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--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

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OUR TRIPARTISAN COVERAGE | SPOTLIGHT |
Many say Powell should have |
nothing to do with Perot. Pat | THE GRAMM STRATEGY |
Robertson says Perot should |
stay away from the General. | Today's HOTLINE features |
Others say the best way for the | the second of our "Strategy |
GOP to head off a Perot party | Interviews" -- designed to |
is to nominate Powell. And oh | examine where the campaigns |
yeah. Talk like this makes the | aim to win their delegates. |
WH giddy. (#1) (#2) (#4) | Gramm general chair CHARLIE |
| BLACK says that although |
VIDEO DOLE | they are doing well in the |
New campaign video "An | "1995 Primary" categories |
American Hero" is unveiled. | of money and organization, |
Dole: Small-town boy, patriot, | theirs is, at its essence, |
leader. Can Russell High beat | a message-driven campaign. |
Hope High in the American Dream |
finals? (#5) | FIRST WINS: While Black |
| wouldn't describe 3rd place |
WHAT'S IN A NAME? | in IA and NH as setbacks, |
He's no "Collin," he prefers | LA, AZ and SC are almost |

"Colin." But he'd rather his | must-win states. Gramm |
name was "Skip." (#4) | likely won't play hard in |
| New England, but on that |
HEY PHIL, CALLED HOME LATELY? | same date, he'll be looking |
Rep. Jim Chapman (D-TX) calls | to score in GA, CO and WA. |
it quits, but sets his sights | SUPER SPIN: While the |
on Phil Gramm's seat. (#14) | Gramm strategy has been to |
| win every straw poll in |
THE FLEEING NUNN? | sight, Black sees FL's "P3" |
THE HILL reports Sen. Sam | as a Dole must-win. (#18) |
Nunn (D-GA) has decided to | NEXT UP: Bill Lacy. |
retire. (#11) |

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"Third parties don't win, but they do guarantee
that somebody else with the chance to win doesn't."
-- ABC's Jim Wooten, 9/26

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WHITE HOUSE '96

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???? OVERLOOKED ????

A cottage industry of political wagering grew out of the fact that Jimmy Carter did not use the word "malaise" in his now-famous 7/15/79 speech. So who labeled it the "Malaise Speech?" Here's one possibility: Carter, at a KY town meeting on 7/31/79, said, "Sunday night before last, I made a speech about two problems in our country -- energy and malaise."

-- courtesy of a HOTLINE reader with excellent reference skills

===== WHITE HOUSE '96 =====

*1 THIRD PARTY: IF NOT PEROT, WHO?

Many observers believe Ross Perot's new third party will ultimately be a vehicle for himself as a candidate. Brookings' Stephen Hess: "These are Perot supporters, so their first choice, of course, will be Ross Perot" (N.Y. POST, 9/27). Unless Perot runs himself, he is limited by federal law to spend only \$1,000 of his own money on the party's candidate; in '92, he "paid for his entire \$59 million campaign, which consisted mostly of large blocs of TV time to discuss his call for reducing the federal budget deficit" (Brown, SCRIPPS HOWARD/W. TIMES, 9/27). UWSA exec. dir. Russ Verney, on the Perot plan: "It's very exciting, it's perhaps the most historical event that's happened in 130 years in American politics" ("IP," CNN, 9/26). Perot spokesperson Sharon Holman reported that five minutes after Perot spoke on "Larry King Live" 9/25, 800,000 calls came in to UWSA HQ, and by the next day the calls were still coming in, at about 500/hour (Hall, USA TODAY, 9/27). CBS' Engberg: "Second acts are tough to mount in politics, but Ross Perot says he'll try" (9/26). NPR's Schorr: "There is no way of knowing whether Perot can invent a new party on television and actually make it fly, but there's no question that he has tapped something in the body politic deeper than malaise and funk" (9/26).

POWELL FACTOR: Many analysts said that such an ind. party could prove an appealing vehicle for Colin Powell, despite the general's seeming preference for the GOP. N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Ball writes Powell's friends "downplayed the chances" he would join Perot's party: "With his colossal approval ratings, Powell doesn't need the unpopular Perot, the general's friends say." Powell backer Tex McCrary: "Powell is a soldier who spends a lot of time under the hood of old Volvos. He has a lot of respect for people who make things. And Perot doesn't make anything besides money" (9/27). If Powell took the ind. route, "he may take pains to prove he owes nothing to anyone, including an outsider like Perot. And if ballot access becomes such a challenge that he runs on lines won by the Perot party, he almost

certainly would do so with no strings attached" (Shribman, BOSTON GLOBE, 9/27). N.Y. TIMES' Berke writes "clouding any possible alliance" between Powell and Perot "is that for years there has been bad blood" between Perot and one of Powell's closest friends, ex-Pentagon & State official Richard Armitage (9/27). W. TIMES' Hallow writes Powell and Perot do not "appear to be a good match." Steve Forbes also doubted a Powell-Perot alliance: "Powell likes to run his own show, and he doesn't need Perot to help him get on the ballot." Forbes pollster John McLaughlin: "Perot supporters are angry people of the political right and left who perceive themselves as disenfranchised. ... Powell is not running as an angry man. So Perot's supporters are not his kind of people." Dem consultant David Doak: "Why would Mercedes-Benz want to sell its cars out of a Yugo dealership?" (9/27). Pat Robertson, with a variation on the theme: "There's no way, I don't believe, that Ross Perot is going to support Colin Powell" ("700 Club," 9/26). Powell told the media following his book tour that he received a weekend phone call from Perot telling him of his plan. Powell: "Obviously, it's something that I would consider and he knows I would consider it. But he did not push me, encourage me, or give any indication that this was the purpose" (CNN, 9/26). Ollie North: "Colin Powell just got a big boost. ... There will be a 'Draft Colin Powell' movement within this party" (WRC-AM, 9/26).

OTHERS: Speculation on who might be the candidate, should Perot not run, includes Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-OH), "whose populist speech rocked the [UWSA] conference in Dallas last month." CA Perot activist Jim Larson said Kaptur "is still on the lips" of UWSA members. Larson: "They love Kaptur. They're almost xenophobic on the subject of NAFTA and GATT and they appreciate her stand. She's William Jennings Bryan and Harry Truman wrapped into one. She's got a populist economic message and she's moderate to conservative on social issues" (Brazaitis, Cleve. PLAIN DEALER, 9/27). Lowell Weicker, who has said he is considering an ind. candidacy: "I don't think I could stand on the platform he enunciated" (USA TODAY, 9/27). Also mentioned: Bill Bradley, ex-Sen. David Boren (D-OK), an "independent-minded Democrat," and Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA), "another politician who seems increasingly uncomfortable in the Democratic ranks" (PLAIN DEALER, 9/27).

*2 THIRD PARTY: REPUBLICANS FEAR SPLIT IN ANTI-CLINTON VOTE

Reaction among Republicans was that Ross Perot "had turned on them and that his potential candidacy -- or that of any third party candidate -- would help re-elect President Clinton ... Only six weeks ago, the Republican presidential contenders trooped down to Dallas to praise Mr. Perot." Bob Dole: "I can't figure the fellow out. We're doing all the things he would have done. It seems to me he has a checklist and if we don't do it in a week, he's going to run for president." Speaker Newt Gingrich said Perot was making a "substantial mistake," calling third parties a "fantasy of delusion -- that you're going to go out and do things differently" (Berke, N.Y. TIMES, 9/27). Phil Gramm: "If we have a credible candidate, a credible program, Ross Perot

is not going to be credible." Pete Wilson: "America has been, by and large, well served by a two-party system" (CNN, 9/26). Dole Dep. Chair Bill Lacy: "The concern that I would have is that if you get a Dole-Clinton confrontation, it's an absolutely sort of classic, perfect contrast. If you add someone else to the mix, it makes it a very different situation" ("Russert," CNBC, 9/26). Lamar Alexander said a 3rd party candidate "controlled" by Perot could mean a "deja-lose formula that would make 1996 a rerun of 1992." GOP Chair Haley Barbour said if the GOP fulfills its promise on Capitol Hill, "a Ross Perot party will never materialize or will amount to nothing" (BOSTON GLOBE, 9/27). Pat Buchanan said a move by Perot supporters to a 3d party "is a vote of no confidence in Bob Dole and Phil Gramm in November. Neither of those guys is going to do anything about big money in politics or term limits or NAFTA or GATT and the new world order because they voted for them" (W. TIMES, 9/27). Bill Bennett "urged his party to just 'let him go'" (W.S. JOURNAL, 9/27). By contrast, Dems were "celebrating," as demonstrated by Pres. Clinton's "hardly critical comments": "I'm an ardent promoter of political reform, as you know. But he'll have to do whatever he wants to do and the American people can make their judgment" (N.Y. TIMES, 9/27). CNN's Shipman, at the WH: "The official line is that it's still far too early to tell what effect Perot's announcement will have. ... Behind the scenes, advisers admit that the Perot announcement ought to help the Clinton candidacy by dividing the anti-Clinton vote" (9/26). ABC's Wooten: "Third parties don't win, but they do guarantee that somebody else with the chance to win doesn't" (9/26). Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-AR): "This all helps out Bill Clinton. It pulls votes away from the Republican Party" (ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 9/27).

