing his abortion rights stand, defeated the state's antiabortion Attorney General William L. Webster (R) for an open post that had been held by Republicans.

But the region proved neither Clinton nor Bush had coattails. Bush won in Indiana, but incumbent Democratic Gov. Evan Bayh swept to a stunning 2 to 1 victory. Indiana's incumbent GOP Sen. Dan Coats won easily as well.

While Clinton won Missouri and Iowa, the Republicans easily held on to their Senate seats in those states.

Incumbency also proved its staying power, even in the face of controversy, as Ohio's Democratic Sen. John Glenn staved off a challenge from the state's lieutenant governor. The House Bank overdraft scandal claimed only two incumbents, Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio), who wrote 213 bad checks, and Rep. Gerry Sikorski (D-Minn.) who had 697 overdrafts.

ILLINOIS

■ Democratic Senate candidate Carol Moseley Braun's early lead seemed in danger of disappearing over mishandling of Medicaid support for her mother's nursing home care, but she recovered and scored an impressive 10-point win over her opponent, Chicago lawyer Richard Williamson.

Illinois, which gave Clinton a wide victory margin, was thought to be home to a large number of endangered incumbents, but most survived, many by huge margins. House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D), challenged by an anti-Washington candidate who listed his name as Elias R. "Non-Incumbent" Zenklich, won with 59 percent of the vote. Republican 23-year veteran Rep. Philip M. Crane, expected to face a strong challenge by factory owner Sheila A. Smith (D), sailed through with a 58 percent to 42 percent victory.

Democratic incumbent Rep. John W. Cox Jr., who beat now-Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin in 1990, was ousted handily by Republican lawyer Donald Manzullo in a traditionally Republican district.

INDIANA

■ Though it is a traditional GOP stronghold that soundly backed President Bush, Indiana handily reelected Democrat Evan Bayh as governor. Taking 63 percent of the vote, Bayh defeated Republican challenger Linley E. Pearson, Indiana's attorney general. At 36, Bayh, son of former U.S. senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind), is the nation's youngest governor.

Apparently riding Bush's coattails, Republican Steve Buyer defeated incumbent Rep. Jim Jontz (D), who was seeking a fourth term in the House. Buyer, who will be one of a handful of new GOP House members, squeaked by with 51 percent of

the vote. Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D) handily batted back a challenge from a GOP anti-abortion activist, winning his 15th term.

All other members of the House from Indiana remained unchanged and Sen. Dan Coats (R) won reelection.

Heavy campaigning in the state by Vice President Quayle, an Indiana native, earned Bush 43 percent of the state's votes, to 37 percent for Clinton. Perot garnered 20 percent.

Democrat Pamela Carter was elected to replace Pearson as attorney general, becoming the first black woman to win statewide office.

IOWA

■ Iowa voters, who four years ago spurned Bush for Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis (D), continued to give him the cold shoulder and turned to Clinton. The Arkansas governor campaigned there twice during the final days and was rewarded with 44 percent of the vote. Bush got 38 percent, and Perot came away with a 19 percent share.

Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R) coasted to a third term over state Sen. Jean Lloyd-Jones (D). Redistricting set up a battle between incumbent Reps. David R. Nagle (D) and Jim Nussle (R) who gained notoriety by putting a paper bag over his head in embarrassment over the House Bank scandal. Nussle eked out a narrow 51 to 49 percent victory. Rep. Jim Ross Lightfoot (R), who had bounced 105 checks at the House Bank, nevertheless held off a strong challenge from Iowa Secretary of State Elaine Baxter (D) by the same 2 percentage point margin.

MICHIGAN

■ Though one of the most heavily contested states in the presidential election, Michigan produced few surprises among its 18 races for House and Senate seats. In one of the strongest showings of the day, running counter to Clinton's statewide victory, Republican Peter Hoekstra won 63 percent of the vote in the 2nd Congressional District. Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R), who has represented part of the newly drawn district since 1966, lost in the primary earlier this year.

In the state's Upper Peninsula, Democrat Bart Stupak routed an attempt by Phil Ruppe, to return to office. Stupak won 55 percent of the vote in the 1st District to become one of the new Democrats in the House.

House Majority Whip David E. Bonior (D) turned back a bid by Republican Douglas Carl to unseat him, winning 55 percent of the vote. Republican Joseph Knollenberg won an open seat in the 11th District, however, defeating Walter Briggs (D) 59 to 41 percent.

Otherwise, from Rep. John D. Dingell (D) to Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D), the state's veteran lawmakers held on to their seats, and the turnout for Clinton was strong.

MINNESOTA

■ Minnesota, long regarded as one of the country's most dependable states for the Democrats, stuck with that tradition, giving Clinton 44 percent of the total votes cast. Bush was a distant second with 32 percent. Despite election-eve signs that Perot's strength was eroding, the independent challenger made one of his strongest showings in Minnesota, picking up a 24 percent share.

Clinton benefited from the affinity of Minnesota voters for liberal candidates and causes. He and Perot jointly took 68 percent of the vote, reflecting unease about the economy. The high-tech and food-processing industries in the Twin Cities have suffered from the recession, and the state's dairy and wheat farmers, have long been unhappy about the Bush's administration's attempts to trim agricultural subsidies.

In the most closely watched House race, Rep. Jerry Sikorski (D), who had 697 overdrafts at the House Bank and switched from an antiabortion to an abortion rights stance, was defeated by Rod Grams (R), a former television news anchorman and outspoken abortion foe. In the struggle for the House seat vacated by Rep. Vin Weber, an influential Republican conservative, David Minge (D) squeaked through by a handful of votes over Cal Ludeman (R).

MISSOURI

■ Democrat Mel Carnahan easily won a bid for governor of Missouri, defeating state Attorney General William L. Webster. The victory was aided by a strong statewide showing for Clinton, whose home state of Arkansas lies along Missouri's southern border.

Webster, an outspoken abortion opponent, was dogged by ties to a scandal-ridden injured worker's fund. He gained only 41 percent of the vote, to Carnahan's 59 percent. Carnahan, a 58-year-old career politician with a low-key style, is Missouri's first democratic governor since 1981.

Sen. Christopher S. Bond (R) won reelection after St. Louis County Councilwoman Geri Rothman-Serot's (D) strong bid fizzled. Rothman-Serot at first rode high on the wave of support for female candidates in the "Year of the Woman," but in the end captured only 46 percent of the vote, to Bond's 54 percent.

In House elections, Republican challenger James Talent unseated incumbent Rep. Joan Kelly Horn (D) 51 to 49 percent.

Missouri was one of 14 states to pass term limit laws. Members of the House are limited to four terms, while U.S. senators are allowed two terms under the measure.

OHIO

■ Sen. John Glenn (D), who had been thought to be in deep trouble in his closely watched bid for a fourth term, coasted to an easy 10 percentage point victory over challenger Lt. Gov. Michael DeWine (R). The 71-year-old former astronaut carried a narrow lead into the final days of the campaign and was not expected to top 50 percent.

On Tuesday he far outpaced Clinton's 1 percentage point advantage in the state.

Embattled Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D), who had 213 bad checks at the House Bank and barely survived a seven-candidate primary, was ousted by lawyer Martin R. Hoke, who won 57 percent of the vote.

Democrats picked off veteran GOP Rep. Bob McEwen, who had 166 overdrafts at the House Bank. Democratic challenger Ted Strickland, a psychology professor and three-time candidate, who lost to McEwen in 1980, appealed to anti-incumbent sentiments and squeaked by with a margin of fewer than 5,000 votes.

WISCONSIN

■ Despite a last-minute campaign blitz by Bush to make the Badger state a key part of a comeback, the Clinton forces kept Wisconsin's 11 electoral votes in the Democratic column. When the see-sawing vote count was over, Clinton had 41 percent, Bush 37 percent and Perot, continuing his strong showing in the upper Midwest, 22 percent. In addition to the presidential race, the state also turned away from the incumbent Republican Sen. Robert W. Kasten Jr., electing state Sen. Russell D. Feingold, little known outside the strongly liberal Madison area.

Feingold, who is Jewish, defeated an opponent strongly backed by American supporters of Israel. Kasten, the ranking minority member of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee that deals with foreign aid, had received almost \$143,000 in campaign funds from pro-Israel PACs.

In House races, Rep. Les Aspin (D), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, confounded reports that he might be in trouble and easily defeated Mark Neumann (R). Rep. Thomas E. Petri (R), with a large number of overdrafts at the House Bank, turned back a challenge by state Rep. Peggy A. Lautenschlager (D).

—John Goshko, Gary Lee and Al Kamen

THE MID-ATLANTIC

President-elect Clinton racked up solid victories over President Bush in the District of Columbia and four northern states of the Mid-Atlantic region. Clinton lost traditionally conservative Virginia and North Carolina in an election that resulted in historic gains for minorities and women in several congressional races.

Independent candidate Ross Perot fell below his national average in all but Delaware, where he received 21 percent of the vote.

In a year when change was a dominant theme, relatively few incumbents lost their jobs. Among the defeated was Sen. Terry Sanford (D-N.C.), a former governor and president of Duke University. Sanford lost after a single term to Republican Lauch Faircloth, a businessman and farmer who ran with the backing of GOP Sen. Jesse Helms's political organization, the National Congressional Club.

Two Pennsylvania congressmen—Peter H. Kostmayer (D), a nationally respected environmentalist tarnished in the check overdraft scandal, and Don Ritter (R)—were defeated for reelection. But Sen. Arlen Specter (R) narrowly defeated rival Lynn Yeakel (D), a political newcomer propelled into the race by Specter's interrogation of Anita F. Hill, Supreme Court appointee Clarence Thomas's accuser.

Democrats maintained or seized control of the governorships in North Carolina, Delaware and West Virginia, while holding on to the only other Senate seat in the region at stake as Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D) easily defeated her opponent in Maryland.

DATE: 11.5.92
PAGE: 36

DELAWARE

■ In a state that has not voted for a Democratic presidential candidate since Jimmy Carter's victory in 1976, Bill Clinton solidly defeated President Bush with 44 percent of the vote. Ross Perot also turned in a strong performance with 21 percent of the vote, compared with 19 percent nationwide.

As expected, the state elected a Democratic governor, giving 66 percent of the vote to five-term at-large Rep. Thomas R. Carper over real estate executive B. Gary Scott (R). Carper's House seat will be filled by the state's current governor, Michael N. Castle (R), who soundly defeated former lieutenant governor S.B. Woo (D) with 57 percent of the vote.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

■ In the nation's capital, where Democrats outnumber Republicans 10 to 1, Clinton surprised no one by winning 86 percent of the vote against 9 percent for Bush and 4 percent for Perot. District voters also defeated, by a 2 to 1 ratio, a measure forced onto the ballot by Congress that would have allowed the death penalty for some crimes.

MARYLAND

■ This traditional Democratic stronghold held few surprises. Despite the endorsement of Bush last week by Gov. William Donald Schaefer (D), Clinton won 50 percent of the vote, Bush 36 percent and Perot 14 percent. First-term Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski overwhelmingly defeated Alan L. Keyes (R), a conservative former State Department official, with 71 percent of the vote.

Maryland's eight House seats went to a combination of incumbents and newcomers, among them state Sen. Albert R. Wynn (D). Wynn won easily in the newly created 4th District, a mostly black district situated largely in Prince George's County. The only incumbent to lose his seat was Rep. Tom McMillen (D), who was forced by redistricting to run against fellow incumbent Wayne T. Gilchrest (R) in the 1st District on the Eastern Shore.

NORTH CAROLINA

■ Bush squeaked out a victory, 44 percent to 43 percent, in a state that has voted Republican in recent presidential elections.

GOP Senate candidate Lauch Faircloth, 64, an ex-Democrat who received incumbent Democratic Sen. Terry Sanford's support when he ran for governor in 1984, launched a strong conservative attack against Sanford, criticizing him on spending and welfare issues and for opposing U.S. participation in the Persian Gulf War. In an aggressive advertising campaign, Faircloth emphasized conservative Republican positions, favoring "workfare" to replace welfare and calling for an end to all foreign aid except humanitarian assistance. He said congressional pay raises should be rescinded.

Sanford, 75, has long faced charges that

he is too liberal for his conservative state. In October, he had to interrupt campaigning to have an operation to replace a heart valve.

Former governor James B. Hunt, a moderate Democrat who lost to Republican Sen. Jesse Helms eight years ago in one of history's most negative Senate races, received 53 percent of the vote to beat Lt. Gov. Jim Gardner (R) for the governorship.

In House races, Democrat Eva Clayton, a county commissioner, became the first black woman elected to Congress from North Carolina, and black Democrat Melvin Watt, former state senator, was elected to the state's newest district.

PENNSYLVANIA

■ Pennsylvanians, living up to a decades-old reputation for independent voting, awarded Clinton a nearly 10-point victory over Bush, then split their tickets across the state to reelect GOP Sen. Arlen Specter by a slim margin and two other Republican incumbents seeking statewide office.

Perot won a surprising 18 percent of the vote, contributing to the pattern of non-party voting in a state with a 500,000 surplus of Democrats over Republicans.

In county after county where Clinton demolished Bush, the two-term Specter, running on a record of bringing home the bacon for Pennsylvania, held Democratic rival Lynn Yeakel to smaller margins than the top of the ticket and, in key regions, bested her. Yeakel's campaign had highlighted Specter's role in the Clarence Thomas-Anita F. Hill hearings.

The two defeated House members were upended for dramatically different reasons: Democrat Peter H. Kostmayer lost to state Sen. Jim Greenwood, a moderate Republican with a jobs-and-change message—despite the fact that Clinton carried the district.

In the former steel-making region of Bethlehem and Allentown, however, Clinton's coattails among Reagan Democrats were credited with helping former state representative Paul McHale unseat Don Ritter (R).

Clinton's coattails were all but invisible in overwhelmingly Democratic western Pennsylvania, where freshman Republican Rep. Rick Santorum won a second term by a large margin even though Clinton and Yeakel carried the region.

Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky, a former WRC-TV correspondent, won an upset, razor-thin victory over career politician John Fox in 2-to-1 Republican Montgomery County to become the first woman elected to Congress from Pennsylvania in her own right. She won by running as an outsider, catching Clinton's coattails and capitalizing on the Year of the Woman.

In neighboring Delaware County, also heavily Republican, where Clinton won narrowly, Specter won by 25,000 votes and Rep. Curt Weldon (R) rolled up a margin of more than 80,000 votes.

VIRGINIA

■ Bush scored the seventh consecutive presidential win for Republicans in the state since

1968, defeating Clinton by a vote of 45 percent to 41 percent. But Democrats picked up a House seat in Northern Virginia's new district as Del. Leslie L. Byrne became the first female member of the state's congressional delegation. She beat Henry N. Butler (R), a law professor, 52 percent to 48 percent.

In another historic contest, state Sen. Robert C. Scott (D) was elected the first black member of the state's congressional delegation in this century, defeating Republican Daniel Jenkins, 79 percent to 21 percent, in the new, black-majority district between Richmond and Norfolk. Republican Robert W. Goodlatte, a conservative Roa-

noke lawyer, beat Stephen A. Musselwhite (D) for the House seat vacated by the retirement of Rep. Jim Olin (D).

WEST VIRGINIA

■ As expected, first-term Gov. Gaston Caperton (D) easily won another term in this heavily Democratic state. A millionaire insurance executive, Caperton fended off a challenge from the state's Republican agriculture commissioner, dairy farmer Cleve Benedict. Also reelected by a solid margin was Rep. Nick Joe Rahall II (D), who faced a spirited challenge from Republican Ben Waldman, a former Reagan and Bush administration aide whose White House connections had earned him national Republican support. The state's two remaining House seats went to Democratic incumbents Alan B. Mollohan and Bob Wise Jr.

—Dale Russakoff
and Michael Weiskopf

THE SOUTH

The solid Republican South is history—at least for now. President Bush held on by a hair in Florida, and more securely in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina. But Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana and Tennessee went for the Democratic presidential ticket of two Southern sons, referred to in some quarters as the Double Bubba.

In a cliffhanger, Georgia did not tumble clearly into the Clinton column until Wednesday morning, making him the first Democrat since native son Jimmy Carter to carry the state. "The race was far, far closer than any of the public polls had indicated," said Whit Ayres, a Republican pollster in Atlanta. "I think everyone was surprised how strong Bush came back."

In South Florida, Bush was able to hang on to the Cuban exiles, who traditionally have voted for anti-Castro Republican presidents, but he lost Dade and Broward counties overall because of a large turnout by non-Hispanic whites and blacks, who voted in record numbers and were solidly pro-Clinton.

Minorities made inroads in several southern states. Blacks took advantage of redistricting carried out under a newly fortified Voting Rights Act to win their first House seats since the 1800s in Alabama, Florida and South Carolina. In Florida, two of the victorious blacks are women. The panhandle state also yielded a new seat for a Cuban-American.

But the much-touted anti-incumbent fever cooled markedly on an Election Day that brought success for few challengers.

ALABAMA

■ Democratic Sen. Richard C. Shelby defeated Richard Sellers by a wide margin. In a House race, George Wallace Jr. (D), son of the ailing former governor and presidential contender, lost narrowly to Terry Everett (R), a peanut farmer and millionaire businessman who said he wants to change people's perception of Alabama as a state of rednecks.

Republicans also fared well in a Birmingham district redrawn to their liking, where popular incumbent Democrat Ben Erdreich lost to Republican Spencer Bachus, who won the endorsement of The Birmingham News. And State Sen. Earl F. Hilliard (D) became the first black member of the delegation.

ARKANSAS

■ Arkansans floated Democratic Sen. Dale Bumpers easily to a sixth term.

But one retirement and two primary defeats rejiggered the House delegation, and favorite son Bill Clinton's coattails were not long enough for former judge John R. VanWinkle (D), who lost to state Rep. Tim Hutchinson (R) in a race for the Ozarks seat vacated by a retiring Republican. Jay Dickey (R) upset Secretary of State Bill McCuen (D) to win an open seat.

FLORIDA

■ Sen. Bob Graham (D) coasted to a second-term victory over former Rep. Bill Grant (R) by a nearly 2-to-1 ratio and voters replaced a handful of retiring white male legislators with women and minorities. "Although the delegation will more closely resemble the state's rainbow of cultures, Republicans retain a majority and the retirement of veterans such as Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante B. Fascell (D) will leave the delegation with much less clout.

The delegation gains three blacks, two of them women and all Democrats. Florida last sent a black to Congress during Reconstruction.

One new black representative is former federal judge Alcee Hastings, who joins a legislative body that in 1989 voted to remove him from the bench on charges of accepting bribes and lying. "I now get to see my momma smile," Hastings said. To his critics, he added, "In your face. . . I don't have to be liked by everybody. But I can work with everybody."

Two other blacks joining the delegation are state Rep. Corrine Brown of Jacksonville and state Sen. Carrie Meek of Miami, a granddaughter of slaves. State Sen. Lincoln Diaz-Alart (R) joined fellow Cuban-American Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R), who was reelected.

Floridians also approved eight-year limits for House service and a two-term limit for the Senate.

In the women's races, Karen Thurman (D) and Tillie Fowler (R) won. However, Democrats Cheryl Knapp and Karen Moffitt lost to incumbent Republicans Michael Bilirakis and C.W. Bill Young. Rep. E. Clay Shaw Jr. (R) easily won over Democratic challenger Gwen Margolis.

Rep. Jim Bacchus (D) lost to Bill Tolley (R), whom he beat in 1990. Tolley, backed by fundamentalists, opposes abortion.

GEORGIA

■ The state finally tilted for Clinton-Gore. But as Democrats had feared, incumbent Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. (D) was thrown into a Nov. 24 runoff with challenger Paul Coverdell (R), former head of the Peace Corps. And Republican firebrand Rep. Newt Gingrich survived his third reelection fight in two years despite the elimination of his old dis-

trict by the Democratic-controlled legislature.

In the Senate race, Coverdell had painted Fowler as a pampered patron of Washington perks. The libertarian candidate, who took 3.1 percent of the vote and is generally believed responsible for the runoff, has endorsed Coverdell.

Gingrich, the pugnacious House minority whip, won a solid victory over newcomer Tony Center (D), an attorney who attacked Gingrich as a perk-crazed incumbent who served divorce papers on his wife the day after she had surgery for cancer. Gingrich, running in a new, heavily Republican suburban Atlanta district, characterized this unusually nasty race as the most unpleasant months of his life and said he thought about dropping out.

Three blacks were elected to Congress, including Democrat Cynthia McKinney, the first black woman to win a congressional seat from the state. Until now, only two blacks have served Georgia in Congress since Reconstruction.

In a race for an open seat in the 9th District, state Sen. Nathan Deal (D) easily defeated Dan Becker (R), who stirred national controversy by airing graphic anti-abortion campaign ads during the primary. Incumbent Democrat Richard Ray lost to Republican Mac Collins.

And in a historic milestone, in Fulton County (Atlanta), Jackie Barrett won victory as the first black woman in the United States to be elected sheriff.

KENTUCKY

■ Sen. Wendell H. Ford, No. 2 in the Senate Democratic leadership, rolled over his Republican challenger, state Sen. David Williams, to win a fourth term. The state's loss of a seat to reapportionment came out of the

Republican side as Lexington Mayor Scotty Baesler (D) succeeded retiring Rep. Larry J. Hopkins (R). And, despite a strong challenge from state Rep. Susan Stokes, a well-financed abortion rights supporter, 22-year incumbent Democrat Ron Mazzoli, who opposes abortion, held onto Louisville's 3rd District.

GOP Rep. Harold Rogers won a tough battle to hold his seat in a redrawn district against Democrat John Doug Hays, a former state senator who has been on the defensive over his marital history.

LOUISIANA

■ Sen. John Breaux (D) formally claimed the seat he had been assured when he won an Oct. 3 primary. But two members of the House were defeated in face-offs forced by reapportionment. Three-term conservative Rep. Richard Baker of Baton Rouge beat fellow Republican Rep. Clyde Holloway of Forest Hill. Upstate, two-term Republican Jim McCrery cruised past eight-term Jerry Huckaby (D), who had 88 overdrafts in the House bank. McCrery dismissed as a "trashy lie" a gay magazine's charges that he is a closet homosexual who opposes gay issues.

Otherwise, things were quiet in the state, where Breaux and most House incumbents were reelected in the state's open primary last month.

MISSISSIPPI

■ The congressional delegation of 1993 will look exactly like the delegation of 1992. All incumbents were reelected by overwhelming margins.

Democratic Rep. Jamie L. Whitten, 82, whose failing health forced him to step down temporarily as House Appropriations Chairman in June, was expected to have a close election. Instead, he won almost 60 percent of the vote in a contest with Tupelo

Mayor Clyde R. Whitaker (R). Gulf Coast Democrat Gene Taylor, who could have been in trouble because of his vote against the Persian Gulf War, coasted to victory.

SOUTH CAROLINA

■ Sen. Ernest F. Hollings (D) retained his seat, but there was a surprise in the 4th District down toward the Georgia border where Republican challenger Bob Ingles defeated Democratic incumbent Liz J. Patterson. Self-styled "outsider" Ingles, 33, hammered away at the need for restoring a "citizen legislature" in Washington.

All other incumbents who chose to run won, including Rep. Butler Derrick (D), a ranking member of the House Rules Committee. The GOP thought it had a shot at Derrick, but he rolled over Republican James L. Bland by more than 60 percent.

The state also got its first black House member, Democrat James Clyburn, who won the only open seat by wide margin.

TENNESSEE

■ The loss of Albert Gore Jr. from the Senate ranks in January and the expected return of Bush Education Secretary Lamar Alexander to state politics have shaken up the political outlook. Gov. Ned McWherter is to appoint a replacement for the remaining four years of Gore's term.

In House races, incumbents won, usually by wide margins. Among these, Harold E. Ford (D) won handily despite having 388 overdrafts in the House bank scandal. Bart Gordon (D) and Don Sundquist (R), who may run for governor in 1994, survived.

And Democrat Marilyn Lloyd defeated Republican Zach Wamp, a recovering cocaine addict endorsed by President Bush.

— William Booth, Don Phillips and Kathy Sawyer

DATE: 11.5
PAGE: 81

Owners of Small Businesses Fear Clinton's Laws Will Hurt Them

By JEANNE SADDLER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Now that Bill Clinton has won, many small-business owners have some big worries about his imminent presidency.

Some entrepreneurs and small-business groups fear President-elect Clinton may hurt small companies — despite his business-oriented proposals such as an investment tax credit and a reduction in some capital-gains taxes. Small-business advocates worry that Mr. Clinton's ideas to stimulate the economy, fix the health-care system and expand job training would take a tough toll on small companies by requiring various costs and new employee benefits.

"There'll be give and take" in the Clinton administration proposals, says Peg Eddy, president of Creative Capital Management Inc., a financial-advisory concern in San Diego. "But overall, small businesses trying to recover from the recession will get slammed to the mat again."

John Motley, chief lobbyist for the National Federation of Independent Business, says small-business owners are nervous about Mr. Clinton because "his people talk about investment in small business on one side. Then they turn around and talk about a half-dozen programs that will inhibit growth."

Tax Credits

One concern is health-care reform. Mr. Clinton has said he supports managed competition, which involves businesses letting employees choose between several standardized health-care packages. While Mr. Clinton would require most employers to offer health insurance to their workers, his advisers say the requirement would be phased in only after passage of a federal law cutting health-care costs.

The president-elect also has said that he would offer small companies tax credits to ease the financial burden of such requirements. But he hasn't been specific.

Many entrepreneurs believe, however, that a pay or pay law — which would

force them to provide health insurance or pay a payroll tax — still seems likely during the coming Clinton administration. Bill Biggs, president of OCI Inc., says health insurance for his 15 covered workers now costs the Connelville, Pa., fuel-oil distributor \$50,000 a year out of a \$1.1 million annual payroll.

"How can Clinton and his gang expect to cover us for 8% of payroll — the tax we'd pay under pay or pay? It would cost me 38% of payroll to cover" all 125 employees, Mr. Biggs says. "Secondly, it would put the insurance people out of business if we could all get insurance for 8% of payroll."

She Wants Clarity

Small-business groups are equally wary about another Clinton campaign proposal: that most companies either spend 1.5% of their payroll on education and training or contribute that much to a national training trust fund for distribution to the states.

The National Association of Manufacturers, most of whose members are small and midsize businesses, believes there is a need to create "high-performance workers," says Phyllis Eisen, an association staffer. "But we need more clarity on who'd get the money and who would judge the kind of training a company offers." The training trust-fund idea "hasn't worked well in England, France and Germany," Ms. Eisen observes.

The training trust-fund proposal isn't expected to come up early in the new president's administration. But early White House action is expected on new legislation covering workers' family and medical leave. Mr. Clinton supports a bill passed by Congress last month and vetoed by President Bush. The measure would require companies with 50 or more employees to grant workers 12 weeks of unpaid leave after the birth or adoption of a child or to care for a seriously ill family member.

Even if a new bill also excluded small businesses, many small-business owners

Please Turn to Page B2, Column 3

fear enactment would lead to broader requirements. "Family leave will just open a can of worms," says Ann Blakeley, president of Earth Resources Corp., an Orlando Fla., firm that cleans up industrial wastes. "I know of very few people who can afford to take 12 weeks of unpaid leave. So, the next step will be a mandate to keep them on half pay for 12 weeks." She adds: "It's the foot-in-the-door theory."

Small-business people generally like Mr. Clinton's campaign proposals to promote company start-ups through investment tax credits and lower capital-gains taxes. But many doubt he can fulfill those promises. "He might say he'll do something like the investment tax credit. Then, the masses will say no, and he won't do it," says Michael Millane, vice president of Millane Nurseries Inc., a family-owned concern in Cromwell, Conn.

Backers of the president-elect argue that the Clinton administration will help small businesses by reviving the stalled economy. "I think they really want to turn this country around economically, and in terms of investment in infrastructure and education," says Elliot Hoffman, president of Just Desserts, a San Francisco retail and wholesale bakery.

Some minority business owners predict quick action to aid businesses and residents in urban areas such as riot-torn South Central Los Angeles. "I expect Clinton to develop an urban package, with the funding behind it, in his first 100 days," says Celestino Beltran, chairman of Comprehensive Technologies International Inc., a software-design company in Chantilly, Va.

The credit crunch is another area where small businesses hope for fast action by the Clinton administration. Speaking last week on the television show "Larry King Live," Mr. Clinton said he wants to establish a series of community banks that will make more loans to small businesses. "I want to end the credit crunch for small-business people... I think we can do it with some changed regulations," Mr. Clinton said, referring to recent federal regulations that tightened bank-lending standards.

The new president also won't be able to ignore an almost immediate funding shortage for the Small Business Administration's main loan-guarantee program. Washington small-business advocates say. Under the program, the government guarantees 75% to 85% of a bank loan for small firms. To meet skyrocketing demand for the loans earlier this year, Congress increased guarantees to provide for \$5.4 billion of loans during fiscal 1992, which ended Sept. 30. That figure was up from a planned \$3.5 billion. But Congress only approved about \$3 billion for the loan program during the current fiscal year.

"Banks aren't making loans to small businesses without an SBA guarantee; the demand for them is still out of sight," says Tom Cator, a lobbyist for National Small Business United and other groups. "There'll have to be supplemental funding or the loans will dry up."

The New President's Promises

A sampling of campaign pledges by Bill Clinton on key topics

This country desperately needs a job program, and my first priority would be to pass a jobs program, to introduce it on the first day I was inaugurated.

—Presidential debate, St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 11, 1992

We will lower the tax burden on middle-class Americans by asking the very wealthy to pay their fair share. Middle-class taxpayers will have a choice between a children's tax credit or a significant reduction in their income tax rate.

—"Putting People First"

Now I'll tell you this: I will not raise taxes on the middle class to pay for these programs.

—Presidential debate, East Lansing, Mich., Oct. 19, 1992

I have recommended that we eliminate by attrition, not by firing anybody but by attrition, 100,000 people from the federal work force over the next couple of years.

—Conference of Mayors, Houston, June 22, 1992

For the kids who don't want to go to college, we'll restore the dignity of blue collar work by guaranteeing an apprenticeship program to every non-college bound student in the United States of America.

—United Auto Workers Convention, San Diego, June 15, 1992

After two years on welfare "those who can work will have to go to work, either by taking a job in the private sector or through community service."

—"Putting People First"

We'll pass a national bottle bill to encourage recycling by creating small deposits on all glass and plastic bottles.

—Drexel University, Philadelphia, April 22, 1992

We'll accelerate our progress toward more fuel-efficient cars, and seek to raise the average goal for automakers to 45 miles per gallon.

—Drexel University, Philadelphia, April 22, 1992

I will elevate economics in foreign policy, create an Economic Security Council, similar to the National Security Council.

—Los Angeles World Affairs Council, August 13, 1992

In Europe, we must maintain our ties to NATO even as the Europeans play a stronger role both within NATO and in the evolution of future security arrangements for the continent.

—Foreign Policy Association, New York, April 1, 1992

I support the peace talks that are underway, (in the Middle East), and, if elected, I will continue without interruption America's role in them.

—Campaign speech, Milwaukee, October 1, 1992

We will link China's trading privileges to its human rights record and its conduct on trade and weapons sales.

—Los Angeles World Affairs Council, August 13, 1992

I reiterated my strong support, in a bipartisan fashion, for U.S. assistance to Russia as the reforms proceed.

—Statement after meeting Boris Yeltsin, June 18, 1992

We should pay up — and pay up now — the past dues we owe to the U.N.

—Foreign Policy Association, New York, April 1, 1992

With the dwindling Soviet threat, we can cut defense spending by over a third by 1997.

—Georgetown University, Nov. 20, 1991

We can pledge right now that for every dollar we reduce the defense budget on research and development, we'll increase the civilian R&D budget by the same amount.

—Georgetown University, Nov. 20, 1991

As soon as the Pentagon issued a study, which said that there was no basis in national security for discriminating based on the sexual orientation of Americans who wish to serve in the military, I said I would act on the study.

—Presidential debate, Los Angeles, May 18, 1992

I would want the first judge I appointed to believe in the right to privacy and the right to choose.

—Presidential debate, New York, May 7, 1992

DATE: 11.5
PAGE: 18

Clinton Has to Fix the Long and Short of Economy

By DAVID WESSEL
And ALAN MURRAY

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Bill Clinton promised to fix the nation's economy if elected. Now he gets his chance.

But first, he has to decide whether he wants to fix the short-term problem — an economy that isn't growing much — or the long-term problem — a budget deficit so big that it is eroding prospects for long-term growth.

"The dilemma is that the country faces two big economic problems, and the solution to one seems to contradict the other," says Charles Schultze, an economist at the Brookings Institution. Mr. Schultze believes it's possible to resolve that dilemma and address both problems. But it won't be easy.

First Day

During the campaign, Mr. Clinton said he would propose a bill to get the economy growing and create jobs on the first day after his inauguration. The rough outlines of that package can be discerned from the president-elect's campaign proposals and from discussions with his advisers. He would propose an increase of \$20 billion a year in spending on government infrastructure, such as highways, transportation systems, communications and environmental technology. He's also likely to propose an investment tax credit.

But while increased public spending and an investment tax credit might help the economy in the short run, they also threaten to widen the deficit in the long run. Many economists believe big deficits

have been one important reason for the slow growth in investment, productivity, earnings and living standards over the past two decades.

Mr. Clinton's aides say the president-elect is concerned about the deficit, and has made it clear that he doesn't want to do anything that would increase it. He has specifically rejected any proposal that would stimulate the economy by widening the deficit over the long term.

But the Clinton camp continues to look at two other alternatives. One is to devise a stimulus package that either pays for itself or causes only a modest increase in the deficit. The other is to put together an ambitious, multiyear budget package that would stimulate the economy in 1993 and perhaps 1994, but would legislate reductions in the budget deficit in subsequent years.

'Pay as You Go'

On the stump, Mr. Clinton has seemed to lean toward the first option. His published economic plan was intended to match any revenue-losing measures with revenue-raising measures — "pay as you go" his advisers called it. Some of his economic advisers, however, argue it's impossible to stimulate the economy much with a deficit-neutral package of proposals.

The more ambitious alternative wouldn't be easy, especially given Mr. Clinton's promise not to raise taxes on the middle class. While Mr. Clinton said he wouldn't make any "Read My Lips" promises, he did say he would protect people earning less than \$80,000 a year

from any tax increase. As Ross Perot's deficit-reduction effort shows, that's hard to do; Mr. Perot proposed increasing the gasoline tax 50 cents a gallon over five years.

The state of the economy will, of course, have some bearing on the shape of Mr. Clinton's proposals. "Wouldn't it be ironic if . . . the economy shows better growth over the next few months?" says Edward Yardeni of C.J. Lawrence Inc. "Then all our concerns about a short-term fiscal stimulus might evaporate. [Mr.] Clinton won't be under much pressure to revive the economy."

Early February

But while many forecasters expect the economy to strengthen next year, Mr. Clinton will have to make most of his decisions by January or early February, before much hard information about the 1993 economy is available.

One proposal that may get lost in this economic shuffle is Mr. Clinton's proposal for a middle class tax cut. Many economists argue that such a tax cut would do little to help the economy over the longer run and it would be a big drain on the budget deficit.

Whichever way the president-elect decides to go, it's a good bet he'll end up raising tax rates on Americans earning more than \$200,000 a year. And it's a good bet he'll propose tougher scrutiny of foreign companies' tax returns, although few tax experts believe he can get anywhere near the \$45 billion over four years that he projects can be raised from the foreign tax returns.

The Trial Ahead

Clinton Still Must Win The Faith of Markets, Leaders of Nations

Economic Revival Is Likely To Precede Deficit Cuts In Democrat's Agenda Infighting Over Transition

By DAVID SHRIBMAN
And JEFFREY H. BIENBAUM

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — During a rare quiet moment on his campaign bus last week, Bill Clinton acknowledged that his efforts to convince people he deserves to be president of the United States wouldn't end with Tuesday's election.

"I have given a lot of thought to the need to assure central banks, foreign leaders and the world [financial] mar-

Double-Barreled Problems

Clinton must decide whether to address the short-term problem of growth or the long-term problem of the budget deficit. Article on page A12. Meanwhile:

- Executives rush to figure out what new White House means for them. A14.
- Business supporters of Clinton list a variety of priorities. B1.
- Possible appointments in the next administration are listed. A12.
- Foreign policy problems already await the president-elect. A14 and A9.
- Unions anticipate first chance in years for substantial legislative gains. A18.
- For investors, some financial fine-tuning is probably called for. C1.

kets," he said during the interview. "I am concerned about the markets fearing a Democrat" in the White House.

Mr. Clinton's comments underscore the exquisite agony of his new position. He won the presidency by an impressive margin; he will move into the Oval Office with his party boasting sizable majorities in both houses of Congress, and he faces a nation clearly hungry for action. He will have an opportunity enjoyed only by a handful of past presidents to set a new course for the nation.

But even before the last champagne cork pops, Mr. Clinton must set out on a new, more subtle campaign. He now has to woo new constituencies that remain uncertain about his presidency. High on that list are the financial markets, which will be scrutinizing early cabinet appointments and his comments on economic policy to determine what course his presidency will take. Even before his inauguration, Mr. Clinton faces the possibility of a trade war with Europe.

"I think there's going to be a lot of volatility in the markets over the next few months," says David Hale of Kemper Financial Services, as the world's financiers try to divine how serious Mr. Clinton is about reducing the budget deficit and whom he will put into key economic posts. Mr. Clinton is particularly aware of how financial volatility has recently undermined the government of British Prime Minister John Major.

Mr. Clinton's conundrum is that he has to shake things up — and calm them down. His actions in the next 2½ months — even before he is inaugurated as the 42nd president of the U.S. — are enormously important. They will set the backdrop for his presidency and possibly have consequences as great as any moves he makes as president.

For that reason, Mr. Clinton strode to the lawn outside the Georgian governor's mansion in Little Rock yesterday and issued a brief statement intended to calm jittery financial markets at home and abroad. "Although change is on the horizon," he said, "we understand the need to pursue stability even as we pursue new growth." He said that he intended his economic programs to strengthen, not weaken, U.S. market systems.

Mr. Clinton also used his remarks to pledge "continuity in global affairs." In a message to world leaders, especially Saddam Hussein of Iraq, Mr. Clinton warned, "The greatest mistake any adversary could make would be to doubt America's resolve during this period of transition."



Bill Clinton

Mr. Clinton's sensitivity to market concerns suggests he's likely to move quickly to make respected, gray-bearded appointments to his top economic posts. Former Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker is among those being mentioned for Secretary of Treasury, although some Clinton aides argue he is too independent. And Alice Rivlin, a respected former head of the Congressional Budget Office, is viewed as in the running to head the Office of Management and Budget.

Jockeying for some other posts has already begun. Campaign Chairman Mickey Kantor made a bid to head the Clinton transition team but was blocked, at least for now, by the nearly unanimous opposition of the top campaign staff. Clinton insiders worried that appointing Mr. Kantor, a lobbyist, to lead the effort to set up a new government would "send just the wrong signal about what a Clinton presidency would be about," according to one Clinton aide. Mr. Kantor still remains a contender, however, along with Vernon Jordan, the Washington lawyer and former civil-rights leader, and Richard Riley.