NO BIG DEAL: BOSTON GLOBE's Shribman writes Perot's announcement "probably hasn't changed the dynamics" of the election. "The public, to be sure, is impatient with the political class. It is tired of its promises, its performance, its petty disputes. But the voters' hunger is for change -- not for another party, another nomination struggle, another convention and another set of platform fights. ... People who are rejecting the established political parties may resist joining another one." Despite the attractiveness of an ind. campaign, "it is far more important to have an appealing candidate than to have a party structure. Unless Perot attracts a candidate with the appeal of Powell, he is unlikely to have much impact." Dem consultant Keith Fredericks: "We've had lots of parties on the ballot for years, and they never go anywhere. Everything moves on the basis of personality." Denison Univ.'s Emmett Buell: "If this party is going to be his [Perot's] personal possession, if he is going to vet the candidate, if he is going to control the thing, then you have to be unimpressed. Perot has a lot of personal liabilities; there is a party that is dealing with the deficit; and the public's interest is in Colin Powell, not in Ross Perot" (9/27). Political scientist James Reichley acknowledged, "There clearly is more of a hunger for a third force in our politics than at any time since the Progressive era. ... [But] the factors that block it are very strongly in place.

It may just fizzle" (W.S. JOURNAL, 9/27).

BOTH GET HURT: W.S. JOURNAL's Harwood writes Dem House and Senate candidates "might also have reason to worry." GOP pollster Frank Luntz "reasons [that] any increase in turnout the party generates is more likely to fall to the Republicans" (9/27). W. POST header: "Perot's Party Is Seen Benefiting Clinton and Hill GOP" (9/27).

*3 THIRD PARTY: STATE-BY-STATE REQUIREMENTS

The following is a state-by-state look at what is needed to get a new party on the ballot for a pres. candidacy, according to Ballot Access News. All dates are '96 except CA, ME and OH (USA TODAY, 9/27):

AL: 11,991 signatures by Sept. 2.
AK: 2,586 signatures by undetermined date.
AZ: 15,062 signatures by May 21.
AR: 21,506 signatures by Jan. 2.
CA: 890,064 signatures from registered voters by Oct. 24. Or, 89,007 people would have to register as members of the new party by that date.
CO: No procedure.
CT: No procedure.
DE: 180 signatures of registered voters by Aug. 17.
DC: No procedure.
FL: 196,788 signatures by July 16.
GA: 30,036 signatures by July 9.
HI: 4,889 signatures by April 24.
ID: 9,644 signatures by Aug. 31.
IL: No procedure.
IN: No procedure.
IA: No procedure.
KS: 16,418 signatures by June 1.
KY: No procedure.
LA: Must register 5% of registered voters by June 30. Or, candidate must get at least 5% of vote in a general election.
ME: 25,551 signatures by Dec. 14.
MD: 10,000 signatures by Aug. 5.
MA: 34,000 signatures of registered voters by July 1.
MI: 30,891 signatures by July 18.
MN: 89,731 signatures by May 1.
MS: Just be organized by April 1.
MO: 10,000 signatures by Aug. 5.
MT: 10,471 signatures by March 14.
NE: 5,741 signatures by Aug. 1.
NV: 3,761 signatures by July 11.
NH: No procedure.
NJ: No procedure.
NM: 2,339 signatures by July 9.
NY: No procedure.
NC: 51,904 signatures by undetermined date.
ND: 7,000 signatures by April 12.
OH: 33,463 signatures by Nov. 20.

OK: 49,751 signatures May 31.
OR: 18,316 signatures on Aug. 27.
PA: No procedure.
RI: 18,069 signatures by Aug. 1.
SC: 10,000 signatures by May 5.
SD: 7,792 signatures by April 2.
TN: 37,179 signatures by May 1.
TX: 43,963 signatures by May 23.
UT: 500 signatures by Jan. 2.
VT: Just be organized by Sept. 19.
VA: No procedure.
WA: No procedure.
WV: No procedure.
WI: 10,000 signatures by June 1.
WY: 8,000 signatures by May 1.

NOTE ON ABOVE: Some states have no procedure by which a new party can qualify before it chooses candidates. In those states, supporters of a specific candidate follow a separate procedure to put that person on the ballot.

YESTERDAY IN OHIO: COLUMBUS DISPATCH's Mike Curtin: "The person who walked into the Ohio Secretary of State's office yesterday to do some paperwork in conjunction with this launch of an independent party was a person from ... Armada, Michigan -- wherever that is. So, clearly there was no person in Ohio who was called upon to ... do that work." On Perot's OH chances: "I would doubt that Ross Perot himself can do 21% in Ohio again. ... An independent candidate would have to be someone other than Ross Perot" (NPR, 9/27).

*4 POWELL: PEROT PARTY MAY MAKE GOP NEED HIM MORE THAN EVER

W.S. JOURNAL's Seib writes, perhaps Ross Perot is "creating a vehicle Colin Powell can drive to the White House." However, it is "more likely" Perot's party makes Powell "a lot more attractive as a Republican candidate in the eyes of GOP skeptics." If Perot's Independence Party actually gets up and running in '96, it poses a "huge problem" for the GOP. It will "suck away" the votes of independent-minded voters who otherwise would vote for a GOPer to "vent their unhappiness" with Pres. Clinton. GOPers must ask themselves "which potential Republican candidate has the greatest potential to hold those independents, to enlarge the party's reach rather than see it narrowed in a three-way race? That would be Colin Powell." In this scenario lies the "most overlooked" and "most important" comparison between Powell and Dwight Eisenhower. In '52, Ike "brought to the polls, and into the GOP column, millions upon millions of new voters." Eisenhower tripled the GOP turnout in NH from '48, and almost tripled the size of the GOP primary electorate overall. In the general election, 33.9 million people voted Republican, a 54% increase over the 22M who voted for Tom Dewey in '48. Overall, turnout went up 26% in '52 (9/27).

MARK HER DOWN AS AN "ANTI": Linda Chavez writes that while it is "almost heretical" to say that Powell is not ready to be

pres., his "political philosophy is unformed. It's incoherent." Powell is "not so much independent as he is ambivalent. And one thing the country does not need right now is a president who can't make up his mind on the important issues of the day. We've had that for nearly three years, which is why so many people are yearning for someone who projects authority and confidence to step into the race" (USA TODAY, 9/27).

AT HEART, HE'S ONLY A SEMI-COLIN: Powell appeared last night on the "Tonight Show." When introduced by Jay Leno, he received a standing ovation. Talk mostly centered on his book and family life. When asked whether to pronounce his name "Colin" or "Collin," Powell said he used to be comfortable with either pronunciation, but now he prefers "Colin." But he said he didn't like his name at all. When asked what he would rather be called, Powell replied, "I always wanted to be known as Skip" ("Tonight," NBC, 9/26).

*5 DOLE: "AN AMERICAN HERO" IS INTRODUCED

Elizabeth Dole looks directly into the camera and speaks of the aftermath of her husband's war injury: "Some said he'd never get out of bed. But they -- the experts -- didn't understand what a man like Bob Dole was made of." The Dole campaign's new 14-minute video, "An American Hero," signals a "determination to make his personal story a central advertising theme" in the race. The film was screened for the first time last night at a DC fundraiser and an 8-minute version was shown on TCI News' "Race for the Presidency." It may "seem odd" for Dole "to kick off his media effort with an essentially biographical approach. But the video, which will be distributed to thousands of supporters and probably distilled to a 60-second version, reflects a tactical decision to stress the personal." Dole media consultant Stuart Stevens: "There's a uniquely powerful story embodied in Bob Dole's life, yet many people really don't know this story. ... There's a thread of character, persistence and values that runs throughout this man's life and says a lot about what sort of president he would be." Strategists believe Dole's WWII heroism "contrasts nicely" with Pres. Clinton. The video, "filled with shots of churches, barbershops and front porches, tries to cast [Dole] as a 'strong role model.'" It uses footage from his April announcement speech, his May attack on Hollywood, and features Dole "movingly" describing his war injury. But the video "rarely ventures beyond such bromides as 'cutting taxes' and 'return power to the states'" and "says little about his legislative record" (Kurtz, W. POST, 9/27). 85,000 copies of the video will be sent to supporters in key states including NH, IA, SC and FL starting mid-October (release, 9/27). W. POST's Kurtz calls the video the Dole version of Clinton's "Man From Hope"(9/27).

CYBER-SURF'S UP! The Dole campaign launched its new web site. Check it out at <http://www.dole96.com> (release, 9/27).

*6 GRAMM: IOWA GRAPPLES WITH HIS ANTI-ETHANOL VOTE

IA supporters of Phil Gramm, who voted against gov't ethanol programs in 8/94, "want his vote to be seen as principled." Bob Dole supporters, who voted for ethanol, "think otherwise and farm

state Democrats agree." When the vote was cast, the debate was framed as "Big Oil against the farmer," and the Senate split along regional rather than party lines. In the end, VP Gore broke a 50-50 deadlock, casting a vote that preserved a share for ethanol in the clean fuels program. Now, as Gramm campaigns in IA, "he says that he has always supported ethanol and agriculture, and that the contrast with Dole in his voting record may say as much about philosophy as it does about who supports agriculture more." Gramm aides "say they are not surprised that the Dole campaign would bring up past ethanol votes as Dole's lead [in IA] shrinks." Gramm spokesperson Bob Haus: "This is what we've been waiting for and expecting." Gramm has picked up support from ex-IA Corn Grower's Assn presidents Bill Horan and Doran Zumbach. Horan has said Gramm's vote against "what became known as the ethanol mandate was in keeping with his beliefs." Horan: "He is dead-set philosophically against mandates. ... I will tell you there are a number of corn growers who are a little squeamish about these mandates, too." While Horan said Gramm has voted with ethanol "in other instances," the Dole campaign cites other anti-ethanol Gramm votes and notes Dole's current opposition to removing the ethanol tax break. Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA): "Gramm ... has always been opposed to ethanol." But Gramm supporters "say their candidates commitment to finding ways to expand markets and increase barge shipping on the Mississippi River is more important to them than Dole's record on ethanol and farm subsidies. More Horan: "[Gramm] believes the future of agriculture is in the free market and not a check in the mailbox" (Pins, DES MOINES REGISTER, 9/27).

*7 FORBES: TEST-DRIVES HIS FLAT TAX AND GOLD STANDARD IN IA

Steve Forbes visited IA for the first time, "saying the country needs a flat-rate income tax and a return to the gold standard to lower interest rates." Forbes, in a news conference and IN meetings with Register reporters, "fashioned himself as the most vigorous opponent of taxes and spending" in the GOP field: "No one else is willing to carry the banner of growth and opportunity. They all submerge it to a balanced budget. To me, getting the country growing is more important than Washington getting its books right." Forbes "admitted he will have a hard time doing well in the Iowa caucuses" because he "started late." He did say, however, that he would "devote the resources necessary" to get his message across in the state" (Yepsen, DES MOINES REGISTER, 9/27).

WHY FORBES IS WELCOME: W. POST'S Broder writes Forbes' entry is a "welcome event" because he has "a coherent set of conservative ideas. ... Whether you agree with him or not, he will add to the quality of the upcoming candidate debates" (9/27). BOSTON GLOBE's Shribman writes Forbes "is a leading indicator of where the conservatives who are running the Congress today are heading, even if they aren't saying so and even if they don't know it yet themselves." House froshies and other "torchbearers of the Republican Revolution" lined up with Dole early, but "their hearts are with Steve Forbes." Forbes is a "reluctant warrior" who twice tried to talk Jack Kemp back into

the race. Kemp "didn't bite. So Forbes is running himself. ... Forbes won't win the election, but he won't be lost in the campaign" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 9/27).

***8 WILSON: HOPES TO GIVE CAMPAIGN NEW LIFE WITH DEATH PENALTY**

"Returning to a theme that brought him to office," Pete Wilson signed a bill that, if ratified by voters, will be the first expansion of CA's death penalty law in its 17 years. "As he tries to generate support for his struggling" campaign, Wilson signed a bill authorizing a statewide vote to extend the death penalty to include murders committed carjackings and retaliatory killings of jurors. Today, Wilson will sign a bill calling for a statewide vote to expand the death penalty to murders committed during drive-by shootings. CA's death penalty requires voter approval for changes. These measures will appear on the CA ballot in 3/96, the same ballot used for the pres. primary. "Passage is likely given California voters' strong support of capital punishment." The anti-crime theme has been Wilson's "most consistent refrain" as gov., and he hopes to use this event and others like it to "boost his standing" in CA polls where he trails both Pres. Clinton and Bob Dole. Wilson spokesperson Sean Walsh said the bill signing was "yet another demonstration that, while other politicians talk about being tough on crime, Wilson takes action. ... You see Bob Dole and Phil Gramm talking and getting nothing done in Washington. We can take all these bills to other states and show what we've done." As Wilson signed the bill, he "took the opportunity to slap at Congress," urging that it limit death penalty appeals (Morain, L.A. TIMES, 9/27).

GORTON, BUT NOT FORGOTTEN: During the news conference, a "tired" Wilson said "he has yet to complete a restructuring of his troubled" campaign. Wilson said he regrets the loss of manager George Gorton but added he still has "abundant talent serving me." Wilson said he plans to stick to the "game plan" outlined by Gorton. Gorton resigned last week "amid signs that [Wilson's] effort is deeply in debt and struggling to survive." Wilson said his plan is "the same as it has been, and that is to concentrate on the early primaries, because they are early, and also because they are states that look very good to us: New Hampshire, New England, New York." He said the campaign will also "make a major effort" in FL and AZ. Wilson, asked about his campaign's health: "There isn't anything that I can add to what you have heard recently. I think we have been quite candid. ... We were disappointed with fundraising in the summer months. September has been, I think, pretty good for us." Wilson also said he doesn't anticipate "at this point" the need to borrow against the federal matching funds. On the personal health front, Wilson's voice, which cracked repeatedly, "sounded no closer to recovery than it did shortly after he underwent throat surgery in April" (Chance/Chavez, SACRAMENTO BEE, 9/27).

***9 FIELD NOTES: UNION LEADER SAYS STICK W/PAT OVER ROSS, COLIN**

BUCHANAN: A Manchester UNION LEADER editorial keeps up its pro-Buchanan theme: "A third political party is neither wise nor necessary, and that is particularly true if Ross Perot places

himself at the helm of the new venture. ... The problem in the nation today is not the two political parties, but rather the tired leaders of those parties too often continuing the past practice of being all things to all people. Never has it been more evident than in the recycled has-beens offering themselves up to New Hampshire's citizens as the voices of the future: the Bob Doles, Phil Gramms, Pete Wilsons, Lamar Alexanders. ... The era of Democratic excess must be brought to a formal close. The foundation already is in place. It remains merely to place the proper individual at the helm. And that individual already is a candidate, already is known to New Hampshire's voters and taxpayers, already has made a serious bid for Presidency. Patrick Buchanan, like Powell, and Perot, has never held elective office, but he has served in the White House under two [admins.]. He, more importantly, has been dealing with the issues on center stage today for a long time, as a commentator and columnist, discussing them in detail, exploring the options, advancing solutions. He knows the system and what is broken. He knows the international scene, our real friends --and our enemies. ... Buchanan represents an alternative whose time has come" (9/27).

LUGAR: Dick Lugar appeared on "FOX Morning News" to discuss progress made in the Bosnia peace process. Lugar, on Pres. Clinton's failure to discuss the U.S. position with Congress: "Clearly the level of consultation that has to occur simply has not occurred ... The President needs to talk to Congress because without that, there will simply be argument after argument. ... Senator Dole's letter, signed by several senators yesterday said simply that the President cannot hope to be successful in this commitment without this consultation. ... The President really needs to deal with this problem" (9/27).

KASICH: OH activist Gene Davis has filed papers with the FEC starting a cmte to draft Rep. John Kasich (R) for pres. Davis said that though he has never met with Kasich, he is impressed with the House Budget Cmte chair nonetheless: "You see him all over. The guy's dynamic. Right now it looks like a dark horse has as good a chance as the light horse" (COLUMBUS DISPATCH, 9/24).

*10 MINNESOTA: DEM WINNING STREAK IN JEOPARDY

ST. PAUL PIONEER PRESS Poll, conducted 9/15-17 by PMR, surveyed 805 registered MN voters; margin of error +/- 3.5%. Subsample: 261 likely GOP primary voters; +/- 6%. 287 likely Dem primary voters; +/- 6% (9/22). Gramm this past weekend won a MN GOP straw poll (see HOTLINE 9/25).

GOP PRIMARY	W/POWELL	W/OUT POWELL	FAV/UNFAV	ID
Dole	29%	47%	53%/ 12%	100%
Powell	23	--	56 / 8	94
Gramm	9	15	34 / 14	94
Buchanan	8	9	27 / 21	92
Wilson	4	5	19 / 11	68
Alexander	--	1	8 / 6	49
Lugar	--	1	12 / 3	44
Specter	--	--	8 / 17	53

Dornan	--	--	8 / 9	38
Keyes	--	--	6 / 3	42
Undecided	27	22		

CLINTON JOB		CLINTON RE-ELECT	
Exc/good	41%	Re-elect	35%
Fair/poor	59	Consider	28
	Replace		37

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Clinton	43%	Powell	45%	Clinton	31%
Dole	42	Clinton	32	Powell	26
		Dole	25		

===== SENATE WATCH =====

*11 GEORGIA: NUNN REPORTED TO ANNOUNCE RETIREMENT NEXT WEEK

THE HILL's Myers reports Sen. Sam Nunn (D) "has tentatively decided not to seek a fifth term" and will likely make his plans known next week in an Atlanta press conference. Sources "said Nunn has lost his desire" to serve since the GOP took over the Senate and he lost his Armed Services cmte chair. GA Dem comm. dir. Bill Florence: "My gut level feeling is that he is not going to run." Another source: "I have heard that gays in the military is the only issue the Christian Coalition has to run against Sam Nunn with. He doesn't want to spend the next 14 months discussing the issue. He would rather leave the Senate gracefully and maybe some day be secretary of state" (9/27 issue). Nunn is "not letting on" whether he has decided to seek re-election or retire. "There are indications both ways." A skeleton campaign organization is in place, and the campaign has identified, but not yet rented, office space in Atlanta. Nunn earlier this year hired back fund-raiser Valeria MacPhail from Gov. Zell Miller (D), and she and campaign treas. Gordon Giffin have "mapped out a schedule of autumn fund-raising events." So far, however, no one has been invited. Aides are preparing a list of accomplishments over the past 23 years (Christensen, ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION, 9/24). That kind of "careful contingency strategy has kept Mr. Nunn's potential opponents off guard and prevented any serious GOP opposition from getting started." One close adviser: "He's sought advice from people and asked them, 'What would I do if I were not a senator?' Some people he's had that kind of conversation with come away from it believing he will not run." But a veteran Dem adviser said, "If I had to bet, I'd say he'd run again" (Lambro, W. TIMES, 9/26). Nunn repeatedly has said that his decision is "more personal than political, that at age 58 he must decide what to do with the rest of his life." His indecision has "given birth to a host of rumors," including one that he might run for gov. in '98, when Miller's term expires (CONSTITUTION, 9/24). An NRSC release header: "Dems fear Nunn exit will devastate party chances in the South" (9/25). Nunn's FEC statement showed him raising just \$4,605 for the first six months of '95. Announced GOPers:

physician Paul Braun and hospital administrator Bruce Hatfield. Possible GOPers, if Nunn retires: Reps. Jack Kingston (R-01), John Linder (R-04) & Mac Collins (R-03), '90 gov. nominee/state Sen. Johnny Isakson, AG Mike Bowers, '94 gov. nominee Guy Millner, GA GOP chair Billy Lovett, and ex-Sen. Mack Mattingly. Possible Dems, if Nunn retires: LG Pierre Howard, Sec/State Max Cleland, Gov. Zell Miller, ex-Rep. Buddy Darden, ex-Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, and Labor Commis. David Poythress.