Please Turn to Page A12, Column 1

DATE: 11-5
PAGE: A1

DATE: 11. 5
PAGE: 1

Continued From First Page
the former Democratic governor of South Carolina.

Mr. Clinton is also under pressure to provide early clues to the economic stimulus package he's promised to unveil the day after his inauguration. One possibility being pushed by the president-elect's moderate advisers is a multiyear economic program — to be fully enacted next year — that would stimulate the economy in 1993 and 1994 but also provide deficit reduction measures to take effect in later years.

His first appointments will be critical, both for the signals they send and for the foundations they create for his administration. Though Mr. Clinton surely will have some old Washington hands in his inner circle, Clinton insiders talk of an administration that is more diverse than any seen in Washington before, with a surprisingly large number of business executives and even some Republicans. Close associates of Mr. Clinton say that such figures as John A. Young, president of Hewlett-Packard Co., and Thomas Kean, former Republican governor of New Jersey who is now president of Drew University, are under consideration for top posts.

As for women cabinet members, Mr. Clinton is certain to exceed the record of Mr. Bush, who has three, and Mr. Clinton is also likely to have at least a couple of blacks and Hispanics in the cabinet. Moreover, the new president may pepper his administration with former governors that he got to know in his five terms leading Arkansas and helping run the National Governors Association.

And Mr. Clinton still has to develop a strategy for working with the Democratic Congress. He and congressional leaders must develop a working relationship that preserves the prerogatives of both branches of government. Mr. Clinton must decide, for example, whether he will try to mold the huge group of new congressional members into a bloc of his own.

Perot in the Wings

Over his shoulder lurks the enigmatic figure of Ross Perot, who won a larger share of the presidential vote than any third party contender since Theodore Roosevelt eight decades earlier. Mr. Perot is almost certain to torment the new administration and the new Congress if the economy continues to flag, or if the good will that reigns in political Washington today deteriorates into bickering.

The problems already are bearing down on the president-elect.

The trade fight with Europe erupted just yesterday as the U.S. said it would retaliate against its own European allies over agricultural subsidies, a fight that surely will not be settled fully when Mr. Clinton takes office Jan. 20. Meanwhile, Mr. Clinton's advisers are deeply worried about Russia, where President Boris Yeltsin's reforms — and possibly even his political survival — are endangered.

For all his support at home, Mr. Clinton faces a deeply suspicious world that regards him as untested in international affairs and an unlikely leader of the

U.S. at a time when it is the lone superpower.

"Clinton ran an impressive campaign and seemed to grow in stature, but we always look on your politics as a kind of theatrical experience, a huge bun fight," says Lawrence Goldman, an Oxford historian and analyst of American political trends. "But governing is different from campaigning, and it's the governing that is the question, especially since the problems are so great."

Among the many national policies that might be transformed by Mr. Clinton, none is more emotional than the question of abortion. Mr. Clinton ran as a vigorous advocate of abortion rights, and is expected to push for approval of federal legislation to codify a woman's right to an abortion, and to give heavy weight to the abortion issue in filling any Supreme Court seats that may open up. But there's no reason to think the new president wants to make such a divisive issue an early priority.

Battling the Deficit

Mr. Clinton must make it clear quickly that he intends to be a committed warrior in the struggle to bring the nation's budget deficit under control. Clinton economic advisers say that the governor still is committed to a growth package of as much \$40 billion, and may call for congressional approval in his first 100 days in office. But already some of his associates are playing down the size of the stimulus and talking more about the need to add some deficit reduction to the mix.

In his interview last week, Mr. Clinton said he wants a balance of "growth and deficit reduction," but that in his drive to reduce the deficit he didn't "want to do anything to slow the economy."

Mr. Clinton's economic stimulation plan would likely involve increased spending on infrastructure, such as highways and other transportation and communication systems, as well as an investment-tax credit. Having made "trickle-down economics" the villain in campaign appearance after campaign appearance, Mr. Clinton must find a way to stimulate the economy without favoring the rich.

Emphasizing the Long Term

On tax policy, Mr. Clinton believes that investors who get an untaxed tax cut tend to place their money into whatever would give them "the biggest short-term gain," he said, rather than the long-term, job-producing investment he wants.

Overall, his tax philosophy is far more activist than Mr. Bush's. Mr. Clinton prefers cutting taxes selectively to funnel financing directly into what he considers the most economically desirable activities. For example, he praises the historic preservation tax credit for its role in revitalizing inner cities.

The governor is critical of the Tax Reform Act of 1986 for being too harsh on manufacturers. He said in the interview that it favored "consumption over investment" at a time when investment should have been emphasized. "We needed to reverse that," he said.

Mr. Clinton's plan would put back into the tax system incentives to invest in

productive plant and equipment such as the investment-tax credit, would make permanent the research-and-development tax credit and also would give a capital-gains tax break to investors who buy stock in new companies and keep the investment for several years.

Critiquing Carter

Mr. Clinton's proposals are in some ways similar to those of former president Jimmy Carter. In the interview, Mr. Clinton asserted that "we will never know" if those programs really worked or if they didn't, because President Carter was walloped with the "stagflation phenomenon" and because many of his proposals were ignored by Congress. He said Mr. Carter turned too late to Paul Volcker's tough medicine of higher interest rates to fix the economy.

Mr. Clinton said he plans to work more closely with lawmakers. He already has consulted with Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen of Texas and House Ways and Means Committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois.

Besides economic growth, one of Mr. Clinton's major priorities is health care. But he acknowledged that his health-care plan still needs improvement. A Clinton staff member says that a health-care plan will be proposed within the first hundred days of his administration, but without any expectation that it will be passed soon.

Meanwhile, there was already internal back-biting over the possibility of Mr. Kantor becoming Mr. Clinton's transition chief. Some Clinton associates vowed that the new administration would break from many of the practices of insider Washington. Many campaign aides believe that some of Mr. Kantor's decisions reflected his own interests more than Mr. Clinton's, such as naming an executive of Occidental Petroleum Corp., which was once a Kantor client, to head the transition planning group.

Cautious Deliberations

Mr. Clinton may settle on a series of co-chairs of the transition effort. But campaign aides warn that Mr. Clinton himself hasn't spent much time discussing the issue, and will take his time in deciding appointments of all sorts. "Nothing will be foisted on him," said Eli Segal, who was chief of staff of the campaign operations. "This will be a more deliberative process. He won't move before he's ready to."

Mr. Clinton has already discovered that there are some things he cannot control now that he is about to become president. The first example: He had planned to go on a Florida vacation — without reporters.

DATE: 11.5
PAGE: 6

Clinton Seals His Victory by Sweeping Industrial Belt, a Key to Bush's '88 Win

By DAVID SHRIEMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Bill Clinton's presidential-election victory was wide but not deep, with the Electoral College exaggerating the size of his triumph.

But now that the cheers have subsided and the shock has dulled, it is clear that Mr. Clinton's strength was on the two coasts and in the industrial heartland—and that, in essence, the race was won by Mr. Clinton where it's almost always won, in the nation's gritty manufacturing belt.

"Those were the people the Democrats lost in the last three elections, and they are the ones who came home this time," says Gregory Schneiders, a Democratic political consultant. "It was the economy that did it, because economics are what elections are usually about in this country."

Seven industrial states — New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan and Wisconsin — gave Mr. Clinton nearly a third of his electoral-vote total. Four years ago, when George Bush won the White House, he carried six of those seven states. If he had carried them again Tuesday, he would have had an electoral majority.

The political map shows that Mr. Bush did well in the South and the Rocky Mountain states. But even there, he fell well short of his 1988 performance.

As a result, the Republican bloc of Southern and border states was shattered, with the GOP losing Louisiana, Georgia and Kentucky, along with Mr. Clinton's home state of Arkansas and running mate Al Gore's home state of Tennessee. Four years ago, Michael Dukakis carried Washington and Oregon and came close in California; this year, Mr. Clinton completed the sweep of the West Coast — now

worth 72 electoral votes in all — and added Colorado and New Mexico for a further 13.

But while Mr. Clinton scored a solid win, much of his success was more a measure of public impatience with the president than of enthusiasm for the Democratic challenger.

Fifty-seven percent of those who voted in Tuesday's election didn't vote for Mr. Clinton.

"But a lot of major trends start out as a repudiation of one party rather than an endorsement of the challenger," says Kevin Phillips, the maverick Republican theorist. "The important thing is that a lot of the old Democratic constituencies are arranged again in a logical way."

Interviews with voters across Michigan, for example, showed that 65% of the Democrats who voted for Mr. Bush in 1988 voted for Mr. Clinton in 1992.

In Kalamazoo County, Mich., where The Wall Street Journal conducted a series of discussions with swing voters and tracked their increasing disaffection with Mr. Bush, the voting patterns matched those nationally. Mr. Clinton won the county with 42% of the vote, followed by Mr. Bush with 37% and Mr. Perot with 15%.

By winning the White House for the Democrats for the first time since 1976, Mr. Clinton ended talk of a Republican "lock" on the Electoral College or the presidency. Mr. Clinton won nine states that haven't gone Democratic since the Lyndon Johnson landslide of 1964.

"That notion is put to rest big-time," said Geoffrey Garin, a Democratic political consultant. "The Electoral College lock has been unlocked, and Clinton may have shown the way to future Democratic victories."

Stocks Sink On Worry Over Rates

Clinton Role Cited; Bond Prices Erode And Dollar Advances

WEDNESDAY'S MARKETS

By DOUGLAS R. SEASE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The possibility of rising interest rates under a Clinton administration gave stock investors a case of the jitters that resulted in sharply lower prices. Bond prices eroded modestly and the dollar rose.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average tumbled 29.44 to 3223.04 in a late flurry of computer-guided program selling. Standard & Poor's 500-stock index lost 2.81 to 417.11. But the Nasdaq Composite Index eked out a gain of 0.94 to 605.52.

Analysts said the presidential election results were about as expected and produced little initial reaction in financial markets.

Joseph McAlinden, chief market strategist at Dillon Read, disputed newspaper headlines proclaiming a landslide victory. "The fact is that 57% of the people did not vote for Bill Clinton, and one in five voted for Ross Perot, the man whose priority was reducing the budget deficit through some fairly austere measures. If Clinton really listens to the message of the voters, he's going to go very cautiously on the budget deficit."

But as investors considered the likelihood of interest rates rising modestly under a Clinton administration, the stocks of companies that fare best in a low-interest environment came under selling pressure. Stocks of companies that do well in a growing economy gained. That trend was aided by reports showing stronger-than-expected auto sales in the closing days of October.

"We're certainly in the middle of a short-term rally in cyclical stocks, but it could also be the beginning of a major turn in the economic cycle," said Thomas McManus, a vice president at Morgan Stanley.

Investors now are awaiting the announcement, perhaps later this week, of Mr. Clinton's nominees for various cabinet posts, especially Treasury secretary. If he names anyone other than a prominent and respected Wall Street figure to the Treasury job, disappointed bondholders are likely to send prices sharply lower.

In major market action:

Stock prices slumped in active trading. Volume on the New York Stock Exchange totaled 193,980,000 shares. Declining issues on the Big Board were ahead of gainers, 1,011 to 734.

Bond prices edged lower. The Treasury's benchmark 30-year issue lost more than an eighth of a point, or more than \$1.25 for each \$1,000 face amount, to yield 7.67%.

The dollar rose. In late New York trading the currency was quoted at 1.5725 marks and 123.10 yen, compared with 1.5675 marks and 122.45 yen Tuesday.

With Clinton Taking Over White House, Here's What It Means for Your Finances

YOUR MONEY MATTERS

By JOHN R. DORMAN
And KAREY SLATER DAMATO
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

With a new team set to take over the White House, it is time to make certain you are financially poised to profit from fresh opportunities — and protected from policy shifts that could cost you money.

There's no need to make sweeping changes, so long as you already have a long-term investment and financial strategy. But some financial fine-tuning is probably called for.

People with high incomes may want to accelerate income into 1992 if they can, financial advisers say, since President-elect Bill Clinton has proposed some tax increases that could take effect in 1993.

Investors might want to emphasize small-company stocks, which historically have done well under Democratic administrations, and take a bigger helping of cyclical stocks, which rise and fall with the economic tides.

Municipal bonds look like a good bet, too, many planners and investment professionals say. At the moment, they provide an interest yield not far below that on government or corporate bonds. And the interest is exempt from federal income taxes — a comfort to people who fear that their tax rates might rise in a Democratic administration.

But even as they make these suggestions, financial planners caution against overreacting to the election. If a broker calls with a suggestion for a post-election portfolio shakeup, keep in mind that he is probably paid based on trading commissions.

“They want you to buy or sell something because that's the way they're compensated,” says Steven B. Emright, a River Vale, N.J., financial planner.

Tax Planning

The Clinton era will be a less friendly climate for the wealthy taxpayer,” says

Fine-Tuning Investment and Tax Strategies

A Clinton presidency calls for people to tinker a bit with their financial strategies, say planners and investment advisers. Here are a few suggestions.

- **Stocks**
Emphasize stocks of smaller companies, which tend to do better under Democratic administrations. Hold cyclical stocks, in hopes of a stronger economy. De-emphasize stocks of exporters and U.S. multinational corporations.
- **Bonds**
Municipal bonds look like good buys, and could shelter income against higher taxes. Lower quality “junk” bonds could also provide income against higher taxes. Lower quality “junk” bonds could also provide income against higher taxes.
- **Tax Planning**
High-income taxpayers may want to accelerate income into 1992 if they can, to beat a possible tax increase in 1993. They should also review estate plans and gift strategies; some advisers fear adverse changes in the laws.

do well if the economy revives. Keep some money in short-term or intermediate bonds to hedge against a possible rise in interest rates.

have required a large payment next April anyway.

Advisers warn against procrastination. “We've got a two-month leeway to do certain things,” says Steven B. Weinstein, a financial planning specialist with accountants Arthur Andersen.

Small Stocks

“Small stocks have done better under Democrats,” says Ned Davis, president of Ned Davis Research Inc. in Nokomis, Fla. He and others suggest that investors tilt their portfolios to give a greater emphasis to stocks of smaller companies.

In a comparison going back to 1928, Mr. Davis and his colleagues looked at the performance of big-company and small-company stocks under Republican and Democratic administrations. For the larger stocks, there was little difference; big-company issues rose an average of 5% a year under Republicans, and 5.8% a year under Democrats.

But for small-company stocks, the difference was striking. They rose an average of 12.7% a year under Democrats, and fell 2.6% a year under Republicans.

Domestic Stocks

Mr. Davis also thinks that stock investors should stick with companies that do most of their business in the U.S.

“Clinton wants to raise taxes on foreign corporations,” Mr. Davis says. “I can't imagine they're not going to retaliate. Who are they going to take that out on? Multinationals.” As he sees it, such a pattern would hurt stocks, such as International Business Machines Corp., McDonald's Corp., General Motors Corp. and Merck & Co.

In addition, Mr. Clinton has pledged to build up the U.S. infrastructure — with roads, bridges, high-speed trains and advanced communications systems. Many beneficiaries of such an effort would be companies that do business primarily within the U.S., Mr. Davis says.

Stock Picks

Most investment pros trying to figure out the angles on stock picking in a Clinton administration are sticking with the same themes that have worked the past couple of months, as Mr. Clinton showed strength in the polls.

Infrastructure stocks and pollution control stocks play directly into some of Mr. Clinton's major campaign themes. In addition, many money managers and broker-

Some businesses, including big securities firms, are considering paying bonuses in December rather than early next year. And advisers say small-business owners and professionals such as doctors may want to speed up their billing to collect more income by year end.

This is the opposite of the usual year-end advice to hold off paying Uncle Sam for as long as possible. But tax advisers note that people who collect big bonuses in December rather than early 1993 may not actually be paying the resulting taxes any sooner than they would have. That's because many higher earners are subject to stiffened estimated tax rules that would cause many higher earners to be subject to cause many higher earners to be subject to

To play it safe, advisers say, high-income taxpayers should consider accelerating income into this year and delaying deductions into 1993. “Every bit of income you can throw into this year, you probably should,” says Edward Kerschner, chief investment strategist for Falmewebber Inc.

Sidney Kess, a New York accountant and attorney. Or as Howard Saffer, a Nashville accountant, puts it: “The green light is on Mr. Clinton has proposed raising the top tax rate to 36% from 31% for families earning more than \$200,000, and he has also supported a 10% surtax on income over \$1 million.

Inc. investment strategist for Falmewebber Inc.

DATE: 11/5
PAGE: 27

age house analysts think cyclical stocks would benefit under a Clinton presidency.

The problem is finding stocks that fit these themes, but haven't already run up too much in anticipation of a Clinton win.

"You can't pave highways without asphalt and concrete," says Scott Black, president of Delphi Management in Boston. He likes a pair of little-known road-building stocks, Florida Rock Industries Inc. and CalMat Co., which he calls "cheap stocks with good earnings potential and great assets."

Mr. Black owns a trio of steelmakers, Commercial Metals Co., Texas Industries Inc., and New Jersey Steel Corp. He thinks the first two are still cheap, but wouldn't buy the third at current prices. He also likes cement maker Lafarge Corp. And as a play on possible tax-law changes, he favors tax publisher Commerce Clearing House Inc., which he considers less expensive than tax preparer H&R Block Inc.

On the theory that a Clinton administration would raise at least some people's taxes, Dean Eberling, analyst with Shearson Lehman Brothers Inc., recommends stock in John Nuveen & Co. and Franklin Resources Inc. Both sell municipal bonds, a popular way for people to lessen the federal tax bite.

Richard Hoey, chief economist for Dreyfus Corp. and manager of the Dreyfus Growth & Income Fund, says the obvious Clinton stocks have pretty much been played out already. Still, he is putting some chips on cyclical stocks that he thinks might benefit from economic stimulus. These include railroads, such as Consolidated Rail Corp.; retailers, such as Kmart Corp., and specialty steelmaker Nucor Corp.

Mr. Kerschner, the PaineWebber strategist, likes retailers, such as Wal-Mart Stores Inc. and Toys "R" Us Inc., infrastructure plays such as Allied-Signal Inc. and General Electric Co., and housing stocks, such as PPG Industries Inc. These, he says, would benefit from stimulus, but "are not the names that everybody's been playing."

"This election could be the spark to loosen up the purse strings a bit," says James R. McCall, president of Keystone Custodian Funds in Boston. His funds are buying retail stocks, such as Wal-Mart, J.C. Penney Co. and Dayton Hudson Corp.; and technology issues, such as Intel Corp., National Semiconductor Corp., Texas Instruments Inc., and Wellfleet Communications Inc.

Taxable Bonds

Democratic administrations have been less kind to bondholders than Republican ones. Merrill Lynch & Co. said in a letter to clients yesterday. Looking at total returns, which take into account both interest and price changes, bond investors lost money under Presidents Johnson and Carter.

Many bond investors have been apprehensive in recent weeks, fearful that economic stimulus measures they anticipate under a Democratic administration could lead to higher interest rates and reawaken inflation. The yield on bonds has edged up a few tenths of a percentage point, pushing down the value of existing bonds.

Bonds "are not an attractive investment in this potential climate," warns Richard J. Hoffman, chief investment strategist at Cowen & Co.

But others are less negative. Investors such as Mr. Kerschner believe that the decline in bonds the past few weeks has already discounted most of whatever harm is likely to befall the bond market. "Inflation doesn't reoccur simply because a Democrat is at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue," he says.

The consensus, to the extent there is one, is that bonds shouldn't be abandoned, but should get somewhat less weight in portfolios than before. Planners suggest "laddering" the maturity date of bonds a person holds, so that some come due each

year. That way, if interest rates do rise and the value of the bonds falls, an investor wouldn't be forced to sell bonds at a loss before they mature. At maturity, bonds can be redeemed for their stated face value.

Some people are recommending less-than-investment grade bonds, also known as junk bonds, on the theory that debt-laden companies would perk up if the economy does. But the most popular choice among advisers at the moment is municipal bonds.

Municipal Bonds

"Of any of the fixed-income markets, the municipal bond market is probably the best buy right now for the long-term investor," says Jim Kochan of Robert W. Baird & Co. in Milwaukee. "If you believe that marginal tax rates are going to go up, tax-exempt investments will become more valuable."

"I think the tax-free area is a natural," says Donald Straszheim, chief economist at Merrill Lynch. "If anything is likely in this new administration, it is that taxes on the upper end of income distribution will be rising."

Some bond professionals note that a big slug of municipal bonds is slated to be redeemed in January. That could lessen the supply of "munis," making them more valuable. Also, advocates note, municipal bonds are currently paying a higher-than-usual interest rate, relative to corporate and U.S. government bonds.

Neil Litvack, a senior vice president at Fidelity Investments in Boston, says that three quarters of investors responding to a recent Fidelity poll expect a tax increase next year. "Tax-frees are certainly some-

thing [investors] should be looking at very closely," he says.

Mutual Funds

If financial advisers are right that a Clinton victory suggests a tilt to economically sensitive stocks, one way to do it is through well chosen mutual funds. "The markets are saying a Clinton victory means stimulation of the economy, one way or another," says Charles Cain, president of New York's Cain Asset Management Corp.

He reckons the biggest beneficiaries will be sector funds, such as Fidelity Select Computers Portfolio and Fidelity Select Electronics Portfolio, and small-stock funds, such as Fidelity Low-Priced Stock Fund. Mr. Cain also thinks Mr. Clinton's election will spur a rebound in environmental-services stocks, so he is laying a bet on Fidelity Select Environmental Services Portfolio.

Municipal bonds can also be bought through funds. "I'd pound the table pretty hard for municipal bonds right now," says Kenneth Gregory, editor of L/G No-Load Fund Analyst, a San Francisco newsletter. Even without a tax increase, muni funds already look attractive compared with taxable bond funds, he judges. His favorite is Vanguard Municipal High-Yield Portfolio, which currently yields 6.29%.

Money Funds

Because of their puny yields, under 3%, money-market mutual funds are currently scorned by many investors. But money funds and short-term certificates of deposit do provide the flexibility to deal with changing circumstances.

If interest rates do rise early in a Clinton administration, both stocks and bonds might fall. In that event, investors would be glad to have some money available to invest at better prices than today's. People with money funds will also benefit from rising rates, as the fund's yield rises. Therefore, many advisers say that investors should keep at least some of their portfolio in money funds or similar vehicles, despite their low yields.

Estates and Gifts

Many accountants fear that tax laws will be changed to reduce the sums people can give to family members now or leave at their death without triggering estate tax. Mr. Clinton hasn't voiced any plans in this area; campaign aides say he has none.

But the gift and estate area "seems ripe for revisiting" by a revenue-hungry president and Congress, Mr. Weinstein of Arthur Andersen says. The comment is typical, and he and other advisers say some affluent people may want to step up their giving now.

Under current law, an individual can give \$10,000 a year to each of an unlimited number of people without any tax. They can also transfer \$600,000 at death, or before, without tax. There has been a congressional proposal to cap the annual giving at \$30,000 and a very preliminary suggestion to lower the \$600,000 figure to \$200,000.

"If you're leaning toward making a gift to use up your \$600,000 exemption . . . and you don't need the money to live on, it might be good to do it before the end of the year," says Milton L. Schultz, national director of estate planning for accountants KPMG Peat Marwick.

Retirement Plans

People hit by higher tax rates would have an added incentive to save through tax-deferred vehicles such as 401(k) plans at work.

But anyone who was planning to withdraw money from such a plan in 1993 may want to do so sooner rather than later, says Avery E. Neumark, an employee benefits specialist with accountants Weber, Lipshie & Co. in New York.

One reason is the expected increase in the top tax rate. In addition, "five-year averaging," which can soften the tax blow to lump-sum recipients, looks like it is on its way out.

Five-year averaging would have been knocked out Jan. 1 under the tax bill President Bush vetoed yesterday. The provision is expected to re-emerge next year, probably with a later effective date.

New Investments?

On the campaign trail, Mr. Clinton talked about using new tax incentives to spur economic growth. That could lead to a new generation of tax-advantaged partnership investments. "Partnerships will come back around the entities that get the favorable tax treatment," predicts Charles K. Barbo, chairman of Shurgard Capital Group, a Seattle partnership sponsor.

Given the sorry performance of some earlier partnerships, investors should be sure to focus on the underlying business prospects of any new ones, and not be blinded by potential tax savings.

Clinton victory is huge setback for abortion foes

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The pro-life movement suffered a major setback with the election Tuesday of pro-choice Democrat Bill Clinton and the defeats of anti-abortion ballot initiatives in Maryland and Arizona, pro-lifers and pro-choicers agreed yesterday.

"The election of a pro-abortion president is certainly a major setback," as were the failed initiatives, said Doug Johnson, federal legislative director of the National Right to Life Committee.

Phyllis Schlafly, president of the Eagle Forum, a pro-life organization, admits there's cause for pro-lifers to worry.

"Certainly Clinton will use his power to appoint pro-abortion judges and do whatever he can to push pro-abortion regulations," she said. "And he's certain to sign the Freedom of Choice Act."

Nevertheless, the "pro-life movement survived Jimmy Carter," Mrs. Schlafly said, adding, "Some feel the pro-life movement does better in times of adversity."

The comments by the pro-life leaders followed a news conference by abortion-rights proponents, who savored pro-choice election victories both in the White House and Congress.

"We have a clear message that the overwhelming majority of Americans are pro-choice," feminist Gloria Steinem, founder of Voters for Choice, a political action committee, said.

"The 12 year Reagan-Bush nightmare is over. We begin today with an immense challenge to undo the damage of 12 years of assault on women's rights, family planning and the right to know about and choose medically safe, legal abortion," said David J. Andrews, acting president of Planned Parenthood Federation of America and the Planned Parenthood Action Fund.

"Exit polls clearly showed that the national economy was the No. 1 issue," he said. "But there can be no doubt that any underlying concern with many voters — and a cutting-edge issue in some close races — was choice."

Evidence of this included the resounding defeats of the Arizona and Maryland ballot initiatives, the election of four more pro-choice governors, and a gain of "at least 20 — maybe as many as 27 to 30 — pro-choice votes in the House," Mr. Andrews said.

Mr. Johnson scoffed at Mr. Andrews' estimate of how big the pro-choice gain in the House will be. "But it will be more than 10 votes,"



Phyllis Schlafly

he said.

Pro-lifers "did well overall" in House races but fell behind primarily as a result of the creation of new minority districts, which he described as "overwhelmingly Democratic and pro-abortion," Mr. Johnson said.

Mr. Johnson said exit polling data show that the abortion issue was a "net gain" for President Bush, who is pro-life. "The abortion issue was beneficial for President Bush, but not to the extent necessary to overcome his deficit on the economic issue," he said.

But Mr. Andrews pledged that pro-choicers will be urging Mr. Clinton to act swiftly in implementing his pro-choice platform.

"During President Clinton's first 100 days," he said, "we will urge the White House to repeal the gag rule on family-planning health professionals; protect women and caregivers from intimidation, harassment and threats from right-wing extremists; improve family-planning services and educational programs; introduce legislation to provide health care for all Americans; and lift the ban on fetal tissue research."

Pro-choicers also will be pushing for congressional enactment of the proposed Freedom of Choice Act, which Mr. Clinton has pledged to sign, Mr. Andrews said.

Pro-choicers say the act would codify Roe vs. Wade, but pro-lifers say it's far more extreme and would "prohibit virtually any state limitation on abortion."

Clinton Victory Founded on Discipline, Energy, GOP Miscues

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 4—Bill Clinton's victory in Tuesday's presidential election was the product of an extraordinarily disciplined campaign organization, gifted and energetic candidates and, perhaps most important, serious Republican miscalculations about how to run against the youthful Arkansas governor, Clinton's chief campaign aides said today.

In the aftermath of any such victory, the genius of the winners and the mistakes of the losers are all too easy to discern. James Carville, Clinton's chief strategist, tacitly acknowledged this today when he described his counterpart, White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, as "the gold standard for running presidential campaigns in this era."

But while the Clinton strategists insisted that the election outcome was more a victory for the Democratic challenger than a rejection of President Bush, they were also quick to note the help they received from their opponents.

"The key was the strategic decisions that the Republicans made on how they were going to run against Bill Clinton," said Stan Greenberg, Clinton's pollster.

One mistake, Greenberg said, was to focus on character issues "what they thought were the jazzy issues like the draft" and other aspects of the so-called character issue. "They did not understand that the public was resistant to that issue. They went with their most difficult negative to get across."

When Bush finally turned to what the Democrats thought was their most vulnerable area—Clinton's record as governor of Arkansas—"they overdid it and it looked like the last desperate thing they were throwing," Greenberg added.

A second mistake, also noted by campaign manager David Wilhelm, was what Greenberg characterized as the Bush campaign's "arrogant disregard for what the public wanted out of this election."

"At no time did they feel that they had any obligation or any strategic need to tell the public where they wanted to take the country," the pollster said. "They thought that was unimportant. But the public, given how they evaluated Bush's job performance, was not going to turn to George Bush for another four years without some attempt on their part to tell the public where they wanted to take the country."

Still, all of the Republican strategic and tactical mistakes might not have added up to Democratic victory were Clinton and his campaign organization not ready to exploit them. But they were. With a discipline rarely seen in a Democratic presidential campaign, Clinton and his aides kept their message focused relentlessly on Bush's economic record and on two overarching themes that were key to victory: The need for change, for which voters clearly yearned, and on the portrayal of Clinton as a "new kind of Democrat" for whom change did not mean a return to the old "tax-and-spend" policies that voters associate with the Democrats.

In retrospect, Clinton campaign officials said, no decision was more important in conveying those themes than the selection of Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.) as running mate. In choosing a fellow southerner and Baptist who is two years younger than he, Clinton defied political convention, buttressing his image as a moderate Democrat who was ready to break with the politics of the past.

"It was a reinforcing selection and it said that these are southern, moderate, young, energetic, smart people who wanted to change the country," Greenberg said.

Out on the campaign trail, Clinton and Gore were living embodiments of their message to the country. From their

first bus tour when they stopped along the Pennsylvania Turnpike to toss a football around, through the exhausting final hours of the campaign as each pushed himself forward at breakneck speed, the Democrats' youth and energy summed up their one-word motto: Change.

Other factors broke their way. Although Clinton was badly battered during the Democratic primaries, he emerged from that ordeal with no serious challenger to satisfy at the Democratic National Convention in New York. Unlike 1988 Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis, Clinton did not have to deal with a delegate-rich Jesse L. Jackson, allowing him to distance himself from the controversial Jackson without seriously alienating the civil rights leader's followers.

Clinton got another break during the convention when independent Ross Perot decided to drop out of the presidential race. Suddenly, and for critical weeks following until Perot reentered the race, Clinton was the only alternative to four more years of Bush. "None of the polls fully

appreciated the degree to which we benefited from Perot going out," Greenberg said.

Finally, the Republican convention, particularly its first two days of right-wing rhetoric, played into Clinton's hands and sent Bush off to the fall campaign on a sour note. "I think that convention was idiotic," Carville said.

Backing up the candidate, ready to pounce on any Bush mistake and to respond savagely to any Bush attack, was the extraordinary organization that operated out of the offices of a defunct newspaper here in Little Rock. "I have never been in an endeavor that had as much strategic unity," Carville said. "We all knew the direction we wanted to go in and we all went in the same direction."

But they were more than united and quick to respond. They were gamblers. They divided the states into three categories—Top End, which could be won with a minimum of effort; Play Hard, where they would have to go all out for victory, and Big Challenge, which were probably not winnable under any circumstances.

According to media adviser Mandy Grunwald, the Clinton campaign spent less money on network television advertising than any in history.

Instead, they poured their resources into the targeted Play Hard states, in some cases beginning before Labor Day, and built up leads in states like Michigan that the later-starting Bush campaign was never able to overcome.

The results vindicated their approach and analysis of the states. According to Wilhelm, Clinton carried all of the Play Hard states except one (North Carolina) and lost every one of the Big Challenge states except one (Nevada).

There was one other crucial ingredient to the victory and that was Clinton himself. A born politician who loves the game, indefatigable in his energy and the optimism he conveys, Clinton was his own best ally, the one irreplaceable element in the Democratic victory. "Over the long haul," Carville said, "I think that Bill Clinton is the best presidential candidate of my lifetime."

On Hill, Clinton Will Find Neither Gridlock Nor Compliance

Next President's Diplomatic Skill To Be Put to Test

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

When President-elect Clinton comes to grips with the 103rd Congress next year, he will find neither the intense political gridlock that gripped Washington during the Bush administration nor a compliant legislature ready to respond to his every command.

Instead, Clinton is likely to be confronted by something in between—a largely Democratic but freewheeling group of legislators who hunger for results but chafe at discipline, unaccustomed to dealing with a president of their own party and used to calling the shots for the party themselves.

The experience will test his agility as the campaign for the presidency never did as he attempts to satisfy the legislative barons who control the fate of his programs without ceding them the power to dictate every clause.

A student of history, Clinton will remember Washington's last all-Democratic government in the late 1970s, when President Jimmy Carter failed to heed the touchy sensitivities of the barons and paid for it for four years.

Nor will the Democrats be his only concern. The last votes were hardly counted before Republicans such as Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.) signaled that his honeymoon was likely to be short.

Claiming to represent the "57 percent" majority of Americans who voted for President Bush or independent Ross Perot, Dole wished the new president well and then told him he had no mandate, no coattails and no excuses.

"It's not going to be all a bed of

roses for Governor Clinton," Dole told television interviewers yesterday morning. The Democrats' "excuses for gridlock and bad legislation are over," he added later at a news conference (alled to embellish the theme. "If they fail, they are the problem, they are the gridlock. Blaming George Bush won't work anymore."

As the early skirmishing got underway in both houses, final returns from Tuesday's election pointed to a slightly less Democratic House and marginally more Democratic Senate. Both houses remained firmly under Democratic control but the Senate fell short of the 60-vote majority that some Democrats hoped to reach in order to foil Republican filibusters.

In the House, a Republican gain of at least seven seats put the Democratic margin of control at 255 to 173. African Americans increased their representation by 13 to 38, Hispanics by 6 to 17 and Asians by 1 to 4. The number of women in the House increased by 19 to 47.

While incumbent losses were kept to three in the Senate, 24 members of the House were defeated, 16 of them Democrats. The defeated senators were Robert W. Kasten Jr. (R-Wis.), Terry Sanford (D-N.C.) and John Seymour (R-Calif.).

In the Senate, Democrats expanded their majority by one to 58, although the figure could drop back to 57, depending on the outcome of a Georgia senatorial runoff later this month. Sen. Wyche Fowler (D-Ga.) was forced into a runoff with former Peace Corps director Paul Coverdell (R) because he fell just short of the 50-plus percent majority needed to win the three-way race without a faceoff between the two top vote-getters.

It was late at night when the Democrats learned that two other states—Oregon and New Hampshire—would not come through for them. Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) won his fourth term in a squeaker over Rep. Les AuCoin (D-Ore.). And in the battle for an open seat in New Hampshire, Gov. Judd Gregg (R) finally turned back the challenge from businessman John Rauh (D).

The new Senate will have six elected female members, up from two. Carol Moseley Braun (D-Ill.) will become the first black woman senator in history. Also elected were Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, both of California, and Patty Murray (Wash.), all Democrats. They will join Sens. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.) and Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.), who was reelected Tuesday.

The ethnic diversity of the now nearly all-male, all-white Senate was also expanded by the election of Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D-Colo.), the first American Indian elected to the chamber in several decades.

Anxious to avoid suggestions that Clinton could fall into the same traps that ensnared Carter in his quarrelsome dealings with Congress, Democrats yesterday went out of their way to stress the differences they see between the two strong-willed, self-confident southern governors.

While Carter failed to consult congressional leaders and his aides gave them short shrift when they called the White House, Clinton is sensitive to legislators' needs and likes the give-and-take of lawmaking, they said. And Clinton can learn from Carter's other mistakes, including an overloading of the congressional circuits when, shortly after taking office, he dumped more legislation on Congress than it could handle, they added.

Clinton has shown "remarkable skill" in dealing with legislators and will enjoy a "good relationship" with Democrats in Congress, Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) told reporters during a briefing to hail the Clinton's election and a continued Democratic majority in Congress.

"I expect the administration will be very positive in working with Congress," starting with meetings soon to coordinate legislative agendas and strategies for the 103rd Congress, which convenes in January, House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) added in a telephone interview.

Stuart Eizenstat, who was Carter's chief domestic policy adviser, said he did not expect Clinton to encounter the same difficulties that Carter did.

The main difference between Clinton and Carter is that Clinton relies legislative give-and-take, Pryor contended. "Bill Clinton loves the battle, the competition. I don't like to say wheeling and dealing, but he likes the combat," he added.

Although Clinton criticized Congress, especially early in his Democratic primary campaigning, he has maintained close contacts with many key members, who can be expected—along with Vice President-elect Gore—to be valuable allies on Capitol Hill, Pryor said. "Even though he hasn't bonded yet with the institution, he's bonded with a lot of its people."

Lawmakers in both houses expect Clinton to push hard and early with his economic recovery and jobs program, health care and deficit reduction—although they were not clear how a costly economic stimulus program would fit into the more general goals of long-term deficit reduction that he outlined in his campaign.

Most said that Clinton must move quickly to nail down the major elements of his legislative program within the first few months of his administration, like Reagan did with his tax and budget programs, or run the risk of losing momentum in Congress. But some others cautioned against setting deadlines that could not be met, which Bush had a habit of doing, to the extreme annoyance of many Democrats.

In conjunction with Clinton, Democratic leaders also plan to push early for enactment of some of the 102nd Congress's handiwork that Bush vetoed or Republicans stalled on his behalf, including overhaul of congressional campaign finance laws, family medical leave legislation, easing of voter registration laws, expansion of aid to elementary and secondary schools and a week-long waiting period for handgun purchases.

With a president ready to sign the legislation, some of the bills may be stripped of the compromises that were made in an attempt to win support from Bush or GOP lawmakers, Democrats said.

Democratic lawmakers may also take a second look at legislation such as campaign finance overhaul, which some members supported only with the certain knowledge that it would be vetoed. Now that it will almost certainly be signed, more scrutiny of its impact may be needed, some have suggested.

Staff writer George Lardner Jr. contributed to this report.

Unlike Carter, "Clinton developed relations [with leaders and members of Congress] that we never had—a network and colleagues that will get him off to a fast start," Eizenstat said.

Moreover, while Congress was eager to reassert its authority after Watergate, it is now feeling pressure from the electorate and from within its ranks to produce legislative results after the frustrating deadlock with Republican presidents for three terms. "After 12 years, there's almost a parliamentary kind of discipline" to pull together with other Democrats and an accommodating president, he added.

But Eizenstat also cautioned that Clinton could feel the same pressure that Carter did to respond to appeals for action on all fronts at once. "It will be an acid test," Eizenstat said. "Reagan did it in holding off his right wing, and we've got to do it as well" in dealing with Democratic constituency groups who are impatient for action on their causes.

Other Democrats, asking not to be quoted by name, said little things—such as failure on the part of presidential aides to return phone calls instantly—can get a president off on the wrong foot with lawmakers of his own party.

A more serious problem, some agreed, was the difficulty that many Democrats undoubtedly will find in adjusting to the less powerful and conspicuous role that they will have under a Democratic president after 12 years of ruling the Democratic roost in Washington.

This makes it all the more imperative for Clinton and his people to consult—even massage—key members of the House and Senate before he is inaugurated Jan. 20.