***12 LOUISIANA: McCRERY & TAUZIN ARE FRIENDLY, FOR NOW**

BATON ROUGE ADVOCATE's McKinney writes that Rep. Billy Tauzin (R-03) has been, since his party switch, introducing himself to Republicans who could be "important allies" if he runs for the seat of retiring Sen. Bennett Johnson (D) in '96. He and fellow GOP Rep. Jim McCrery (R-05) maintain that two Republican congressmen will not run for the Senate seat and divide the GOP vote; that same conversation has taken place between McCrery and Rep. Richard Baker (R-06), who also said they would not run against each other. The "it-can't-be-both-of us" talk between McCrery and Tauzin is "amicable, and it is unresolved," according to McCrery. He notes that both men have "plump campaign bank accounts, and for the first part of 1995 McCrery was raising money at a faster rate than Tauzin." But if not resolved, the "McCrery-Tauzin conversation nevertheless seems to have a certain drift, and that drift has pushed Tauzin closer to the Senate race than McCrery." McCrery has said that while a Senate bid is a "live option," his post on Ways & Means puts him at the "center of the action on the economic issues most critical to the country." McCrery added, "At some point in this thing, if Billy wants to run more than I do, that's got to be taken into consideration as well." Tauzin recently has encouraged a change in GOP rules that insists on a six-month party membership requirement on any candidate seeking its endorsement for elected office. The Senate race will be considered at the state GOP convention in 1/96, only five months after Tauzin's party switch. Regardless of who is the GOP nominee, NRSC comm. dir. Gordon Hensley thinks the Dems ultimately will "write off" the race. He said that since Senate Dems already face seven retirements, possibly eight, and since open seats are expensive to run, the "cash-strapped Democrats eventually will spend their limited resources on their incumbents." Consequently, he explained, Dems will "dump some 'open' states, probably those in the South where Republicanism is surging." Sen. John Breaux (D), in response: "It's a ridiculous comment. It doesn't even deserve a reaction" (9/24). Possible candidates: N.O. Councilmember Peggy Wilson (R), Sec/State Fox McKeithen (R), AG Richard Ieyoub (D), Insurance Commis. Jim Brown (D), Rep. Jimmy Hayes (D-07), state Rep./'78 Dem Senate cand. Woody Jenkins (R), '90 Senate cand. David Duke (R), ex-Rep. Clyde Holloway (R), state Senate Pres. Sammy Nunez (D), oil company head Pat Taylor (R), state Sen. Max Jordan (R), ex-state House Speaker Bubba Henry (R) and Grand Isle Mayor Andy Valence (D). Added to the list of candidates may be some defeated '95 gov. hopefuls.

***13 OREGON: LONSDALE HOPES THIRD TIME'S THE CHARM**

Under the header, "Lonsdale will remain true to his themes," Medford MAIL TRIBUNE's Wong writes that businessman Harry Lonsdale's (D) "main themes this time are the same as in his two previous campaigns -- changing the U.S. political system and protecting Oregon's environment." Lonsdale: "These are two issues I will not compromise on. I think it will be different this time because there is a greater awareness of what's wrong with elections. There also are a lot of people who feel guilt for not helping me more in 1992." Lonsdale opted out of this year's special election for Bob Packwood's (R) seat in order to focus his efforts on challenging Sen. Mark Hatfield (R) in '96. Lonsdale "gave a scare to Hatfield" in their '90 campaign. In '92, Lonsdale narrowly lost the Dem primary to then-Rep. Les AuCoin (D), who went on to lose to Packwood. Both times Lonsdale "bankrolled" his campaigns. He said he lost both times to incumbents who were "able to tap out-of-state money" from PACs: "It's not the way our elections should be run. ... At the top of my list is the reform of campaign finances. I suppose that's what drove me to do this again, to get that message out to the voters and bring it to the Senate. Not all members of Congress are corrupt, but I think its a corrupt process." Lonsdale pledged again not to accept PAC money (9/23). Other announced Dem: ex-OR Dem chair R.P. Joe Smith. Other possible Dems if Hatfield retires: Reps. Peter DeFazio (D-04) & Ron Wyden (D-03) and AG Ted Kulongoski. Possible GOPers if Hatfield retires: state Schools Supt. Norma Paulus, state Senate Pres. Gordon Smith, '94 House nominee Bill Witt (R-01) and real estate broker Ron Sunseri. DeFazio, Wyden, Paulus and Smith are also running in the special election for Packwood's seat.

***14 TEXAS: CHAPMAN IS LIKELY TO CHALLENGE GRAMM**

Rep. Jim Chapman (D-01) announced 9/26 he would not seek re-election to the House seat he won in a 1985 special election and instead intends to run for the Senate seat currently held by Phil Gramm (R), who is also seeking the GOP pres. nomination. Chapman, on a Senate campaign: "I am absolutely committed to that race. ... My message today is not a goodbye. It is a farewell to the past with a hope and promise of future success for Texas and the nation. I intend to be a part of that future success." Chapman said his campaign would cost between \$10-15 million. He was "under serious consideration" for appointment to the Senate when Lloyd Bentsen (D) left in '93 to become Sec/Treas., an appointment that ultimately went to then-TX Railroad Commis. Bob Krueger. Chapman said at the time "his appointment was blocked by activists who objected to his voting record on gay-rights issues" (Alsobrook, Sulpher Springs NEWS-TELEGRAM, 9/27). Chapman said Gramm "will spend every dime he has in seeking the presidency": "Whoever the survivor of the Democratic nominating process will be, if they survive the primary dead broke, they will be on equal footing with Senator Gramm" (Bowie County CITIZENS-TRIBUNE, 9/27). Announced Dems: atty John Odam and educator Victor Morales. Possible Dems: state Sen. John Montford and '94 nominee Richard Fisher.

===== ON THE HOUSE =====

***15 GA 02: RACIAL GERRYMANDERING TAKES ANOTHER BLOW**

The DoJ has abandoned its defense of GA's 2nd CD, as state attys on 9/25 "admitted that race dictated the drawing of its lines -- putting the future of another majority-black district in jeopardy." These moves increase the likelihood that a panel of federal judges could declare Rep. Sanford Bishop's (D) district unconstitutional. State Rep. Tyrone Brooks (D): "The defense has thrown in the towel. If the courts don't rule against it now, I would be totally shocked. It would be a miracle." Experts contend that this also "opens the way for judges to make sweeping changes in GA's congressional representation." Despite the Supreme Court decision that overturned the constitutionality of the 11th CD, GA AG Michael Bowers (R) said that the state will continue to fight for the 2nd CD "as best we can. ... We'll have an extraordinary burden, but we're not throwing in the towel. We have to tell the truth, as unpleasant as it may be to some people." Redrawing both the 11th and 2nd CDs "could affect as much as two-thirds of the state and eliminate one of the majority black districts" (Alexander, ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 9/26).

***16 IL 05: FLANAGAN'S WALLET GETS BIGGER**

Last year Michael Flanagan spent \$7,102 for the GOP nomination and the right to take on Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D). He estimates his '96 re-election bid "will cost more than \$1 million." Flanagan manager Jim McClory: "It is so much money, it is hard for me to comprehend. We will probably spend 10 times what we spent in the primary and 10 times what we spent in the general." Flanagan is "getting a lot of attention" from the GOP, a "stark contrast" to last year's "uphill battle." State Rep. Rod Blagojevich (D) "plans to spend more than \$750,000 in both the primary and general election" and state Rep. Nancy Kaszak (D) "said she hopes to spend \$1 million in the two contests." RNC chair Haley Barbour "said the party will do all it can to help Flanagan retain the seat": "We know the Democrats will spend enough money to burn a wet mule to try to win it back. But [Flanagan] doesn't have to outspend the Democrats. He's already proven that once." Nursing home worker James Griffin said he plans to run in the Dem primary and expects to spend "just \$5,000 of his own money" (Fornek, CHICAGO SUN TIMES, 9/24). Other announced GOPer: Ret. Air Force Maj. Charles M. Prignano. Other possible Dem: ex-Ald. Carole Bialczak.

===== 50 STATE REPORT =====

***17 VIRGINIA: ALL EYES ON FIGHT FOR LEGISLATURE**

The two major national parties and their leaders "are beginning to pour substantial money into the battle for the Virginia General Assembly, with both sides trying to use the fall elections to build early momentum for 1996." Two-thirds of the money raised by Gov. George Allen (R) came from nat'l GOP groups,

including Campaign America, which had been the PAC of Senate Maj. Leader Bob Dole. "Not to be outdone," the DNC has contributed \$110,000 thus far to the VA Dems, "with more yet to come." Both parties expect the election results to be strategically important. W. POST's Baker writes that VA "could choose the first Republican legislature in the South since Reconstruction or, if the Democrats triumph, become one of the few states to turn back the GOP revolution." VA House Dem Caucus chair Jeff Link: "These elections will say either that '94 was a flash in the pan or [that] it has staying power." In recent weeks, RNC chair Haley Barbour, '94 GOP Senate nominee Ollie North and Reagan AG Ed Meese have raised money for GOP leg. candidates. The VA GOP needs a net gain of four seats in the 100-member House of Delegates and three in the 40-member Senate to "replicate Gingrich's success of last year" (9/24). According to a RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH/News 12 poll conducted by Media General Inc., Virginians are "closely divided on whether to dump" the lower House's Dem majority. The findings on the question of the Assembly's partisan makeup were within the poll's margin of error, 4.5%, "meaning neither party can be seen as having a clear edge, even though a plurality of those interviewed described themselves as Republicans." 36% of respondents said they would tip power to the GOP, and 34% said they would preserve the Dem majority. The GOP has "been steadily picking up seats over the past decade, and hopes the trend will put it over the top this year." Confirming a belief that Virginians vote for individuals, the poll indicated that "only 13% of the electorate chooses a candidate on the basis of party affiliation," while 79% of voters said their vote is guided by a candidates views. While Gov. Allen has "made the election a referendum on his administration. ... [he] might not be able to convert his personal popularity to political gain for his party" (Schapiro, RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 9/24).

===== THE STRATEGY INTERVIEWS =====

*18 THE GRAMM CAMPAIGN: AS TOLD BY CHARLIE BLACK

This is the 2nd in a series of HOTLINE interviews with the top campaign strategists to determine how and where each campaign plans to gain the delegates to win the GOP nomination. CHARLIE BLACK is General Chair of Phil Gramm's campaign. (For interview with Alexander strategist Mike Murphy, see HOTLINE 9/13).

HOTLINE: What do you see as the core strategy of the campaign?

BLACK: The essential strategy is that Phil Gramm's message will win him the nomination. Based on the '94 election, and the direction that the Republican Party is going philosophically, what the Republican voters want is fundamental change in the nature of federal government. They want less spending, less taxes, less regulation, downsizing of the federal government and that's what Phil Gramm's entire career has been about. That's really what's working to help him recruit supporters and the reason he's doing well among the activists who are paying attention to the race right now, and the reason he will do the

best among primary voters when they begin to pay attention.

HOTLINE: Let's talk about where you are today in polls as compared to where you wanted to be right now.

BLACK: The national polls are meaningless until we start having primaries and caucuses and every voter starts paying attention on a daily basis. It's not a national race, it's a series of state contests where our basic strategy is this: We started with Sen. Dole as a strong frontrunner based on name identification, personal popularity, and the fact that he has run before. Pat Buchanan is the second best known because he's run before. What we wanted to do was use this year to build a financial base to be able raise the funds to compete with Sen. Dole -- which we're well on our way to doing -- and to recruit volunteer organizations in the key states in the primary and caucus calendar so that we'd be able to either compete or beat him organizationally next year. And in the course of that, we wanted to get the Gramm message before as many people as possible. So we've done that very well. The only test that you have -- and we do not overrate straw polls -- are the people who vote in straw polls. They are the only ones that have paid attention to the contest, and the only ones who have gone to the trouble to learn a lot about all the candidates, and in those Gramm's winning.

HOTLINE: How much did you spend for the Iowa straw poll?

BLACK: It's a hard question to answer because we've had a plan that started this past January that's geared towards the caucuses in February. The only money we really spent that we would not have spent had there been no straw poll, was on a few buses and some barbecue. Not a significant amount. I don't know how much it was but it's about the same as Dole, Buchanan or Alexander.

HOTLINE: In terms of your strategy, do you have to win Iowa?

BLACK: Of course we don't have to win Iowa. Bob Dole's the frontrunner and Iowa's his best state in the country.

HOTLINE: Who do you think you need to beat?

BLACK: Traditionally, Iowa and New Hampshire act as the filter, so coming out of New Hampshire it's down to no more than three competitive candidates, maybe no more than two. We want to make that cut, because then we go into the part of the calendar that's very Gramm-friendly. Overall, 55% of the delegates are in the South and the West, which is Gramm's home base, the areas that he should do the best. 45% of the delegates are in the Midwest and Northeast, the areas where Dole should do the best. There are more winner-take-all primaries in the South and West than there are in the Midwest and Northeast. So the process is frankly to Phil's advantage. Now I don't know when Iowa and New Hampshire are going to be yet, they may be before Louisiana. But we'll certainly win the 21 delegates in Louisiana that are up for grabs

sometime in February. So then you go to Arizona, and immediately to South Carolina, the gateway to the South, and we'll win those. That's the first time you can say Gramm needs to win states.

HOTLINE: So 2nd-place in AZ or SC would be setbacks?

BLACK: Yeah. It would put us off track if we didn't win either one of those. Depending on what else has happened, it doesn't mean the race is over. But it would be inconsistent with our plan not to win those two.

HOTLINE: Did you suffer a setback in SC when Dole won Gov. David Beasley's endorsement?

BLACK: We'd love to have any Governor, any Senator, any Congressman, and we've got some. But they're only valuable enough to make the difference if they've got organization and they go all out to bring out their organization. For example, what John McCain and Fife Symington are doing for us in Arizona has helped Gramm recruit thousands of volunteers. What Sen. D'Amato and Gov. Pataki are doing for Dole in New York, bringing the whole party apparatus into line, is valuable. In South Carolina, I don't see so far that the Governor and the Senator [Thurmond] and the former Governor [Campbell] are bringing the grass roots into line. Quite the contrary.

HOTLINE: Can you overcome your problems in NH?

BLACK: We're doing pretty well in New Hampshire. Sen. Smith and our leadership there think that, since the 4th of July, Gramm's been making a great deal of headway, again at the level of recruiting local activists. [NH] is not a natural state for Gramm in terms of culture or geographical vicinity, but he's got a lot of good people there. There were a couple of distractions about primary dates, which he was innocent of, but perception counts. I will say this: the rank and file voters up there are not hung up about all that and he and Gov. Merrill are friends.

HOTLINE: Does Buchanan's candidacy harm you? If it develops into a Dole-Gramm-Buchanan race, doesn't that mean Dole wins?

BLACK: We just had that contest in Iowa and Pat lost. And Dole lost for that matter. Look, Pat cannot run with a front-loaded system that has 30 events in seven weeks. You don't have to run in all 30, but to get the nomination you're going to have to target and run aggressive campaigns in at least 20 of those 30. Pat can't do it. Pat not only has no money, he's got debt, he's broke, he's got no organization in more than four or five states. If Pat Buchanan won New Hampshire, he would still lose the nomination because everything happens so fast, he doesn't have time to leverage the momentum into money and organization and talent and put it on television.

HOTLINE: Did Buchanan bring in people across the state lines to

the IA straw poll?

BLACK: Absolutely. In fact, the furthest place I saw buses from were buses from Virginia for Buchanan.

HOTLINE: Say you finish third in NH, but Buchanan finishes second; would that be a dangerous situation?

BLACK: I'd prefer that not to happen. But if that's the only state that he's got the capacity to run a full-blown campaign in, then it wouldn't make that much difference. He does not have the resources to compete down the calendar.

HOTLINE: Isn't Buchanan going for the same voters you are?

BLACK: No. Broadly, there's 70-75% of the Republican primary electorate that are conservative, that are in sync with the Republican revolution of '94 and the Contract with America. And as a subset of that, there's a small group that has protectionist tendencies and wants to stop immigration. The great bulk of those conservative voters agree with Gramm on the issues more than Pat. Gramm is a free-trader. He's pro-immigration. He's certainly not an isolationist like Pat.

HOTLINE: Will Gramm compete in the New England primaries?

BLACK: There are about a dozen events on March 5th and we're in full-bore on some of them. We have some organization in those New England states and we're watching it carefully. The extent to which we gear up is dependent on what the other candidates do. If it's a two-way race by then, Dole versus Gramm, Dole certainly has the upper hand in those states. If Wilson gets traction and becomes competitive and Wilson and Dole are going to split the establishment vote and the moderate-to-liberal vote, there are enough conservatives in those states that we could win some of them. I don't have in our plan for how we get to 51% of the delegates out of those states. But there might be some opportunity there, so we're getting prepared for it.

HOTLINE: On March 5th is New England, Georgia, Colorado and Maryland. Which of these are most critical?

BLACK: Georgia, obviously, is one of Gramm's best states, and we'll win that. We've got a terrific organization in Maryland, better than anybody else, even though that's a state that you might think more traditionally would lean toward Dole. Colorado we're making a priority. Washington State is having caucuses for half of their delegates that day and we're going to compete hard for that. Minnesota is a traditional Dole state. Dole beat Bush big time there and they're having caucuses instead of a primary this time, and I predict right now we'll win that. We're going to pull Minnesota out from under Dole.

HOTLINE: Are you competing in the Florida straw poll?

BLACK: We've got a pretty good organization at the local level. Dole's obviously going all out there. He's really raised the bar for himself. He's got to win it. We're going to be competitive with him there. ... We try to win everywhere that we go in. But here again we don't have to win. Dole has to win.

HOTLINE: Are you going to compete in New York or give it up?

BLACK: We're going to make a decision in about three weeks. Here again, depending on who all is going to be in the race, there may be some opportunity for us. I do not have a lot of New York delegates in my projected count.

HOTLINE: After NY and Super Tuesday are the 3/19 Midwest primaries. Any places that you're stronger in than others there?

BLACK: We're probably a little stronger in Illinois and Michigan than Ohio and Wisconsin, but we're organizing and working all of them. ... Any place in the Midwest you're playing on Dole's turf.

HOTLINE: Is there any danger to Gramm's Senate chances if the presidential campaign doesn't pan out?

BLACK: No. He doesn't have any serious competition. If some did develop, he'd win. Right now, he's got the least worthy opponent he's had. They still got three months to find somebody else. The real heavyweights, the Ann Richards, the John Sharpes, the people like that that might potentially give Gramm a contest, have already dropped out.

===== POLL UPDATE =====

*19 CNN/USA TODAY/GALLUP:

1,011 adults surveyed 9/22-24; margin of error +/- 3%. GOP primary subsample: 477 GOPers and lean GOPers; +/- 5% (9/27).