Foley and Mitchell said they expect to meet with Clinton transition officials soon to discuss ways of coordinating the Democratic legislative program.

Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.), Clinton's chief mentor on Capitol Hill, rejected suggestions that Clinton would turn out to be like Carter. "Clinton will work one-on-one with members of Congress, telephones hanging out of his ears all day long" to listen and consult, Pryor said.

Gay Rights Groups Applaud Clinton's Win

Arkansas Governor Said to Get 72 Percent Support of Homosexual Voters

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

Gay rights supporters yesterday hailed Tuesday's elections as producing the first president to actively seek the votes of homosexuals and lesbians and moving them from the fringe of the political process into the mainstream.

Those results, coupled with the defeat of a bitterly contested ballot issue that would have put Oregon on record as opposing homosexuality, mark "a rite of passage from the margins to the center, from social pariah to political partner, from public intolerance to public understanding," said Robert Bray, spokesman for the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force here.

Bray and other gay rights proponents tempered their joy with disappointment over the approval of a Colorado referendum that effectively blocks enactment of anti-gay laws there. The proposal, which had drawn less national attention than the Oregon measure, rescinds ordinances in Denver, Boulder and Aspen. It won approval by 54 percent to 46 percent.

"What the radical Christian right was testing was two approaches: one here and the other in Colorado," said Ellen Lowe, speaking for the "No on 9" coalition in Oregon. Both the Oregon

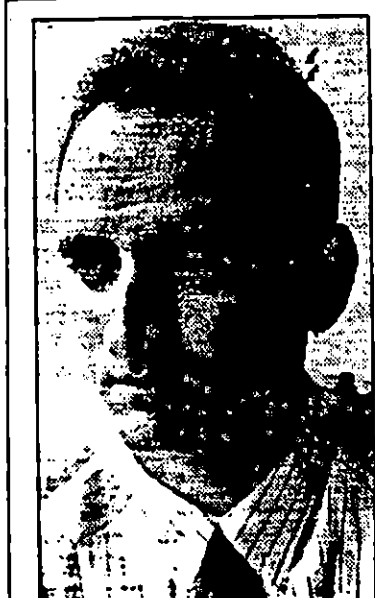
and Colorado measures were supported by the Christian Coalition, a Virginia Beach-based group formed by television evangelist Pat Robertson, Lowe said.

In what was almost a mirror image of the Colorado election, a coalition of religious, business and civil liberties groups in Oregon got 57 percent of the state's voters to reject a state constitution amendment to declare that homosexuality was "abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse."

In Colorado, the ballot language was milder, and gay rights advocates said they were put on the defensive by a campaign that

The election marks "a rite of passage from the margins to the center, from social pariah to political partner."

—Robert Bray, spokesman,
National Gay and Lesbian
Task Force



portrayed the measure as denying special rights to any group. The proponents raised the prospect of hiring quotas for homosexuals and "they were very successful in pushing the anxiety buttons," Bray said. "The hate rhetoric was toned down."

Bray and Lowe said backers of the Oregon measure were vowing to put the issue back on the state's ballot next year but with less explicit language borrowed from Colorado. Will Perkins, chairman of Colorado for Family Values, the group that prepared the referendum, was offering to take the measure elsewhere. "We

would be used as a pattern for other states," he said.

Two cities that had anti-bias measures on the ballot Tuesday also had different results. Portland, Maine, rejected an effort to repeal an anti-bias measure, but Tampa voters overturned a year-old gay rights law after what has been a highly emotional campaign.

Leaders of the Gay and Lesbian Task Force here said they were turning their attention to the Clinton administration and would be pressing the president-elect to make good on some of his campaign promises. The group placed top priority on abolishing the Defense Department's ban on homosexuals serving in the military and moving more rapidly than the Bush administration did toward finding a cure for AIDS.

The group also called on Clinton within his first 100 days to name an AIDS "czar" to oversee the federal government's effort to combat the disease and to implement the recommendations of the presidential AIDS commission.

According to network exit polls, 72 percent of gay men and lesbians supported Clinton, 1 percent supported President Bush and 14 percent Ross Perot. Urvashi Vaid, executive director of the Gay and Lesbian Task Force, said, "We formed a crucial voting bloc and helped elect a new president."

Clinton's Task: Contain Intraparty Tensions

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

Various factions within the Democratic Party that long have sparred with one another are taking credit for Tuesday's presidential victory and for creation of what many say is the first coalition in more than a quarter century that can produce sustained wins for the party.

One of President-elect Clinton's first political burdens will be to contain the tensions already surfacing among the party's competing factions.

Leaders of the right-center wing said that their work pressuring the party toward the political middle was critical to Clinton's election.

"Our efforts to provide reality therapy for the party were maybe as important as anything that happened to this party because we helped convince the Democratic Party that we had to win the middle class," said Al From, president of the Democratic Leadership Council. "Without that, this party would have sailed along, thinking that the only problem was that Michael Dukakis was a bad candidate or a bad messenger, or that if we can only energize our base, we can win."

From the left, Jesse L. Jackson contended that Clinton won because he campaigned on such themes as investing in the nation's infrastructure and support for gay rights, health care overhaul and family leave—all of which "sound very much like the Rainbow Coalition 1984 and 1988 platforms."

And from the self-described "progressive" wing of the party, an organization called the Citizens Transition Project has produced a massive 1,200-page document, "Changing America: Blueprints for a New Democracy" that details a proposed administration agenda, including a \$60 billion-a-year capital investment program, continued low-interest rates and changed labor-management relations.

The core of the Clinton presidential campaign was the development of political strategies designed to bridge the difference among these factions. For a generation, since the outbreak of urban rioting and the surge of anti-Vietnam War protests in the 1960s, the Democratic Party has been split by ideological, cultural and racial fissures that have fragmented support for its presidential candidates.

Jimmy Carter's 1976 victory—before Tuesday, the only Democratic presidential victory since Lyndon B. Johnson's landslide in 1964—resulted largely from public disenchantment with the Republican Party after the Watergate scandals and was not based on coalition-building within the party.

In this context, the Clinton campaign was the antithesis of Carter's anti-politics campaign. Clinton has been determined to rebuild the Democratic Party, not reject it as Carter largely did. Exit polls sug-



Clinton "recognizes that both Democrats who never left the party and those who did leave must pull together under one tent in order to win."

—Jesse L. Jackson

gest that Clinton made significant strides in reviving voter identification with the party. But Clinton still must demonstrate that he can transform a liberal-to-center, biracial political electoral coalition into one that can govern. Since the early years of the Johnson administration in 1964-1965 no Democratic president has been able to do so.

To win the election, Clinton focused on the deteriorating economy as a theme to unite disparate classes and interests, and fused that with a rhetoric honoring the work ethic and challenging the welfare system. The rhetoric was designed to restore Democratic loyalties among white working-class voters. Those voters in the late 1960s and 1970s had come increasingly to believe that the party supported, at their expense as taxpayers, programs benefiting the nonworking poor.

The success of Clinton's strategy is apparent in the numbers. Exit polling by Voter Research & Surveys showed a black-white presidential coalition with a preponderance of voters in the working class and lower middle class.

Clinton did not win a plurality of white voters on Tuesday, although his 39 percent was virtually a statistical tie with Bush's 41 percent. That represents a major gain for the Democrats. Democratic nominees Walter F. Mondale in 1984

and Dukakis in 1988 were decisively defeated among white voters.

At the same time, Clinton maintained traditional Democratic landslide margins among African-American voters and piled up almost equally massive margins among Jewish voters. Clinton also won the suburban vote, which the GOP had counted on. He carried every income group earning \$50,000 or less, compared to Dukakis and Mondale, who were crushed among lower-middle-class voters with family incomes of \$25,000 to \$35,000.

If the Carter victory was based on the fluke of Watergate, Clinton's win marks the first Democratic success in the ongoing struggle, begun in 1968, based on the competition between a Democratic Party trying to build a coalition based on economics and a Republican coalition energized by such issues as crime, busing, affirmative action and family values.

At the moment, in the flush of victory, major Democratic factions are prepared to take a highly conciliatory approach to the Clinton administration.

Mark Green, consumer affairs commissioner of New York City and chairman of the Citizens Transition Project, described the president-elect as "a brilliant amalgam of progressive and conservative ideas." Green said Clinton will govern like Franklin D. Roosevelt, picking and choosing from right and left in a highly pragmatic fashion.

Jackson, with whom Clinton had some highly publicized conflicts during the campaign, said that Clinton "recognizes that both Democrats who never left the party [especially African Americans, Hispanics and the poor] and those who did leave [white working- and lower-middle-class voters] must pull together under one tent in order to win."

This surface peace is sure to come under strain as Clinton begins to make legislative proposals and key appointments.

The kind of conflicts Clinton faces is readily apparent in tax policy. As a candidate, Clinton campaigned on themes both of restoring tax equity by increasing levies on the rich and lowering them on the poor, while creating modified versions of the investment tax credit and capital gains breaks, both of which mainly benefit the affluent.

"He wants to reverse the Reagan tax shift" that reduced the burden on the affluent "and at the same time he wants to do some of the same things that caused the Reagan tax shift," said Robert S. McIntyre, a proponent of progressive tax rates and head of Citizens for Tax Justice.

Although many analysts have described the election as the end of a conservative era, there is one major legacy of the Reagan-Bush years that will continue to restrict the Democratic Party and the Clinton administration: a national debt that reached nearly \$4 trillion by Sept. 30, the end of the 1992 fiscal year. The huge debt severely restricts Clinton's ability to raise money to increase government activity and, in turn, enlarge and strengthen the divided elements of the Democratic coalition.

Clinton Writing Agenda For Economic Change

By Dan Balz and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

The transition mandated by Tuesday's election began yesterday with President-elect Clinton reassuring financial centers and foreign capitals that they have nothing to fear from the change and with defeated President Bush vowing to finish his term "in style."

Clinton told the country he has "already begun" the task of coming up with an economic agenda that will be the centerpiece of his first 100 days in office. But he warned voters not to expect overnight results.

"It will not be easy, but we will spare no effort to restore growth, jobs and incomes to the American people," the president-elect told reporters.

As Clinton met with his transition planners in Little Rock, Ark., and Bush flew back from Houston to be cheered by Republican partisans on the White House lawn, leaders of the Democratic Congress asserted their readiness to assume their share of the responsibility now carried by their party.

Near final, unofficial returns gave Clinton a 43 percent to 38 percent lead over Bush in popular votes, with independent Ross Perot's 19 percent constituting the highest third-candidate percentage since Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. Clinton won 370 electoral votes to Bush's 168, as the self-proclaimed "different kind of Democrat" captured states from Maine to Nevada that had been considered part of the "Republican lock" on the White House.

The GOP did better in the congressional contests, limiting the Democrats to a one-seat gain in the Senate—to 58—which could be reversed by the outcome of a runoff on Nov. 24 for a Democratic-held seat in Georgia. In the House, Republicans made modest gains, cutting the Democratic margin from 100 seats to 82.

In gubernatorial races, Democrats gained two statehouses by winning eight of the 12 contests Tuesday. Republicans made gains in state legislative races, picking up a net of five additional legislative chambers, while the Democrats appeared to have suffered a net loss of four in the number of states where they controlled both legislative chambers. Democrats now control 25 states, Republicans 9 and 15 are split. Nebraska has a nonpartisan unicameral legislatures.

More than 100 million voters turned out Tuesday, the largest number in history, as participation reached its highest level in two decades. In addition to ousting Bush and giving Perot an impressive showing, the voters sent another signal of unrest by enacting term limits in all 14 states where such initiatives appeared on the ballot.

About 55 percent of eligible voter participated, up 5 percentage points from the 50.2 low set in 1988, according to Curtis B. Gans,

of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. Tuesday's turnout was the highest percentage since the 55.4 percent that voted in 1972, Gans said.

As Clinton and Bush traded statements of good will, Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) sounded the only jarring note of the day. He reminded the victorious Arkansas governor that he had won the presidency with only 43 percent of the popular vote and asserted that the Senate GOP would speak for "the majority" of Bush and Ross Perot supporters.

"The good news" for Clinton, Dole said at a news conference, "is he's getting a honeymoon in Washington. The bad news is, Bob Dole will be his chaperone."

With Bush promising to "cooperate fully with the new administration," Clinton made no public moves to fill the top jobs in his transition operation. Sources said his advisers were urging him to name a transition director as quickly as possible but added that until yesterday Clinton had spent little time on transition matters.

There were reports of resistance in Clinton's staff to the possible appointment of campaign chairman Mickey Kantor, a Los Angeles lawyer and old friend of Clinton and his wife, Hillary, as transition director. Among others mentioned as possible directors were former Carter administration official Warren M. Christopher, Washington lawyer Vernon Jordan, and Eli Segal, the campaign's director of administration.

"The transition process was way ahead of Bill Clinton," one Democrat said. "Now he's focused on it, but he's not going to be rushed."

Press secretary Dee Dee Myers said the transition team is looking for a house in the Washington area where Clinton can live until he is sworn in Jan. 20 and that he and the transition team are expected to move here "within a month or so."

Clinton and Vice President-elect Gore appeared briefly before reporters in Little Rock, where Clinton, who campaigned on a message of change, read a statement "reaffirming the essential continuity of American foreign policy" and telling the financial markets "we understand the need to pursue stability even as we pursue new growth."

Clinton said that until he is sworn in in January, Bush "remains solely" in control of American foreign policy and pledged to cooperate to assure continuity on such matters as the Middle East peace talks, arms negotiations, trade talks, the conflict in the former Yugoslavian republics and starvation in Somalia.

"The greatest gesture of good will any nation can make toward me is to continue their full cooperation during this period with our one president, George Bush," Clinton said, reading a prepared statement.

The president-elect also offered words designed to soothe financial markets that have shown some nervousness over what Clinton's economic program might mean. "The changes I seek will strengthen America's market system, not weaken them," he said.

From Little Rock to Capitol Hill, there was near-universal agreement among Democrats on the po-

...action to redeem the key promises of the Clinton campaign.

"The American people have put the burden of government on us," said Stuart Eizenstat, domestic policy coordinator for President Jimmy Carter, "and we have to prove that we can govern."

As the Democratic leadership announced plans for a series of regional meetings next week with newly elected House members, aimed at getting a quick start in the next Congress, House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) predicted, "There's going to be a great desire on the part of the members to cooperate with Clinton's leadership and deliver for him the program that he wants. . . . Both new and returning members understand what an important responsibility we have been given."

House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) said he agreed "there will be that definite accountability now" for the Democrats, but expressed skepticism that the White House-congressional relationship will proceed as smoothly as Gephardt suggested. "I talked to many of the Democratic leaders before Congress broke last month," he said, "and I was surprised at how little contact and how little rapport they had with Clinton."

During the convention and campaign Clinton's distance from Congress as an institution, as if he feared that public criticism of Capitol Hill would rub off on him, was conspicuous, even as he met with individual members of Congress.

But Gephardt insisted there was no coolness, arguing that Clinton "knows a lot about . . . how the Congress works. I think he will avoid a lot of the mistakes that have often been made and will communicate with members who need to be communicated with as the program is put together."

Eizenstat, who saw how quickly Carter and the Democratic Congress got off on the wrong foot in 1977, with quarrels over everything from tax credits to water projects, said Clinton will have a better start because "the Democrats are so hungry [for success] they will give him more of a honeymoon" and because Congress today has less of an "institutional aversion to the presidency" than it did when Carter took office, just 2½ years after Watergate.

Besides, he said, "Clinton is an inordinately good politician. He likes politicians. He works well with them. He does not come to this city as an insulated stranger."

Richard Moe, another veteran of the Carter administration, said Clinton's biggest challenge will be to establish his own priorities. "You can't do everything," Moe said. "There are not enough resources and he doesn't have enough political capital to do everything. He has to limit the agenda so that it is both ambitious and achievable."

Clinton's ability to find that balance will help determine whether he can solidify the coalition of regions and demographic groups that gave him his decisive electoral majority Tuesday.

Clinton's campaign strategists claimed that the Democrat's coast-to-coast victory signaled the breakup of the Republican coalition that has dominated presidential politics for nearly two decades. He won the presidency with a biracial coalition of voters that cut across lines of

age, income, race, and religion. He wooed back many of the Democrats who deserted their party for Ronald Reagan in the 1980s and reversed a decade-long trend by winning young voters decisively.

But analysts differed on the question of whether Clinton truly fractured the Republican coalition or simply took advantage of the unrest over the economy.

Ronald H. Brown Jr., chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said, "I think we really broke some traditional lines in this election."

By appealing to middle-class voters and maintaining his focus on the economy, Clinton avoided some of the divisions that have plagued the Democrats in the past. "We reclaimed our middle-class base," said Al From, president of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council.

But Ed Goeas, a Republican pollster, said it is too soon for the Democrats to make assumptions about the cohesiveness of the coalition that elected Clinton. "I think it was the special circumstances of this year, rather than the breakup of the Republican coalition," he said.

Goeas said Clinton may have a particularly difficult time maintaining support in the West and New England, because economies in those regions have been particularly hurt by cuts in the defense budget, something Clinton has promised to accelerate. "That's a place where what he's said and what he now has to make happen is going to be very difficult for him," Goeas said.

Democrat Peter Hart said Clinton's broad electoral majority hinged on the economy. Hart said that in the 14 states where the unemployment rate had risen the most since 1988, Clinton won 13 and lost Florida narrowly. "The eight we picked up [over 1988] accounted for 139 electoral votes," he said. "You take those away and tell me how we did. . . . So was there an economic message and an economic component? Yet bet there was."

"The Clinton campaign was very skillful in attacking the short-term concerns [about the direction of the country] and leveraging it into an indictment of the past 12 years," said Richard Wirthlin, Ronald Reagan's pollster. He added that Clinton was equally successful "in tapping into the long-term optimism of the American people as Reagan did."

But he warned that mandates are "not bestowed by the electorate but by the first year of governance" and said the unease that many voters expressed about a Clinton presidency represented a "shadow across the mandate" many Democrats were claiming yesterday.

Clinton's ability to solidify his coalition will depend on how well he reassures Perot's substantial block of support during the early stages of his presidency. "I'm not sure that the Perot movement survives as a movement," Democrat Geoff Garin said. "It's very much in the hands of the people who get to govern in the next few years, and people will be watching."

In elections for Congress, both parties ended up disappointed. Democrats had hoped to add three seats in the Senate to achieve a "filibuster-proof" 60-vote majority. Instead, they had to be content with a provisional one-seat pickup, stemming from their defeats of Sens. John Seymour (R-Calif.) and Robert W. Kasten Jr. (R-Wis.), offset by the loss of Sen. Terry Sanford (D-N.C.). Even

that one-seat gain could disappear if Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. (D-Ga.) does not win the November runoff against former Peace Corps director Paul Coverdell (R) that was forced when a third candidate kept Fowler slightly below the 50-percent mark. Georgia law requires a runoff when no candidate achieves a majority.

In the House, it was the Republicans who fell short of the gains they had hoped to see from a combination of reapportionment, redistricting and public revulsion with scandals in the House Bank and Post Office. A number of "overdraft" incumbents, most of them Democrats, were felled early in the evening, leading Republicans to hope they might gain 20 to 25 seats. But the pattern reversed itself as the count moved west, notably in California, where Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.), chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, blamed the White House decision to write off the state for stranding GOP challengers in many newly created districts.

With six races undecided, Democrats had 255 seats, Republicans 173 and one was held by Vermont independent Bernard Sanders. In the last Congress, Democrats had a 267 to 167 majority.

Only 12 states elected governors Tuesday, and Democrats made a net gain of two, taking over Delaware, Missouri and North Carolina and yielding North Dakota.

In the legislative races, Republicans took control of the state Senate or House in Arizona, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Idaho, Montana, Iowa, Vermont and Alaska and gained a tie in Florida, while the Democrats took over chambers in South Dakota and the state of Washington and achieved a tie in Pennsylvania.

Staff writer Ruth Marcus in Little Rock, Ark., and researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

Clinton: Forging Discipline, Vision and Luck Into Victory

By GWENIFILL

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 4 — The Hollywood stars were streaming into the Biltmore Hotel in downtown Los Angeles on the warm night of June 2 to see and be seen with Bill Clinton, who had just wrapped up the Democratic nomination for President. The Clinton California primary victory party was the hottest ticket in town.

But upstairs in the Governor's suite, Mr. Clinton was frustrated, his advisers depressed. The Wednesday morning headlines would proclaim him the winner, but a fatally wounded one. In a politically debilitating turn of events, polls showed Mr. Clinton running a distant third behind the shiny, new independent candidacy of Ross Perot. It looked as if the party might be over before it had properly begun.

"We had hit the worst of all possible junctures," recalled Paul Begala, a Clinton strategist who went out for a rare stiff drink that night with his partner, James Carville. "Voters knew all the bad and none of the good."

The campaign's success in changing the course of this year's tumultuous campaign resulted from stern discipline, a measure of dumb luck and a nearly naive sense of purpose that fueled Mr. Clinton's pursuit of the Presidency.

Mr. Clinton overcame extraordinary political adversity by plotting his objectives far in advance and presenting the electorate with a threatening vision of the consequences of re-electing Mr. Bush — for the economy, for domestic tranquility and for Washington gridlock.

"The very future of the American dream is at stake," he warned last spring. He was determined not to repeat the mistakes Senator Al Gore, another Southerner, had made when seeking the Presidency in 1988 by failing to plan beyond a sweep of southern states in the Super Tuesday primaries. Mr. Clinton assembled a circle of victory-hungry strategists and advisers who were determined to establish the Arkansas Governor as a viable candidate nationwide.

The Clinton forces also set themselves the task of overcoming the stigma of the Democratic Party as the home of losers and liberals. What some viewed as a repudiation of traditional party principles were defined instead as an effort to broaden the party.

And when the campaign began to flounder, as on that night in California, Clinton strategists like his media adviser, Mandy Grunwald, pushed forward on another front: linking Mr. Clinton to pop culture through appearances on the Arsenio Hall Show, MTV and the Nashville Network.

In the end, the candidate and his staff hammered out a strategy that looked stubbornly ahead, even during their bleakest moments.

Two Miscalculations: Vietnam and Hillary

In retrospect, Clinton campaign aides now say, it became clear shortly after the Republican Convention that the prize was in their grasp. It was the spectacle in Houston that, in their view, flattened Mr. Bush. Long on conservative rhetoric, the convention was also short on the sort of specifics the Democrats had decided voters wanted to hear.

The mistakes are easy to chronicle.

One of the biggest was Mr. Clinton's failure to appreciate the danger posed by his incomplete explanations of how he had avoided military service during the Vietnam War. Campaign staff members said they gravely miscalculated the damage the draft issue could do to Mr. Clinton's credibility.

During a campaign strategy session in December 1991, Mr. Clinton and his aide, Betsey Wright, asserted that questions about the candidate's draft status had been resolved in previous state campaigns and would be no problem in 1992. Mr. Clinton was adamant that no further research be conducted on the matter, the sources said.

But for all the problems that the draft issue caused Mr. Clinton, it never became the weapon the Republicans hoped it would be.

Still, there were other perilous miscalculations. For example, Hillary Clinton, who had originally been regarded as an unqualified benefit to the ticket, foundered when she defended her career with a disparaging aside about women who stay home to "bake cookies and have teas."

"That was a self-inflicted wound," Mrs. Clinton said in an interview this week. "It just was something I had to learn about. That was a learning process for me."

Yet it is instructive to note that when Mr. Clinton's closest advisers are asked to name the lowest moments of the Democrat's campaign this year, they do not immediately mention the embarrassments and notoriety over marital infidelity, the Vietnam-era draft or Mr. Clinton's marijuana use that at times threatened to engulf the campaign.

Instead, they talk about the success and failures of their message and how they chose to deliver it. In the end, when they stuck to their message, they overcame their mistakes.

Long-Term Strategy: Fix What Is Broken

One of the most frustrating moments for Mr. Clinton during this year's campaign had nothing to do with the character questions that President Bush would later use against him. It occurred when he found himself battling his competitors for the hearts of the middle-class.

Paul Tsongas, Jerry Brown and Ross Perot all proved to be threats. And as each of these slightly offbeat candidates took his turn as prime challenger, the campaign's internal polling showed that Mr. Clinton's negative ratings among voters began to rise correspondingly.

In rapid succession, Mr. Clinton appropriated their messages, railing against Washington and making his prescription for change more somber. But to hear Mr. Clinton talk about it at the time, it would have been easy to believe that each small calibration was his own idea.

"One of the things I've learned in this business is make your own strat-

egy, try to stick to it, hope for the best, assume the worst, and go on," Mr. Clinton said in an interview in March.

He had barely finished elbowing his way to a second-place finish in the New Hampshire primary in February before he started taking aim at Georgia and South Carolina. And by the time the letdown of the California primary victory had passed, the campaign's top advisers had already retreated to Little Rock to begin planning the general election.

"There had been a lot of discussions in May about what we would do in June," said Hillary Clinton. "We assumed we would win the nomination. And we remembered what Bush did to Dukakis in June."

By anticipating the worst of the attacks, the Clinton campaign's vaunted quick-response team deflected nearly everything the Republicans threw at them. "We killed their attacks before they went national, and by the time they went into their convention, their biggest attack was Hillary," George Stephanopoulos, the campaign's communications director, said. "Bingo."

The Democrats also quickly realized they had to repair their candidate's image.

Hillary Clinton said she was "stunned" when internal polls showed that most people thought she and her husband were childless. Instantly, 12-year-old Chelsea appeared with her parents on People Magazine.

The same polls showed no one knew much of anything about Mr. Clinton except for the primary soap operas that had become fodder for late-night comedians. On Arsenio Hall, they learned he played the saxophone. On MTV, they learned he could sometimes laugh about himself. On morning talk shows and televised town meetings in targeted states, they heard about health care, educational opportunity and life after the Cold War.

Some of Mr. Clinton's advisers thought the whole thing not very Presidential, but using the pop culture approach was also a purposeful — and ultimately successful — attempt to circumvent mainstream press coverage, which the Clintons and their advisers were convinced would endlessly rehash debilitating controversies.

Not all the surprises were bad. Even Mr. Clinton's most forward-thinking strategists had not predicted the galvanizing effect Mr. Gore and his picture-perfect family would have on the ticket.

Although he was limited as a Presidential candidate in 1988 and sometimes long-winded as a Vice-Presidential candidate this year, Mr. Gore's presence on the ticket was an unalloyed benefit.

The pictures that emerged from their joint bus trips were effective television images, and Tipper Gore's friendliness on the stump blunted Hillary Clinton's sharp edges as the two giggled together like old cheerleader buddies.

Waiting for Attacks Or Signs of Strategy

Al From, the executive director of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council, said that in choosing another Southerner as his running mate rather than reaching for geographical balance, Mr. Clinton signaled that he meant it when he said he was an unconventional Democrat.

Clinton advisers seemed in a state of perpetual surprise over the Republican Party's failure to mount an effective and consistent counterattack.

"They did not do a thing, to our great delight," said Ms. Grunwald.

David Wilhelm, the architect of Mr. Clinton's state-by-state strategy, said the campaign targeted 32 states with 376 electoral votes, calculating each state's historical performance in Presidential elections — something they called the "Southernness factor" — to gauge Mr. Clinton's regional appeal, to plan where to travel, and more important, to decide where to spend advertising money.

Shunning network television advertising in favor of state purchases, gave them "gubernatorial level" campaigns at each crucial state, Ms. Grunwald said.

A discordant Republican convention and a listless Bush performance during the debates, particularly Mr. Bush's groping response to a question about how the recession had affected him personally, infused the Clinton strategists with confidence.

"When Bush couldn't answer that question, the whole campaign exhaled," said Mr. Stephanopoulos.

Assembling Victory From Puzzle Pieces

Mr. Clinton's victory is a paradox, a hard-won political victory that contradicted the year's conventional wisdom: Voters despised politics but elected a man who had been steeped in political ambition ever since he shook President Kennedy's hand.

This was supposed to be the year that questions of character were to determine the campaign's outcome. But voters elected a man who was forced to answer questions about his marital fidelity on national television, who avoided the military draft and who shaded the truth on whether he used hard drugs as a student.

All of this turned out to be largely beside the point on Election Day because, as it turned out, Mr. Clinton's timing was impeccable.

Like Ronald Reagan, he sought the Presidency in a year when the country was struggling with a weakened economy and when the incumbent President was perceived as ineffectual on the matters that counted most.

Also like Mr. Reagan, he ran as a can-do governor who promised to move his own party in a different direction. For a Democrat who had worked for George McGovern in 1972, Mr. Clinton did a remarkable job of transforming himself into a moderate who rejected the overtly liberal orthodoxy that had cost his party ever Presidential election, save one, since 1964.

"I remind you again tonight, my fellow Americans, that this victory was more than a victory of party. Mr. Clinton told his jubilant supporters late Tuesday night as they shivered in the cold outside the pristine Old State House here. "It was a victory for the people who work hard and play by the rules, a victory for the people who feel left out and left behind and want to do better, a victory for the people who are ready to compete and win in the global economy but who need a government that offers a hand not a hand-out."

Day After, Hopeful Washington Pragmatists Gird for Changes

by David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

In an ordinary city, a guy like Richard J. Whalen might have chosen to call in sick yesterday, pull the covers over his head and groan. Whalen is a veteran Republican, and on Tuesday, Republicans lost their 12-year grip on the White House.

But Whalen is a true Beltway insider, so he was hard at work at his economic consulting firm, busily talking up prospects for President-elect Clinton's international fiscal policy.

"There is a vacuum," he was saying into the phone. "Clinton's got to signal his intentions to the G-7 and move into this vacuum. We must coordinate stimulus over the next 18 months. There's a dead weight of monetarist orthodoxy."

You can translate that into global economics. You also can translate it into Washington pragmatism. Does Republican Whalen actually have high hopes for a Democratic administration? His answer could be a motto for this town's permanent players:

"I'm hopeful, because he's the president we've got."

On the Day After in Washington, young, restless Democrats felt they had found their Moses. The party's older, seasoned hearts quickened at the prospect of one more turn at the helm. So rarely here does power

But for the town's lasting cogs, the eternal fixtures, the mood was one of acute alertness. It was a time for keen thinking. Things are moving, fast. You have to move along with them or wither.

Tough towns don't swoon.

In an ordinary town, the conquered might take a day or so to pout, and the victors might indulge in euphoria. After all, this is only the second time in a quarter century that Democrats have elected a president, and plenty of people wouldn't mind forgetting about the other one.

But euphoria is for children and pouting is for losers. In Washington, D.C., capital of the world's last superpower, there is no place for losers and children. Once the votes are counted, there's no point in moping. Get back in there and play.

"We are survivors," said Ben J. Wattenberg, a political scientist at the conservative American Enterprise Institute. He was talking about think tanks, but his words could apply to any insider.

Which is, perhaps, why Wattenberg, once a prophet of the Reagan Revolution, sounded so upbeat about prospects for a Clinton administration.

"You know, I've been reading through some of this Democratic Leadership Council stuff," he said, speaking of the centrist policy agency that shaped much of Clinton's agenda. "You know, it's very serious, very intelligent material. The question is: Is that the way he'll govern? If he does, this could be the end of . . . old-style Democratic liberalism."

Read between the lines. Wattenberg is saying: Maybe there's a role for a conservative think-tanker in encouraging Clinton to ignore the Old Left. Same enemy, new angle.

That is the Washington spirit.

Not that everyone in town has plans to accommodate Clinton. The hard-right Heritage

Foundation, for example, appeared poised to play the role of the medieval monks who preserved the treasures of the faith through the Dark Ages.

Meanwhile, Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.) did some chest-thumping yesterday about blocking Clinton legislation. Maybe he really does intend to make an Alamo out of his side of the aisle, or maybe he was just reminding the president-elect that Capitol Hill will not be paved with palm fronds.

George Bush (remember him?) used to talk a lot about "campaign mode" and "governing mode," as if what happens during a political race has nothing to do with life in Washington

before or after. That is partly true, a heightened version of the truth, which is: Washington does not look back.

Yesterday, Washington veterans could talk about the campaign drama, but they preferred to set their eyes on the future. "I think people have begun to get the feeling Clinton might, just conceivably, have the wit to put together a program that will make us really move as a country," said Harry McPherson, a wise man of the Democratic establishment.

As the old hands gazed ahead, they sought familiar terrain from the past. Again and again, Washingtonians mentioned three elections that turned the ship of state: 1932, 1960 and 1980. Each time, a new president arrived to shake up what seemed a complacent, even lethargic, Washington.

The first of these transitions was perhaps the greatest. FDR brought not only a New Deal but also the seeds of permanent Washington. His predecessor, Herbert Hoover, used to say things such as: "The centralization of government will undermine responsibilities and destroy the system."

Roosevelt put an end to that kind of thinking for a long, long time.

Clinton is, like Roosevelt, a Democratic governor with a populist approach and the air about him of having a major spending plan stashed up his sleeve. Nevertheless, most people are a bit shy about making too much of the comparison. FDR has passed into the pantheon.

Talk of Kennedy in '60 and Reagan in '80 was much more common yesterday. "I'm struck by the parallels to 1960," McPherson said. "Congress kept passing bills that Eisenhower vetoed. Congress couldn't override. When Kennedy came in, he gave that glorious speech on the ice-bound Capitol steps, then went to work passing bills from the previous year. The really big stuff took more time. We may see that again."

Reagan was mentioned as a man who took his victory over an unpopular incumbent and turned it into a mandate for sweeping philosophical change, which he deftly bulled through Congress with a blend of backroom charm and voter appeal. Many Democrats would like to see Clinton do as well in his first year.

If it seems surprising that Washington veterans would discuss Kennedy and Reagan in the same breath, the lesson of Richard Whalen has not sunk in. Around town, those who survive admire political grace and political strength at least as much as ideological purity. Kennedy and Reagan had it, and people yesterday seemed hopeful that Clinton too would have it.

"He genuinely enjoys politics and politicians and has the kind of breadth that acknowledges the importance of Washington," said

former Iowa senator John Culver (D). "He enjoys the process."

McPherson contrasted Clinton to that president. Democrats would prefer to forget, Jimmy Carter. Newly elected in 1976, Carter summoned congressional bigwigs to Plains, Ga., for a meeting. They stayed in, ugh, motels.

"Reagan came to Washington and held a series of dinners at the F Street Club," McPherson said. "He used that winsome charm and aw-shucks manliness to win Congress over. I think Clinton has that gregariousness. I think he's willing to work with people, and when the time comes, to push his stack of chips into the game."

For the real players in Washington, that was the key to yesterday's mood. A new pro is coming to town. This could be fun! A winner! Washington always loves a winner, at least for a while.

"I think people have begun to get the feeling Clinton might, just conceivably, have the wit to put together a program that will make us really move as a country."

—Democrat Harry McPherson

turn upside down; this was a big, big day for Washington.

People compared it to the coming of Ronald Reagan, of John F. Kennedy, even of Franklin D. Roosevelt. They bubbled with plans, gossip, speculation and wonder.

At Home, at Ease, at Last

Clintons Share With Old Friends the Realization of a Long Quest

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 4—When Bill and Hillary Clinton arrived for a celebratory breakfast this morning at the home of old friend Carolyn Staley, Hillary whispered to her host that Clinton's voice was shot again and that it would be best if the 30 close friends there did most of the talking and let Clinton sit back and relax.

That plan lasted less than a minute. For the nation's seemingly indefatigable new 46-year-old leader, there was no morning after—it was just a continuation of the night before, and the months and years before, in a life that in a sense has been one long campaign of making new friends and keeping old ones.

Dressed in blue jeans and a brown suede jacket, Clinton stood for an hour in Staley's dining room, signing mementos and talking nonstop after only three hours of rest. He laughed at frayed pictures of his awkward days as a high school thespian, chatted about health policy with one childhood friend and the future of aircraft carriers with another, and asked the husband of a college girlfriend to present him with a list of what he saw as the nation's business priorities.

His easy garrulousness put in sharp relief his first official public appearance, later in the day, when a suited and formal Clinton read a terse statement to the nation and the world.

This morning, Clinton confessed to old friends that he felt drained by the nonstop frenzy of

the final 48 hours of his long presidential campaign and could use a short vacation, but is not sure he will take one. "My whole body aches, every bone in my body," Clinton told his college roommate, Tom Campbell, an airline pilot from California.

The mood at the private breakfast at the home of Staley, who grew up next door to the president-elect in Hot Springs and sang the national anthem before his victory speech last night, was described as almost eerily serene; perhaps the only pocket of calm in a provincial capital bulging with hundreds of low-level campaign workers anxious about their futures—will they make the White House cut?—and a larger number of journalists wondering

See LITTLE ROCK, A28, Col. 1

where the Clinton story will take them next.

David Leopoulos, Clinton's oldest childhood friend, from Park Avenue in Hot Springs, proposed a toast in the Staley's kitchen, describing the Clintons as the "thread of friendship and emotion that runs through all our lives." To one side of Clinton stood Campbell and the other Georgetown University roommates, Christopher Ashby, Thomas Campbell and Jim Moore, along with another college friend, Denise Dangremond. To the other side were six friends from Hot Springs.

Campbell, whose political alliance with Clinton goes back to 1966 when he hung "This is Clinton Country" tags on doorknobs at Georgetown during a college election, said he had been anticipating this climactic day for so long he was not awestruck now. Clinton's becoming president, he said, was no different than Michael Jordan's winning an NBA championship.

"This is a guy who goes to the gym and practices his dribble for an hour and then his shots for another hour and keeps at it long after everyone else has left. He's like a professional basketball player, that's the best analogy I can give, except his game is politics, in the business of the world. And so he is here and he is president-elect and none of us who have watched how hard he practiced are the least bit surprised by it."

Dangremond said she felt "an overwhelming sense of peacefulness" when Clinton walked up the steps of the Staley house this morning. "It was a feeling that here was someone who hadn't gotten away with anything, who hadn't pulled anything off," she said. "I just had this feeling that this was supposed to happen."

No one at the breakfast called Clinton "Mr. President" or "Mr. President-elect." He was "Bill," and told his friends he wanted them to keep calling him Bill after the inauguration. When they hugged last night after the victory speech, Staley told Clinton: "I hate to lose you." Clinton did not respond then, but he told her this morning nothing should change when he gets to Washington.

Staley and many of the other friends there this morning said they had not made hotel reservations for the inauguration because Clinton was superstitious and did not want them to until he had won.

But that did not keep them from studying the new life the Clintons would lead. One high school friend told Hillary that she had just read a book about the White House and described to her every room, from the sleeping quarters to the bowling alley. While there have been jokes in recent months about Hillary already measuring the White House drapes, she seemed genuinely unaware of her prospective new house's floor plans.

Hovering at Clinton's shoulder most of the morning was Campbell's 20-year-old son, also named Tom, a college junior and ROTC member in San Diego who plans to join the Marine Corps, following in the footsteps of his father, who was a Marine pilot during the Vietnam War. Young Campbell told Clinton that most of his friends voted for President Bush and were afraid the Marine Corps would be decimated by defense cutbacks during a Clinton administration.

Clinton told him he had been talking to retired Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., a former chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, about that very subject a few weeks ago and concluded that "one of the things we need is a strong Marine Corps."

As Clinton was leaving, he sought out the young Campbell, shook his hand, and said, "I'm proud of you."

"I got chills from that," Campbell said.