CLINTON JOB	NOW	8/95	7/95	FAV/UNFAV
Approve	48%	46%	46%	Clinton 55%/ 41%
Disapprove	44	43	44	Powell 64 / 13

GOP PRIMARY	W/POWELL	W/O POWELL
Powell	31%	--
Dole	31	46%
Gramm	8	9
Buchanan	7	8
Forbes	3	4
Wilson	3	4
Alexander	2	2
Dornan	1	1
Lugar	1	3
Specter	1	2
Keyes	0	1
Undec.	12	20

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Clinton	51%	Powell (R)	54%	Clinton	33%
Dole	44	Clinton	39	Powell (I)	33
		Dole	30		

IF POWELL WERE TO RUN FOR PRES. ...

Rather see him as Republican	42%
Rather see him as independent	41
Doesn't matter (vol.)	9
Don't want him to run (vol.)	2
Don't know	6

ON ISSUES THAT MATTER MOST, IF ELECTED PRES., POWELL'S POWELL'S VIEWS ... RACE WOULD MAKE IT ...

Agree w/mine	27%	Easier to lead country	12%
Disagree w/mine	6	Harder to lead country	62
Unsure	65	No effect (vol.)	20

HAS THE MEDIA BEEN TOO FAVORABLE TO POWELL IN RECENT WEEKS?

Yes	26%
No	56

ABORTION SHOULD BE ...

Legal under any circumstances	31%
Legal under certain circumstances	54
Illegal in all circumstances	12

===== TV MONITOR =====

*20 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA" hosted P.J. O'Rourke and comedian Bill Maher. NBC's "Today" hosted Gov. Frank Keating (R-OK). "CBS This Morning" hosted Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA). "FOX Morning News" hosted Dick Lugar, Roger Wilkins, W. POST's Jodie Allen and Sen. Chuck Robb (D-VA).

TONIGHT: CNN's "Inside Politics" hosts Paul Tsongas and Bill Bennett.

LAST NIGHT: "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with Bosnia. ABC, CBS and NBC led with O.J. "M/L" focused on Ruby Ridge with Arlen Specter and Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA). CNBC's "Russert" hosted Dole Dep. Chair Bill Lacy. CNBC's "Equal Time" hosted Dep. WH CoS Harold Ickes. ABC's "Nightline" examined O.J.

LAUGHS: Jay Leno: "The experts were right. They said once this Unabomber gets into the Washington Post, every lunatic in the country would come forward looking for publicity. And sure enough, yesterday Ross Perot announced he's forming a third party. ... Instead of forming a new political party, we should be trying to get rid of the two we already have." Leno, on political people appearing on TV: "Last week John F. Kennedy Jr. on 'Murphy Brown,' the President's brother, Roger Clinton appeared on 'The Nanny.' In fact Bob Dole just got his own show on NBC called 'Mad About Everything'" ("Tonight," NBC, 9/26). David Letterman: "My name is David Letterman. Relax ladies and gentleman, your search for a third party candidate is over" ("Late Show," CBS, 9/26). Comedian Bill Maher: "There was a

picture of Dole and Gingrich on the front page of the paper after welfare got cut and it was like, 'Hey we just cut welfare, we're going to Disneyland'" ("GMA," ABC, 9/27).

TOP TEN REJECTED NAMES FOR ROSS PEROT'S POLITICAL PARTY

10. The Rosstafarians.
9. United We're Nuts.
8. The Dork-O-Crats.
7. Wacky Ass Billionaires.
6. The You Might Be A Redneck If You Join This Party.
5. The Adorable Miniature Candidate and His Friends.
4. Yankee Doodle Psychos.
3. El Party De Nutjobs.
2. Shorty and the Blowfish.
1. The Hair Club for Geeks.

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"I always wanted to be known as Skip."

-- Colin Powell, saying he never really liked his given name,
"Tonight Show," NBC, 9/26

----- Start RFC822 Headers -----

Received: by ccsmtpl.NETSOURCE.COM (5.65+/1.3)

id 15929.AA; Wed, 27 Sep 95 12:43:25 GMT

Message-Id: <9509271227.AA13944@apn.com>

Date: Wed, 27 Sep 95 12:27 EDT

From: hotline@apn.com

To: hotline.notes@ovp.gov

Subject: Hotline 09/27/95

Content-Length: 61409

----- End RFC822 Headers -----

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: hotline (hotline @ apn.com@INTERNET at CCROUTER@CCMAIL [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:27-SEP-1995 12:27:00.00

SUBJECT: Hotline 09/27/95

TO: hotline (hotline [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

--- Wednesday --- September 27, 1995 --- Vol. 9 --- No. 9 ---

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OUR TRIPARTISAN COVERAGE		SPOTLIGHT	
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Many say Powell should have			
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nothing to do with Perot. Pat		THE GRAMM STRATEGY	
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Robertson says Perot should			
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stay away from the General.		Today's HOTLINE features	
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Others say the best way for the		the second of our "Strategy	
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GOP to head off a Perot party		Interviews" -- designed to	
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is to nominate Powell. And oh | examine where the campaigns |
yeah. Talk like this makes the | aim to win their delegates. |
WH giddy. (#1) (#2) (#4) | Gramm general chair CHARLIE |
| BLACK says that although |

VIDEO DOLE | they are doing well in the |
New campaign video "An | "1995 Primary" categories |
American Hero" is unveiled. | of money and organization, |
Dole: Small-town boy, patriot, | theirs is, at its essence, |
leader. Can Russell High beat | a message-driven campaign. |
Hope High in the American Dream | |
finals? (#5) | FIRST WINS: While Black |
| wouldn't describe 3rd place |

WHAT'S IN A NAME? | in IA and NH as setbacks, |
He's no "Collin," he prefers | LA, AZ and SC are almost |
"Colin." But he'd rather his | must-win states. Gramm |
name was "Skip." (#4) | likely won't play hard in |
| New England, but on that |

HEY PHIL, CALLED HOME LATELY? | same date, he'll be looking |
Rep. Jim Chapman (D-TX) calls | to score in GA, CO and WA. |
it quits, but sets his sights | SUPER SPIN: While the |
on Phil Gramm's seat. (#14) | Gramm strategy has been to |
| win every straw poll in |

THE FLEEING NUNN? | sight, Black sees FL's "P3" |
THE HILL reports Sen. Sam | as a Dole must-win. (#18) |
Nunn (D-GA) has decided to | NEXT UP: Bill Lacy. |
retire. (#11) | _____ |

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"Third parties don't win, but they do guarantee
that somebody else with the chance to win doesn't."

-- ABC's Jim Wooten, 9/26

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WHITE HOUSE '96

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???? OVERLOOKED ????

A cottage industry of political wagering grew out of the fact

that Jimmy Carter did not use the word "malaise" in his now-famous 7/15/79 speech. So who labeled it the "Malaise Speech?" Here's one possibility: Carter, at a KY town meeting on 7/31/79, said, "Sunday night before last, I made a speech about two problems in our country -- energy and malaise."

-- courtesy of a HOTLINE reader with excellent reference skills

===== WHITE HOUSE '96 =====

*1 THIRD PARTY: IF NOT PEROT, WHO?

Many observers believe Ross Perot's new third party will ultimately be a vehicle for himself as a candidate. Brookings' Stephen Hess: "These are Perot supporters, so their first choice, of course, will be Ross Perot" (N.Y. POST, 9/27). Unless Perot runs himself, he is limited by federal law to spend only \$1,000 of his own money on the party's candidate; in '92, he "paid for his entire \$59 million campaign, which consisted mostly of large blocs of TV time to discuss his call for reducing the federal budget deficit" (Brown, SCRIPPS HOWARD/W. TIMES, 9/27). UWSA exec. dir. Russ Verney, on the Perot plan: "It's very exciting, it's perhaps the most historical event that's happened in 130 years in American politics" ("IP," CNN, 9/26). Perot spokesperson Sharon Holman reported that five minutes after Perot spoke on "Larry King Live" 9/25, 800,000 calls came in to UWSA HQ, and by the next day the calls were still coming in, at about 500/hour (Hall, USA TODAY, 9/27). CBS' Engberg: "Second acts are

tough to mount in politics, but Ross Perot says he'll try"

(9/26). NPR's Schorr: "There is no way of knowing whether Perot can invent a new party on television and actually make it fly, but there's no question that he has tapped something in the body politic deeper than malaise and funk" (9/26).

POWELL FACTOR: Many analysts said that such an ind. party could prove an appealing vehicle for Colin Powell, despite the general's seeming preference for the GOP. N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Ball writes Powell's friends "downplayed the chances" he would join Perot's party: "With his colossal approval ratings, Powell doesn't need the unpopular Perot, the general's friends say."

Powell backer Tex McCrary: "Powell is a soldier who spends a lot of time under the hood of old Volvos. He has a lot of respect for people who make things. And Perot doesn't make anything besides money" (9/27). If Powell took the ind. route, "he may take pains to prove he owes nothing to anyone, including an outsider like Perot. And if ballot access becomes such a challenge that he runs on lines won by the Perot party, he almost certainly would do so with no strings attached" (Shribman, BOSTON GLOBE, 9/27). N.Y. TIMES' Berke writes "clouding any possible alliance" between Powell and Perot "is that for years there has been bad blood" between Perot and one of Powell's closest friends, ex-Pentagon & State official Richard Armitage (9/27).

W. TIMES' Hallow writes Powell and Perot do not "appear to be a good match." Steve Forbes also doubted a Powell-Perot alliance: "Powell likes to run his own show, and he doesn't need Perot to help him get on the ballot." Forbes pollster John McLaughlin:

"Perot supporters are angry people of the political right and left who perceive themselves as disenfranchised. ... Powell is not running as an angry man. So Perot's supporters are not his kind of people." Dem consultant David Doak: "Why would Mercedes-Benz want to sell its cars out of a Yugo dealership?" (9/27).

Pat Robertson, with a variation on the theme: "There's no way, I don't believe, that Ross Perot is going to support Colin Powell" ("700 Club," 9/26). Powell told the media following his book tour that he received a weekend phone call from Perot telling him of his plan. Powell: "Obviously, it's something that I would consider and he knows I would consider it. But he did not push me, encourage me, or give any indication that this was the purpose" (CNN, 9/26). Ollie North: "Colin Powell just got a big boost. ... There will be a 'Draft Colin Powell' movement within this party" (WRC-AM, 9/26).

OTHERS: Speculation on who might be the candidate, should Perot not run, includes Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-OH), "whose populist speech rocked the [UWSA] conference in Dallas last month." CA Perot activist Jim Larson said Kaptur "is still on the lips" of UWSA members. Larson: "They love Kaptur. They're almost xenophobic on the subject of NAFTA and GATT and they appreciate her stand. She's William Jennings Bryan and Harry Truman wrapped into one. She's got a populist economic message and she's moderate to conservative on social issues" (Brazaitis, Cleve. PLAIN DEALER, 9/27). Lowell Weicker, who has said he is considering an ind. candidacy: "I don't think I could stand on the platform he enunciated" (USA TODAY, 9/27). Also mentioned:

Bill Bradley, ex-Sen. David Boren (D-OK), an "independent-minded Democrat," and Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA), "another politician who seems increasingly uncomfortable in the Democratic ranks" (PLAIN DEALER, 9/27).

*2 THIRD PARTY: REPUBLICANS FEAR SPLIT IN ANTI-CLINTON VOTE

Reaction among Republicans was that Ross Perot "had turned on them and that his potential candidacy -- or that of any third party candidate -- would help re-elect President Clinton ... Only six weeks ago, the Republican presidential contenders trooped down to Dallas to praise Mr. Perot." Bob Dole: "I can't figure the fellow out. We're doing all the things he would have done. It seems to me he has a checklist and if we don't do it in a week, he's going to run for president." Speaker Newt Gingrich said Perot was making a "substantial mistake," calling third parties a "fantasy of delusion -- that you're going to go out and do things differently" (Berke, N.Y. TIMES, 9/27). Phil Gramm: "If we have a credible candidate, a credible program, Ross Perot is not going to be credible." Pete Wilson: "America has been, by and large, well served by a two-party system" (CNN, 9/26). Dole Dep. Chair Bill Lacy: "The concern that I would have is that if you get a Dole-Clinton confrontation, it's an absolutely sort of classic, perfect contrast. If you add someone else to the mix, it makes it a very different situation" ("Russert," CNBC, 9/26). Lamar Alexander said a 3rd party candidate "controlled" by Perot could mean a "deja-lose formula that would make 1996 a rerun of 1992." GOP Chair Haley Barbour said if the GOP fulfills its

promise on Capitol Hill, "a Ross Perot party will never materialize or will amount to nothing" (BOSTON GLOBE, 9/27). Pat Buchanan said a move by Perot supporters to a 3d party "is a vote of no confidence in Bob Dole and Phil Gramm in November. Neither of those guys is going to do anything about big money in politics or term limits or NAFTA or GATT and the new world order because they voted for them" (W. TIMES, 9/27). Bill Bennett "urged his party to just 'let him go'" (W.S. JOURNAL, 9/27). By contrast, Dems were "celebrating," as demonstrated by Pres. Clinton's "hardly critical comments": "I'm an ardent promoter of political reform, as you know. But he'll have to do whatever he wants to do and the American people can make their judgment" (N.Y. TIMES, 9/27). CNN's Shipman, at the WH: "The official line is that it's still far too early to tell what effect Perot's announcement will have. ... Behind the scenes, advisers admit that the Perot announcement ought to help the Clinton candidacy by dividing the anti-Clinton vote" (9/26). ABC's Wooten: "Third parties don't win, but they do guarantee that somebody else with the chance to win doesn't" (9/26). Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-AR): "This all helps out Bill Clinton. It pulls votes away from the Republican Party" (ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 9/27).

NO BIG DEAL: BOSTON GLOBE's Shribman writes Perot's announcement "probably hasn't changed the dynamics" of the election. "The public, to be sure, is impatient with the political class. It is tired of its promises, its performance, its petty disputes. But the voters' hunger is for change -- not for another party, another nomination struggle, another

convention and another set of platform fights. ... People who are rejecting the established political parties may resist joining another one." Despite the attractiveness of an ind. campaign, "it is far more important to have an appealing candidate than to have a party structure. Unless Perot attracts a candidate with the appeal of Powell, he is unlikely to have much impact." Dem consultant Keith Fredericks: "We've had lots of parties on the ballot for years, and they never go anywhere. Everything moves on the basis of personality." Denison Univ.'s Emmett Buell: "If this party is going to be his [Perot's] personal possession, if he is going to vet the candidate, if he is going to control the thing, then you have to be unimpressed. Perot has a lot of personal liabilities; there is a party that is dealing with the deficit; and the public's interest is in Colin Powell, not in Ross Perot" (9/27). Political scientist James Reichley acknowledged, "There clearly is more of a hunger for a third force in our politics than at any time since the Progressive era. ... [But] the factors that block it are very strongly in place. It may just fizzle" (W.S. JOURNAL, 9/27).

BOTH GET HURT: W.S. JOURNAL's Harwood writes Dem House and Senate candidates "might also have reason to worry." GOP pollster Frank Luntz "reasons [that] any increase in turnout the party generates is more likely to fall to the Republicans" (9/27). W. POST header: "Perot's Party Is Seen Benefiting Clinton and Hill GOP" (9/27).

*3 THIRD PARTY: STATE-BY-STATE REQUIREMENTS

The following is a state-by-state look at what is needed to get a new party on the ballot for a pres. candidacy, according to Ballot Access News. All dates are '96 except CA, ME and OH (USA TODAY, 9/27):

AL: 11,991 signatures by Sept. 2.

AK: 2,586 signatures by undetermined date.

AZ: 15,062 signatures by May 21.

AR: 21,506 signatures by Jan. 2.

CA: 890,064 signatures from registered voters by Oct. 24. Or, 89,007 people would have to register as members of the new party by that date.

CO: No procedure.

CT: No procedure.

DE: 180 signatures of registered voters by Aug. 17.

DC: No procedure.

FL: 196,788 signatures by July 16.

GA: 30,036 signatures by July 9.

HI: 4,889 signatures by April 24.

ID: 9,644 signatures by Aug. 31.

IL: No procedure.

IN: No procedure.

IA: No procedure.

KS: 16,418 signatures by June 1.

KY: No procedure.

LA: Must register 5% of registered voters by June 30. Or, candidate must get at least 5% of vote in a general

election.

ME: 25,551 signatures by Dec. 14.

MD: 10,000 signatures by Aug. 5.

MA: 34,000 signatures of registered voters by July 1.

MI: 30,891 signatures by July 18.

MN: 89,731 signatures by May 1.

MS: Just be organized by April 1.

MO: 10,000 signatures by Aug. 5.

MT: 10,471 signatures by March 14.

NE: 5,741 signatures by Aug. 1.

NV: 3,761 signatures by July 11.

NH: No procedure.

NJ: No procedure.

NM: 2,339 signatures by July 9.

NY: No procedure.

NC: 51,904 signatures by undetermined date.

ND: 7,000 signatures by April 12.

OH: 33,463 signatures by Nov. 20.

OK: 49,751 signatures May 31.

OR: 18,316 signatures on Aug. 27.

PA: No procedure.

RI: 18,069 signatures by Aug. 1.

SC: 10,000 signatures by May 5.

SD: 7,792 signatures by April 2.

TN: 37,179 signatures by May 1.

TX: 43,963 signatures by May 23.

UT: 500 signatures by Jan. 2.

VT: Just be organized by Sept. 19.

VA: No procedure.

WA: No procedure.

WV: No procedure.

WI: 10,000 signatures by June 1.

WY: 8,000 signatures by May 1.

NOTE ON ABOVE: Some states have no procedure by which a new party can qualify before it chooses candidates. In those states, supporters of a specific candidate follow a separate procedure to put that person on the ballot.

YESTERDAY IN OHIO: COLUMBUS DISPATCH's Mike Curtin: "The person who walked into the Ohio Secretary of State's office yesterday to do some paperwork in conjunction with this launch of an independent party was a person from ... Armada, Michigan -- wherever that is. So, clearly there was no person in Ohio who was called upon to ... do that work." On Perot's OH chances: "I would doubt that Ross Perot himself can do 21% in Ohio again. ... An independent candidate would have to be someone other than Ross Perot" (NPR, 9/27).

***4 POWELL: PEROT PARTY MAY MAKE GOP NEED HIM MORE THAN EVER**

W.S. JOURNAL's Seib writes, perhaps Ross Perot is "creating a vehicle Colin Powell can drive to the White House." However, it is "more likely" Perot's party makes Powell "a lot more attractive as a Republican candidate in the eyes of GOP

skeptics." If Perot's Independence Party actually gets up and running in '96, it poses a "huge problem" for the GOP. It will "suck away" the votes of independent-minded voters who otherwise would vote for a GOPer to "vent their unhappiness" with Pres. Clinton. GOPers must ask themselves "which potential Republican candidate has the greatest potential to hold those independents, to enlarge the party's reach rather than see it narrowed in a three-way race? That would be Colin Powell." In this scenario lies the "most overlooked" and "most important" comparison between Powell and Dwight Eisenhower. In '52, Ike "brought to the polls, and into the GOP column, millions upon millions of new voters." Eisenhower tripled the GOP turnout in NH from '48, and almost tripled the size of the GOP primary electorate overall. In the general election, 33.9 million people voted Republican, a 54% increase over the 22M who voted for Tom Dewey in '48. Overall, turnout went up 26% in '52 (9/27).