Throughout this city and the state, the people touched by Clinton's life and political rise dealt in different ways with the emotions of his ultimate triumph. Betsey Wright, his former chief of staff, said she stayed home alone last night and cried watching the returns on television, "thinking about 20 years" since their days in the 1972 George McGovern campaign in Texas.

Dee Dee Myers, his press secretary this year, came to work at the national headquarters in the old Arkansas Gazette building this morning worried about what to say to the 40 members of her press staff who are concerned about whether they will be kept on for the transition and perhaps the move to Washington. She said everyone would remain on the payroll until Friday to help respond to such burning questions as the first one she received this morning: When's the next bus trip?

"Don't know," was the answer.

In Clinton's hometown of Hot Springs, where thousands celebrated their favorite son's election at the Majestic Hotel, no one was more excited than Edith Irons, 80, one of Clinton's high school teachers and counselors. "We used to say Bill was destined for greatness, but in my heart, I must confess, I never, ever thought I would really have a student who would grow up to be president of the United States," she said. "Why can you not, why, when things are so poignant and so deep, why can't you then find the words—words that in other occasions just come so easy? Today I cannot find the words."

, Savoring Victory, to Size Up Job Ahead

Elect Convenes a Transition Team Firms Against Foreign Mischief

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

whose results range but offered no President-elect Bill Clinton shaping his new yesterday, huddling in team, issuing a warning to Iraq and arning "happy, but ex- about the work that,

Mr. Clinton said in st reports that sup- Saddam Hussein ing over his victory: ture of good will any to me during this nue full cooperation ent, George Bush," nton had worried for r. Hussein might be e new adventure by a shington.

the fourth elected century to seek a lose, flew from his on, back to Washing- ding down a dozen an rule in the White flag-waving crowd, job with style."

ve Victory

ll the popular votes nsad Governor had 43 dent had 38 percent ad 19 percent — the an independent or date since Theodore 27 percent on the Bull 1912. It was a broad- ictory, if not a crush- Clinton.

New England states, Pacific coast and the stea in the Middle At- the Middle West, Mr. harply into the Repub- recent years in the ocky Mountains. That ctoral votes to 168 for ook Texas and Florida rms, and none for Mr.

rot's powerful run that ssage of the election. A rejected Mr Bush and ange, but it was divided better agent of change. ters leaving the polls any people had serious ll three candidates, in- ner.

arty Considered

ndle 3d, the head of the supporters' group, sug- and others might consid- ird party to press their ogram, especially quick e deficit.

out on Tuesday, which o reach about 55 percent ole, reflected the wide- it generated by a cam- waged on television talk dio call-in programs as onventional information, barely 50 percent voted, made no appointments to ministration today, but ould do so soon. He must a sense of direction. Will res to a variety of groups

that supported him, as has been his past pattern, for example, or will he heed the famous maxim of the one-time French Prime Minister, Pierre Mendes-France, that "to govern is to choose"?

Economic Stimulus

Among the items that he placed at the top of his agenda during the long campaign are an economic stimulus package, including large-scale public construction projects, a comprehensive health-care program, a family leave law, educational initiatives and campaign-finance reform.

It is far from clear, however, how Mr. Clinton will pay for all that while also beginning to reduce the mushrooming Federal deficit.

The President-elect's party will control both houses of the new Congress, though anti-incumbent sentiment proved less virulent than expected. Threatened Senators from John Glenn, an Ohio Democrat, to Bob Packwood, an Oregon Republican, managed somehow to survive. Roughly 93 percent of all the House incumbents who sought re-election achieved it.

The Democrats scored a net gain of one Senate seat, if Senator Wyche Fowler Jr., a Democrat, holds his seat in a runoff in Georgia on Nov. 24, and lost less than 10 in the House.

But there will still be significant change on Capitol Hill. The Congress that assembles next year will have 39 black members, compared with 25 now, and it will include Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois, the first black woman ever elected to the Senate. It will also include 17 Hispanics, compared with 10, and the first American Indian elected to the Senate in more than 60 years, Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a Colorado Democrat.

Women did very well indeed in the Year of the Woman. There will be 47 female House members next year, compared with 28 at present, and six female Senators, by far the largest number in history.

Mr. Bush's plans for the 77 days left in his Presidency are not clear. Yesterday he vetoed a bill that would have given tax breaks to businesses willing to invest in poor neighborhoods, complaining about tax increases included in the same legislation. A vacation trip next week, to a destination not yet decided, was said to be a possibility, but a planned trip to Moscow has been scrubbed, White House officials said.

"I can think of nothing other to say than let's finish this job with style," the President told the loyalists who gathered on the White House lawn to welcome him and his wife, Barbara, back to Washington. "Let's get the job done, cooperate fully with the new Administration. The Government goes on, as well it should."

Bob Dole of Kansas, the Senate minority leader, who was described by an aide yesterday as "the most powerful Republican in Washington now," served notice that there would be no rubber-stamping of Mr. Clinton's legislative proposals.

"He didn't get a majority," Mr. Dole said in an interview. "The country obviously didn't want Bush, but they weren't ready for Perot and they had plenty of doubts about Clinton. They want change. Well, we want to be responsible and deliver change,

Mr. Clinton was in a reassuring mood in his principal public appearance yesterday, when he and the Vice President-elect, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, met with a small group of reporters. Mr. Clinton read a relative-

ly brief prepared statement and answered no questions.

For the benefit of Mr. Hussein and anyone else who might need reminding, the Arkansas Democrat, whose lack of foreign-policy experience was a campaign issue, said that "the greatest mistake any adversary could make would be to doubt America's resolve in this period of transition." He pledged that he would work closely with Mr. Bush on global affairs of interest to Americans.

Soothing Financial Markets

For businessmen and the financial markets, Mr. Clinton said, "We understand the need to pursue stability even as we pursue growth," and added, "the changes I seek will strengthen America's market systems, not weaken them."

Mr. Clinton has about 8,500 Federal jobs to fill with political appointees, including 16 cabinet posts. In his victory speech, he suggested he would name Republicans and independents as well as Democrats to important positions.

Mickey Kantor, a Los Angeles lawyer who served as campaign chairman and who has been mentioned as a possible White House chief of staff, said key Administration appointments would be announced later this week. But other aides emphasized Mr. Clinton's deliberate work habits, as exemplified in his choice of a running mate last summer.

Either Mr. Kantor or Eli Siegel, who also played a major part in the campaign, is expected to head be chosen as transition chief of staff.

Some Appointments Soon

To reinforce the calming message that he sought to send in his statement, one aide said, there is pressure within the campaign for the President-elect to name three staff members in a matter of a week or two at most: the budget director, the Congressional liaison director and the domestic policy coordinator.

Mr. Clinton met yesterday with members of his transition team, including Mr. Kantor; Henry Cisneros, a former mayor of San Antonio; Vernon Jordan, a Washington lawyer who formerly headed the Urban League; Warren Christopher, a Los Angeles lawyer considered a leading contender for the Secretary of State's portfolio, and Madeleine Kunin, a former Vermont Governor.

In addition to looking forward — Mr. Bush said he planned to "get very active in the grandchild business" — the Democrats and the Republicans also paused for a moment to look back.

James Carville, one of Mr. Clinton's principal strategists, said at a briefing for reporters that Mr. Bush's criticisms of the Democrat had hurt, but that towards the end, "his attacks didn't have the same pop." Like a boxer's, he said, the President's "hands got heavy."

Quayle's View of Results

On the Republican side, Vice President Dan Quayle, whose chances of winning his party's 1996 Presidential nomination were sharply curtailed by Tuesday's results, blamed the state of the economy and the quality of the Republican campaign for the loss.

"Bill Clinton ran a much better campaign and the economy wasn't good," the Vice President said.

The Winner's Immediate Challenge: Jobs, Growth

Congressional Leaders Urge Speedy Action

By Steven Mufson and Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writers

The sign that has graced Clinton campaign strategist James Carville's office in Little Rock—"the economy, stupid"—can now be moved to the Oval Office.

If President-elect Bill Clinton has a mandate for anything, it is to do something about the lackluster economy.

Yesterday, congressional leaders urged Clinton to move swiftly in the first 100 days after his January inauguration to win enactment of tax incentives for new business investment, a job training program and a national health care plan.

"Bill Clinton is now the 800-pound gorilla. He is American politics and he's going to have to call the tune," said House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.). "I'll tell him to be bold."

Clinton's economic advisers say the president-elect has not yet disclosed what he wants in his plan for the economy or the budget that will be due 11 days after he takes office.

They say that an expanded job training program and an investment tax credit are high priorities.

A start will be made on forging a consensus on a health care plan, even if Clinton waits before introducing such complex, politically difficult legislation, the aides say.

But many of Clinton's top economic advisers are warning him not to inflate the public's hopes that a 100-day economic revitalization program could bring about a quick return to vigorous growth.

"I would advise reducing expectations," said one Clinton adviser. "I would make sure people know exactly what 12 years of neglect has done. You can't turn that around in 100 days or eight months or even four years."

Another economic adviser said Clinton should avoid the mistakes of Jimmy Carter's first year in office. He said, "In retrospect, Carter really

overloaded the circuits with economic stimulus, a big energy bill and welfare reform. In a very short time, he got bogged down and his political capital was dissipated by being spread so widely."

"Obviously you're not going to enact everything you've talked about in the campaign," said House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta (D-Calif.). But he said "the country has given him a mandate to get something done."

President Bush's "no new taxes" pledge, which stood as a barrier to compromise with Congress on tax and spending issues, is no more, and now many Democratic lawmakers acknowledge the responsibility for action is theirs.

"I think this is the chance and Democrats in the Congress know it," Panetta said. "We either work to get something done or both the president and the Congress will be in trouble. No more excuses."

If Clinton's plan can't produce the additional taxes it anticipates, if tax-raising estimates are wrong or if the economy stays mired in slow growth, he might also have to make some multibillion-dollar decisions to cut spending and scale back new initiatives—choices big enough to knock whole items off his ambitious agenda.

During the campaign, he has given only vague hints about how he would make such choices. Yet Clinton must be seen to be taking some sort of action on economic issues. Asked to identify the two issues that matter most, 43 percent of voters polled yesterday singled out jobs and the economy.

The next most pressing concerns, each cited by one-fifth of voters, were health care and the federal government's budget deficit.

Those voters cast their ballots for Clinton by large margins. Even voters anxious about the budget deficit supported Clinton in substantial numbers: 38 percent voted for Ross Perot, 36 percent for Clinton and 27 percent for President Bush.

Clinton has defined his campaign as an effort to reverse the decline in wages of American workers, yet that is a task for which there is no easy answer.

The growth of worker productivity has been lagging since 1973, a key reason why wages for most workers have been stagnant for the past 13 years.

Moreover, Clinton faces many of the same problems the Bush administration did: back-breaking burdens of private and government debt, massive restructuring in the defense industry and runaway health care costs.

Slowing down the explosion in health care costs, much of which are paid by the government, could produce a budgetary "health dividend" that could dwarf the peace dividend, budget experts say.

But if Clinton clamps down on health care spending, he might also slow down job growth in the robust health care industry, one of the few engines of the economy.

Clinton also will have to ask Congress to approve \$43 billion in spending to clean up the savings and loan mess, money that the Bush administration failed to get approval for during the fiscal year that just ended.

Even without any new policies or any new stimulus to the economy, the Clinton administration is likely to post a record budget def-

icit of about \$295 billion during its first year in office, according to estimates by the Congressional Budget Office.

Wall Street already has fired a warning shot across the Clinton team's bow. Bond investors, fearing that the Clinton administration would overheat the economy and boost inflation, have pushed yields on long-term bonds upward by half a percentage point.

In a televised address from Little Rock, Ark., Clinton yesterday moved to calm financial markets. "Although change is on the horizon, we understand the need to pursue stability as we pursue growth," he said.

"The people have heard his economic message and want change," said Gene Sperling, a Clinton campaign aide on economics. "They understand the difference between big wasteful government and intelligent government that invests in education, training and infrastructure. He'll have their confidence and also the obligation to show that he can do it in a fiscally responsible manner."

One thing is certain, no matter how Clinton draws up his legislative program: The next administration will bring with it a new commitment to governmental activism in everything from stimulating the economy to nurturing industries to educating children.

This marks a change from Bush, who said he opposed "trample-down government." In the end, voters saw the Bush administration's failure to stimulate growth and its opposition to new economic programs as evidence of a lack of concern.

In October 1991, Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady brushed aside anxiety about the sluggish economy. "I can remember being apprehensive in every recession we've been in," he said. Programs to speed up the economy would make the deficit bigger and would only take effect after a recovery, Brady said, likening it to "enacting legislation after the horse is back in the barn."

The barn has a new keeper now, and there is not much chance that the new Clinton administration will take that type of hands-off approach.

"Bush is passive. Clinton is energetic," said Roger Altman, an investment banker and Clinton adviser. "Bush is whatever is in the 'in' box. Clinton is going to come charging out of the box."

Smiling the Lid on the GOP

Non-Strategist Paul Begala Learned His Politics at the Hardware Store

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 4—During the last days of the campaign, Paul Begala took to wearing a black necktie decorated with skulls and crossbones.

It was an emblem, he explained, to remind himself—and everybody else associated with Bill Clinton's populist appeal to The Forgotten Middle Class—that there could be "no prisoners taken, no quarter given, no mercy shown" to the Republicans as victory drew tantalizingly close.

"I'm wearing this tie because I don't want any sense of letting our foot off the gas at the end," Clinton's strategist-cum-"body man," as he calls himself, explained the other morning in working-class northeast Philadelphia, as his candidate sought votes in a crowded diner. "I want to drive a stake through those Republican hearts. I really do."

Never mind that Begala paid \$80 for the skinny swatch of silk in a posh Manhattan boutique, and that it carried the label of a tony English designer. He blames the extravagance on a friend who "made me buy it"—and, indeed, this red-bearded Texan who grew up among working-class folks is better known for his American-made cowboy boots and unstylish bluejeans.

Begala, 31, is the less famous half of what today is the political consulting business's most celebrated dynamic duo—the "Robin" to James Carville's "Batman." Though he's not being swamped with offers of book and movie deals, as is the Ragin' Cajun, Begala's role in Clinton's landslide was arguably just as important.

He was, according to campaign press secretary Dee Dee Myers, "the thought police on the plane"—the man responsible for the Clinton stuck to his message—as well as being a political sounding board for both Clinton and the tacticians in Little Rock.

Like campaign manager David Wilhelm, pollster Stanley Greenberg and political director Stephanie Solem (all of whom didn't capture too many imaginations or generate a lot of ink), he is among the rising permanent class of Democratic Party professionals—people who can match their opponents tactic for tactic, trade them blow for blow, and know how to win in presidential politics.

Begala, who is likely to be offered a

job in the Clinton White House, was a key player on a team notable for its bench strength. And, despite what he calls "my nice-guy reputation," he was a rabidly competitive player as well.

"That's probably why I play tennis and not golf," mused Begala, who lately has developed a campaign-trail paunch. "Because in tennis, you beat the other guy; you smash the ball past him. But golf is so Zen, like you're playing against the elements, against perfection, against God. You may do better than the other guy, but so what? I like politics because at the end, they count it up and stamp you on the head, and you're a 'winner' or a 'loser.'"

"I think that where most people would prefer to win," said his wife, Diane Friday, who met him 11 years ago while both were undergraduates at the University of Texas, "Paul would prefer to demolish his opponent."

Begala has done his share of both, mostly at the side of Carville, who first worked with him in a 1984 Senate race in Texas (which, uncharacteristically, they lost), and has been all but inseparable from him ever since. Together they helped engineer the come-from-behind victories of Pennsylvania Gov. Bob Casey in 1986, New Jersey Sen. Frank Lautenberg in 1988, Georgia Gov. Zell Miller in 1990, and Pennsylvania Sen. Harris Wofford in 1991. It was during the Wofford race that Clinton, acting on a tip from his good friend Miller, began courting the twosome to join his White House quest.

"I think Paul provides a steady focus to a campaign," said Carville. "He's been good at helping the governor. He's good with the press, getting our side into stories. He gives you good, solid analysis of what's happening on the road. He has the most sensitive political antennae I've ever seen. He's very organized. And while he's 17 years younger than me, he's more mature than I am."

One of Begala's chief talents is translating his partner's often unintelligible mutterings into usable strategic insights. The two are so compatible that, unlike most in their cutthroat business, they haven't even argued about money. Of course, maybe that's because lately there's been so much of it; since they signed on last December, Clinton has paid the duo a whopping \$25,000 a month.

"Energy, intelligence, commitment, indefatigability, good humor," said Hillary Clinton, when asked to define Begala's contribution to the campaign. "He's a great guy and he's just been a wonderful spirit," added Hillary, who has not been known to suffer fools among the staff, gladly or otherwise.

"He really understands how to communicate with people," said House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt (D-Mo.), for whom Begala worked as a speechwriter in the 1988 presidential race and afterward on his congressional staff (where Begala became friends with Gephardt's floor assistant, George Stephanopoulos, now the Clinton camp's

"Politics is show business for ugly people."

—Paul Begala, Clinton campaign consultant

oft-quoted communications director). "He's a populist," Gephardt went on. "He understands working people in this country, what they've gone through and what their hopes and aspirations are. That's his great gift. He really does get it."

If Begala does "get it," he can trace his understanding to his formative years in Missouri City, Tex., the Houston suburb where his father, an oil-field equipment salesman, moved his mother and four siblings after a decade in northern New Jersey.

"Everything I learned in politics I learned from Court's Hardware Store," Begala said, recalling his part-time job while attending John Foster Dulles High School in nearby Sugarland. "I worked there every day after school and all day Saturday. People would come in there on Saturdays, especially, and stand around the nail bin drinking coffee and talking politics."

It was here that Begala, the grandson of Hungarian immigrants, began to think of himself as "a redneck"—for him, not an insult, but a compliment, suggesting common sense and salt-of-the-earth values that were reflected in the deeply conservative customers at Court's Hardware. "Carville and I are always telling Clinton that the only reason he hired us," Begala said, "is that he didn't want to be the only redneck in his campaign."

A passionate if mediocre athlete, Begala discovered his true calling as a campus politician, getting himself elected student-body president both in high school and college. In the latter race, held in 1982 during a period of student apathy, Begala ran third behind the Establishment candidate of the fraternities and the overwhelming vote-getter—actually, a cartoon character from the Daily Texan named "Hank the Hallucination."

All this, Begala insisted, is absolutely true. Hank, he recalled, was the beneficiary of widespread anger and disgust with the system; luckily, he was assassinated in the cartoon strip soon after the election (by a little girl who pointed her finger at him and said, "bang"). Begala prevailed in the resulting runoff, he said, "not because I was cool or anything; it was just that I was the only one running who didn't have a corn cob up his butt."

Strangely enough, that campus race of long ago bears a certain resemblance to the scenario of 1992, in which Clinton and George Bush grappled with a real-life version of Hank, a populist Texas billionaire who at one point last summer was beating them both in the polls.

Of course, this time, there was much more at stake. Begala, the governor's "body man" (second only to campaign director and Clinton soulmate Bruce Lindsey in terms of contact with the candidate), wrote speeches, formulated strategy, tried to "keep the governor focused on the message" and served as "a bridge between the candidate and the campaign," phoning Little Rock from the road as many as 20 times a day.

He also displayed a knack for the pithy quip, feeding Clinton lines to be used on the stump. But Begala, noting the obvious—that Clinton can think for himself—refuses to say which ones.

"This is a matter of honor," he explained, brushing off repeated entreaties from a reporter. "It's like a hooker who publishes her list of clients. They pay me for discretion as well as strategy."

Still, he's gained a certain fame among political junkies for his "Begala-isms," homey, funny epigrams of which he seems to have a limitless supply. Clinton's exhausting final campaign swing, for instance, was "like force-feeding sugar to an ant. He can't get enough of this."

Clinton, meanwhile, "is definitely the hardest-working man in show business. If my rule is true, politics is show business for ugly people."

And sometimes during the past few weeks, Begala got "as nervous as a porcupine in a balloon factory."

But no more. No more.

Perot Campaign, Relishing Gains, to Set Up Formal Advocacy Group

By Michael Iakoff and John Mintz
Washington Post Staff Writers

Leaders of Ross Perot's campaign, savoring what they called a "phenomenal" showing for an independent candidacy, said yesterday that they will quickly set up a formal political advocacy organization that may evolve into a permanent new political party.

"The common question is, 'Are we going to keep this thing going?'" said Orson Swindle, one of Perot's chief campaign spokesmen and executive director of his fledgling political group, United We Stand, America. "In all candor, there's no way we can stop it."

Speaking to reporters in Dallas, Swindle said he will begin this week transforming the group into a legally incorporated, dues-paying organization that, with Perot's support, would push for deficit reduction, job creation and other causes that the Texas billionaire has advocated.

Noting that Perot had captured 18 million votes, the strongest showing by an independent in 80 years, Swindle said, "I think the basis for a third party is there if the group wants to pursue that."

Leaders of Perot's volunteer state organizations nationally also said they want to remain active and perhaps form a party.

"We need to stay together," said Stephen Bost, Perot's coordinator in Maine, the state in which Perot did best on Election Day, receiving 30 percent of the popular vote.

Perot's 192,000 votes there almost surpassed President Bush's vote count, and the billionaire apparently was helped by Maine voters' tradition of favoring independents. James Longley won its governorship as an independent in 1974.

"It looks like the makings of a third party or at least a watchdog coalition," said John DeMotte, a Perot campaign leader in Idaho, where Perot received 28 percent of the vote, almost surpassing President-elect Clinton's total. "People here are scared, mad and anxious."

In addition, Perot won 29 percent of the vote in Utah, surpassing Clinton there; 28 percent in Alaska; 27 percent each in Kansas and Nevada; 26 percent each in Montana and Wyoming, and 25 percent in Oregon. He won 24 percent in each of four states, and 23 percent in each of seven. Nationwide, he had 19 percent after late polls had said he was supported by 16 percent of voters.

Perot remained secluded yesterday, but aides described him as "jubilant" at his showing. He surpassed all independent

presidential election showings in this century except for the 1912 vote, in which Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive (or "Bull Moose") Party received 27 percent of the total.

One of the group's emerging leaders—attorney R. Clayton Mulford, Perot's son-in-law and campaign general counsel—hinted that it may break quickly with Clinton if the president-elect does not move to cut the deficit.

In his concession speech Tuesday night, Perot urged supporters to "work with the new administration" to address the nation's economic problems.

Mulford said he is "a little bit pessimistic" that Clinton will tackle the deficit. He added that top Perot aides are "fearful" that a Clinton attempt to jump-start the economy with jobs programs early next year would add to the deficit without addressing long-term economic woes.

"If the deficit continues to grow as a proportion of gross national income, we have a problem," Mulford said.

Toward the end of the campaign, Mulford, 36, emerged as one of Perot's few advisers and his campaign manager.

Perot's performance was boosted by an unprecedented, self-financed advertising blitz in which he outspent both parties in the last month. Mulford said Perot spent more than the \$60 million that the candidate had estimated.

Perot aides were vague about what form a Perot group might take but hinted that it could field candidates in 1994 or restrict itself to being a political action committee that donates money to candidates.

Another unanswered question is what role Perot might play. Swindle said he believes that Perot "probably" will provide "bridge" financing to get the group started.

Swindle said he hopes to reach out to Connecticut Gov. Lowell Weicker, a political independent who also has discussed creating a third party, and to groups such as the Concord Coalition, a deficit-battling organization established by retiring Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.) and former senator Paul E. Tsongas (D-Mass.).

"I don't expect the two groups would have a formal link," said Martha Phillips, executive director of the Concord Coalition, formed in September. "We see the two as being on parallel tracks."

Perot critics said he may have a hard time maintaining the group, because its supporters come from both parties, spanning views ranging from conservative to liberal, and agree only that Perot should lead them.

Theodore J. Lowi, a professor of govern-

ment at Cornell University and an expert on third parties, said he is trying to reach Perot to advise him on how to establish his group as a permanent alternative to the two parties.

Lowi said Perot's ideas about raising taxes and "shared sacrifice" could serve to bind his followers. But Lowi said Perot must subordinate himself, nurture growth of state affiliates and ensure that his aides from Dallas do not bully state volunteers, as many volunteers said happened during the campaign.

"Somebody from Dallas was always telling them what to do," Lowi said. "Perot's got some fence-mending to do."

If Perot's group does become permanent, it likely would confront problems that other political organizations have faced, such as internal bickering.

In the campaign, many Perot supporters—including about 40 named by him as his electors for voting in the electoral college—quit his campaign after becoming angry when he left the race in July or because of his aides' supposed heavy-handed tactics.

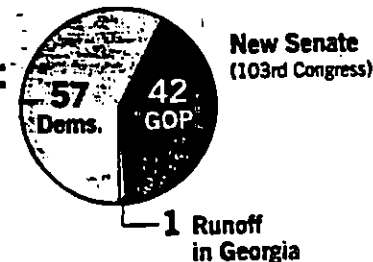
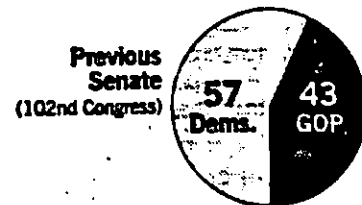
Gloria Borland, once a top Perot campaign official and a former Perot elector from the District, said she left because of his aides' "military style of operating" and "promises broken."

■ THE NATIONAL OUTLOOK

Runoff, no candidate above 50%

☐ States with no Senate election this year

• **California:** Both seats up for election; both won by Democrats.



37 Democrats
29 Republicans

■ The results in the map, charts and table in this graphic are unofficial returns from the Associated Press.

• Incumbent ✓ Winner
(D) Democrat (R) Republican
(O) Other

PAGE 48 of 79

Fowler Forced Into Runoff For Senate Seat in Georgia Coverdell Ads Focused on House Bank

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. (D-Ga.) has been forced into a Nov. 24 runoff election by Republican challenger Paul Coverdell, who peppered the state with hard-hitting attack ads that sought to link Fowler to the House Bank scandal and that portrayed him as too liberal for the state.

With 99 percent of precincts counted, Fowler had 1,098,658 of the votes cast Tuesday, or 49 percent. Coverdell had 1,067,294, or 48 percent, and Libertarian Jim Hudson had 69,779, or 3 percent.

Under state law, Fowler needed at least 50 percent of the vote to avoid a runoff. He was elected to his first term in 1986 with 51 percent of the vote.

Fowler, a 10-year veteran of the House, saw a 10-point lead in the polls evaporate in recent weeks, after Coverdell began running TV ads of a singing grandmother from southern Georgia whose catchy jingle urged voters to boot Fowler out of office.

Fowler struck back with ads questioning Coverdell's conduct and travel during his tenure as director of the Peace Corps.

Some analysts suggested yesterday that Fowler may have also been hurt by a Christian coalition that turned out a large number of voters opposed to a state lottery initiative that was narrowly approved. Opponents of the lottery mailed out fliers contrasting Fowler's liberal views on prayer in school, abortion, term limits, capital punishment and other issues with those of the conservative Coverdell, a former state senator.

Fowler told a mid-morning news conference yesterday that he could not explain why the



**"I don't know
what the Perot
factor was...."**

—Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr.

race was so close, the Associated Press reported.

"There were a lot of cross-currents," Fowler said. "I don't know what the [Ross] Perot factor was, what the lottery factor

Coverdell spokesman Bill Crane said. "We're very heartened by what happened last night, considering Paul started with 7 percent name identification a year ago."

"A lot of people were saying no to status quo last night," Crane said.

Fowler received more troubling news yesterday, after United We Stand, an organization associated with Perot's independent presidential campaign, announced their support for Coverdell in the runoff. Perot ran well in the state, garnering about 14 percent of the vote, and the support of his backers could be crucial to Coverdell's chances.

FLORIDA

DISTRICT 1 (199)	110,044	25
✓ Earl Hutto (D)	90,038	45
Terry Mitchell (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	155,284	24
✓ Pete Peterson (D)	53,519	28
Ray Wagner (R)		
DISTRICT 3 (199)	89,525	60
✓ Carmine Brown (D)	60,586	40
Dan Weisner (R)		
DISTRICT 4 (199)	99,554	44
✓ Mitch Hest (D)	127,758	55
Time Foster (R)		
DISTRICT 5 (199)	129,677	53
✓ Karen Thurman (D)	114,331	47
Tom Hogan (R)		
DISTRICT 6 (199)	75,805	35
✓ Phil Denton (D)	142,499	65
✓ Clifford B. Stearns (R)		
DISTRICT 7 (199)	96,889	44
✓ Dan Webster (D)	125,755	55
✓ John Mica (R)		
DISTRICT 8 (199)	64,763	31
✓ Chuck Kovelacki (D)	141,011	69
✓ Bill McCollum (R)		
DISTRICT 9 (199)	110,002	41
✓ Cheryl Knapp (D)	157,786	59
✓ Michael Bahrakas (R)		
DISTRICT 10 (199)	114,890	43
✓ Karen Morritt (D)	149,657	57
✓ Bill Young (R)		
DISTRICT 11 (199)	100,816	57
✓ Sam M. Gibbons (D)	77,451	43
✓ Mark Sharpe (R)		
DISTRICT 12 (199)	92,228	48
✓ Tom Minto (D)	100,298	52
✓ Charles Canady (R)		
DISTRICT 13 (199)	115,725	42
✓ Rand Sneli (D)	158,826	58
✓ Dan Miller (R)		
DISTRICT 14 (199)	223,410	82
✓ Porter J. Goss (R)	48,874	18
James King (D)		
DISTRICT 15 (199)	132,284	51
✓ Jim Bacchus (D)	128,749	49
✓ Bill Tolley (R)		
DISTRICT 16 (199)	101,179	39
✓ John Cornford (D)	157,190	61
✓ Tom Lewis (R)		
DISTRICT 17	Unopp.	—
✓ Carole Meek (D)		
DISTRICT 18 (199)	52,095	33
✓ Magda Davis (D)	104,715	67
✓ Keane Ros-Larman (R)		
DISTRICT 19 (199)	177,376	63
✓ Harry A. Johnston (R)	103,819	37
✓ Larry Metz (R)		
DISTRICT 20 (199)	130,895	59
✓ Peter Deutsch (D)	91,289	41
✓ Beverly Kennedy (R)		
DISTRICT 21	Unopp.	—
✓ Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R)		
DISTRICT 22 (199)	91,540	42
✓ Gwen Margolis (D)	128,254	58
✓ E. Clay Shaw Jr. (R)		
DISTRICT 23 (199)	84,207	65
✓ Alice Martinez (D)	44,758	35
✓ Ed Fiedling (R)		

GEORGIA

DISTRICT 1 (199)	75,044	43
✓ Barbara Christman (D)	96,204	57
✓ Jack Kingston (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	94,943	64
✓ Sanford Bishop (D)	54,036	36
✓ Jim Dickey (R)		
DISTRICT 3 (199)	90,989	45
✓ Richard B. Ray (D)	112,640	55
✓ Mac Collins (R)		
DISTRICT 4 (199)	121,819	49
✓ Cathy Stearns (D)	126,502	51
✓ John Linder (R)		
DISTRICT 5 (199)	141,441	77
✓ John Lewis (D)	96,898	29
✓ Paul Staben (R)		
DISTRICT 6 (199)	116,147	42
✓ Tony Carter (D)	138,670	58
✓ Nevill Gargner (R)		
DISTRICT 7 (199)	111,111	51
✓ Buddy Carter (D)	81,870	43
✓ Al Beverly (R)		
DISTRICT 8 (199)	107,601	56
✓ J. Roy Rowland (D)	80,774	44
✓ Robert Cunningham (R)		
DISTRICT 9 (199)	114,020	59
✓ Nathan Deal (D)	77,877	41
✓ Daniel Becker (R)		
DISTRICT 10 (199)	108,494	54
✓ Don Johnson (D)	92,776	46
✓ Ralph Hudgens (R)		
DISTRICT 11 (199)	120,187	73
✓ Cynthia McInerney (D)	44,359	27
✓ Woodrow Lovett (R)		

HAWAII

DISTRICT 1 (199)	128,942	76
✓ Ned Abernethy (D)	41,415	24
✓ Warner Sutton (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	131,256	77
✓ Patsy Mink (D)	39,563	23
✓ Kamuela Price (R)		

IDAHO

DISTRICT 1 (199)	139,899	61
✓ Larry LaRocca (D)	90,487	39
✓ Rachel Gebart (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	81,354	37
✓ J.D. Williams (D)	139,612	63
✓ Michael Crapo (R)		

ILLINOIS

DISTRICT 1 (199)	187,926	82
✓ Bobby Rush (D)	41,353	18
✓ Jay Walker (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	172,191	85
✓ Mel Reynolds (D)	31,118	15
✓ Ron Blackstone (R)		
DISTRICT 3 (199)	156,900	63
✓ William Lipinski (D)	91,447	37
✓ Harry Lapanee (R)		

DISTRICT 4 (199)	83,340	77
✓ Les Galloway (D)	24,425	23
✓ M. Rodriguez-Schuman (R)		
DISTRICT 5 (199)	128,818	59
✓ Dan Rostenkowski (D)	88,360	41
✓ Dan Zuckoff (R)		
DISTRICT 6 (199)	85,737	34
✓ Barry Wellins (D)	164,739	66
✓ Henry J. Hyde (R)		
DISTRICT 7 (199)	105,235	83
✓ Carlos Celler (D)	33,141	17
✓ Norman Deane (R)		
DISTRICT 8 (199)	96,387	42
✓ Sheila Smith (D)	132,855	58
✓ Philip M. Crane (R)		
DISTRICT 9 (199)	156,949	72
✓ Sidney R. Yates (D)	62,327	28
✓ Herb Sain (R)		
DISTRICT 10 (199)	84,850	35
✓ Michael Kennedy (D)	153,801	65
✓ John E. Porter (R)		
DISTRICT 11 (199)	133,400	56
✓ George Sangrester (D)	105,480	44
✓ Robert Hertzke (R)		
DISTRICT 12 (199)	163,761	71
✓ Jerry Costello (D)	58,123	29
✓ Mike Starr (R)		
DISTRICT 13 (199)	82,974	32
✓ Dennis Tencle (D)	179,245	68
✓ Harris Fawell (R)		
DISTRICT 14 (199)	75,285	33
✓ Jonathan Reuch (D)	155,271	67
✓ Dennis Hastert (R)		
DISTRICT 15 (199)	97,184	41
✓ Charles McCus (D)	142,160	59
✓ Thomas Ewing (R)		
DISTRICT 16 (199)	113,555	44
✓ John W. Cox Jr. (D)	142,388	56
✓ Donald Manzullo (R)		
DISTRICT 17 (199)	155,233	60
✓ Lane Evans (D)	103,719	40
✓ Alan Schicmer (R)		
DISTRICT 18 (199)	114,413	42
✓ Ronald Harems (D)	156,533	58
✓ Robert H. Michener (R)		
DISTRICT 19 (199)	187,157	69
✓ Glenn Poschard (D)	83,515	31
✓ Douglas Lee (R)		
DISTRICT 20 (199)	154,865	57
✓ Richard J. Durbin (D)	119,219	43
✓ John Stenemus (R)		

INDIANA

DISTRICT 1 (199)	146,816	69
✓ Peter J. Vucich (D)	64,767	31
✓ David Vucich (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	130,881	59
✓ Philip Sharp (D)	90,593	41
✓ William Frazer (R)		
DISTRICT 3 (199)	121,269	57
✓ Tom Roemer (D)	89,709	43
✓ Carl Bachmayer (R)		
DISTRICT 4 (199)	129,920	62
✓ Jim Lang (D)	78,716	38
✓ Charles Pearson (R)		
DISTRICT 5 (199)	107,973	49
✓ James Jantz (D)	112,492	51
✓ Steve Buyer (R)		
DISTRICT 6 (199)	68,304	27
✓ Natalie Bruner (D)	181,786	73
✓ Dan Burton (R)		
DISTRICT 7 (199)	88,005	41
✓ Ellen Westum (D)	129,189	59
✓ John T. Myers (R)		
DISTRICT 8 (199)	113,018	53
✓ Frank McCoskey (D)	90,241	47
✓ Richard Mourdock (R)		
DISTRICT 9 (199)	160,823	70
✓ Lee M. Hamilton (D)	70,030	30
✓ Michael Boney (R)		
DISTRICT 10 (199)	111,339	64
✓ Andrew Jacobs Jr. (D)	61,641	36
✓ James Harshbarger (R)		

IOWA

DISTRICT 1 (199)	81,225	31
✓ Jan Zemanow (D)	177,335	69
✓ Jan Leach (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	130,833	49
✓ David Hughes (D)	134,033	51
✓ Jim Ruppel (R)		
DISTRICT 3 (199)	120,728	49
✓ Laura Beiler (D)	125,035	51
✓ Jim Leach (R)		
DISTRICT 4 (199)	156,611	63
✓ Bob Vander Koo (D)	93,064	37
✓ Paul Lunde (R)		
DISTRICT 5	Unopp.	—
✓ Fred Grandy (R)		

KANSAS

DISTRICT 1 (199)	83,672	30
✓ Duane West (D)	193,541	70
✓ Pat Roberts (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	150,849	58
✓ Jim Santorum (D)	109,674	42
✓ Jim Van Slyke (R)		
DISTRICT 3 (199)	109,548	39
✓ Tom Lyle (D)	169,668	61
✓ Jan Meyers (R)		
DISTRICT 4 (199)	139,854	53
✓ Dan Glickman (D)	114,289	45
✓ Eric York (R)		

KENTUCKY

DISTRICT 1 (199)	128,233	60
✓ Tom Barrow (D)	82,991	39
✓ Steve Harnett (R)	1,012	0
✓ Marvin East (D)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	126,808	61
✓ William H. Hatcher (D)	79,619	39
✓ Bruce Babbitt (R)		
DISTRICT 3 (199)	148,088	63
✓ Barbara L. Macmillan (D)	132,689	47
✓ Susan Stokes (R)		
DISTRICT 4 (199)	86,713	38
✓ Floyd Piers (D)	139,466	62
✓ Jim Bunning (R)		
DISTRICT 5 (199)	97,768	46
✓ John Hays (D)	113,809	54
✓ Harold Rogers (R)		

LOUISIANA

DISTRICT 1 (199)	136,021	41
✓ Rusty Baker (D)	67,636	39
✓ Charles Dwyer (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	Unopp.	—
✓ Robert L. Livingston Jr. (R)		
DISTRICT 3 (199)	Unopp.	—
✓ Billy Tauzin (D)		
DISTRICT 4 (199)	142,822	74
✓ Cass Fields (D)	50,796	26
✓ Charles James (D)		
DISTRICT 5 (199)	88,923	37
✓ Jerry Hatcher (D)	153,232	63
✓ Jim McCrory (R)		
DISTRICT 6 (199)	123,803	51
✓ Richard H. Baker (R)	120,900	49
✓ Clyde Mathaway (R)		
DISTRICT 7	Unopp.	—
✓ James A. Hayes (D)		

MAINE

DISTRICT 1 (199)	231,363	65
✓ Thomas Anderson (D)	126,079	35
✓ Linda Bean (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	130,958	42
✓ Patrick McGowan (D)	152,285	49
✓ Olympia J. Snowe (R)	29,953	10
✓ Jonathan Carter (D)		

MARYLAND

DISTRICT 1 (199)	105,914	48
✓ Tom Mikolaitis (D)	114,017	52
✓ Wayne Galtman (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	85,831	35
✓ Michael Hickey (D)	157,194	65
✓ Helen Delich Bentley (R)		
DISTRICT 3 (199)	156,085	74
✓ Benjamin L. Cardin (D)	56,125	26
✓ William Broder (R)		
DISTRICT 4 (199)	132,776	76
✓ Albert Wynn (D)	42,743	24
✓ Michele Dyson (R)		
DISTRICT 5 (199)	113,280	55
✓ Steny H. Hoyer (D)	92,636	45
✓ Larry Hogan (R)		
DISTRICT 6 (199)	100,753	46
✓ Thomas Hartney (D)	119,684	54
✓ Roscoe Bartlett (R)		
DISTRICT 7 (199)	147,133	65
✓ Kenneth Komer (R)	25,013	15
✓ Kenneth Komer (R)		
DISTRICT 8 (199)	72,190	28
✓ Edward McFadden (D)	189,420	72
✓ Carole Morelle (R)		

MASSACHUSETTS

DISTRICT 1 (199)	134,954	54
✓ John Olver (D)	113,796	46
✓ Patrick Lohan (R)		
DISTRICT 2 (199)	131,147	63
✓ Richard E. Neal (D)	76,780	37
✓ Anthony Renna Jr. (R)		
DISTRICT 3 (199)	115,493	47
✓ Joseph D. Early (D)	131,405	53
✓ Peter Blute (R)		
DISTRICT 4 (199)	182,207	72
✓ Barney Frank (D)	70,628	28
✓ Edward McCormack III (R)		
DISTRICT 5 (199)	134,417	58
✓ Martin Meehan (D)	96,827	42
✓ Paul Canner (R)		
DISTRICT 6 (199)	130,597	45
✓ Nicholas Mavroules (D)	158,577	55
✓ Peter Tondolien (R)		
DISTRICT 7 (199)	182,850	70
✓ Edward J. Markey (D)	78,194	30
✓ Stephen Schen (R)		
DISTRICT 8 (199)	114,125	83
✓ Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. (D)	23,795	17
✓ Alice Neuhart (D)		
DISTRICT 9 (199)	175,187	76
✓ Joe Moakley (D)	54,051	24
✓ Martin Conroy (R)		
DISTRICT 10 (199)	188,720	62
✓ Gerry E. Studds (D)	75,686	25
✓ Daniel Daly (R)	36,111	13
✓ Jan Bryan (D)		

MICHIGAN

DISTRICT 1 (199)	144,930
✓ Bart Stupak (D)	116,948
Phil Ruppe (R)	
DISTRICT 2 (199)	84,179
✓ John Mithner (D)	152,282
✓ Peter Hainke (R)	4,731
Dick Jacobs (D)	
DISTRICT 3 (199)	96,665
✓ Carol Krosztor (D)	164,518
Paul Henry (R)	
DISTRICT 4 (199)	87,662
✓ Lee Davidson (D)	157,032
✓ Dave Camp (R)	
DISTRICT 5 (199)	147,857
✓ James Bonta (D)	92,781
Keith Mankow (R)	
DISTRICT 6 (199)	89,030
✓ Andy Davis (D)	143,930
✓ Fred Upton (R)	
DISTRICT 7 (199)	132,731
✓ Nick Smith (R)	20,000
Kenneth Prescher (D)	
DISTRICT 8 (199)	135,000
✓ Bob Carr (D)	131,000
Dick Chrysler (R)	
DISTRICT 9 (199)	139,000
✓ Dale Kildee (R)	112,000
Megan O'Neill (D)	
DISTRICT 10 (199)	134,000
✓ David Bonior (D)	111,000
Douglas Carl (R)	
DISTRICT 11 (199)	117,000
✓ Walter Briggs (D)	166,000
✓ Joseph Knudsen (R)	
DISTRICT 12 (199)	137,000
✓桑德斯·洛特 (D)	119,000
John Prewett (R)	

NEW HAMPSHIRE

DISTRICT 1 (199)		
✓ Bob Preston (D)	107,189	43
✓ Bill Zeller (R)	134,575	56
DISTRICT 2 (199)		
✓ Dick Sweet (D)	157,199	83
✓ Bill Hatch (R)	81,000	37

NEW JERSEY

DISTRICT 1 (199)		
✓ Robert Andrews (D)	150,560	70
✓ Lee Seisman (R)	63,607	30
DISTRICT 2 (199)		
✓ William J. Hughes (D)	127,987	57
✓ Frank LaBiondo (R)	95,231	43
DISTRICT 3 (199)		
✓ Timothy Ryan (D)	89,347	33
✓ Jim Seston (R)	142,850	62
DISTRICT 4 (199)		
✓ Brian Hughes (D)	80,550	37
✓ Christopher H. Smith (R)	139,304	63
DISTRICT 5 (199)		
✓ Frank Lucas (D)	66,746	26
✓ Marge Roukens (R)	193,468	74
DISTRICT 6 (199)		
✓ Frank Pallone Jr. (D)	111,653	54
✓ Joseph Kyrillos (R)	95,585	46
DISTRICT 7 (197)		
✓ Leonard Sordelisky (D)	101,548	44
✓ Bob Franks (R)	127,726	56
DISTRICT 8 (197)		
✓ Herbert Klein (D)	91,262	49
✓ Joseph Bubba (R)	80,734	43
✓ Gloria Kolodziej (D)	15,618	8
DISTRICT 9 (199)		
✓ Robert G. Torricelli (D)	132,201	61
✓ Patrick Roma (R)	83,867	39
DISTRICT 10 (199)		
✓ Donald M. Payne (D)	104,817	79
✓ Alfred Palermo (R)	28,051	21
DISTRICT 11 (199)		
✓ Ona Spontakis (D)	65,024	27
✓ Dean A. Gallo (R)	179,803	73
DISTRICT 12 (199)		
✓ Frank Abate (D)	80,731	33
✓ Richard A. Zimmer (R)	167,127	67
DISTRICT 13 (199)		
✓ Robert Mendez (D)	83,358	68
✓ Fred Thiering Jr. (R)	42,524	32

NEW MEXICO

DISTRICT 1 (199)		
✓ Robert Aragon (D)	76,188	37
✓ Steven Schmitt (R)	127,560	63
DISTRICT 2 (199)		
✓ Don Sosa Jr. (D)	73,118	44
✓ Joe Sween (R)	94,826	56
DISTRICT 3 (199)		
✓ Bill Richardson (D)	121,026	67
✓ F. Gregg Berns Jr. (R)	53,949	30
✓ Ed Nagel (D)	4,700	3

NEW YORK

DISTRICT 1 (199)		
✓ George Hochonaciner (D)	111,418	51
✓ Edward Romano (R)	105,059	49
DISTRICT 2 (197)		
✓ Thomas J. Downey (D)	91,465	47
✓ Rick Lazio (R)	104,264	53
DISTRICT 3 (199)		
✓ Steve Orlos (D)	112,063	47
✓ Peter King (R)	118,345	49
✓ Louis Roccione (D)	6,889	3
✓ Ben-Zion Heyman (D)	2,949	1
DISTRICT 4 (199)		
✓ Philip Schwab (D)	97,583	46
✓ David Levy (R)	107,785	50
✓ Vincent Garabito (D)	9,168	4
DISTRICT 5 (195)		
✓ Gary L. Ackerman (D)	97,425	52
✓ Allan Bender (R)	88,316	46
✓ Andrew Duff (D)	5,180	3
DISTRICT 6 (199)		
✓ Floyd M. Flier (D)	92,654	81
✓ Danand Bhargava (R)	2,276	19
DISTRICT 7 (199)		
✓ Thomas J. Marston (D)	67,843	56
✓ Dennis Shea (R)	52,734	44
DISTRICT 8 (199)		
✓ Jerrisa Blum (D)	11,211	16
✓ David Alston (R)	4,873	3
DISTRICT 9 (199)		
✓ Charles E. Schumer (D)	111,399	89
✓ Alton Gaffney (D)	14,273	11
DISTRICT 10 (199)		
✓ Edolphus Towns (D)	93,271	56
✓ Owen Augustin (D)	4,320	4
DISTRICT 11 (199)		
✓ Mayor R. Owens (D)	75,574	95
✓ Michael Gaffney (D)	4,122	5
DISTRICT 12 (199)		
✓ Nydia Velázquez (D)	51,608	77
✓ Angel Diaz (R)	13,945	21
✓ Ruben Franco (D)	1,420	2
DISTRICT 13 (199)		
✓ Sal Albanese (D)	70,447	38
✓ Susan Molinari (R)	102,715	56
✓ Kathleen Murphy (D)	10,428	6
DISTRICT 14 (199)		
✓ Carolyn Maloney (D)	94,613	51
✓ Bill Green (R)	89,423	49
DISTRICT 15 (199)		
✓ Charles B. Rangel (D)	97,398	95
✓ Jose Suro (D)	4,837	5

DISTRICT 16 (199)		
✓ Jane Garra (D)	81,632	91
✓ Michael Walters (R)	7,868	9
DISTRICT 17 (199)		
✓ Earl L. Engel (D)	92,802	81
✓ Martin Rucaman (R)	15,858	14
✓ Kevin Brantly (D)	2,977	3
✓ Martin O'Grady (D)	2,861	2
DISTRICT 18 (199)		
✓ Max M. Linsky (D)	102,269	55
✓ Joseph DiGiardi (R)	83,282	45
DISTRICT 19 (199)		
✓ Neil McCarthy (D)	81,941	40
✓ Harrison Fish Jr. (R)	125,417	60
DISTRICT 20 (199)		
✓ Jonathan Levine (D)	61,630	29
✓ Benjamin A. Glavin (R)	139,712	67
✓ Robert Garman (D)	8,045	4
DISTRICT 21 (199)		
✓ Michael R. McNulty (D)	147,173	62
✓ Nancy Norman (R)	82,668	35
✓ William Donnelly (D)	7,108	3
DISTRICT 22 (199)		
✓ David Roberts (D)	80,713	34
✓ Gerald Solomon (R)	154,416	66
DISTRICT 23 (199)		
✓ Paula DiPerna (D)	56,841	29
✓ Sherwood L. Bonheart (R)	126,879	64
✓ Geoffrey Grace (D)	7,496	4
✓ Randall Terry (D)	8,045	4
DISTRICT 24 (199)		
✓ Margaret Ravenscroft (D)	44,798	23
✓ John McHugh (R)	116,254	61
✓ Morrison Hasky (D)	25,848	14
✓ Stephen Burke (D)	4,330	2
DISTRICT 25 (199)		
✓ Ryan Jester (D)	105,364	44
✓ James T. Walsh (R)	132,279	56
DISTRICT 26 (199)		
✓ Maurice Hinchey (D)	114,133	51
✓ Bob Maccort (R)	109,037	47
✓ Mary Dean (D)	6,856	3
DISTRICT 27 (199)		
✓ W. Douglas Carl (D)	86,631	37
✓ Bill Paxon (R)	150,451	63
DISTRICT 28 (199)		
✓ Luane M. Staughton (D)	138,318	55
✓ William Polito (R)	111,233	45
DISTRICT 29 (199)		
✓ John J. LaFalce (D)	124,276	55
✓ William Miller Jr. (R)	95,328	42
✓ Kenneth Kowalski (D)	7,118	3
DISTRICT 30 (199)		
✓ Dennis Gesto (D)	105,391	46
✓ Jack Quinn (R)	119,102	52
✓ Mary Reherman (D)	5,857	3
DISTRICT 31 (199)		
✓ Joseph Lahey (D)	49,379	24
✓ Arno Houghton Jr. (R)	143,463	71
✓ Gretchen McManus (D)	10,190	5

NORTH CAROLINA

DISTRICT 1 (199)		
✓ Eric Clayton (D)	115,508	68
✓ Ted Tyeer (R)	54,133	32
DISTRICT 2 (199)		
✓ Tim Valentine (D)	112,367	55
✓ Don Davis (R)	92,164	45
DISTRICT 3 (199)		
✓ Martin Larcacoe (D)	100,802	56
✓ Tammy Pollard (R)	80,062	44
DISTRICT 4 (199)		
✓ David E. Price (D)	170,753	65
✓ Vicki Gaudin (R)	89,147	34
DISTRICT 5 (199)		
✓ Steve Neal (D)	117,256	54
✓ Richard Burr (R)	101,605	46
DISTRICT 6 (199)		
✓ Robin Head (D)	66,810	29
✓ Howard Cable (R)	161,880	71
DISTRICT 7 (199)		
✓ Charles Rose (D)	85,694	58
✓ Robert Anderson (R)	61,267	42
DISTRICT 8 (199)		
✓ Bill Hefner (D)	109,779	61
✓ Lay Pinner (R)	70,177	39
DISTRICT 9 (199)		
✓ Perry Bass (D)	71,415	33
✓ Ann McMillan (R)	145,456	67
DISTRICT 10 (199)		
✓ Ben Hunt (D)	78,979	35
✓ L. B. Smith (R)	148,900	65
DISTRICT 11 (199)		
✓ John Sweeney (D)	107,894	45
✓ Charles Taylor (R)	130,103	55
DISTRICT 12 (199)		
✓ Marvin Watt (D)	126,836	72
✓ Barbara Washington (R)	48,191	28

NORTH DAKOTA

AT-LARGE (199)		
✓ Earl Pomeroy (D)	168,415	59
✓ John Korman (R)	117,041	41

OHIO

DISTRICT 1 (199)		
✓ David Mann (D)	117,680	51
✓ Jim Berry (D)	12,444	5
✓ Steve Giese (D)	99,741	43
DISTRICT 2 (199)		
✓ Thomas Chandler (D)	75,127	30
✓ Willis D. Gradison (R)	173,514	70
DISTRICT 3 (199)		
✓ Tony Hall (D)	144,854	60
✓ Peter Davis (R)	98,049	40
DISTRICT 4 (199)		
✓ Raymond Ball (D)	91,718	39
✓ Michael G. O'Leary (R)	145,484	61
DISTRICT 5 (199)		
✓ Paul Gilmore (R)	Unapp.	—
DISTRICT 6 (199)		
✓ Ted Strickland (D)	121,223	51
✓ Bob McEwen (R)	117,681	49
DISTRICT 7 (199)		
✓ Clifford Hesbert (D)	65,525	29
✓ David Hobson (R)	162,764	71
DISTRICT 8 (199)		
✓ Fred Semmet (D)	68,159	29
✓ John Boehner (R)	167,485	71

DISTRICT 9 (199)		
✓ Nancy Kasper (D)	176,677	77
✓ Ken Brown (R)	82,431	23
DISTRICT 10 (199)		
✓ Mary Rose Oaker (D)	102,573	49
✓ Martin Hale (R)	134,711	67
DISTRICT 11 (199)		
✓ Louis Blum (D)	152,328	78
✓ Beryl Rastbach (R)	43,152	22
DISTRICT 12 (199)		
✓ Bob Filkins (D)	68,250	29
✓ John Kasich (R)	169,548	71
DISTRICT 13 (199)		
✓ Sherrell Brown (D)	133,489	60
✓ Margaret Mauser (R)	88,202	40
DISTRICT 14 (199)		
✓ Thomas Sawyer (D)	163,454	68
✓ Robert Morgan (R)	77,953	32
DISTRICT 15 (199)		
✓ Richard Carney (D)	97,509	37
✓ Deborah Pryce (R)	115,710	44
✓ Lucie Rastbach (D)	47,178	18
DISTRICT 16 (199)		
✓ Warner Mendenhall (D)	89,509	36
✓ Ralph Regula (R)	156,963	64
DISTRICT 17 (199)		
✓ James A. Traflet Jr. (D)	214,433	84
✓ Salvador Panagiotis (R)	40,381	16
DISTRICT 18 (199)		
✓ Douglas Accomata (D)	164,390	68
✓ Bill Ross (R)	76,868	32
DISTRICT 19 (199)		
✓ Eric Fingerhut (D)	137,140	53
✓ Robert Gardner (R)	123,308	47

OKLAHOMA

DISTRICT 1 (199)		
✓ John Saph (D)	106,619	47
✓ James M. Inhofe (R)	119,211	53
DISTRICT 2 (199)		
✓ Mike Synar (D)	118,542	56
✓ Jerry Hill (R)	87,657	41
✓ William Vandeman (D)	7,314	3
DISTRICT 3 (199)		
✓ Bill Brewster (D)	155,934	75
✓ Robert Stiles (R)	51,725	25
DISTRICT 4 (199)		
✓ Dave McCurdy (D)	140,841	71
✓ Howard Bell (R)	58,235	29
DISTRICT 5 (199)		
✓ Laura Williams (D)	107,579	47
✓ Ernest Jim Ittcock (R)	123,237	53
DISTRICT 6 (199)		
✓ Glenn English (D)	134,734	68
✓ Bob Anthony (R)	64,068	32

OREGON

DISTRICT 1 (199)		
✓ Elizabeth Furse (D)	118,133	54
✓ Tony Meeker (R)	100,955	46
DISTRICT 2 (199)		
✓ Darnal Ferguson (D)	82,823	33
✓ Bob Smith (R)	166,394	67
DISTRICT 3 (199)		
✓ Ron Wyden (D)	177,745	81
✓ Al Ratter (R)	40,752	19
DISTRICT 4 (199)		
✓ Peter DeFazio (D)	163,358	72
✓ Richard Schultz (R)	71,446	28
DISTRICT 5 (199)		
✓ Mike Kopelke (D)	159,617	65
✓ Jim Seagraves (R)	86,254	35

PENNSYLVANIA

DISTRICT 1 (199)		
✓ Thomas Foglietta* (D)	150,183	81
✓ Craig Snyder (R)	35,345	19
DISTRICT 2 (198)		
✓ Lucien Blackwell* (D)	160,786	77
✓ Larry Mohr (R)	47,393	23
DISTRICT 3 (198)		
✓ Robert Borsini* (D)	125,596	60
✓ Charles Dougherty (R)	82,909	40
DISTRICT 4 (198)		
✓ Lynn Kuntz (D)	186,346	76
✓ Gordon Johnston (R)	42,332	21
DISTRICT 5		
✓ Bill Clinger Jr.* (R)	Unapp.	-
DISTRICT 6 (1989)		
✓ Tim Holden (D)	106,939	52
✓ John Jones (R)	97,156	48
DISTRICT 7 (1989)		
✓ Frank Dely (D)	91,453	34
✓ Curt Weldon* (R)	179,541	66
DISTRICT 8 (1989)		
✓ Peter Kostmeyer* (D)	114,039	47
✓ Jim Greenwood* (R)	129,737	53
DISTRICT 9		
✓ Bud Shuster* (R)	Unapp.	-
DISTRICT 10 (1989)		
✓ Joseph McDade (D)	75,254	36
✓ Joseph McDade* (R)	112,064	54
✓ Albert Smith (D)	19,800	10
DISTRICT 11 (1989)		
✓ Paul E. Hannon* (D)	138,557	60
✓ Michael Fescine (R)	68,743	33
DISTRICT 12		
✓ John Murtha* (D)	Unapp.	-
DISTRICT 13 (1989)		
✓ Marjorie Mawensky (D)	127,534	50
✓ John Fee (R)	126,445	50
DISTRICT 14 (1989)		
✓ William Coyne* (D)	164,827	73
✓ Byron King (R)	60,932	27
DISTRICT 15 (1989)		
✓ Paul Hefner (D)	110,805	53
✓ Dan Ritter* (R)	99,482	47
DISTRICT 16 (1989)		
✓ Robert Peters (D)	74,688	35
✓ Robert S. Weber* (R)	137,818	65
DISTRICT 17 (1989)		
✓ Bill Sturgeon (D)	65,826	30
✓ George Getz* (R)	150,074	72
DISTRICT 18 (1989)		
✓ Frank Pucara (D)	96,736	46
✓ Rick Sandcrum* (R)	153,154	75

RHODE ISLAND		
DISTRICT 1 (199)	45,468	26
DISTRICT 2 (199)	130,282	24
DISTRICT 3 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 4 (199)	47,456	25
DISTRICT 5 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 6 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 7 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 8 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 9 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 10 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 11 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 12 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 13 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 14 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 15 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 16 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 17 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 18 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 19 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 20 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 21 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 22 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 23 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 24 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 25 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 26 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 27 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 28 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 29 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 30 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 31 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 32 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 33 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 34 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 35 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 36 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 37 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 38 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 39 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 40 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 41 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 42 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 43 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 44 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 45 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 46 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 47 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 48 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 49 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 50 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 51 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 52 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 53 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 54 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 55 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 56 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 57 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 58 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 59 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 60 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 61 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 62 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 63 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 64 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 65 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 66 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 67 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 68 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 69 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 70 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 71 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 72 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 73 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 74 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 75 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 76 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 77 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 78 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 79 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 80 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 81 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 82 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 83 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 84 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 85 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 86 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 87 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 88 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 89 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 90 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 91 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 92 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 93 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 94 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 95 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 96 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 97 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 98 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 99 (199)	138,780	25
DISTRICT 100 (199)	138,780	25

SOUTH CAROLINA		
DISTRICT 1 (199)	59,538	34
DISTRICT 2 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 3 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 4 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 5 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 6 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 7 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 8 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 9 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 10 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 11 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 12 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 13 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 14 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 15 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 16 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 17 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 18 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 19 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 20 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 21 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 22 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 23 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 24 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 25 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 26 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 27 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 28 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 29 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 30 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 31 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 32 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 33 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 34 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 35 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 36 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 37 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 38 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 39 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 40 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 41 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 42 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 43 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 44 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 45 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 46 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 47 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 48 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 49 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 50 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 51 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 52 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 53 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 54 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 55 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 56 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 57 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 58 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 59 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 60 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 61 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 62 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 63 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 64 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 65 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 66 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 67 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 68 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 69 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 70 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 71 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 72 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 73 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 74 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 75 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 76 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 77 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 78 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 79 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 80 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 81 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 82 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 83 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 84 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 85 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 86 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 87 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 88 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 89 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 90 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 91 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 92 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 93 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 94 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 95 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 96 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 97 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 98 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 99 (199)	117,599	66
DISTRICT 100 (199)	117,599	66

WASHINGTON		
DISTRICT 1 (199)	209,919	17
DISTRICT 2 (199)	42,971	17
DISTRICT 3 (199)	135,698	57
DISTRICT 4 (199)	101,447	43
DISTRICT 5 (199)	132,915	63
DISTRICT 6 (199)	78,014	37
DISTRICT 7 (199)	75,744	35
DISTRICT 8 (199)	143,778	65
DISTRICT 9 (199)	113,461	52
DISTRICT 10 (199)	103,091	48
DISTRICT 11 (199)	136,255	57
DISTRICT 12 (199)	56,540	43
DISTRICT 13 (199)	116,118	56
DISTRICT 14 (199)	89,923	44
DISTRICT 15 (199)	124,393	46
DISTRICT 16 (199)	96,773	44
DISTRICT 17 (199)	91,110	51
DISTRICT 18 (199)	86,127	49
DISTRICT 19 (199)	123,110	55
DISTRICT 20 (199)	99,692	45
DISTRICT 21 (199)	121,162	70
DISTRICT 22 (199)	51,297	30
DISTRICT 23 (199)	196,657	61
DISTRICT 24 (199)	45,351	19
DISTRICT 25 (199)	73,654	34
DISTRICT 26 (199)	129,475	60
DISTRICT 27 (199)	12,354	6
DISTRICT 28 (199)	94,656	53
DISTRICT 29 (199)	73,763	42
DISTRICT 30 (199)	2,895	2
DISTRICT 31 (199)	5,787	3
DISTRICT 32 (199)	119,500	66
DISTRICT 33 (199)	61,857	34
DISTRICT 34 (199)	147,029	58
DISTRICT 35 (199)	104,348	42
DISTRICT 36 (199)	107,480	37
DISTRICT 37 (199)	181,845	63
DISTRICT 38 (199)	107,458	43
DISTRICT 39 (199)	145,300	57
DISTRICT 40 (199)	172,503	67
DISTRICT 41 (199)	84,463	33
DISTRICT 42 (199)	60,676	30
DISTRICT 43 (199)	128,393	47
DISTRICT 44 (199)	143,843	53
DISTRICT 45 (199)	163,975	64
DISTRICT 46 (199)	91,775	36
DISTRICT 47 (199)	82,032	50
DISTRICT 48 (199)	191,449	70
DISTRICT 49 (199)	77,358	29
DISTRICT 50 (199)	182,915	71
DISTRICT 51 (199)	77,364	29
DISTRICT 52 (199)	113,712	58
DISTRICT 53 (199)	6,673	3

WEST VIRGINIA		
DISTRICT 1 (199)	107,458	43
DISTRICT 2 (199)	145,300	57
DISTRICT 3 (199)	172,503	67
DISTRICT 4 (199)	84,463	33
DISTRICT 5 (199)	60,676	30
DISTRICT 6 (199)	128,393	47
DISTRICT 7 (199)	143,843	53
DISTRICT 8 (199)	163,975	64
DISTRICT 9 (199)	91,775	36
DISTRICT 10 (199)	82,032	50
DISTRICT 11 (199)	191,449	70
DISTRICT 12 (199)	77,358	29
DISTRICT 13 (199)	182,915	71
DISTRICT 14 (199)	77,364	29
DISTRICT 15 (199)	113,712	58
DISTRICT 16 (199)	6,673	3

WISCONSIN		
DISTRICT 1 (199)	147,029	58
DISTRICT 2 (199)	104,348	42
DISTRICT 3 (199)	107,480	37
DISTRICT 4 (199)	181,845	63
DISTRICT 5 (199)	107,458	43
DISTRICT 6 (199)	145,300	57
DISTRICT 7 (199)	172,503	67
DISTRICT 8 (199)	84,463	33
DISTRICT 9 (199)	60,676	30
DISTRICT 10 (199)	128,393	47
DISTRICT 11 (199)	143,843	53
DISTRICT 12 (199)	163,975	64
DISTRICT 13 (199)	91,775	36
DISTRICT 14 (199)	82,032	50
DISTRICT 15 (199)	191,449	70
DISTRICT 16 (199)	77,358	29
DISTRICT 17 (199)	182,915	71
DISTRICT 18 (199)	77,364	29
DISTRICT 19 (199)	113,712	58
DISTRICT 20 (199)	6,673	3

VERMONT		
DISTRICT 1 (199)	127,543	52
DISTRICT 2 (199)	118,013	48
DISTRICT 3 (199)	134,190	62
DISTRICT 4 (199)	83,104	38
DISTRICT 5 (199)	20,989	8
DISTRICT 6 (199)	152,551	60
DISTRICT 7 (199)	159,601	65
DISTRICT 8 (199)	15,463	7
DISTRICT 9 (199)	68,549	28
DISTRICT 10 (199)	107,458	43
DISTRICT 11 (199)	145,300	57
DISTRICT 12 (199)	172,503	67
DISTRICT 13 (199)	84,463	33
DISTRICT 14 (199)	60,676	30
DISTRICT 15 (199)	128,393	47
DISTRICT 16 (199)	143,843	53
DISTRICT 17 (199)	163,975	64
DISTRICT 18 (199)	91,775	36
DISTRICT 19 (199)	82,032	50
DISTRICT 20 (199)	191,449	70
DISTRICT 21 (199)	77,358	29
DISTRICT 22 (199)	182,915	71
DISTRICT 23 (199)	77,364	29
DISTRICT 24 (199)	113,712	58
DISTRICT 25 (199)	6,673	3

VIRGINIA		
DISTRICT 1 (199)	127,543	52
DISTRICT 2 (199)	118,013	48
DISTRICT 3 (199)	134,190	62
DISTRICT 4 (199)	83,104	38
DISTRICT 5 (199)	20,989	8
DISTRICT 6 (199)	152,551	60
DISTRICT 7 (199)	159,601	65
DISTRICT 8 (199)	15,463	7
DISTRICT 9 (199)	68,549	28
DISTRICT 10 (199)	107,458	43

1992 had been called the "Year of the Woman." That proved to be true in the House, where 47 (44%) of the 106 candidates won, and the Senate, where five of the 11 female candidates won.

THE SENATE NEW MEMBERS



Barbara Boxer
(D-Calif.)



Dianne Feinstein
(D-Calif.)



Carol Moseley
Braun (D-Ill.)



Patty Murray
(D-Wash.)

Of voters for Boxer and Feinstein, 59 percent were women, according to exit polls; for Braun, the figure was 55 percent.

OTHER NEW MEMBERS

SENATORS

NAME		
Ben Nighthorse Campbell	D	Colorado
Dick Kempthorne	(R)	Idaho
Judd Gregg	(R)	New Hampshire
Lauch Faircloth	(R)	North Carolina
Byron Dorgan	D	North Dakota
Robert Bennett	(R)	Utah
Russell Feingold	D	Wisconsin

—Compiled by Brenda Caggiano,
Jeannette Beliveau, Jerry Davis

REPRESENTATIVES

NAME		DISTRICT
Terry Everett	(R)	Alabama 2
Spencer Bachus	(R)	Alabama 6
Sam Coppersmith	D	Arizona 1
Tim Hutchinson	(R)	Arkansas 3
Jay Dickey	(R)	Arkansas 4
Dan Hamburg	(R)	California 1
Bill Baker	(R)	California 10
Michael Huffington	(R)	California 22
Howard Mckee	(R)	California 25
Steve Horn	(R)	California 38
Edward Royce	(R)	California 39
Bob Filner	D	California 50
Scott McInnis	(R)	Colorado 3
Michael Castle	(R)	Delaware At-Large
John Mica	(R)	Florida 7

Charles Canady	(R)	Florida 12
Dan Miller	(R)	Florida 13
Peter Deutsch	D	Florida 20
Jack Kingston	(R)	Georgia 1
Mac Collins	(R)	Georgia 3
John Linder	(R)	Georgia 4
Nathan Deal	D	Georgia 9
Don Johnson	D	Georgia 10
Michael Crapo	(R)	Idaho 2
Donald Manzullo	(R)	Illinois 16
Steve Buyer	D	Indiana 5
Tom Barlow	(R)	Kentucky 1
Scotty Baesler	D	Kentucky 6
Roscoe Bartlett	(R)	Maryland 6
Peter Blute	(R)	Massachusetts 3
Martin Meehan	(R)	Massachusetts 5
Peter Torkildsen	(R)	Massachusetts 6

THE HOUSE NEW MEMBERS

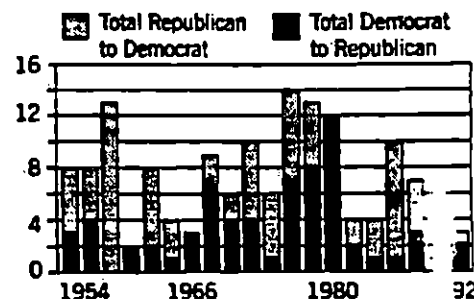
NAME	PARTY	STATE	DISTRICT
Karan English	D	Arizona	6
Blanche Lambert	D	Arkansas	1
Lynn Woolsey	D	California	6
Anna Eshoo	D	California	14
Lucille Roybal-Allard	D	California	33
Jane Harman	D	California	36
Lynn Schenk	D	California	49
Corrine Brown	D	Florida	3
Tillie Fowler	(R)	Florida	4
Karen Thurman	D	Florida	5
Carrie Meek	D	Florida	17
Cynthia McKinney	D	Georgia	11
Pat Danner	D	Missouri	6
Nydia Velazquez	D	New York	12
Carolyn Maloney	D	New York	14
Eva Clayton	D	North Carolina	1
Deborah Pryce	(R)	Ohio	15
Elizabeth Furse	D	Oregon	1
Marjorie Mezvinsky	D	Pennsylvania	13
Eddie Bernice Johnson	(R)	Texas	30
Karen Shepherd	(R)	Utah	2
Leslie Byrne	D	Virginia	11
Maria Cantwell	D	Washington	1
Jennifer Dunn	(R)	Washington	8

MINORITIES IN THE HOUSE

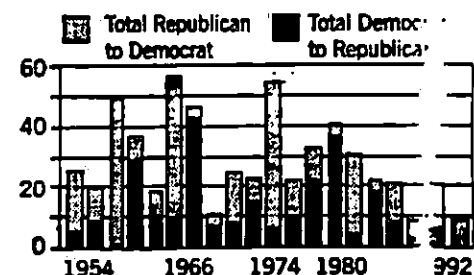
The landscape on Capitol Hill changed as the number of minority members grew from 39 to 59. The new members are listed below.

NAME	PARTY	STATE	DISTRICT
ASIANS			
Jay Kim	(R)	California	41
BLACKS			
Earl Hilliard	D	Alabama	7
Walter Tucker	D	California	37
Corrine Brown	D	Florida	3
Carrie Meek	D	Florida	17
Alcee Hastings	D	Florida	23
Sanford Bishop	D	Georgia	2
Cynthia McKinney	D	Georgia	11
Bobby Rush	D	Illinois	1
Mel Reynolds	D	Illinois	2
Cleo Fields	D	Louisiana	4
Albert Wynn	D	Maryland	4
Eva Clayton	D	North Carolina	1
Melvin Watt	D	North Carolina	12
James Clyburn	D	South Carolina	6
Eddie Bernice Johnson	D	Texas	30
Robert Scott	D	Virginia	3
HISPANICS			
Xavier Becerra	D	California	30
Lucille Roybal-Allard	D	California	33
Lincoln Diaz-Balart	(R)	Florida	21
Luis Guterrez	D	Illinois	4
Robert Menendez	D	New Jersey	13
Nydia Velazquez	D	New York	12
Henry Bonilla	(R)	Texas	23
Frank Tejeda	D	Texas	28

HOW MANY SENATE SEATS CHANGED PARTY, 1954-92



HOW MANY HOUSE SEATS CHANGED PARTY, 1954-92



Charles Canady	(R)	Florida 12	Bart Stupak	D	Michigan 1	David Mann	D	Ohio 1
Dan Miller	(R)	Florida 13	Peter Hoekstra	(R)	Michigan 2	Ted Strickland	D	Ohio 6
Peter Deutsch	D	Florida 20	James Barcia	D	Michigan 5	Martin Hoke	(R)	Ohio 10
Jack Kingston	(R)	Georgia 1	Nick Smith	(R)	Michigan 7	Sherrod Brown	D	Ohio 13
Mac Collins	(R)	Georgia 3	Joseph Knollenberg	(R)	Michigan 11	Eric Fingerhut	D	Ohio 19
John Linder	(R)	Georgia 4	David Minge	D	Minnesota 2	Ernest Jim Istook	(R)	Oklahoma 5
Nathan Deal	D	Georgia 9	Rod Grams	(R)	Minnesota 6	Ron Klink	D	Pennsylvania 4
Don Johnson	D	Georgia 10	James Talent	(R)	Missouri 2	Tim Holden	D	Pennsylvania 6
Michael Crapo	(R)	Idaho 2	Bob Franks	(R)	New Jersey 7	Jim Greenwood	(R)	Pennsylvania 8
Donald Manzullo	(R)	Illinois 16	Herbert Klein	D	New Jersey 8	Paul McHale	D	Pennsylvania 15
Steve Buyer	D	Indiana 5	Rick Lazio	(R)	New York 2	Bob Inglis	(R)	South Carolina 4
Tom Barlow	(R)	Kentucky 1	David Levy	(R)	New York 4	Gene Green	D	Texas 29
Scotty Baesler	D	Kentucky 6	Jerrold Nadler	D	New York 8	Robert Goodlatte	(R)	Virginia 6
Roscoe Bartlett	(R)	Maryland 6	John McHugh	(R)	New York 24	Jay Inslee	D	Washington 4
Peter Blute	(R)	Massachusetts 3	Maurice Hinchey	D	New York 26	Mike Kreidler	D	Washington 9
Martin Meehan	(R)	Massachusetts 5	Jack Quinn	(R)	New York 30	Thomas Barrett	D	Wisconsin 5
Peter Torkildsen	(R)	Massachusetts 6	Earl Pomeroy	D	North Dakota At-Large			

An Experienced Freshman Class

Diverse Group of House Newcomers Is Largest Since 1948

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

The first candidates elected to the House Tuesday included among their number the mayor of Lexington, Ky., an African-American woman who is a Florida state senator and a Hispanic state senator, also from Florida.

It was a representative slice of the freshman class of 1992, at least 110 strong and the biggest since 1948, even larger than the storied post-Watergate class of 1974. Nearly three of four new members on Capitol Hill in January will arrive with experience in government or politics, one as governor of a small state, Michael N. Castle of Delaware. Two of five newcomers to a historically white, male institution will be women or racial minorities.

So Lexington Mayor Scott Baesler (D), Florida Sen. Carrie Meek (D) and Sen. Lincoln Diaz-Balart, a Cuban-American Republican from Miami, could stand as apt representatives of the 110.

No one could be sure how such a diverse group would reshape a demoralized legislative body that at times this year seemed to have lost its collective self-esteem. House leaders groped for analogies from the past: the Class of '74 reformers who set out to snatch power from aging southern chairmen; the Class of '64 social activists who fell into step with the Great Society.

"Many of them are already holding positions of public responsibility," said House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.). "This class, I would say, is similar to the one I joined in 1964" and shared "unifying aspects of public policy."

Judging from its unusual composition and scattered press notices, the incoming Class of '92 is likely to differ from either of those predecessors.

Unlike the post-Watergate class, a predominantly Democratic one, about 40 percent of these freshmen will be Republicans. "That Watergate class was [almost] all Democrats. There weren't any Republicans in it," said Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), a member since 1957.

About a half-dozen members of the Class of '74 have departed to make way for the large class, including Reps. Thomas J. Downey, Stephen J. Solarz and Matthew F. McHugh, New York Democrats all.

Michel remembered that class for the former academics and activists in its ranks and observed the newest one has a "more traditional" grounding in politics.

Rather than seeking to seize power, as candidates many members of the '92 class often talked about placing curbs on the powerful offices they are about to occupy—advocating limits on terms, staffs, perks and pay raises. Common Cause said 67 freshmen-elect pledged to back changes in campaign finance laws that would, for instance, reduce interest group contributions.

There was also campaign talk about stimulating the economy, reducing the deficit and improving the nation's health-care system, but

consensus on those issues was no more apparent among the newcomers than it has been among more senior lawmakers. Some Republican newcomers argued for tax cuts to increase federal revenue in a latter-day version of Reaganomics. Several Democratic winners urged pub-

No one could be sure how such a diverse group would reshape a demoralized legislative body that at times this year seemed to have lost its collective self-esteem.

lic works programs to jump-start the economy in the old Keynesian style.

Every woman in the Class of '92, irrespective of political affiliation, agreed on one social issue: They support abortion rights.

The 24 women, many of whom defeated men to become representatives-elect, will bring a range of political and government experience to Congress. Jane Harman (D-Calif.) and Tillie Fowler (R-Fla.) served as White House aides, Harman in the Carter administration and Fowler in Nixon's. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-Tex.) has served in the state legislature for two decades, while Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio) has sat as a county judge since 1985. Carolyn Maloney (D-N.Y.) has served on New York's City Council for a decade.

The election increased the number of women lawmakers to a record, at least 47, with the outcomes of several close races undetermined yesterday. The large increase nevertheless left women far below representation proportional to their share of the general population.

The numbers of African-American and Hispanic members jumped to historic highs. The Class of '92 includes 16 blacks, all Democrats, all but a few from the South and most members of the Baby Boom generation.

Meek, state Rep. Corrine Brown (D-Fla.) and former federal judge Alcee Hastings (D-Fla.) are the first blacks their home state has sent to Congress since Reconstruction, a milestone also set by state Sen. Robert Scott (D-Va.), state Sen. Earl Hilliard (D-Ala.), former state senator Melvin Watt (D-N.C.), county commissioner Eva Clayton

(D-N.C.) and former state cabinet officer James Clyburn (D-S.C.).

"I sense the hopes and prayers, the pains and fears of my ancestors," Clayton told the Associated Press. "And I also sense their jubilation and joy."

Of the 16 blacks, five or nearly a third are women, a relatively high proportion. There will be 38 African-Americans with full voting rights in the House, still less than their proportion of the nation's populace.

The eight new Hispanics, pushing the total with full voting rights to 17, have heritage broadly representative of the nation's Hispanics.

Four of the newcomers are Mexican Americans, two are Cuban Americans and two are Puerto Ricans, including the first Puerto Rican woman, Nydia Velazquez (D-N.Y.). It is also a bipartisan group

with Republicans Diaz-Balart and Henry Bonilla of Texas. State Sen. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), who doubles as mayor of Union City, is a rare Cuban-American Democrat.

Menendez and Chicago Alderman Luis Gutierrez (D-Ill.), a Puerto Rican, are the first Hispanics elected to Congress from their states.

House Democratic leaders suggested that the net increase of 17 minority Democrats could offset the party's loss of at least seven seats. "It certainly offsets the losses in some cases," Foley said, "I think the traditional Democratic position is probably strengthened."

One certain newcomer is Asian: Jay C. Kim, Republican mayor of Diamond Bar, Calif. Born in Seoul, Kim will become the first Korean American to serve in Congress.

Kim, 53, is a civil engineer by training and a businessman by trade who expresses conservative views on economics but supports abortion rights. "I'm self-made, and I love this country," he said in explaining his decision to run for Congress in a Southern California district.

Staff writer George Lardner Jr. and staff researcher Lucy Shackelford contributed to this report.

New Faces of '93

Shake-Up of Congress
Yields Big Coalition
Of Women, MinoritiesModerate Faction Also Rises
As a Likely Power Center
For the Clinton Agenda
Gains for the Rifle Association

By DAVID ROGERS and JACKIE CALMES
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Democrats in Congress woke up with a mandate for change — and a host of new colleagues and old problems for which they will now be responsible.

"My God," exclaimed New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of Bill Clinton's victory. "Now it's our deficit."

The turnover in Congress's membership in January will be historic. At least 110 new House members and 11 new senators won seats Tuesday — more than in any election in four decades. What's more, the

The GOP at a Crossroads

The Republican Party, once seen as a party neatly divided by Goldwater conservatives and Rockefeller moderates, is now much more fractured and contentious. See article on page A18. In other developments related to the election:

- The final days of the Bush presidency promise to be a trying time, A13.
- Voters approved 62% of \$11.7 billion in bond issues, C12.
- Term limits passed in the 14 states where they were on the ballot, A13.
- Future appears bright for Washington's lawyer-lobbyists, A12.

results will unite control of the White House and both chambers of Congress under one party for the first time since Jimmy Carter's presidency.

But the situation now is vastly different than in 1976. Congress is a far less confident, far more battered institution than the one that so frustrated Mr. Carter.

This year's newcomers represent an unprecedented infusion of women and minority-group members but also greater experience in state and local politics than the Watergate babies of the 1970s. A surprising number of incumbents survived, but voters in a number of states nonetheless served notice of their displeasure by overwhelmingly approving limits on congressional terms.

After a year of anti-Washington politicking, the mission of the newcomers and veterans alike is to make government work rather than to compete with a hostile White House. And after more than a decade of divided government, these Democrats know that their party's future is on the line.

"We'll get the credit or the blame," says Rep. Charles Stenholm, a conservative Texas cotton farmer. "It's up to us."

For Mr. Clinton, this situation presents both opportunities and peril.

A 1994 Deadline

"There's a certain sense of excitement about it [unified government] because we've known gridlock and we've known the blame game," says House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta of California. "I'd much rather have our party have clear responsibility, so you can face members and say, 'Don't give me the same old arguments. Get in line.'"

Mr. Clinton will have a more receptive audience for his legislative agenda, and especially for a moderate economic package. Yet his success also will depend that much more on making progress on intractable problems such as the deficit and health care before the next great political hurdle for Congress — the midterm elections of 1994.

"Clinton is change, and this class will follow," says Tony Coelho, the former House Democratic whip. But almost from the outset, the new administration will face a balancing act between its desire to stimulate the economy and the latent fiscal conservatism that ran through the campaigns of many Democratic newcomers this year.

Democrat Karan English, who beat a Christian Right Republican to capture Arizona's new seat in the House, appears at first blush to fit the "moderate liberal" label. Yet the 55-year-old state legislator was endorsed by no less than Republican conservative icon Barry Goldwater, and she promises to support a constitutional amendment mandating a balanced budget. Virginia state legislator Leslie Byrne, another House Democratic newcomer, fits the same mold. And in the Senate, Ben Nighthorse Campbell kept a Democratic seat in Colorado, but represents a step back from the more liberal voting record of his predecessor, Sen. Timothy Wirth.

A Possible Showdown

"Just having so many new members may be good news for deficit reduction," says Carol Cox Walt, president of the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

The deficit issue could be joined as early as next spring. By declaring a budget emergency under the federal budget law, the new president would be able to waive spending caps that restrict the public works investment he wants. But advocates of the balanced-budget amendment will then want to promote their agenda.

Proponents fell just nine votes short of the required two-thirds majority in the House this year, and the congressional leadership and Clinton administration may have little choice but to give way. By next March, the new Congress is slated to vote to raise the federal debt ceiling, and lawmakers must also confront long-delayed legislation next spring to replenish funds for bailing out insolvent thrifts.

All told, Senate Democrats held on to their current 57 seats, and could pick up a fifth if Georgia Sen. Wyche Fowler survives a runoff later this month. The Democrats will retain at least a 78-vote edge over Republicans in the 435-member House. With the outcome of a few races still in doubt, the Republicans scored a net gain of only about 10 seats in the House — fewer than experts in either party predicted.

Much as it did in the 1982 elections, California proved a bulwark for Democrats. Their House losses earlier in the evening were tempered by their gains on the West Coast. The result is that the balance of power in the two chambers will change only marginally. But underneath this stability, two clear power centers are emerging in the party.

One is represented by the traditional conservative-to-moderate swing votes like Mr. Stenholm, whose support will be crucial to Mr. Clinton's legislative success. Mr. Stenholm says he is eager to work with the president-elect to dispel the notion that Democrats are just tax-and-spenders. "I certainly want to be part of the team that gets the deficit down," he says. "By the same token, I'm not going to be content sitting back anticipating promises to do so from my leadership."

But equally important — and still undefined — is the impact of the new coalition of women, black and Hispanic members in setting the party's agenda on such issues

as health reform. The combined strength of the House black and Hispanic caucuses will grow by nearly 50%, and Rep. Mike Espy, a soft-spoken black attorney who first broke into Congress from Mississippi's Delta just six years ago, could be the next chairman of the Agriculture Committee subcommittee overseeing cotton, rice and sugar.

In addition, Rep. John Lewis, a hero of the civil-rights movement and deputy Democratic whip, will move onto the Ways and Means Committee to play a role in the debate over health care.

The infusion of women, combined with the arrival of new abortion-rights Republicans in the House, will change the political math on that issue. But the most radical change is the election of Mr. Clinton himself. The new president removes the veto threat used effectively by the Bush and Reagan administrations to block funding for an array of related bills, including population-planning funds for the United Nations and fetal-tissue research.

A more ambitious goal for abortion-rights forces is passage of the so-called Freedom of Choice Act that would codify the Supreme Court's Roe vs. Wade decision. But Democrats still would have problems passing such a bill, given support in their own ranks for amendments limiting some access to abortion.

The competition for committee appointments will test the Democratic leadership's ability to balance the power of the entrenched committee chairmen with what is expected to be a reinvigorated party caucus, which may have its own ideas. In the case of the 59-member House Appropriations Committee, one of the largest panels, as many as a dozen Democratic seats will be open, and a third of the Democrats now on the Energy and Commerce subcommittee for health legislation won't be returning in January.

The turmoil in the House could well create a situation in which the Senate takes the lead on health legislation. For years, the Senate has been the more conservative of the two chambers, but this week's election suggests the Senate may now be the more liberal and aggressive proponent of action.

Business and financial interests have a major stake in the committee jockeying now. Sen. Alfonse D'Amato's narrow win in New York allows him to claim the ranking Republican position on the Senate Banking Committee, where he has been an ally of the securities industry. And 10 of 31 Democratic seats are open on the House Banking Committee, which is likely to be a battleground for efforts to tighten congressional control of the Federal Reserve Board.

On the Republican Side

Though most attention will turn to the Democrats, this year's turnover is bipartisan in nature. Unlike the post-Watergate classes — which were largely dominated by Democratic young turks — scores of new Republicans will be coming to Washington as well. And lawmakers in both parties say they understand that voters are concerned not just about a breakdown in the economy, but about a breakdown in politics generally.

"Rather than look for ways to disagree with the new president and majority, I want to see what unites us now," says Sen. Thad Cochran of Mississippi, the third-ranking congressman in the Senate Republican leadership. "One of the points that Ross Perot made very effectively was that politics as usual was not working."

Common Cause, the self-styled citizens lobby, used the election to win commitments from candidates for campaign finance reform, and this year has succeeded

DATE: 11.5
PAGE: 1

DATE: 11.5
PAGE: 1

licans. As many as 40% of the GOP House candidates this year signed a pledge to support limits on spending and political action committee contributions, says Fred Wertheimer, president of Common Cause. The organization expects Republican support for its agenda to double in the new Congress.

Yet this was still an election that demonstrated the raw power of money in politics. Entrenched interests took advantage of the anti-incumbent mood to strike alliances with underfinanced challengers — and take revenge against past foes.

In preparation for a Clinton victory, the National Rifle Association invested heavily in the House, and estimates it picked up 30 additional votes against future gun-control legislation that the new president has said he will support. Filings with the Federal Election Commission show the NRA put more than \$1.64 million into contributions and independent expenditures in congressional races this year. In Missouri, the NRA helped to oust Republican Rep. Tom Coleman and Democrat Joan Kelly Horn.

FEC filings also show that the American Medical Association's political committee spent at least as much — including independent expenditures to aid the reelection of such key allies in the coming fight over health care as Oregon Sen. Bob Packwood, the ranking Republican on the Senate Finance Committee, and Texas Democratic Rep. Mike Andrews of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Medical Help

Mr. Packwood, who received hundreds of thousands of dollars in support from the AMA and the insurance industry, was the most striking example of the health lobby's activities, but his race also drew support from pro-trade advocates fearful of the labor support enjoyed by his rival, Rep. Les AuCoin.

In South Carolina, Democrat Rep. Liz Patterson, chairwoman of the textile caucus in the House, lost to a Republican challenger, Bob Inglis, who has hinted at more willingness to support the pending North American Free Trade Agreement. But the state's Democratic senator, Ernest Hollings, chairman of the Commerce Committee and a strong critic of Nafta, used his own immense campaign finance resources to beat back an administration-backed effort to unseat him.

Mr. Hollings' neighbor, Sen. Terry Sanford of North Carolina, was the sole Democratic Senate incumbent to lose Tuesday, but Mr. Fowler of Georgia still faces a runoff Nov. 24. Republican losses were confined to appointed Sen. John Seymour of California, and more importantly, Wisconsin Sen. Bob Kasten, a member of both the Senate Appropriations Committee and the GOP leadership.

Republican newcomers include New Hampshire Gov. Judd Gregg, who narrowly held onto a seat previously held by retiring GOP Sen. Warren Rudman; Dirk Kempthorne in Idaho; Robert Bennett in Utah; and Lauch Faircloth in North Carolina.

Among the seven new Democrats are four women: Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois, the first black woman to ever serve in the chamber; Patty Murray of Washington; and Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein in California. In a year of outsider politics, all four bring experience in a range of state, county and federal positions.

Where Scandals Hurt

The House bore the brunt of the nation's anti-incumbent mood, even before the election returns were in. With the institution wracked by scandals at the House bank and post office, and riven by the decennial remapping of districts, a record 53 members had decided to retire while 19 more lost primary races and 13 decided to run for other offices, most unsuccessfully. Those departures helped hold Tuesday's incumbent defeats to just 24 — 16 of them Democrats and eight Republicans.

Many of the Democratic losers were those who had been fingered as repeat overdraft-writers at the House bank. Among them were Reps. Gerry Sikorski of Minnesota, Mary Rose Oakar of Ohio, Joseph Early of Massachusetts, Jerry Huckaby of Louisiana, Peter Kostmayer of Pennsylvania and Thomas Downey of New York.

Mr. Downey, ironically, came to Congress as one of the post-Watergate reformers, and his personal defeat coincided with the triumph of his best friend, Vice President-elect Albert Gore. Separate corruption allegations helped claim Democrats Nicholas Mavroules of Massachusetts and Albert Bustamante of Texas.

Democratic losers by and large weren't members of the leadership, but rather were mid-level figures like Rep. Jim Jontz of Indiana, whose district The Wall Street Journal visited several times during the course of the campaign. Redistricting was a factor in his loss and that of John Cox of Illinois, as well as the defeats of Reps. Thomas McMillen of Maryland and Dave Nagle of Iowa, who were forced to run against GOP incumbents.

Two Southern Democrats, Reps. Ben Erdreich of Alabama and Richard Ray of Georgia, in effect were sacrificed in the effort to create more minority districts in the South; the two Democrats were left to run in clearly Republican areas.

The new demographics of the House include 47 women, up from 28; 38 blacks, up from 25; and 17 Hispanics, up from 11. The black newcomers will include Florida's Alcee Hastings, the former federal judge whose impeachment by the same institution in 1989 has been overturned in the courts.

Other Southern states, like Florida, also will send their first black members since Reconstruction — Bobby Scott of Virginia, Jim Clyburn of South Carolina and Earl Hilliard of Alabama. Former Black Panther Bobby Rush and Mel Reynolds will represent parts of Chicago, along with Hispanic newcomer Luis Guterrez.

New Faces Will Shake Up the Makeup of the House

Paul McHale (D-Pa.) 15th District

The Vietnam and Persian Gulf wars made for an early leitmotif in McHale's unseating of seven-term Rep. Don Ritter (R) in a conservative district straddling Allentown, Bethlehem and Easton. In a turnabout on the national campaign, it was the Republican here who had the Vietnam draft deferment—and spent two years studying in Moscow.

Democrat McHale, 42, an infantry major in the Marine Corps reserve, resigned his seat in the state legislature to volunteer for service in the Persian Gulf. He saw no front-line combat, holding staff jobs at division level, but reaped a public relations bonanza: six front-page stories in the local Morning Call alone, along with three more on the front of the local section.

Republicans sought to diminish his combat record; Ritter's friends put out word that McHale spent his tour "serving coffee to generals."

But McHale benefited, according to campaign manager Bob Wolper, from "concern about the economy and jobs and health care. There was also a strong sense of anti-incumbency and a strong surge for change."

He may not have been the incumbent, but McHale is no outsider. Not only is he a professional politician, with five terms in the Pennsylvania House, but his wife Kathy succeeded him in the Pennsylvania House when he went to war.

To win on Tuesday, McHale also had to get past Eugene Nau of the Natural Law Party. Nau, who pulled in 1 percent of the vote on a platform of transcendental meditation to cure the nation's ills, held one news conference strapped to an EEG machine so reporters could see his brain waves.

Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio) 15th District

It should have been an easy race for this open seat representing western Columbus and its suburbs. Rated by Congressional Quarterly among the most solidly Republican districts in Ohio, it lost its incumbent when 515 House Bank overdrafts suggested to Rep. Chalmers P. Wylie (R) that this would be a good year to retire.

Pryce, 41, resigned as a Franklin County judge to seek the Republican nomination. She won a split contest with the support of antiabortion groups, but they accused her of betrayal in the general election campaign when she declared her belief "that every woman in America must have the right to choose."

Campaign manager Tom Wolfe said the antiabortion crowd "heard what they wanted to hear, not what she said," when Pryce told them she was personally opposed to abortion and was glad that her adopted daughter had not been aborted. But the controversy launched the candidacy of independent Linda S. Reidelbach, host of a Christian radio talk show.

Reidelbach siphoned enough conservative support—getting 18 percent of the vote in the end—to put Pryce in a genuine contest with Democratic state Rep. Richard Cordray. Pryce eked out a plurality—44 to 37 percent.

Wolfe said the Pryce campaign talked about "the deficit, jobs and the economy, and the fact that Congress needed a change in the way it operates."

A local prosecutor before she joined the bench, Pryce "did not spend her life planning to run for Congress," Wolfe said. "She was motivated by frustration like many voters, and does not plan to make a career out of this."

Cleo Fields (D-La.) 4th District

A Voting Rights Act requirement to create a second majority black district in Louisiana, combined with the loss of one House seat to reapportionment, unleashed months of argument over the state's political map.

The resulting 4th District, which the Baton Rouge Sunday Advocate called "a geographical nightmare," builds a two-thirds black majority by meandering from Shreveport in the northwest corner of the state to Monroe in the northeast, Baton Rouge in the center and Lafayette in the southern Acadiana district. It looks a little bit like a hammer and sickle.

Fields won an easy runoff—taking 74 percent of the vote—against fellow state Sen. Charles "C.D." Jones, after collecting 48 percent of the vote against seven other candidates in Louisiana's all-party primary on Oct. 3.

Only 29, Fields is younger than any current member of Congress. He already was in his second term in the state Senate, where he headed the government affairs committee that supervised Louisiana's reapportionment. As a state senator, according to the Advocate, he voted against bills to ban most abortions and opposed term limitations.

Yesterday, Fields announced a "transition team," which he said would concern itself chiefly with the ticklish logistical challenge of establishing constituent services across his sprawling new district.

"It's going to be a complicated process to put it together," said spokesman Jeff Cowart. "This district serves five of the state's seven major media markets."

Bob Inglis (R-S.C.) 4th District

In 1998, make sure Inglis, 33, has left Congress. He won his slender 51 to 49 percent victory over incumbent Democrat Elizabeth J. Patterson by campaigning as an "outsider" committed to serving only three two-year terms before returning to South Carolina.

Political reform was the thrust of his campaign in the northwestern South Carolina district that includes Greenville and Spartanburg. A lawyer, "he views himself as a citizen statesman, not a professional politician," according to his campaign manager, Jeffrey Parker.

Playing the amateur card worked wonders. Patterson was reelected with 61 percent of the vote in 1990, and polls as late as October gave her an 18-point lead. The challenger's task was widely viewed as impossible. National Republican leaders made so few visits to the 4th District that Inglis complained of feeling "lonely." But a strong performance in a televised debate and 75,000 cards left, hotel-style, on doorknobs in the district raised his profile.

Vehemently antiabortion and against gun control, Inglis highlighted anti-establishment themes of term limits and money from political action committees.

Accordingly, the new congressman-elect has a new sign ready to pin to the door of his new office: "Notice to all PACs: Remember, you didn't give me a dime, and I don't owe you a thing."

Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.) 1st District

On a night when records were broken across the nation, the achievement of Cantwell, 34, still stands out. She became the first Democrat in 40 years to take the well-to-do 1st District of Washington, centered in the suburbs of north Seattle.

Her pro-business message played so well in the affluent communities on the eastern shore of Lake Washington, added by recent redistricting, that she won 57 percent of the vote to 43 percent for state Sen. Gary Nelson (R).

Her policies of fiscal conservatism coupled with liberal positions on abortion, the environment and gun control seem to have been the perfect blend for an electorate that has tended to like its Republicans moderate. Nelson's hard line on abortion and other social issues made him anything but an heir to the moderate retiring incumbent, Rep. John Miller.

Campaign manager Tim Treanor boasts that Cantwell "is definitely a rising star of the Democratic Party; she is definitely someone to watch." He notes that she has a rare combination of youth and experience. Elected to the state legislature when she was 27, she is a three-term veteran. She ran the 1984 presidential bid of Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) in the northwestern region when she was 24.

Treanor's prediction may come true quickly: He says that House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) already has promised Cantwell a seat on the House Public Works and Transportation Committee.

Henry Bonilla (R-Tex.) 23rd District

Bonilla, 38, survived a bruising campaign for this sprawling San Antonio district to beat incumbent Albert G. Bustamante (D) by a thumping 61 to 39 percent.

"He had no issues. Period," said Bonilla of his opponent. "His record was horrendous and he knew it would sink him."

That, according to Bonilla, is what propelled Bustamante to run a TV ad charging that Bonilla had stolen towels from a hotel, removed a stack of papers from a newspaper vending machine and called in sick from work as a television producer in order to play golf.

More serious was the revelation that Bonilla's wife, local KENS-TV anchor Deborah Knapp Bonilla, had used a computer belonging to the station to work on her husband's election effort. She promptly went on unpaid leave until Election Day.

Bonilla's effort was itself criticized for being negative. He reminded voters that Bustamante had written 30 overdrafts at the House Bank, frequently deploying the phrase "cheques calientes," Spanish for hot checks.

In the all-Hispanic race—the candidates debated in Spanish several times—Bonilla's key charge was that his opponent had done nothing for this poor, rural, border district. He has promised to make small business a priority, particularly in cutting the "red tape and regulations that shackle enterprise."

Bonilla favors term limits and said he will seek to base congressional pay on performance.

"I don't need this job," Bonilla said. "I already had a good job. I just wanted to take this seat back."

Staff writers Jonathon Freedland and Barton Gellman wrote these sketches of new members of Congress.

Placing Pryor Restraint on Republicans

Democratic Senator Warns Officials Against Transition Hanky-Panky

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton transition team is already on the alert for Republican bureaucratic sabotage of the fruits (or spoils) of their victory.

The ballots were still being counted yesterday when Arkansas Sen. David Pryor, a bona fide and pre-election FOB (Friend of Bill's), fired off a letter warning every federal agency not to even think of any hanky-panky in moving political appointees to career jobs.

In the letter, cleared by President-elect Clinton's transition team, Pryor noted that his concerns about potential violations of federal personnel laws and regulations during the transition period are "not academic."

Republicans say Democrats, on those occasions when they have occupied the White House, have tried to "burrow in" as well during transitions. Pryor cited a recent General Accounting Office (GAO) study spotting Republicans trying to infiltrate the bureaucracy.

And "no acceleration of procurement plans," Pryor warned in his letter, lest anyone be tempted to hand out some goodies before exiting office. "... Take special care to ensure that any sole source contract is fully justified."

Pryor also cautioned about last-minute changes in regulations. Pryor said, "It would be unfortunate if the transition period is used to push through regulations which otherwise would not have been proposed or issued."

Just to keep things friendly, Pryor, chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs subcommittee on federal services, post office and civil service, issued a slightly veiled threat that he "will be monitoring these events, and working with" the GAO, the Office of Personnel Management's Office of Compliance and the "inspector general community to ensure compliance with all applicable rules. I may contact you during this time to request a list of personnel, contract or regulatory actions."

A Pryor aide said they were not being overly suspicious, "we just want to make sure the rules are being followed."

"The president was very magnan-

imous last night about cooperation during the transition," the aide said. "However, messages sometimes get lost in the shuffle," he said, so the letter was sent "to ensure that people down the line have the same spirit of cooperation and that they follow the rules."

The aide said the letter would "also help career employees who have to sign off on personnel and procurement actions to resist any unwarranted pressure to bend the rules."

Other Democrats have worried for some time about the possibility that some people in the outgoing administration may be inclined to misplace or shred a document or two.

Two weeks ago, Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Government Operations Committee, wrote Don W. Wilson, archivist of the United States, asking Wilson to make sure that "all political appointees are made aware before their possible departure of the laws and regulations governing the removal of classified documents and the destruction of classified records."

Conyers, noting that President Bush said he would clean house if he won—and there is no question that Clinton will do that—told Wilson, a

political appointee, that he was "concerned that the imminent departure of many 'Schedule C' employees and other high-ranking officials could result in the removal or destruction of federal records. The removal of agency records is a serious problem that threatens the security of the United States, the rights of individuals, the operations of federal agencies, and, in some cases, the ability of the American public to review the records of its government."

A similar letter was sent to Steven Garfinkel, director of the Information Security Oversight Office, which handles classified documents. Garfinkel, a career employee, told Conyers's staff that he was on top of things. He sent a copy of a Sept. 3 letter to various agencies as an "important reminder regarding the prohibition against the removal of classified documents."

Noting the likely "large turnover in senior personnel," no matter who won the election, Garfinkel warned that "classified information, including 'extra' copies, is not personal property and may not be removed from the government's control by any departing official. This prohibition applies to everyone, up to and including agency heads."

Opportunities, Outrage Fueled Wins by Women

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

Tuesday's elections produced record numbers of new congressional women, tripling elected female membership in the Senate and increasing it by two-thirds in the House in one enormous surge. Despite the triumph and the accompanying glitter, however, the "Year of the Woman" may be a rare event, unlikely to repeat itself any time in the near future.

"This year we flooded the field," said Harriet Woods, president of the National Women's Political Caucus. "But from now on we're going to have to be very tough-minded about finding winnable races, recruiting women and training them." Like other women's advocates, Woods long ago identified 1992 as a golden year. Congressional redistricting was opening up dozens of House seats to rookie challengers. Prospects of tough races among new constituents prompted dozens of incumbents to retire. Opportunities existed for aspirants—men and women—that would not exist again for 10 years. "You talk about the Year of the Woman," Woods said. "But it was the Year of Opportunity."

It was also the year of outrage, prompted by the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee's hearings a year ago on allegations of sexual harassment made by University of Oklahoma law professor Anita F. Hill against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas.

This "ignited interest" in women's politics, Woods said, and brought money into the women's political movement as never before. Ultimately, Woods said, Thomas Hill was not as important as redistricting.

The results show the strategy paid off. Women won 47 House seats altogether, raising their membership in next year's House by 68 percent over this year's 28 seats. More significantly, 22 of 24 new women's seats this year were won in open districts, while only two women defeated incumbents. The 23 other House seats belonged to female incumbents who won reelection.

The message was as clear to women as it is to any other congressional aspirant: Incumbents are hard to beat, and for the next 10 years incumbency will be a candidate's most powerful tool. Rookies can hope the incumbents die or retire, but if they don't, there's no other way into the House except to beat them at the polls.

This tough equation is reality all the time in the Senate, which never redistricts. Yet in the Senate, as in the House, 1992 proved to be a fortuitous year. Women filed 11 nominees, and five won. Of these, one, Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.), was an incumbent, three others were running in seats vacated by retirement or primary defeat, and the last, California's Dianne Feinstein (D), won against a little-known rival who had been appointed as an interim senator.

In effect, Woods said, all the new-comers won in "open seats," although Carol Mosely Braun had defeated an incumbent in her three-way Democratic primary in Illinois. The six losers, Woods added, all competed against incumbents, and only one, Pennsylvania Democrat Lynn Yeakey, managed a truly close race.

"I talked to her today," Woods said yesterday. "And I told her, 'You have no reason to hang your head. You were the one that had to run against an incumbent.'"

Despite the logistics of open seats, Woods and others were quick to point out other reasons that made the Year of the Woman a success.

Candidates and women's advocates alike spoke of a general desire in the electorate for "change," a central effect from the Clinton campaign's emphasis on family issues and pocketbook economic concerns and a general willingness to turn to outsiders. "Voters used women as their messengers," Woods said.

And the candidates heard them. Voters, Sen.-elect Patty Murray (D-Wash.) said yesterday in an interview on NBC's "Today" show, "are looking for a new kind of leadership."

"I think the Year of the Woman was part of it," Murray added. "But I think, even broader, people were looking for someone who they felt was going to go back [to Washington] and understand where they are today in the real world."

It is not known whether women in Congress, blooded by their common struggle in 1992, will band together next year. Five of the new House women are African Americans and two are Hispanic. Braun is Cook County's recorder of deeds; Rep.-elect Lynn Schenk (D-Calif.) is San Diego's port commissioner. Rep.-elect Marjorie Margulies (D-Pa.) is an Emmy award winner with 11 children. Washington's Murray is a self-described "mom in tennis shoes" and a state senator. Feinstein, a moderate, helped fellow California Sen.-elect Barbara Boxer (D), a liberal, during the campaign, but the two are on different sides of many issues.

What all the women newly elected to Congress have in common is their support for abortion rights. This helped all the winning female candidates, but hurt abortion-rights Republican women, who opposed the national Republican Party's tough antiabortion stance. "Republicans are going to have to do some soul-searching," Woods said. "No matter what your viewpoint on abortion, the minute that you try to define an official government position on this, you're in deep trouble."

Besides doing damage in general elections, she added, the antiabortion right hurts future generations of GOP female candidates. "The right denies them access to local and state office," she said. "The mainstream women can't get anywhere."

Success of Term-Limit Measures Puts 'Incumbents on Notice'

Arizona Becomes the Final State to Approve King Holiday

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

Conservative Paul M. Weyrich had a ready explanation yesterday for a riddle that emerged from Tuesday's elections: how voters in 14 states could overwhelmingly endorse term limits for members of Congress while reelecting legislators in large numbers.

"This way they can say they put their incumbents on notice: 'You're going to leave,'" said Weyrich, a term-limit advocate and president of the Free Congress Foundation. "They did it in an antiseptic way: 'Nothing personal, but you're going to have to leave.'"

The lopsided margins by which the term limits were approved in every state they were on the ballot was perhaps the most dramatic outcome of 232 ballot issues in 42 states. California voters endorsed term limits but rejected a wide variety of other measures: refusing to allow physicians to assist terminally ill patients in committing suicide, to require employers to provide basic health care, to sanction a 25 percent cut in welfare payments, or to give their governor stronger powers to limit state spending.

Arizona became the last state to approve a holiday in honor of slain civil rights leader the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. — an issue that was harshly criticized and cost the state the 1993 Super Bowl and millions in convention business. Voters there also rejected by 2-1 a measure to ban most abortions.

Two widely watched education measures failed. Colorado voters rejected a plan to offer school vouchers and allow parents to send their children to private or public schools with the funds. The measure was similar to one President Bush proposed nationally. Illinois voters killed a measure that would have declared education a basic right and redistributed state spending for schools.

South Dakota voters refused to approve a state income and corporate tax, while Colorado voters approved a measure curtailing the



PAUL M. WEYRICH
... "they did it in an antiseptic way"

power of state and local governments to raise taxes. Massachusetts endorsed the highest cigarette tax in the nation: 51 cents a pack.

The term-limit measures were hailed as a mandate for Congress to complete the "unfinished business of the founding fathers." Approval votes ranged from 52 percent in Washington state to 77 percent in Wyoming.

"I think there was a cry and call last night that is going to be hard to ignore," said Jeff Langan, a spokesman for U.S. Term Limits, a Washington group that helped coordinate the campaign. Noting that voters in Washington state, who rejected a similar proposal last year, had approved the measure, Langan gleefully added: "Speaker [Thomas S.] Foley [D-Wash.] is now under a term limit."

So are House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) and House Majority Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.), who come from states where voters endorsed measures that would give them eight and six more years, respectively. If

the Washington measure is upheld, Foley could also serve only six more years.

Both term-limit proponents and opponents acknowledged that the issue is certain to be challenged in the courts over the question of whether the states can impose limits on members of Congress.

Yesterday the advocates were ecstatic and predicted they had the momentum to carry the issue to other states next year and to press Congress to approve a constitutional amendment that would enact the provisions with certainty.

"I'm probably the happiest guy in town," said James K. Coyne, a former Republican House member from Pennsylvania who heads the McLean-based Americans to Limit Congressional Terms. "We have a mammoth mandate ... and a window. The only thing we lost last night was a president who supported us."

Coyne blamed the high return of incumbents on the actions of "an imperial Congress. In fact, the incumbents cheated this year more than ever before," he said, citing wide use of congressionally franked mail, congressional television studios and political action committee donations.

Thomas E. Mann, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution, interpreted the results in another way. "Two fundamentally different things happened," he said. "Term limits were like apple pie. It sounded good and was a nice way to register your discontent with Congress and politicians in general."

There was virtually no opposition to the term-limit campaigns in most of the 14 states, he added. But when it came to voting in individual races, "that is where the information is more mixed," Mann said. "Most voters think better of their incumbents than worse."

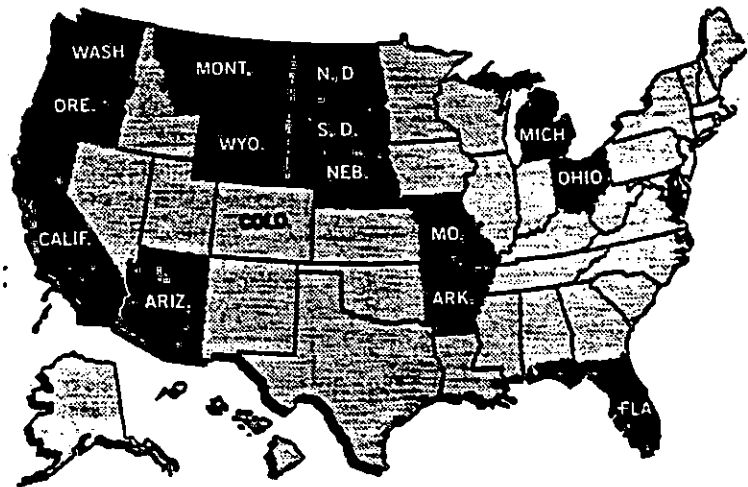
The incumbents who lost Tuesday "tended to have some chink in their armor," Mann said. Overlooked in the balloting was the fact that "many of the most vulnerable had left already," resigning or suffering defeats in a primary, he said.

TERM-LIMIT VOTING

Fourteen states voted yesterday on proposals to limit the number of years served by state officials and/or members of Congress. Colorado is the only state now with congressional term limits, two 6-year terms for Senate, six 2-year terms for House.

State	House limit	Senate limit
Arizona	6 years	12 years
Arkansas	6	12
California	6	12
Florida	8	12
Michigan	6	12
Missouri	8	12
Montana	6	12
Nebraska	8	12
North Dakota	12	12
Ohio	8	12
Oregon	6	12
South Dakota	12	12
Washington	6	12
Wyoming	6	12

SOURCE: Associated Press



THE WASHINGTON

GOVERNORS

STATE-BY-STATE GUBERNATORIAL RESULTS

Here are unofficial returns from the Associated Press. The first column of numbers is total votes received; the second column is the percentage of vote received (may not total 100 because of rounding)

✓ Winner
• Incumbent
(D) Democrat
(R) Republican
(O) Other

DELAWARE (100% OF VOTES COUNTED)

✓ Roy McCarver (D)	268,664
David McCraw (O)	90,747 33
	3,615 1

INDIANA (99%)

✓ Evan Bayh* (D)	1,353,315 63%
Lesley Pearson (R)	807,816 37

MISSOURI (100%)

✓ Mel Carnahan (D)	1,374,466 59%
William Webster (R)	969,102 41

MONTANA (100%)

Dorothy Bradley (D)	197,418 49%
✓ Marc Racicot (R)	208,841 51

NEW HAMPSHIRE (100%)

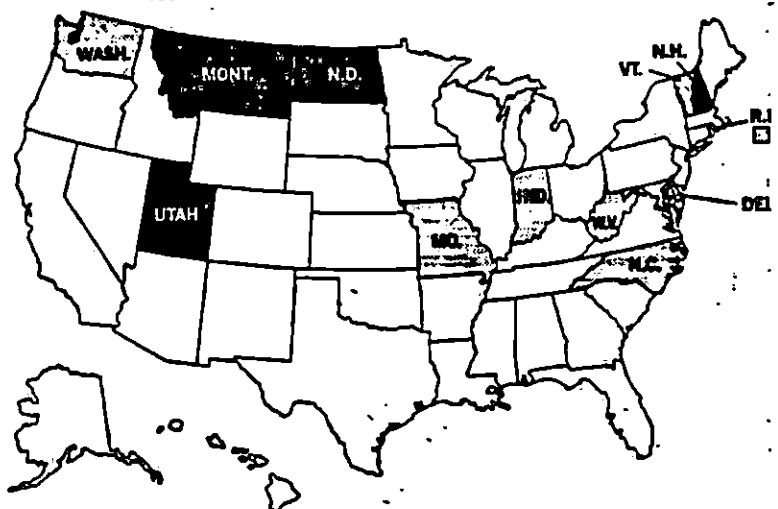
Deborah Arnesen (D)	205,553 40%
✓ Steve Merrill (R)	286,083 56
Minam Luce (O)	20,187 4

NORTH CAROLINA (99%)

✓ Jim Hunt Jr. (D)	1,352,637 53%
James Gardner (R)	1,108,549 43
Scott McLaughlin (O)	103,316 4

CONTESTS IN 12 STATES

■ States won by Republicans
■ States won by Democrats
□ Incomplete results
□ States with no gubernatorial election this year



NORTH DAKOTA (100%)

Nicholas Speath (D)	123,287 41%
✓ Edward Schafer (R)	175,588 59

RHODE ISLAND (99%)

✓ Bruce Sundlun* (D)	250,400 64%
Elizabeth Leonard (R)	138,934 36

UTAH (100%)

Stewart Hansen (D)	176,667 23%
✓ Mike Leavitt (R)	320,124 43
Merrill Cook (O)	255,159 34

VERMONT (99%)

✓ Howard Dean* (D)	202,115 75%
John McClaughry (R)	62,805 23
Richard Gottlieb (O)	2,959 1
August Jaccaci (O)	2,673 1

WASHINGTON (99%)

✓ Mike Lowry (D)	1,030,126 53%
Karl Eikenberry (R)	913,629 47

WEST VIRGINIA (100%)

✓ Gaston Caperton* (D)	365,477 56%
Cleve Benedict (R)	240,973 37
Charlotte Pritt (O)	44,560 7

Influence of Lobbyist Groups

Likely Won't Diminish

 DATE: 11-5
 PAGE: 19

By JILL ABRAMSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — In his victory speech Tuesday night, Bill Clinton spoke about the "need to reform the political system and reduce the influence of special interests."

But in their euphoria over Tuesday's landslide, Washington's cadre of Democratic lawyer-lobbyists aren't listening. In fact, they began cashing in on a Clinton administration long before any voters went to the polls, and even Republican-connected firms appear to be in no danger of perishing.

Take politically connected Manatt, Phelps, Phillips & Kantor, the large, bi-coastal law firm that is home to Clinton campaign Chairman Mickey Kantor and former Democratic National Chairman Charles Manatt. The firm does legal and lobbying work for an array of corporations including Japan's NEC Corp., Philip Morris Cos., the cable television industry and several big oil companies.

In mid-October, Mr. Manatt invited representatives from about 30 corporations — Manatt Phelps clients as well as would-be clients — to his Washington law office to get an insider's briefing on the Clinton campaign.

Outlining Priorities

According to one participant, Mr. Manatt introduced Mr. Kantor, who outlined the priorities of a Clinton-Gore administration and answered questions on issues ranging from export controls to telecommunications. Among those in attendance were officials from General Electric Co., for whom Manatt Phelps does some legal

work (and would like to do more), Bell Atlantic Corp. and U S West Inc. Spokesmen for those companies declined to comment.

To further flaunt Mr. Kantor's role in the Clinton campaign, Manatt Phelps recently hosted a gathering at the Georgetown Club to which many more clients and prospective clients were invited.

Critics of the influence and money culture in Washington are worried that rather than driving lobbyists from the temple of government, Mr. Clinton has littered his inner circle with them. "All Washington insiders are asking whether the first promise Clinton breaks is his promise to stop the revolving door from government to the private sector," warns Pat Choate, author of a book about foreign influence in Washington and a former adviser to Ross Perot, who spoke often about the corrosive role of lobbyists in the capital.

A Clinton campaign official says the president-elect is serious about his desire to clamp down on influence-peddling in Washington. According to this official, Mr. Clinton is expected to ask all those who serve on his transition team to agree not to lobby the administration for six months following his inauguration. Furthermore, he is on the record as endorsing a much longer cooling off period — as long as five years — for top officials leaving government to lobby, and he has also called for much stricter lobby disclosure rules.

That hasn't put much of a damper on lobbyists who are positioning themselves to benefit from their service in the Clinton campaign. Moreover, government ethics laws don't cover campaign officials, and the Bush and Clinton teams were both filled with lobbyists. The lobbyists themselves see nothing improper about advertising their political connections.

Mr. Kantor was recently pressed on the issue during an appearance on NBC News's "Meet the Press." He defended the propriety of the briefing at Manatt Phelps, noting that some of those in attendance heard unwelcome news, including Mr. Clinton's intention of "raising taxes on the wealthy, hardly something very comfortable for these folks." Mr. Manatt didn't return several messages left for him at the firm, and Mr. Kantor couldn't be reached to comment.

Manatt Phelps is hardly alone. During the Democratic convention, Patton, Boggs & Blow threw a party at a New York nightclub to honor their star partner, Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald Brown. Hundreds of clients and prospective clients were invited. Then, last month, partner Thomas Hale Boggs Jr., who contributed and raised huge sums for Mr. Clinton, was pictured on the cover of National Journal magazine in a story entitled, "Patton, Boggs & Blow: Ready to Cash in on Clinton." Sources inside the firm say Mr. Boggs now has deep regrets about the story. He couldn't be reached to comment.

Several firms are repositioning themselves for the Clinton era. For example, the lobbying firm Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly, known until now as a Republican

powerhouse (founder Charles Black was President Bush's senior political adviser), opened its purse strings and made a \$5,000 donation to the Democratic National Committee in September.

The firm's contribution was made in the name of Peter Kelly, a former DNC official who is a principal in the firm, and Black Manafort officials say the contribution reflects the sentiments of its Democratic members. "Clearly," says Mr. Kelly, "when the money was received, no one thought Charlie Black was giving it." Adds Scott Pastrick, another Democratic member who volunteered on the Clinton campaign, "It wasn't a question of covering ourselves."

They don't have to. Many large lobbying firms have become so bipartisan that inside the Beltway, nary an eyebrow is raised by the fact that while Mr. Kelly and Mr. Pastrick were celebrating in Little Rock, Ark., with Gov. Clinton, their partner, Mr. Black, was helping President Bush salve his wounds. Mr. Kelly's role as a major fund raiser and political adviser in the Clinton campaign made something of a mockery of an angry exchange during the campaign between Mr. Clinton's media consultant, Frank Greer, and Mr. Black.

The two men appeared together on a television interview show, where Mr. Greer called Mr. Black "a traitor to your country for years," because his firm represents many foreign governments. Mr. Kelly and Mr. Pastrick, too, draw income from lobbying for foreign clients.

Fingernails aren't being bitten at the Duberstein Group, either. That firm, founded by Reagan White House Chief of Staff Kenneth Duberstein, includes Michael Berman, a top adviser to former Vice President Walter Mondale. Mr. Berman has spent the past two weeks in Little Rock helping the Clinton campaign and was political director for the DNC during the party's convention.

No Sea Change

Mr. Berman sees no major changes in store for his firm, noting that most of its congressional lobbying was already handled by Democrats. Likewise, Mr. Kelly doesn't see any sea change at Black Manafort, except that the firm's Democratic lobbyists will now do more of the executive branch lobbying once handled by Mr. Black and his GOP brethren.

Even traditionally Democratic firms are larding themselves for the coming administration. Cassidy & Associates has made several recent hires, bringing aboard retiring House Ways and Means Committee member Marty Russo (D., Ill.), and Democratic consultant and television commentator Bob Beckel.

All of this worries some public interest groups. Common Cause's Fred Wertheimer, for one, frets that Mr. Clinton may change lobbying disclosure laws without tackling more fundamental legislation — campaign finance overhaul. The campaign finance bill pushed by Mr. Wertheimer in the last Congress would, among other things, have ended the practice known as bundling, by which Washington lobbyists collect large numbers of checks from their clients and deliver them to candidates. Mr. Wertheimer and others say Mr. Clinton has to push campaign finance reform if he is serious about rooting out special interest influence.

For Federal Workers, New Day Is Here

Appointees Reorder Lives; Civil Servants Brace for Upheaval on Job

By Brooke A. Masters and John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writers

As Bill Clinton's roll to victory rolled him out of a job, Charles Powers assured his two sons that they would stay in their Alexandria town house. They would still go to Burgundy Farm Country Day School, where Alex, 13, had been elected seventh-grade class president that same day.

Though millions of voters answered Clinton's call for change, few will feel it as quickly or acutely as people such as Powers, a political appointee in the Department of Transportation, or Lisa Gagnon, a staff member for defeated Sen. John Seymour (R-Calif.).

Even career bureaucrats, who will stay to serve the new appointees, woke up yesterday anticipating upheaval in their lives. David Cohen, a spokesman for the Environmental Protection Agency for the last 12 years, went to work knowing he will have a job in January—but which job? New day, new ballgame, new bosses.

"I said, 'When you accept a political position, you know there could be change. Life goes on. There is a future,'" Powers said, recalling his conversation with Alex and Gregory, 9. "I made them understand that it's a real honor to have served the president."

Powers and his wife, Rosalind Silverstone, both New Yorkers, moved here in 1972 when he was stationed at the Pentagon by the Air Force. After stints at a local television station, a public relations firm and a U.S. senator's office, Powers worked as a press official in the Treasury Department under James A. Baker III.

After Bush's 1988 victory, Powers went back to the private sector, to the Tobacco Institute, but last year he took another job in the federal government at the Federal Housing Finance Board. He moved to Transportation this summer.

"You take some risks in life to do things for other people, your president [and] your country," he said.

Powers said that he and his family considered moving to Maine at the end of his Treasury job, but that this time moving is out of the question.

"Alexandria is our home," he said yesterday. "The kids are in school, and my wife has built up a practice" as a clinical social worker in Baileys Crossroads. "You have to have confidence and hope something interesting will turn up."

Though the uncertainty will be hard on his sons,

Powers said. "I think it will make them better kids. They should know nothing in life is guaranteed and sometimes things don't work out Sometimes kids who live in comfortable circumstances don't understand that."

Career bureaucrats enjoy the certainty of a paycheck, but not the uncertainty of changes over which they have little control.

"The career people who have worked very closely at the top may or may not be doing the same thing with the new team," said Cohen, who as a 17-year EPA employee remembers the transition from Carter to Reagan in 1980. "It's very possible my role will change."

Cohen's neutral tone suggests that he accepts the prospect with equanimity: It goes with the territory. "Nonetheless," he said, "it's a very anxious period for a lot of people."

"Bureaucracies require a lot of nurturing and leadership," Cohen said. "It's very important for people to know how they'll be organized and what type of personalities they'll be dealing with."

Cohen said he is optimistic because he believes that his boss, EPA Administrator William Reilly, is respected by the Clinton-Gore crowd. Still, he knows there will be a period of bureaucratic limbo in which major policy decisions will be delayed and rumor and gossip about the transition will be the new currency.

"There will be a lot of elevator talk," said Cohen, recalling the last time. "Every little sentence becomes unduly meaningful."

The talk, in fact, already has started, and some of it involves the inevitable frustration of breaking in the new regime. New appointees, regardless of party, "will always try to reinvent the wheel," one 20-year federal employee said yesterday with a laugh.

The changes can be big, involving the fate of an entire program, or trivial, such as figuring out which salutations the new boss prefers on correspondence. The acclimation of appointee to bureaucrat—and vice versa—can take months.

Lisa Gagnon, 29, had different concerns when she woke up yesterday morning with a mortgage on her Mitchellville home and no job. Fortunately, her husband, David Thibault, is a producer for WJLA-TV (Channel 7) and less dependent on voters.

Although her boss had been trailing in the polls for months, Gagnon, Seymour's deputy press secretary, had resisted making other plans. "I didn't want to jinx the process," she said.

But Tuesday night, as she sat home watching the returns and nursing a case of bronchitis, she realized that she no longer had the luxury of superstition.

"My husband called me at 11 [p.m.] from work and said, 'Sorry, kid,'" Gagnon said. "I'm really surprised. I didn't believe the people of California would elect two liberals from the northern part of the state."

So yesterday, Gagnon said, she walked into her office on the third floor of the Dirksen Senate Office Building to find the staff already packing. Seymour was appointed to fill an unexpired term, so his staff members must be out of their quarters as soon as his opponent, Dianne Feinstein, is ready to move in. They no longer can answer mail or phone calls from constituents, and their paychecks stop at the end of this month.

"When I took this job [last year], I realized it might expire," Gagnon said. "It's politics You can't expect to be on the winning team all the time."

Gagnon moved to Washington from her home state of New Hampshire when her husband took a job with then-Rep. Judd Gregg

(R), and they stayed in this area after Gregg won the New Hampshire governor's race.

"I got into politics and discovered I loved it," said Gagnon, a former radio reporter who worked for 3½ years at the Senate Republican Conference.

Yesterday, she began the painful process of cleaning out her desk. Along with photographs, GOP memorabilia and countless business cards, Gagnon realized she also had collected three staple removers.

Gagnon is planning to apply for press jobs elsewhere on the Hill, including one with Gregg, now a newly elected senator from New Hampshire. "I saw the governor . . . at the [Republican] convention and we were joking about [a job], but I was still pretty confident about Senator Seymour, so I didn't take it that seriously."

Now she must. "We will be a dual-income couple again soon," she said. "We're just going to keep on moving."

DATE: 11.5
PAGE: 11

Democrats vs. Clinton

The voting's over, but don't leave your seat just yet. Now the *real* competition begins for team Clinton — the Championship Series against the Democrats of Washington. The winner gets control of the government for the next four years.

It's true that Bill Clinton ran for the presidency and won as a New Democrat. And his ads explicitly stated that he and Al Gore "don't think the way the old Democratic Party did." That doesn't mean the "old Democratic Party" has somehow melted away. This is no fairy tale, folks. This is a struggle for national power. In the playoff for power that begins right now, President-elect Clinton must take on the following opponents:

George Mitchell, Robert Byrd and the Appropriators, Richard Gephardt, the House Democratic Caucus, the shadow government of John Dingell, the staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the National Education Association, the AFL-CIO, the Natural Resources Defense Council, the National Organization for Women, the chop-block team of Ralph Neas and Nan Aron, the press that covers our national blood sport and most likely several yet-to-be named special prosecutors. Governor, welcome to the Beltway and bring a helmet.

Yesterday, Dan Quayle noted that Mr. Clinton "may be calling on Republican help from time to time. Some of his ideas on health-care reform and taxes may be more compatible with ideas of mine than some of the liberal Democrats in Congress."

That is the voice of wisdom. Though the Democratic and Republican numbers in the Senate didn't shift markedly, the character of the institution did, with a decided tilt toward the liberals. Mr. Clinton, for instance, might ask House Armed Services Chairman Les Aspin what it's like dealing with Senator-elect Barbara Boxer of California, who devoted her victory speech to ripping into "right-wing ideologues" — such as Ronald Reagan. The Democratic Senate also welcomes Russ Feingold of Wisconsin, Patty Murray of Washington and Carol Mosely Braun of Illinois. No "New Democrats" here.

They're likely to spend more time mentoring with Ted Kennedy and Barbara Mikulski than with David Boren or Bob Kerrey. This Senate is going to be a rich mixture under Majority Leader Mitchell, whose personal agenda tends to take precedence over that of any mere President.

Mr. Clinton won all right, but in the coldblooded calculus of the Beltway's

political operatives, who get paid to seek gain for their own constituencies, it's clear that the results were no landslide. Governor Clinton defeated George Bush by 43% to 38% — not much over half the margin Mr. Bush piled up over Michael Dukakis in 1988. The Clinton total is also 3% less than the 1988 Dukakis percentage. Indeed, Mr. Clinton got an actual majority in just one state — Arkansas.

Meanwhile, Ross Perot's totals went over 20% in a good number of states and approached a remarkable 30% in such GOP bastions as Kansas, Utah and Nevada. We interpret Mr. Perot's millions of voters to be in active opposition to what the Beltway represents — and available as public support for a New Democrat President Clinton if he's up to the challenge.

The Beltway itself took some direct hits, but the creaking old hulk managed to survive the election. Democrats were able to save almost all of their incumbents from the wrath of voters. Only 19 House incumbents lost, half of them egregious misusers of the House Bank. The rest deployed the limitless advantages of incumbency to ward off underfinanced challengers again (Dick Gephardt reportedly spent at least \$2.7 million). They'll likely conclude they've been exonerated.

On the contrary. Congressional term limit initiatives were on 14 state ballots, and all passed. That includes those in Michigan and Washington state where two House powers, Rep. John Dingell and Speaker Tom Foley waged vitriolic campaigns against term limits. Speaker Foley's opponent held him to 54%, hardly a vote of confidence in this august figure. Mr. Clinton's own state of Arkansas voted 60% to enact term limits.

In his victory speech Tuesday night, Mr. Clinton pointedly said that as Governor of Arkansas, "we continued to lead the country in job growth, in keeping taxes and spending down." If he wants to take this attitude toward taxes and spending to Washington, there's a tide of public support ready to roll over the Beltway with him, as described in the editorial below. There's simply no evidence anywhere that U.S. voters are in a mood for tax-and-spend games.

Public sentiment, though, has never been a deterrent for the "old Democratic Party." Its front-line forces are going to lean hard on Mr. Clinton, starting now. The issue before us is whether he will bend before these forces, or stiffen on behalf of his own agenda. We expect the answer to that will emerge rather quickly.

DATE: 11.5
PAGE: 16

The Tax Mandate

Bill Clinton's remark late Tuesday night about holding down spending and taxes was a good start. CNN was reporting exit-poll data showing that, in a straight choice between lower taxes and more government services, the electorate preferred by 55% to 37% to keep taxes down even if services suffered.

You don't get more direct evidence than that on the great fiscal question of American politics, the issue that lost its shape when President Bush broke his no-new-taxes pledge. Supporting evidence aplenty was to be found in results from the various states. In fact, David Keating of the National Taxpayers Union was upbeat yesterday, calling 1992's "the best win rate I can remember" for tax-control ballot measures.

Consider:

- Despite a rout of its GOP, California rejected 58% to 42% a "soak-the-rich" tax plan that hit business but included breaks for the less affluent. (Mr. Clinton should pay special attention to that.) At the same time, the state voted 2 to 1 to repeal a "snack tax" that was part of Governor Pete Wilson's fateful 1991 revenue raisers. So forlorn was this sales-tax extension that no one offered a ballot argument against it, and two of the legislative Democrats who voted it into law wrote the statement urging its repeal.

- Colorado, where the GOP also was having its troubles, approved a landmark citizen initiative requiring voter approval of all state and local tax increases. The 54% to 46% margin came after three previous defeats for the tax revolt there. Governor Roy Romer's push to raise the sales tax to fund schools lost 55% to 45%.

- Arizona by 72% said the Legislature must pass tax hikes by a two-thirds margin.

- In Florida, a property-tax limit held in legal limbo by the state Supreme Court until five days before the election, thus sidelining even a normal, underfinanced citizens' campaign on its behalf, was passed with 53%.

- South Dakota, which is enjoying a boom, chose not to argue with success by creating a state income tax. A measure to do so lost 3 to 1. By contrast, in economically hard-hit New Hampshire, where high property taxes add to the misery and lead some to think an income tax would help matters, the Democrat who ran for Governor advocating just that was defeated soundly.

- Big public-works bond issues lost in California and Mario Cuomo's New York. (Attention here also, Mr. Clinton.) An attempt to designate education as a "basic right," and thus an expenditure entitlement, was beaten decisively in Illinois.

- Missouri, North Dakota, Oregon and Oklahoma also defeated tax-increasing items.

- Spending-control measures won in Connecticut and Rhode Island but lost in California, where the idea was linked to an unpopular Governor.

There were other apparent setbacks. Michigan rejected two more property-tax limits, although some tax fighters in the state opposed both of them as frauds. Idaho turned down a property-tax curb.

The national message on tax-and-spend was resounding, however. And though voters are willing to forgo services to spare themselves heavier taxes, "reinventing government" can mean better service at lower cost. If the opposition of public-sector unions can be overcome. It's a worthy goal for presidential leadership.

The Blame Game Begins

 DATE: 11-5
 PAGE: 15

By EDWIN J. FEULNER JR.

George Bush's loss marks a major setback for the Republican Party, not the end of the conservative revolution. Mr. Bush lost the election because he couldn't revive the ailing economy. He couldn't revive the economy because of the policies he's pursued. And the policies he's pursued are the same tax-spend-and-regulate policies that were the undoing of Jimmy Carter.

Mr. Bush's campaign theme, that he could be trusted more than Bill Clinton, rang hollow, coming from the same lips that promised "no new taxes." The voters, including a lot of faithful Republicans, just didn't buy it.

When Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stepped down, she commented, "I am not a consensus politician; I am a conviction politician." Mr. Bush chose to be the opposite.

Mr. Bush's abandonment of his no-new-taxes pledge was not only fateful politics; it also was bad policy. How many times must we relearn the same lesson, that you don't increase taxes when the economy is weak? The 1990 budget agreement put a tired economy into a deep sleep by dishing up the second largest tax increase in U.S. history. The budget deal also scuttled the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction act. The result: The \$153-billion deficit that Mr. Bush inherited when he took office more than doubled; federal spending hit record highs, and the lingering recession just wouldn't quit.

Repeal of Reaganomics

The shift in economic policy from the Reagan to Bush years may have been even more pronounced than the shift from Carter to Reagan. Unfortunately, because Mr. Bush served as Mr. Reagan's vice president, and repeatedly used rhetoric about fiscal responsibility and deregulation, many Americans may believe Mr. Clinton's charge that the economy's weakness is due to "12 years of trickle down." They shouldn't. In fact, it was the Bush administration's repeal of Reaganomics that

ended the record expansion launched by Mr. Reagan.

Perhaps Mr. Bush could have overcome all of this had he demonstrated his vaunted leadership qualities. Sadly, he refused to acknowledge the extent of his ways until it was too late. And even then, he didn't really apologize to voters. In the debates, he merely conceded that he made a mistake. The voters wanted him to demonstrate his sincerity by firing those responsible.

This is an old problem. Back in January, it was already clear that the current recession had "Made in Washington" stamped all over it. As I and others suggested to the White House then, Budget Director Richard Darman and the other architects of the failed policy clearly had to go. I also stressed that the president needed to do more than merely express his concern about the hardships he has helped create — he had to offer concrete proposals for undoing the damage: tax cuts for middle-income families as well as inves-

tors; real limits on domestic spending (which has been growing at 10% per year, even as sharp cuts are being made in the defense budget); a renewed commitment to deregulation; and a vigorous defense both of free trade generally and the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement, then under negotiation.

Anything less, I warned, would only enhance the impression, which echoed in corporate board rooms and union halls alike, that the ship of state was without a helmsman.

The American people were given far less. They waited through the State of the Union address, the fiscal 1993 budget message and the president's convention speech, and none of them signaled a major change of course. Eventually, people grew tired of waiting.

The simple fact is: Mr. Bush squandered his political inheritance and has no one to blame but himself. The claim that this election represents a repudiation of Reagan conservatism — a claim mouthed by the media and privately by Mr. Darman and other White House aides attempting to shift the blame from themselves — is nonsense. What it represents is a repudiation of the Bush team's inept stewardship of the Reagan legacy. Indeed, if Mr. Reagan had headed Tuesday's GOP ticket, there's no doubt that he and his team would have won in another landslide.

The Reagan legacy wasn't the issue in the election; the Bush-Baker-Brady-Darman team's economic mismanagement was the issue. It cost the president not only the votes of blue-collar and ethnic Democrats worried about their jobs but also a great many Republican votes.

Sure, Mr. Reagan made his fair share of mistakes during his long political career, but the wisdom of hindsight now teaches that his biggest mistake — for the country, his party and the conservative cause in which he believes — was the selection of Mr. Bush as his running mate and successor. It will haunt the Republicans for years to come.

Despite eight years at Mr. Reagan's side, Mr. Bush and his economic team just didn't get it. That's why the Washington Post, in its endorsement of "Bill Clinton for President," was able to characterize as one of Mr. Bush's "genuine accomplishments" the one thing he should have most regretted: the "stout budget agreement that he achieved with Congress at the expense of his no-new-taxes pledge."

Big government liberals probably were similarly pleased with the explosive growth of economic regulation under the Bush administration, which bequeathes to Mr. Clinton nearly 125,000 regulatory bureaucrats and more than 67,700 pages of fine print in the Federal Register. This from the former vice president who led Mr. Reagan's war on over-regulation!

If there is one lesson to learn from the Bush presidency, it is that party labels frequently don't matter. If a president expands the power of government, the economy will falter, just as it did under Presidents Nixon, Carter and Bush. Presidents who reduce the burden of government, such as Kennedy and Reagan, will enjoy the benefits of a healthy economy.

The Reagan era has drawn to a close. But make no mistake: While an important chapter in U.S. political history has ended, the beliefs that motivated the Reagan Revolution — in individual freedom, limited government, competitive enterprise and peace through strength — live on.

Some of the policy prescriptions based on those ideas may sound tired and shopworn, as the Washington establishment frequently reminds us. But they are as fresh and needed today as they ever were. Why? Because Washington's resistance to change has left many of the most innovative policy proposals of the Reagan era still untried.

Enterprise Zones and Pork

The proposal to establish "enterprise zones" in distressed urban areas is a classic case in point. It was not until the closing day of the 102nd Congress, more than 13 years after Stuart Butler, my colleague at the Heritage Foundation, first introduced the proposal to U.S. policy makers, that Congress finally approved legislation establishing urban enterprise zones. Congress couldn't resist the opportunity to pile on the pork, however. As a result, the enterprise zone provisions authorized not only 25 urban zones but 25 rural zones as well. Fifty zones, 50 states — no doubt, just a coincidence. The legislation was included in a broader tax bill, which still may be vetoed by the president. The upshot is that after 13 years of talking about enterprise zones, we are still just talking about them.

The Clinton administration can reject conservative ideas out of hand if it wants. But the only prudent and practical course for the new administration, beset with the problems it inherits from the Bush White House, will be to embrace conservative ideas as its own.

If it adopts the pro-growth tax policies of Mr. Reagan, and of John F. Kennedy before him — something the Bush administration was loath to do — it stands a chance of being successful. If it rejects them, and continues America along the path mapped out by the Bush economic team, Mr. Clinton also will be a one-term president.

While it may be true that Mr. Clinton was a candidate who stood for everything, it was equally true that the voters saw in Mr. Bush a candidate who stood for nothing.

Mr. Feulner is president of the Heritage Foundation in Washington.

Why Bush Failed

 DATE: 11.5
 PAGE: 35

By Peggy Noonan

Having rebuffed a fine man whose Presidency failed, about half the country, I suspect, will have the rueful blues this weekend.

George Bush was our last President from the great generation that held fast through a bitter depression and fought gallantly in war for a country they never doubted for a second deserved their love. Their stewardship, begun when John F. Kennedy brought the junior officers of World War II to power (Theodore White's phrase), somehow deserves better than this sodden end.

The old order passeth, a new generation riseth.

All day I've been thinking of a dream my brother-in-law Joe had a few years ago. His late father came to him to tell him the birth of his first child, expected in a matter of weeks, was imminent. The old man stood in his work clothes in a driveway in New Jersey, squinting in the sun. Joe put his hand on his father's shoulder. "Thanks, Pop," he said. "You done good." When he awoke, he took his wife to the hospital, where later that day their son was born.

Joe's words — "Thanks, Pop" — seem appropriate as a tough old generation that protected, for us, a world, softly retreats.

In a way, the election was always a choice between depression and anxiety. When voters imagined picking up the paper Wednesday morning and seeing a headline that said "Bush Wins In Close Race," their hearts sank. When they imagined "President Clinton!" their hearts raced. Forced to choose between melancholy and nervousness they took the latter; it seemed the more awake, and so the more hopeful choice. But such thoughts only characterize the election, for me; they don't explain it.

Mr. Bush's fortunes in '92 were hurt, like his Presidency, by a misunderstanding of what the voters did four years before. He thought the American people voted for him in 1988. They didn't. They voted for the continuation of basic Reaganesque policies, which is what George Bush said he stood for.

He vowed in '88 to keep the size of Government down. He let it grow. He said he would not raise taxes. He raised them. He said he'd resist the heavy weight of Government. He allowed more regulation.

The voters who created the Reagan coalition abandoned Mr. Bush in '92 because they were never loyal to him; they were loyal to the beliefs he espoused from 1981 through 1989.

Some will say Mr. Bush was done in by a bad convention and a bad campaign. But if both had gone better the outcome would have been the same. And I don't think it all came down to the economy, either. It's true George Bush didn't have a good one, true he was late to see it and speak of it. But Ronald Reagan, who had a worse recession in '82, won by a landslide in '84.

That was because he had clear beliefs based on what voters saw as common sense principles; when things didn't work right away, they cut him some slack and gave him some time. President Bush sometimes seemed as if he had few beliefs that were not subject to shifts in wind, ground and circumstance. At

Peggy Noonan is author of "What I Saw at the Revolution," a memoir of the Reagan era. She was a speech writer for Presidents Reagan and Bush.

the end, voters thought he wasn't serious.

Serious people in public life stand for things and fight for them; the ensuing struggle is meant to yield progress and improvement. Mr. Bush seemed embarrassed to believe. It left those who felt sympathy for him embarrassed to support him.

His economic wound was, to a significant extent, self-inflicted. It wasn't external forces that created the crisis, no mullah half a world away who took our people hostage. The 1990 budget deal did what Mr. Bush said Michael Dukakis would do — impede growth and damage the economy.

The President's aides were not sufficiently alive to history, which was bad, because history was against them. The modern Republican Party stood triumphant on two pillars. The first was sober and effective anti-Communism; the second was a principled small-Government policy. History took the first from Mr. Bush; he took the second from himself. Without the pillars, he fell.

The President's great moment, the war against Iraq, and it was a great moment, with masterly diplomacy — made his problems fatal by obscuring them. Desert Storm gave the White

House a false sense of security and encouraged carelessness. The staff was too dazed by the polls to see.

As President, Mr. Bush reverted to his behavior as Vice President: he stopped seeing the connection between words and action. He did not communicate. I used to wonder if, traumatized by what he saw as the Reagan White House's too great attention to the public part of the Presidency, to the Rose Garden backdrops and the commemorative events, Mr. Bush concluded the public part was all show and not worthy of a sincere and honest man.

But the public part of the Presidency, the persuading-in-the-pulpit part, is central to leadership. The worst thing is to lie to the people, but the second worst is to ignore them and not tell what you are doing and why.

In domestic affairs, the President leaned on yesterday's men. The aides and Cabinet members who represented the new conservatism and the future of the party — Jack Kemp, William Bennett, Vin Weber — were given access and then ignored. The President listened to those — Richard Darman, Nicholas Brady — who represented the "realistic" and "sophisticated" thinking of Republicans who came of age during Watergate. They thought they were on the losing side of history; they thought their job was not to win but to limit inevitable loss. The President's choice here revived the old party divisions Mr. Reagan had healed and further sundered the Republican coalition.

After 12 years in power, the most talented Republicans were the most exhausted. They had lost touch with the grass roots when they used to be the grass roots. Years ago, Henry Kissinger said that Government is all intellectual outgo, that you never have time for inflow, for reading and thinking. (The conservatives around Mr. Bush who make good use of their time off and who become reacquainted with their country will come back strong in '96 or 2000.)

Bill Clinton ran a creative campaign. Buses, Elvis, answering each attack with more and bigger verbal warheads. A lot of people find it hard not to daydream during his speeches — for me it's like watching a soap opera; I can never quite follow the narrative — but he made no major rhetorical mistakes. His people were smart and hungry, and they had the press. The media were partial to Bill Clinton not only because they lean toward liberalism and many are baby boomers but because they want a new story, a new headline, new news. They love their country; they want change; they're sick unto death of Republicans. (Note to the Clinton staff: your new friends have built you up for a steep fall.)

Finally, on the Republican side, the myth of the great campaign tacticians was revealed. A lot of them were jockeys who won because the horse they rode was fast. Ronald Reagan carried them across the line, they didn't carry him. When they rode George Bush, they failed, because he couldn't win for them.

Those are the reasons for George Bush's defeat, as I see it. Back in '88, the Democrats around Michael Dukakis sized up Mr. Bush and history and said, "If we can't win this one we might as well find another country." That was not true then but was true this time. The good news for Republicans is if you know what went wrong you can correct it. More good news: every defeat carries within it the seeds of victory, and every victory carries within it the seeds of defeat.

Someone said that to me once — I think Lee Atwater. He may be another reason the theme of this article is not victory. □

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Losers, Not Weepers

WASHINGTON

With reporters on campaign beats covering the reception of returns in Houston and Little Rock; and with The New York Times's Washington editors up in New York putting together the election issue — on Election Night the Times bureau here was like a morgue.

Seeking human political contact at a historic moment, I walked one block east to watch the returns in the office of Lane Kirkland of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. We differ on economics, agree on foreign affairs, but in this election we were curiously aligned: Lane was a Democrat supporting Clinton, I was a Republican opposing Bush.

Labor's leader is an understanding soul. As the returns came in, neither he nor his other guests gave loud hoots of happiness at the Clinton victory. He tolerated my small whoop at the victories of Senators Al D'Amato and Arlen Specter. As one who had known 12 long years in the Presidential wilderness, he respected the feelings of a Republican watching his side lose — and even more troubling, who had voted against his side.

I imagine a great many people on the right feel as I do today, not triumphant by any means, but not sorry to see the Bush people go. Twelve years is a long time for any group to be in power, and this bunch was beginning to turn Republicanism sour.

Why Republican eyes are dry.

We do not buy the Democratic line about years of greed and jingoism; by and large, the 80's were years of prosperity and global success. But not lately.

The first term, with Reagan in charge, found greatness in stopping inflation and, yes, "winning the cold war." But the second Reagan-Bush term, with its dreamy morning-in-America theme, lost its fervor; the third term, with Bush presiding, lost its sense of direction.

We're not happy about the Clinton plurality (though Bob Dole, the new Republican top dog in Washington, must be secretly delighted). Instead, we have a sense that the White House had become occupied by occupants. They were not "exhausted volcanoes," in Disraeli's phrase about Gladstone, because they were never true volcanoes — but they are exhausted.

The excuse for single-termhood is that the economy didn't recover in time. But that's just part of it.

Strategically, the Bush entourage missed history's boat in the Soviet Union and China, was engulfed by error in the gulf, and not until the last minute tried to make the case for a coherent conservative domestic policy.

Tactically, in the campaign, the tardy James Baker botched the convention by romancing the hard right. Then he blew the debate negotiations, preferring to appease Ross Perot and use him as a buffer — rather than freeze the billionaire out and deal directly with the President's Democratic challenger.

That's why some of us crossed over and why the Reagan Democrats went home or waltzed off to gold-plated protest. And it explains the curious lack of a letdown in watching the President concede; our letdown had come months or years before.

With both the White House and Congress in the hands of the Democrats, what now for the ideological homeless? Conservatives have to do more than oppose, grumble, view with alarm and drag a foot.

We will lie down and bleed awhile. We will retreat to the think-tank mountains and op-ed marshes to cook up a new-old philosophy that exalts individual freedom and national strength and public rectitude. With the advantage of being in opposition, we will build a new movement that can stick together without the glue of anti-Communism.

If the Clintonians advance prosperity at home and human rights abroad, we'll learn from them; if they fall out over the spoils of office or revert to budget-busting, redistributive type, we'll hold them accountable.

But wait: Each new administration is entitled to a honeymoon period — a time to plan a transition, appoint the new team, present detailed legislation, persuade the people to support their different approach. The Clinton Administration deserves no less.

(Pause.)

O.K., that's it — the honeymoon is over. The Clinton and Gore "victory" speeches were long-winded and inappropriately contentious, and revealed a pair of stump-loving politicians unwilling or unable to shift from campaigning to governing.

If these bozos (good, irreverent figure of speech!) cannot get it together soon, the revived right will be back before you know it. □

Frank Luntz

Learning From Failure

George Bush was not a bad guy, but he was a bad president. His election was a historic accident perpetrated by a handful of New Hampshire Republicans (how appropriate that they suffer so greatly today) who were duped into believing the Great Communicator had an heir apparent. Dan Quayle may not have been another Jack Kennedy, thank God, but George Bush was no Ronald Reagan either.

Rousseau warned about the dangers of political rhetoric because it allows men to hide their true feelings. In true Rousseau-like fashion, Bush's 1988 presidential campaign was a case study in the politician's mastery of double-speak. Conservatives saw him as they wanted him to be, and no one knew him for what he really was. Four years later, we now know him too well.

TRANSITIONS: THE REPUBLICANS



Bush's 1988 presidential campaign is worthy of the Hypocrisy Hall of Shame. He blustered promises of no new taxes, but turned around and gave us the second highest tax increase in American history. He pledged the creation of 40 million new jobs, yet the number of jobless today is at a 10-year high. He vowed reductions in government regulation and interference, yet more businesses than ever are dying under the weight of red tape. Then, it was "the Education President" and "the Environmental President" and ... you get the idea.

But the sequel was just as bad. In "Pinocchio Runs for Reelection," Bush pledged to cut government spending, yet he spent each campaign appearance tossing out pork-barrel projects like Santa Claus on Christmas Eve. He debased himself at the feet of his ex-secretary of state, pledging to keep Jim Baker at the State Department but then promising to appoint him domestic policy czar and/or

chief of staff. (To win the Catholic vote, Bush would have named him pope, but the job was already filled.)

The failures of the Bush administration should be turned into lessons that would-be successors to the GOP throne must learn.

First and foremost, the 1996 GOP nominee must stand for something. As Republicans, we must define ourselves by what we are, not by what we are against. For example, the Republican Party has gone on record against tax increases and in favor of urban enterprise zones, yet the Bush campaign spent its greatest efforts attacking Clinton's economic policies rather than promoting its own.

The Republican Party is founded on a set of principles that should be trumpeted, not apologized for. Ronald Reagan wore his convictions on his sleeve. You knew where he stood and respected him for it. We will not recapture the White House until we have a leader who has a defined platform and doesn't run away from it.

Second, compromise for the sake of compromise is folly. Thomas Paine once wrote that "moderation in temper is always a virtue, but moderation in principle is always a vice." The men and women whom we remember as great leaders are the ones who fought for their principles above all else. The "leaders" who have fallen through the cracks of history are those who compromised their principles and were left with nothing to fight for.

Third, we must run a positive campaign. No more Willie Hortons. No more character assassinations. No more candidates and consultants willing to "do anything" to win. As Republicans, we must define ourselves by what we are, not just by what we are against. We must develop a coherent set of policies and principles and then run on them.

And finally, we must once again be the party of the "big tent." No voter should be excluded from our educational and recruitment efforts. Not blacks, not Hispanics, not Jews ... not anyone. Our priorities of lower taxes, less government and individual empowerment are messages that cut across racial, ethnic and partisan lines. These are our messages. This is how we will take back the White House.

A leader has two characteristics: First, he is going somewhere. Second, he is able to persuade other people to go with him. Once again, we Republicans are searching for that leader who will rescue us from the political wilderness and guide us back to the proverbial "promised land."

The writer, a Republican pollster, worked for Pat Buchanan and Ross Perot in the 1992 campaign.

George F. Will

A Continental Shrug

A dozen Novembers ago, at the dawn of a conservative presidential era, Walter Mondale, in his graceful concession speech as vice president, spoke of the majesty of the people wielding "their staggering power." Only four times in American history has one party held the presidency for more than 12 consecutive years (the Republicans have not since 1896-1912) and this year the people's power ended a 12-year reign. But the people's decision was a kind of continent-wide shrug: Might as well try someone else.

Sixty-two percent of those who voted voted against the incumbent president. But 57 percent voted against the next president. Ross Perot's dalliance interrupted with the electorate produced a plurality president. No novelty, that.

From 1824 (the first election in which most electoral votes were determined by popular voting rather than voting in state legislatures) through 1992 there have been 43 elections. In 15, the winner received less than a majority of popular votes. Only four times has the winner received less than 44 percent, but two strong presidents, Lincoln and Wilson, received 39.8 and 41.8 respectively. Wilson and Nixon (who won a first term with just 43.4 percent) won reelection.

Although Clinton got just 43 percent of the popular vote, his 69 percent of the electoral votes is much better than the 56.4 percent of the electoral votes Kennedy won in 1960 with 49.7 percent of the popular vote. In fact, the 1992 result resembles the 1912 three-way race when Wilson's 41.8 percent of the popular vote won him 81.9 percent of the electoral votes. The disparity between Clinton's popular and electoral vote percentages resembles Eisenhower's disparities in 1952 (55.1 popular and 83.2 electoral) and Reagan in 1980 (50.7 popular and 90.8 electoral), two elections when previous voting patterns were emphatically ruptured.

In their most recent four victories prior to Tuesday, Republican presidential candidates won a stunning average of 91 percent of the electoral votes—better than the 88.3 percent that FDR won in four victories. On Tuesday Bush won just 31 percent. But Republican strength was already ebbing four years ago, when Bush did worse among Democrats than any Republican had done since 1952. Dukakis, although now derided, did unite his party, winning back a majority of "Reagan Democrats" (who were just 7 percent of the electorate). Bush was the first Republican to win a first term while his party was losing strength in both the House and Senate.

This year Bush became, in part, a belated casualty of his greatest success, the gulf war. His postwar popularity convinced him he could coast to reelection,

relying on his nimbus rather than an agenda. Bush's campaign confirmed historian Robert Conquest's droll law: The behavior of an organization often can be predicted by assuming it to be controlled by a cabal of its enemies. But Bush's campaign—constant improvisation revealing consistent insincerity—was condign punishment of the Republican Party for making Bush its leader.

Democrats are government enthusiasts: They are unsure what justice is, but are sure that only government can deliver it. Their activism is both a cause and consequence of "interest-group liberalism"—belief in brokering maximum satisfactions for the maximum number of factions. Republicans, being less comfortable brokering interests, require a higher quotient of appealing ideas, both to motivate themselves and attract supporters. Hence the party should not have put itself in the hands of a person so unlike the "conviction politician" who preceded him in the presidency.

Bush lacked authority, a derivative of convictions connected to passions. The epitaph of his presidency could be Kingsley Amis's poem "The Masters":

*That horse whose rider fears to jump
will fall,*

Riflemen miss if orders sound unsure;

They only are secure who seem secure;

Who lose their voice, lose all.

As usual, and contrary to naive expectations, incumbents were not an endangered species on Tuesday. Only three incumbent senators lost, and 93 percent of House incumbents won. Those numbers explain this one: In all of the 14 states where the political class could not prevent the people from voting on term limits for U.S. senators and representatives, the people imposed limits to enhance political competition. As a step toward radical reform of Washington's political culture, this is potentially more important than the presidential result.

The unsentimental cashing of the incumbent president expressed the electorate's exhilarating sense that some chafing restraints have been shed—a cheerful belief that risks can be taken. Today the nation is more physically secure from foreign attack than at any time in its 216 years. Domestically, it is a nation with problems—but it is a temperate, prosperous, successful nation with problems. The importance of this election, historically, is that it was the least important election since the 1920s.

The electorate seems to have cast a cold eye on government and politicians and decided that it and they have only limited purchase on only some problems. Hence the sense of a nation serious but unenthralled. Hence at the end of the campaign, the continental shrug: Might as well try someone else.

Michael Kinsley

Vindication

Allow me to gloat.

No doubt it will all end in tears. But for the moment, I FEEL GREAT! It's like the lifting of a terrible headache.

Yes, the euphoria is not entirely rational. Clinton supporters realize that the election of our man as president will not magically solve all the nation's problems. Nor will it clear up our skin condition, improve our love life, pick up our dry cleaning, or stop that strange noise in the back of our car. Life goes on. Nevertheless, this victory is very, very sweet.

Partly it's just the sporting aspect. Democrats under age 45 do not have much experience voting for the winner. Until last Tuesday, I'd done it only once—in 1976—and then with no special enthusiasm. In 1992, watching Bush's repeated fumbles, it was nice to feel that Lady Luck was on our side for a change.

Above all, this Democratic victory is sweet revenge on George Bush for the loathsome, dishonest and empty campaign that won him the White House in 1988. His empty administration was a final comment on the emptiness of that campaign. What did Bush do about the alleged problem of prison furloughs in his four years as president? How often did he recite the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag?

Bush will be remembered as a failed president. The only debate will be over whether his failure was the culmination of Reaganism or the betrayal of it. (The answer seems obvious to me.) And the only historical uncertainty is whether the Bush era will be seen as a dip between the prosperous Reagan and Clinton eras, or as the beginning of an extended national decline.

For years to come, the Democrats will be able to run against Bush the way the Republicans have run against Carter, and as Democrats ran against Hoover before that. Like the late '70s, the early '90s will be frozen in people's memories—inaccurately—as a terrible time, far worse than it really was. The best Bush can hope for is obscurity. A crossword puzzle president: "President after Reagan. Four letters. Begins with 'B.'" Polk? No....

Meanwhile, after what seems like a century of stern sermonettes to Democrats about how we must "rethink," must purge ourselves of excesses and extremism, must reconnect with the people, must abase ourselves with public mea culpas etc. etc. it is now the Republicans' turn for mandatory rethinking and op-ed self-flagellation.

Defeat of the Republican presidential machine offers some hope that American politics can become more honest again. The dishonesty that has become institutionalized in our politics is of two sorts. In neither category are the Democrats blameless, but in both the Republicans have led the way.

The less important form of dishonesty is campaign sleaze. "Hortonism" is the shorthand term for finding and exploiting an ugly symbolic issue, either literally false or false in the implications derived from it. The Bush campaign tried repeatedly to find its Willie Horton this year—Hillary, gays, Oxford, the trip to Moscow—but nothing stuck. In fact, many of these thrusts backfired.

The more important form of dishonesty is fiscal. Ronald Reagan made it impossible for any presidential candidate with a hope of winning to tell the truth about federal spending and taxes. Clinton certainly did not tell the truth this time. But it surely was asking too much to expect Democrats to go on losing the White House by telling the truth about the federal budget while Republicans went on winning by lying about it.

Now, however, we're even. And Clinton, the winner, was marginally more forthright on the subject than Bush, the loser. So perhaps the great chain of lying can be broken.

This election has restored my faith in my fellow citizens. Not just because they voted my way but because they rejected ugly appeals to chauvinism and intolerance. Watching that GOP Festival of Hate in Houston, I felt sick. I thought, Here we go again. And I confess: I thought it would work. Why not? It worked the last time. To be sure, this year voters had more important things to be scared of than Republican-confected bogies. But intolerance usually flowers, rather than shrivels, in bad economic times.

The single most repellent remark of this election year was Republican National Chairman Rich Bond's comment during the Houston convention, "We are America. Those other people are not." The words are hateful and un-American on their face. The fact that Bond himself is a New Yorker with political roots in Manhattan liberal Republicanism merely illustrates the cynicism of this failed Republican culture war.

Nevertheless, a part of me feared it was true. For 12 years Democrats and liberals have suffered a rising crescendo of schoolyard taunts: You are outsiders, out of the mainstream, out of touch with ordinary Americans. Your political beliefs and cultural values are anathema in large swaths of your own country. Each election, however fraudulently won from our point of view, made the case harder to refute.

Well, apparently it ain't true. Those other people are the ones who are out of touch, who are outside the mainstream, whose values aren't widely shared. And so my message to Republicans is: Wipe that damned smug grin off your faces at long last. And just hope that we're nicer to you in opposition than you've been to us all these years.

©1992, UFS/The New Republic Inc.

THE BUZZ

Yesterday, everybody in town was a quidnunc. A quidnunc? That's somebody who goes around saying, "What now? What now?"

Few could resist the temptation to speculate. Whether your man won or lost seemed faintly irrelevant already as Washington feasted on a midday banquet of election results and dawning epochs. Meet the new boss, different from the old boss. Pin your hopes on the donkey.

So went this company town's animated lunchtime chatter over carryout containers and white linen tabletops. The Clinton administration was getting underway no less at the Rayburn cafeteria and Mount Pleasant's Waffle Shop than at Red Sage, the Jockey Club, Bice, Duke Zeibert's and Mo Sussman's.

Table for four—years?

A Fountain of Youth

They were basking. They were triumphant. They were Democrats, or if not they were discreet about it. They were men in suits eating big food. They were at the Palm.

And they were feeling old.

"Clinton is the first president who's younger than I am," said Hill & Knowlton Vice Chairman Frank Maniewicz. Not that he minded, of course—taking public offense at anything Democratic wasn't the thing to do. And anyway, like his lunch companion, former House speaker Tip O'Neill, Maniewicz, at 66 was certain youth is good. Really.

"I'll tell you all I want him to do is what Roosevelt did," O'Neill, 79, said of Clinton. 46. "Go out and get young, able people to work in government and forget all the old hacks like me."

Basking nearby was what one luncheon called "the children's table," a gathering of former O'Neill staffers and assorted other Democrats. They had gathered for their ritual post-election victory lunch.

"But this time we have a victory," said Tom O'Donnell, chief of staff for House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt.

A few tables over, Democratic fund-raiser and businessman Robert Moss did venture that "life gets more complicated now. It was much easier before—Us vs. Them. Now it's Us vs. Us."

Getting Mo Better

Mo Sussman's was serving "Arkansas Stew."

"Happy faces today!" enthused Diane Rennert of the American Association of Publishers, storming into the underground Connecticut Avenue eatery and planting a big kiss on Sussman's cheek.

She was celebrating with former LBJ aides David Bunn and Tim May, who's Ron Brown's law partner at Patton, Boggs & Blow and not bashful about it.

"An epoch is over," May said. "A new one is beginning."

Sussman, who is in Chapter 11, sincerely hopes so.

"I've been here 14 years," he said. "Twelve years, no problem. The last two years, jeep!"

Then Sam Donaldson stormed in with a camera crew

and started asking everybody if they knew Clinton "personally" and would they exploit it.

"My partner is Ron Brown," May said.

"It's the dawn of the living Democritus," said PR man Robert A. Neuman. "They're coming out of the alleys, out of the subways."

Not too many, it transpired, actually know Clinton "personally."

Page Bratton does. "I baby-sat for Chelsea in the eighth grade," said the transplanted Arkansan, who works for a hotel here.

And will she exploit it?

"Absolutely," she said with a smile. "I will."

—Phil McCombs

Turning the Tables

A kick-in-the-gron groan rose from a table of Republican bankers. Too much to take this post- doom day when the waiter at Red Sage recommended the *tamale del dia: smoked quail*.

The waiter quipped, "Today we're serving it with a Murphy brown sauce."

Ooof, the ache. Not long ago, this warp-drive restaurant was catering Bush daughter Doro's lingerie and liners shower, Marilyn Quayle's book dinner and former campaign chairman Robert Mosbacher's birthday party. And lunchtime at the adobe Tex-Mex extravaganza had been a tureen of testosterone soup.

But yesterday Clinton-Gore buttons studded lapels, women hosting victory lunches filled the red-clay booths, civil servants giggled at the tightening noose looped round political appointees.

"I heard this was a Republican joint," said Kim McGilivray, a lawyer, and a Democrat. She ordered champagne. "I wanted to come here and gloat."

Plenty of material.

A pair of Republican real-estate types consoled themselves with a map of Washington, spread out, dipping in the butter dish. The logic: Clinton's trickle-down government meant buildings, massive buildings, sprawling tax-and-spend structures in which to stick legions of new civil servants.

"Bad for America, good for Washington," said John Kyle of Vector Realty Group Inc. He grumbled that Clinton will probably rip out the White House putting green and "put in a hen house instead."

Lunch buddy Peter Stern contemplated a spiral mound of herbed cream cheese and concluded: "Read my lips, we're in deep doo-doo."

—Laura Blumenfeld

Bubbly Time

Champagne makes a different kind of pop-fizz inside when it's been on ice for 12 years. Plenty of lunchtime diners at that favorite lobbyists' haunt La Colline were savoring it yesterday for the first time.

"To the next four years," toasted Jane Snowden, a policy consultant specializing on women and children in poverty, as she downed a glass of fine Perrier Jouv.

"It's been a long wait."

She and Rosemary Freeman, of blue-chip Democratic lawyers Verner, Lip-

ert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand, had lunched at the French eatery on the Hill the morning after the night before in 1984 and 1988. Then the alcohol was strictly of the sorrow-drowning variety.

"There's some real energy in town today," Snowden bubbled. "Today all things are possible." Added Freeman, "We now have a president who feels about activist government the way so many us in this town do."

Over Key lime pie and cappuccino, Norv Carey, General Atomics' man in D.C., was talking jobs. To be precise, the jobs that affect him.

"There's talk of the Secretary of Defense position," he mused. "The name I heard was Congressman Dave McCurdy from Oklahoma. He would be an excellent choice for that position," he added prudently. He spoke just as warmly about Tim Wirth, whom he tipped for the Department of Energy.

Elsewhere a lobbyist on natural resources issues was sending Warren Christopher to State, Lloyd Bentsen to the Treasury and Bill Gray to be director of OMB.

President Clinton might not do his job interviews at La Colline, but plenty of his underlings will. And that's good news for the one man smiling throughout lunchtime—the maître d'.

—Jonathan Freedland

Occupational Hazards

It was just another Wednesday at the hot dog stand on the corner of Fourth and C SW, in the heart of Federal Land, a street where lunchtime strollers tend to have ID badges hanging off them. Even a nearby beggar, with red, white and blue Styrofoam hat in hand, said it seemed like business as usual.

Rodney Reynolds, a budget analyst returning with a bag of chips to the U.S. Information Agency building, said, "I haven't seen anybody looking too disappointed. But no major outbursts of glee either."

USIA's Republican-appointed officials may be downcast, said Helaine Michaels-Klein, carrying a pretzel with mustard back to work, "but I think the average GS employees are happy." But then she's no neutral observer. She had a "Bill Clinton for President" button on her jacket. A button, as she pointed out, that was minted before. Al Gore was even on the ticket.

But Michaels-Klein doesn't know whether the election will save her job. A GOP appointee recently notified her that her position in the public liaison office was being abolished, she said. Budget cuts. "The fact that I wore a Clinton button, I don't know whether that had

anything to do with" the choice of who got cut, she said.

—David Mills

Ritz Trackers

The Ritz-Carlton (née the Fairfax) Hotel is the place where Vice President-elect Al Gore grew up; where, it is said, John Kennedy, while president, conducted liaisons on its top floor; where in its legendary Jockey Club, Nancy Reagan lunched with Buffy Caffritz and George Mosbacher; and Louise Gore still keeps a table. Yesterday, on the first day of the Clinton era, in the restaurant famous for intimate tables, and paradoxically, maximum exposure, a few places stood empty. "The celebrants are all in Little Rock," said Vivian Deuschl, the Ritz-Carlton spokeswoman. But for those who were not summoned, champagne was pouring freely—literally. "The Democrats are drinking the free champagne—the Republicans something harder," she added.

One table of Clinton supporters—Christine Warnke, Rick Counihan, Judi Greenwald, Douglas Smith and Carol Wilner—agreed: "Ron Brown could have anything he wanted—chief of staff, secretary of state—anything but ambassador to Great Britain—that's for Pamela Harriman."

—Sarah Booth Conroy

Buzz Central

Duke Zeibert was doing out gobs of caviar to a groaning round-table of beefy gents, Sonny Jurgensen most prominent

among them. "The economy has changed in one day," the restaurateur announced, feeding the spirit of things. Another guy at the same trough offered a corrective about the caviar: "It's left over from the Reagan administration."

If there were any doubt that Duke Zeibert's was the most obvious place to troll for buzz, the presence of three camera crews doing just that—ABC and two locals—dispelled it. Media incest reached the implosion level when Sam Donaldson arrived at Larry King's matzo-topped table to bag a sound bite, interrupting the more discursive swallows he was delivering to People magazine and The Washington Post simultaneously.

King had been announcing his intention to redeem the president-elect's promise to appear every six months on his program, "and to make all his cabinet officers available to me regularly."

What King had been hearing about Clinton so far reflected the great-guy syndrome that prevails at times like these. Everyone is finding a reason to like the new man—"After all, he got the job," King explained.

Donaldson's clever theme question to everyone picked up the melody: "Do you know Bill Clinton personally?" King explained how he did indeed, and thought he'd do a good job. "Give him a hundred days," kidded King, "and then Sam takes over and he'll be dead."

Washingtonian Publisher Philip Merrill and Heritage Foundation scholar Seth Cropsey were breaking bread nearby. Cropsey stressed that Clinton's

victory was not a repudiation of the conservative agenda, since President Bush represented it so poorly. Plus, Merrill put in, there's clear accountability in a united government: "There's no place a Democrat can hide."

And besides, to Merrill Bill Clinton "is not an argumentative, ideological kind of guy. This is a guy who's pragmatic." A change agent maybe, but finally a Washington kind of guy.

—Charles Trueheart

Table for Two, No Waffling

Despite George Bush's political-state-ment-cum-guerrilla-theater performance at a Waffle House in Spartanburg, S.C., last month, he still lost the election. Hard to believe, with creative PR like that.

At Washington's very own Waffle Shop on Park Road NW, most of the mainly Salvadoran clientele didn't seem to remember the soon-to-be-ex-president's little stunt. They did, however, remember who they voted for—Bill Clinton. "You got a lot of young dreams in this country, and George Bush is an old man," said Oscar Fuenes as he looked, to paraphrase Bob Dylan, all along the lunch counter. The Waffle Shop's owner-operator Jose Ayala is also a Clinton man. "George Bush, he has eyes that do not see. . . . A lot of Hispanic people around here don't know a lot about politics, but they are for Clinton, and they are happy. He works from the heart."

Bush did have at least one supporter in the aging deco restaurant: waitress Norma Leonzo. "You listen to so many opinions in here, it's hard to make up your mind. But I voted for Bush." Why? "He looked like a nice man."

—Peter Gilstrap

Downtime

At the Rayburn House Office Building cafeteria, nothing much was going on. Yet.

It was recess, after all. Senior Hill types were still out of town with their constituents. And the folks who did turn up took advantage of the downtime to linger over pizza, or macaroni-and-cheese, or home-brought brown bags.

Almost nobody wore credentials.

For a day or so the pressure was off.

—Judith Weinraub

MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

IN RE. Ross "The Boss" Perot

The transition team has come up with the following Top 10 potential positions for Mr. Perot:

10. Presidential Speechwriter, in charge of Nostrums, Homages and Far-Fetched Analogies. (Note: Dan Rather also interested.)
9. Secretary of Defensiveness.
8. USDA Poultry Inspector.
7. Treasury. (No, not Treasury Secretary, just Treasury.)
6. Curator, Smithsonian Hall of Lobbyists.
5. White House Plumbing Inspector (to nail down the source of that "great big sucking sound").
4. Director, Office of Small Businessman's Affairs.
3. Colorful cartoon mascot for the '96 Summer Olympics. (Note: Yosemite Sam suit available?)
2. Security Chief, East Wing Weddings.
1. The President's Hearing Aide.

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ Those were some of Bill Clinton's top aides sitting in the front row and trying to make the president-elect laugh as Al Gore delivered his oh-so-serious speech election night.

■ Senate Judiciary Chairman Joe Biden—who campaigned for the Democratic women Senate winners who



Joe Biden, waiting.

had in turn campaigned against his all-male committee—is quite anxious to get any of them on his panel. But among Illinois's Carol Moseley Braun, California's

Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, and Washington's Patty Murray, none has come a-knocking yet.

■ Sherry Lansing yesterday was named by Paramount Pictures to head its Motion Picture Group. Lansing has had her own firm for the past few years, and before that she and Paramount honcho Stanley Jaffe teamed up to produce such hits as "The Accused" and "Fatal Attraction."

■ Bill Clinton delivered his acceptance speech so late (12:20 a.m. EST) because he was simply having a good time greeting the thousands of friends who were in Little Rock, aides say.

■ Hyper-ambitious Rep. Dave McCurdy has finally told Tom Foley that he'll support him in his bid for reelection as

House speaker—after months of letting speculation swirl that he might challenge him. Must be time for Foley to reappoint him to the chairmanship of the House Intelligence Committee.

■ White House Political Director Ron Kaufman's 12-year-old daughter asked



Studio exec Sherry Lansing, on to Paramount.

as election returns poured in: "Does this mean (Council on Environmental Quality Chairman) Mike Deland is out of a job?" Her 13-year-old sister Carly replied with the condescension of an elder: "Katie, you dummy, every adult you know is out of a job."

■ The Willard announces that as of yesterday all Evian water will be pulled from the hotel's bars and replaced by Mountain Valley Spring Water from Arkansas's Hot Springs National Park—where else. The great suck-up has only just begun.

■ Heavyweights Evander Holyfield and Riddick Bowe will duke it out on the bowling lanes in Las Vegas Sunday to benefit Cities in Schools, a national nonprofit dropout prevention program. Among the Hollywood big hitters due to join them in the alley—Arnold Schwarzenegger, Sylvester Stallone, James Woods and Randy Quaid.

■ First Lady Barbara Bush has invited First Lady-elect Hillary Clinton over to tour her new digs. No word on when she'll go.

■ Ladies, the Democratic sort, were having a great time trying on inaugural ball gowns at Saks in Tysons yesterday.



Evander Holyfield, on to the alley.

THE FAR SIDE GARY LARSON



REPRINT OF A 1987 CARTOON

Final page of the Medical Boards

And Then It Was Theirs!



Vice President-elect Al Gore's traveling staffers were so excited to see Air Force II when they landed in Owensboro, Ky., recently that they all rushed over for this photo opportunity. Soon, they won't have to be pressing their noses against the windows.

Peggy Say: Still Searching for a Happy Ending

Peggy Say, the housewife who waged an extraordinary 6 1/2-year international campaign to have her brother Terry Anderson freed from terrorist captivity in Lebanon, reveals in an upcoming magazine piece that his homecoming has been far from a dream come true.

In a first-person account that is at once bitter and painful, Say claims that Anderson, the former Associated Press Midwest correspondent, has yet to say the words "thank you" to her and suggests that the two were barely speaking for a while after his release last December.

Referring to "months of frustration and anger," she writes in the December Redbook that she tried to confront him a few months after his release about how she felt left out of his life, but he hung up on her while she was crying. She further says that letters she wrote him in the past year, pleading for some recognition, have gone unanswered.

"She acknowledges that her own expectations of him may have been exceedingly high, but adds, 'The plain truth was, Terry had never given me much of himself or his time. . . I know he was bombarded with stones of what I'd done on his behalf. Perhaps he felt overwhelmed; my sacrifices had created an emotional debt he couldn't ever repay.'

In one particularly poignant account, Say writes of how devastated she was to learn that two of her other siblings had been down to visit Anderson in the Bahamas, where he retreated after his release. "I felt crushed that he hadn't invited me," she writes.

.... Say did not return calls: a spokeswoman for Anderson at the Freedom Forum Media



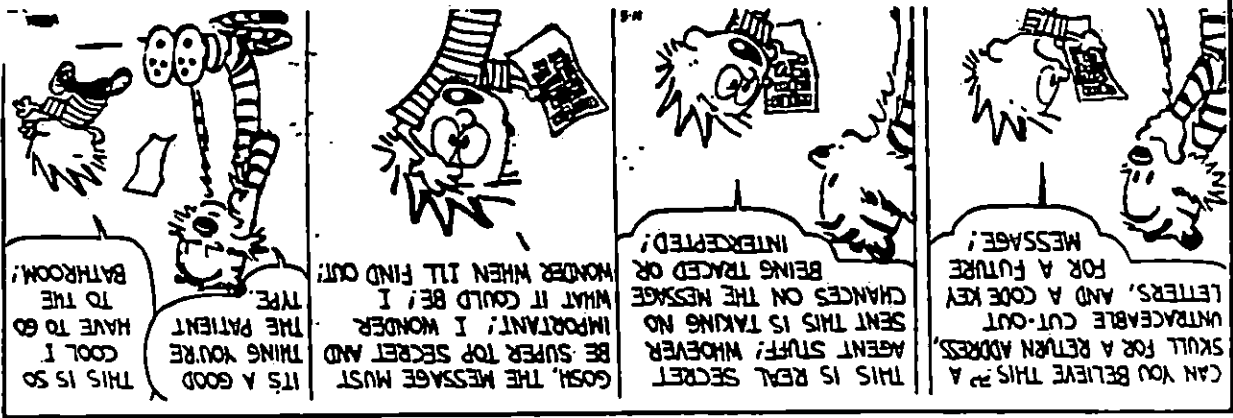
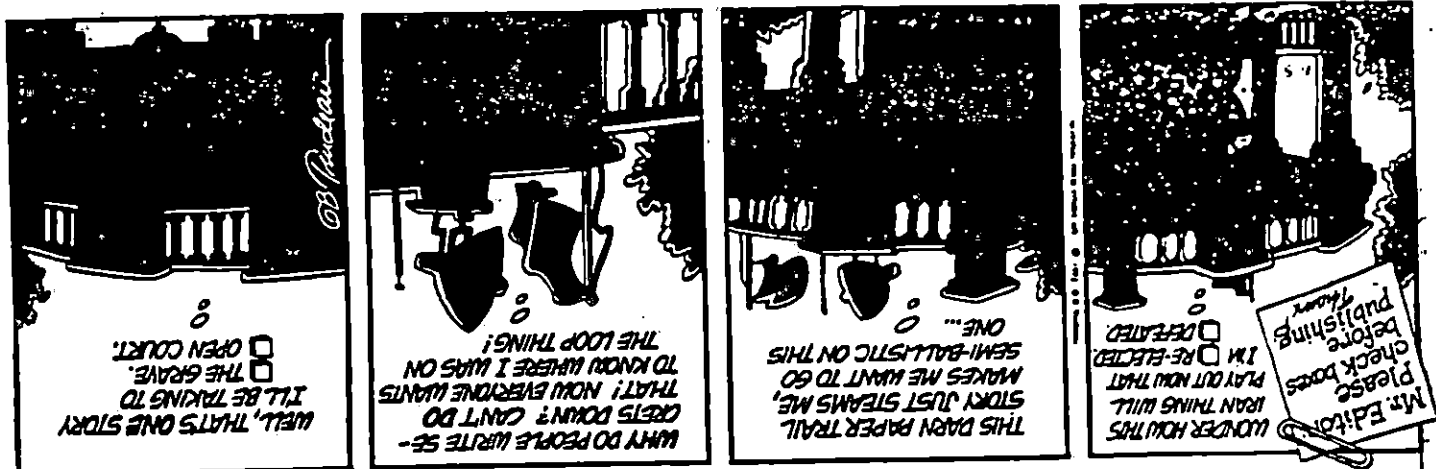
Terry Anderson and his daughter Bulome with Peggy Say in December 1991.

Studies Center, where he is a fellow, said he would have no comment.

At the end of her story, on the stands next week, Say acknowledges that tensions have eased, but adds that she and her brother have had but superficial conversations. Writing of herself and her husband, she concludes: "At last, we've overcome our disappointments and our bitterness. This year will be our Christmas of freedom."

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



Calvin and Hobbes Bill Watterson

Mo knows

There was at least one Republican celebrating Tuesday evening in the midst of our nation's capital, where earlier in the day voters had: (a) overwhelmingly returned to elected office a former mayor who less than three months earlier was restrained in a federal prison; (b) handily rejected, at the urging of Jesse Jackson, a congressional bid to reinstate capital punishment even though three men were killed in an Election Day shootout just one block from Mr. Jackson's Le Droit Park home; (c) seen the vandalizing of the cars of three candidates for school board in Wards 1 and 5, possibly over racial differences; (d) seen bricks thrown at the home of a school board candidate, possibly because she was of a certain race; and (e) turned out in record numbers to do all of the above.

You wouldn't have found this jubilant Old Guard blowing a party horn at the Washington Hilton, site of the official GOP election-night "celebration." And rest assured this Bush supporter wasn't seen at the DNC victory party at the Omni Shoreham. Instead, Maureen Blum — who ran on the slogan "Mo Knows Government" — was surrounded by her Republican supporters at the Oxford Tavern on Connecticut Avenue, a k a the "Zoo Bar." Cheerful faces on an otherwise gloomy evening raised mugs of beer and ate meatballs in celebration of her victory as Advisory Neighborhood Commissioner 3C03.

"I thought George Bush was riding on my coattails, but he wasn't," Mo pronounced.

Then again, George Bush had two opponents. Mo ran unopposed.

The party's over

Look out, Washington. Look out, Mr. President-elect.

Pat Buchanan, who once brought his Irish-Catholic-conservative views to fans and targets alike through his newspaper column, his television appearances and most



Pat Buchanan is returning to the pundit's life in a familiar setting.

recently on the campaign trail, is slowly getting back into his old routine, described before as "all-out war."

"I'm rather proud that I'm controversial," Mr. Buchanan once said. "People who have been in government or politics or commentary for 10 years and are totally non-controversial haven't said anything or done anything worth paying attention to."

Those paying attention can see Mr. Buchanan this weekend in a special appearance on "The McLaughlin Group," a political affairs program he left to launch his unsuccessful bid for the Republican presidential nomination. Mr. Buchanan will rejoin moderator John McLaughlin and regulars Eleanor Clift, Jack Germond and Fred Barnes to offer his post-election

Media stonewall

LaNell Sado, an Arlington reader, sent over a letter that reads in full:

"If anyone has any doubts about the bias and arrogance of the media, that person should try to question their news judgment. This is apparently Holy Ground. In asking why various media organizations have not followed up on such stories as Clinton's activities in Moscow or the waste dump on the Gore property, I have been hung up on (Washington Post), told it's not worthy of national coverage (CBS), and asked why I don't put on a banner and run up and down the street if I think it's so important (AP wire service)."

"So much for their self-proclaimed concern for an informed electorate."

— John McCaslin

analysis.

"Pat Buchanan's campaign experience gives him a sharper insight into the political process," said Mr. McLaughlin. "I'll be curious to see what he has learned on the stump and what the next four years will be like."

Show producer Allyson Kennedy said: "We are thrilled to have Pat back, but no decision has been made whether he will return full time. He's mulling over his options. There are several things he wants to do."

And if that's not enough Buchanan for you, a spokesperson for Tribune Media Services in Orlando, distributor of Mr. Buchanan's newspaper column, said, "Now that the election is over, you will see it resume soon." Readers will find the column in this newspaper's award-winning Commentary section.

As for the TV stuff, check local listings for time and station.

Cuban relations

Raul Fernandez, who up until Election Day directed the RNC's "Hispanic Victory '92" campaign, sat in his Bethesda office yesterday and stared at the numbers from Florida — President Bush 41 percent, Bill Clinton 40 percent, Ross Perot 19 percent. Of more interest to Mr. Fernandez, a Cuban-American and former congressional aide to Jack Kemp, was Florida's estimated Cuban-American vote — 75 percent Bush, 25 percent Clinton.

"This is significant when you compare it to the fact that Dukakis got 5 percent. This is no doubt the largest vote for a Democrat that

the Cuban-American community has given," he said.

"But Clinton is smart. He made serious inroads in the Cuban community and had a game plan addressing very specific pieces of legislation that he knew the Cubans were interested in, especially trade legislation with regard to strengthening the embargo against Cuba. Clinton actually endorsed this legislation before Bush did," Mr. Fernandez said.

And how has Havana reacted to all this?

The Mexican government news agency, Notimex, in a dispatch from Havana, said Fidel Castro held out an olive branch to Bill Clinton yesterday and expressed hope that his administration would end U.S. hostility toward Cuba. But the British news agency Reuters quoted a senior Cuban official as saying that Mr. Clinton's victory offered no immediate hope for an improvement in hostile U.S.-Cuban relations.

"We're not getting our hopes up. ... There is nothing which allows us to be optimistic," National Assembly President Juan Escalona told reporters in Havana.

Also-rans

Americans cast a smattering of votes for fringe candidates whose platforms called for everything from solving the nation's woes by meditation to repealing the federal income tax.

They even gave 25,063 votes to imprisoned political extremist Lyndon LaRouche in his fifth bid for the White House, the Associated Press reported.

But with independent Ross Perot getting 19 percent of the national vote, fringe candidates got far less than the 0.94 percent of the national vote they got in 1988.

With 99 percent of the national vote counted, the 20 fringe candidates accounted for 587,854, or half of 1 percent, of the 100.3 million votes counted.

The Libertarian Party's Andre Marrou, who would repeal the income tax, led these candidates. He polled 234,413 votes.

Second, with 95,640 votes, was Bo Gritz, former Vietnam War hero and POW-MIA activist running on the Populist Party platform. Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party was third, with 70,810 votes.

John Hagelin, the Natural Law Party's candidate, called for problem solving by mapping political candidates' brains and using transcendental meditation. He got 31,408 votes.

Oxford delight

In Britain yesterday, Oxford University celebrated "old boy" Bill Clinton's victory with praise and pleasure.

University College, where Mr. Clinton was a Rhodes scholar from 1968 to 1970, sent the president elect a message expressing "delight at the election of a Union man to the presidency of the United States."

Toby Lewis, the treasurer of the prestigious Oxford Union debating society, said he hoped Mr. Clinton would accept the union's invitation to address it during his first two years in office.

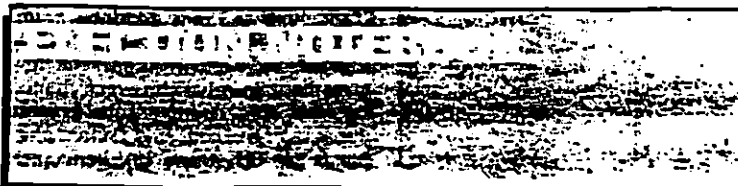
Oxford University is the oldest in the English-speaking world. University College — one of the oldest of the university's 35 colleges — was founded in the 13th century.

Mr. Clinton, who studied philosophy and politics there, is the first Oxonian to win the White House.

Nontraditional

Choosing simple clothes and words, Seattle's Patty Murray, 42, tailored her pitch for a Senate seat from Washington to the working middle class.

"Thousands of people are send-



The Libertarian Party's Andre Marrou (left) polled 234,413 votes for president, while imprisoned political extremist Lyndon LaRouche got 25,063.

ing a message that they want change, not a senator from the past, politics as usual," she said in a victory statement Tuesday night after defeating Republican Rod Chandler.

Mrs. Murray, who says "politics reached out and grabbed me," spoke of joining other women in the Senate. "You are going to see a coalition of women that will get to work from day one and get this country back on track. All eyes will be on these women."

Minority caucuses

The Congressional Black Caucus had 26 members in the 102nd Congress. In the 103rd Congress, it will have 40 members, plus its first senator since 1979.

The Congressional Hispanic Caucus had 13 members in the 102nd Congress. It will have 19 members in the 103rd Congress.

Self-destruction

There will be no more Jacksonville, Pa. The voters of the tiny for-

mer coal town have spoken.

Squeezed by a population decline — now about 80 persons — the town, which is 50 miles east of Pittsburgh, couldn't keep up with operating expenses, reported the Associated Press.

So Jacksonville residents voted 33 to 17 Tuesday to merge with neighboring Black Lick Township, whose voters approved the merger 355 to 127.

Jacksonville, a 140-year-old town, had an annual budget of \$8,000 to \$10,000. The community has been burdened by the expense of street-light maintenance and couldn't afford to install a state-ordered sewage system.

Town officials were often left without a quorum at council meetings. The town has no property, no municipal building and no equipment of its own.

Ron Kimmell, who owns the only grocery store in Jacksonville, said most folks agree the merger is the most practical solution.

"The median age in this town is probably about 70 years," he said.

Jackie Onassis 'votes'

NEW YORK — Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis gave Democratic Senate candidate Robert Abrams a vote — or at least a vote of confidence — Tuesday when they met at their Manhattan polling place.

"You're going to win," the former first lady, smiling broadly, whispered to Mr. Abrams while they shook hands.

Mrs. Onassis greeted Mr. Abrams, his wife, Diane, and their daughters, Rachel, 16, and Becky, 6, as she left Robert F. Kennedy School on Manhattan's Upper East Side.

But the Republican incumbent, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, won reelection to the Senate by 2 percentage points over Mr. Abrams.

Duelers OK in Iowa

DES MOINES, Iowa — Iowa elected officials can't take anything worth having from lobbyists. They can't become lobbyists for two years after leaving office. But there is one thing they can do:

They can fight a duel and still hold office.

Iowans voted Tuesday to remove language from the Iowa Constitution that said anyone who participated in a duel "shall forever be disqualified from holding any office."

With 94 percent of the precincts in, the vote was 497,780, or 57 percent, in favor to 371,790, or 43 percent, opposed.

State Rep. Clay Spear, known to House colleagues as the resident grammarian, introduced a resolution to delete the dueling ban and got it passed in two consecutive sessions. That brought it to the voters.

Election judge tragedy

MILLSAP, Texas — An election judge removing polling-place signs was struck and killed by a car.

Graves Wester, 73, was hit Tuesday evening outside the Millsap Community Center, about 40 miles west of Fort Worth.

"It was right after the polls closed," said volunteer firefighter Jeff Edwards. "He had gone out to take the election signs out that tell people where to vote, and he just walked out in front of a car."

The street was dark except for one street light, Mr. Edwards said. The driver was driving at about 30 mph and was not issued a citation, a Department of Public Safety spokeswoman said.

DATE: 11-5
PAGE: 1

What's News—

* * *

World-Wide

CLINTON URGED global cooperation and moved to calm financial markets.

The president-elect spoke briefly in Little Rock, Ark., pledging "continuity in global affairs" and warning world leaders, especially Iraq's Saddam Hussein, "The greatest mistake any adversary could make would be to doubt America's resolve during this period of transition." In comments intended to reassure financial markets at home and abroad, Clinton said that while changes are planned, "we understand the need to pursue stability even as we pursue new growth." (Articles in Column 6 and on Page A18)

Clinton's victory was wide, not deep, with the Electoral College exaggerating the tally. His strength was in the industrial heartland and on the two coasts.

* * *

BOTH PARTIES ASSESSED how the election will change Congress.

At least 108 new House members and 11 new senators won seats Tuesday — more than in any election in four decades. The Democratic Party will have control of the White House and both chambers of Congress for the first time since the Carter presidency. In all likelihood, Clinton's success will depend on making progress on deficit-related and health-care legislation before the midterm congressional elections of 1994. (Article in Column 1)

Amid various voter initiatives across the country, anti-incumbent fever swept proposals for term limits into law in all 14 states where they were on the ballot.

* * *

BRITAIN'S MAJOR GAINED a victory in Parliament on the Maastricht treaty.

The crucial vote on the European union treaty, which followed a stormy debate in the House of Commons, helped to salvage the prime minister's leadership but left many hurdles before final British ratification. The vote, though close, was a triumph for Major over a hard core of dissident members of his Conservative Party opposed to the treaty. If he had failed to win, there was speculation that he might have had to resign. (Article on Page A8)

The outcome was largely symbolic, but it became a key test for the government, which is struggling with a prolonged recession.

* * *

Russian lawmakers ratified the Start arms-reduction pact with the U.S. despite protests by hard-liners that approval would be an unwarranted gift to Clinton. The pact would cut by one-third the U.S. and former Soviet arsenals of long-range missiles and bombers in seven years. The U.S. Senate ratified the treaty last month.

* * *

Some Perot aides said that the 19 million Americans who voted for the independent presidential candidate could form a third political party if President-elect Clinton fails to revive the economy and reduce the nation's budget deficit.

* * *

Overweight adolescents run a higher risk of serious, lifelong health problems, even if they have slimmed down in adulthood, researchers said, based on a study that began 70 years ago with a group of Boston residents. Approximately 25% of adolescents in the U.S. are about 15 to 20 pounds overweight. (Article on Page B6)

* * *

Rebel Unita forces in Angola seized 20 Brazilians and 50 Russian workers at a dam project in southern Angola, a U.N. spokesman said in New York, but he gave no details. Meanwhile, U.N. Undersecretary-General Goulding planned to leave for Angola last night as fighting between government troops and Unita soldiers subsided.

* * *

A lesbian minister won't be allowed to lead a Presbyterian congregation in Rochester, N.Y., the church's highest court ruled. The Rev. Jane Spahr's appointment as pastor of the church was improper because she is "a self-affirmed, practicing homosexual," said the judicial commission, citing denominational policy.

* * *

Ghana's leader Jerry Rawlings held a commanding margin in early returns from Tuesday's presidential election, and authorities clamped a curfew on the opposition stronghold of Kumasi after violence erupted. Opposition parties alleged vote-rigging and demanded that the results be suspended until their claims are investigated.

* * *

Some 400 people have been taken hostage by a group of about 1,000 Guajajara Indians in northeastern Brazil, according to government officials. The Guajajara, angered by the slaying of a tribe member by a non-Indian who lived on their reserve, began stopping vehicles and seizing the hostages on Monday, officials said.



THE PRESIDENT

November 6, 1992

post prez

Dear Lucinda,

Thank you for your kind letter of November 4.
I appreciate the warm and supportive words and
your writing from the heart. You should not be
sad, I am not -- only grateful for being able to
have had such a fulfilling public life.

As Mrs. Bush and I move on to private life and
grandkids, we thank you for your support and wish
you all the best.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Lucinda Low Swartz
4112 Franklin Street
Kensington, Maryland 20895

Blind cc:
Mike Deland (FYI)

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)