MARK HER DOWN AS AN "ANTI": Linda Chavez writes that while it is "almost heretical" to say that Powell is not ready to be pres., his "political philosophy is unformed. It's incoherent." Powell is "not so much independent as he is ambivalent. And one thing the country does not need right now is a president who can't make up his mind on the important issues of the day. We've had that for nearly three years, which is why so many people are yearning for someone who projects authority and confidence to step into the race" (USA TODAY, 9/27).

AT HEART, HE'S ONLY A SEMI-COLIN: Powell appeared last night on the "Tonight Show." When introduced by Jay Leno, he

received a standing ovation. Talk mostly centered on his book and family life. When asked whether to pronounce his name "Colin" or "Collin," Powell said he used to be comfortable with either pronunciation, but now he prefers "Colin." But he said he didn't like his name at all. When asked what he would rather be called, Powell replied, "I always wanted to be known as Skip" ("Tonight," NBC, 9/26).

*5 DOLE: "AN AMERICAN HERO" IS INTRODUCED

Elizabeth Dole looks directly into the camera and speaks of the aftermath of her husband's war injury: "Some said he'd never get out of bed. But they -- the experts -- didn't understand what a man like Bob Dole was made of." The Dole campaign's new 14-minute video, "An American Hero," signals a "determination to make his personal story a central advertising theme" in the race. The film was screened for the first time last night at a DC fundraiser and an 8-minute version was shown on TCI News' "Race for the Presidency." It may "seem odd" for Dole "to kick off his media effort with an essentially biographical approach. But the video, which will be distributed to thousands of supporters and probably distilled to a 60-second version, reflects a tactical decision to stress the personal." Dole media consultant Stuart Stevens: "There's a uniquely powerful story embodied in Bob Dole's life, yet many people really don't know this story. ... There's a thread of character, persistence and values that runs throughout this man's life and says a lot about what sort of president he would be." Strategists believe Dole's WWII heroism

"contrasts nicely" with Pres. Clinton. The video, "filled with shots of churches, barbershops and front porches, tries to cast [Dole] as a 'strong role model.'" It uses footage from his April announcement speech, his May attack on Hollywood, and features Dole "movingly" describing his war injury. But the video "rarely ventures beyond such bromides as 'cutting taxes' and 'return power to the states'" and "says little about his legislative record" (Kurtz, W. POST, 9/27). 85,000 copies of the video will be sent to supporters in key states including NH, IA, SC and FL starting mid-October (release, 9/27). W. POST's Kurtz calls the video the Dole version of Clinton's "Man From Hope"(9/27).

CYBER-SURF'S UP! The Dole campaign launched its new web site. Check it out at <http://www.dole96.com> (release, 9/27).

*6 GRAMM: IOWA GRAPPLES WITH HIS ANTI-ETHANOL VOTE

IA supporters of Phil Gramm, who voted against gov't ethanol programs in 8/94, "want his vote to be seen as principled." Bob Dole supporters, who voted for ethanol, "think otherwise and farm state Democrats agree." When the vote was cast, the debate was framed as "Big Oil against the farmer," and the Senate split along regional rather than party lines. In the end, VP Gore broke a 50-50 deadlock, casting a vote that preserved a share for ethanol in the clean fuels program. Now, as Gramm campaigns in IA, "he says that he has always supported ethanol and agriculture, and that the contrast with Dole in his voting record may say as much about philosophy as it does about who supports agriculture more." Gramm aides "say they are not surprised that

the Dole campaign would bring up past ethanol votes as Dole's lead [in IA] shrinks." Gramm spokesperson Bob Haus: "This is what we've been waiting for and expecting." Gramm has picked up support from ex-IA Corn Grower's Assn presidents Bill Horan and Doran Zumbach. Horan has said Gramm's vote against "what became known as the ethanol mandate was in keeping with his beliefs." Horan: "He is dead-set philosophically against mandates. ... I will tell you there are a number of corn growers who are a little squeamish about these mandates, too." While Horan said Gramm has voted with ethanol "in other instances," the Dole campaign cites other anti-ethanol Gramm votes and notes Dole's current opposition to removing the ethanol tax break. Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA): "Gramm ... has always been opposed to ethanol." But Gramm supporters "say their candidates commitment to finding ways to expand markets and increase barge shipping on the Mississippi River is more important to them than Dole's record on ethanol and farm subsidies. More Horan: "[Gramm] believes the future of agriculture is in the free market and not a check in the mailbox" (Pins, DES MOINES REGISTER, 9/27).

***7 FORBES: TEST-DRIVES HIS FLAT TAX AND GOLD STANDARD IN IA**

Steve Forbes visited IA for the first time, "saying the country needs a flat-rate income tax and a return to the gold standard to lower interest rates." Forbes, in a news conference and IN meetings with Register reporters, "fashioned himself as the most vigorous opponent of taxes and spending" in the GOP field: "No one else is willing to carry the banner of growth and

opportunity. They all submerge it to a balanced budget. To me, getting the country growing is more important than Washington getting its books right." Forbes "admitted he will have a hard time doing well in the Iowa caucuses" because he "started late." He did say, however, that he would "devote the resources necessary" to get his message across in the state" (Yepsen, DES MOINES REGISTER, 9/27).

WHY FORBES IS WELCOME: W. POST'S Broder writes Forbes' entry is a "welcome event" because he has "a coherent set of conservative ideas. ... Whether you agree with him or not, he will add to the quality of the upcoming candidate debates" (9/27). BOSTON GLOBE's Shribman writes Forbes "is a leading indicator of where the conservatives who are running the Congress today are heading, even if they aren't saying so and even if they don't know it yet themselves." House froshies and other "torchbearers of the Republican Revolution" lined up with Dole early, but "their hearts are with Steve Forbes." Forbes is a "reluctant warrior" who twice tried to talk Jack Kemp back into the race. Kemp "didn't bite. So Forbes is running himself. ... Forbes won't win the election, but he won't be lost in the campaign" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 9/27).

***8 WILSON: HOPES TO GIVE CAMPAIGN NEW LIFE WITH DEATH PENALTY**

"Returning to a theme that brought him to office," Pete Wilson signed a bill that, if ratified by voters, will be the first expansion of CA's death penalty law in its 17 years. "As he tries to generate support for his struggling" campaign, Wilson

signed a bill authorizing a statewide vote to extend the death penalty to include murders committed carjackings and retaliatory killings of jurors. Today, Wilson will sign a bill calling for a statewide vote to expand the death penalty to murders committed during drive-by shootings. CA's death penalty requires voter approval for changes. These measures will appear on the CA ballot in 3/96, the same ballot used for the pres. primary.

"Passage is likely given California voters' strong support of capital punishment." The anti-crime theme has been Wilson's "most consistent refrain" as gov., and he hopes to use this event and others like it to "boost his standing" in CA polls where he trails both Pres. Clinton and Bob Dole. Wilson spokesperson Sean Walsh said the bill signing was "yet another demonstration that, while other politicians talk about being tough on crime, Wilson takes action. ... You see Bob Dole and Phil Gramm talking and getting nothing done in Washington. We can take all these bills to other states and show what we've done." As Wilson signed the bill, he "took the opportunity to slap at Congress," urging that it limit death penalty appeals (Morain, L.A. TIMES, 9/27).

GORTON, BUT NOT FORGOTTEN: During the news conference, a "tired" Wilson said "he has yet to complete a restructuring of his troubled" campaign. Wilson said he regrets the loss of manager George Gorton but added he still has "abundant talent serving me." Wilson said he plans to stick to the "game plan" outlined by Gorton. Gorton resigned last week "amid signs that [Wilson's] effort is deeply in debt and struggling to survive." Wilson said his plan is "the same as it has been, and that is to

concentrate on the early primaries, because they are early, and also because they are states that look very good to us: New Hampshire, New England, New York." He said the campaign will also "make a major effort" in FL and AZ. Wilson, asked about his campaign's health: "There isn't anything that I can add to what you have heard recently. I think we have been quite candid. ... We were disappointed with fundraising in the summer months. September has been, I think, pretty good for us." Wilson also said he doesn't anticipate "at this point" the need to borrow against the federal matching funds. On the personal health front, Wilson's voice, which cracked repeatedly, "sounded no closer to recovery than it did shortly after he underwent throat surgery in April" (Chance/Chavez, SACRAMENTO BEE, 9/27).

***9 FIELD NOTES: UNION LEADER SAYS STICK W/PAT OVER ROSS, COLIN**

BUCHANAN: A Manchester UNION LEADER editorial keeps up its pro-Buchanan theme: "A third political party is neither wise nor necessary, and that is particularly true if Ross Perot places himself at the helm of the new venture. ... The problem in the nation today is not the two political parties, but rather the tired leaders of those parties too often continuing the past practice of being all things to all people. Never has it been more evident than in the recycled has-beens offering themselves up to New Hampshire's citizens as the voices of the future: the Bob Doles, Phil Gramms, Pete Wilsons, Lamar Alexanders. ... The era of Democratic excess must be brought to a formal close. The foundation already is in place. It remains merely to place the

proper individual at the helm. And that individual already is a candidate, already is known to New Hampshire's voters and taxpayers, already has made a serious bid for Presidency.

Patrick Buchanan, like Powell, and Perot, has never held elective office, but he has served in the White House under two [admins.].

He, more importantly, has been dealing with the issues on center stage today for a long time, as a commentator and columnist, discussing them in detail, exploring the options, advancing solutions. He knows the system and what is broken. He knows the international scene, our real friends --and our enemies. ...

Buchanan represents an alternative whose time has come" (9/27).

LUGAR: Dick Lugar appeared on "FOX Morning News" to discuss progress made in the Bosnia peace process. Lugar, on Pres.

Clinton's failure to discuss the U.S. position with Congress:

"Clearly the level of consultation that has to occur simply has not occurred ... The President needs to talk to Congress because without that, there will simply be argument after argument. ...

Senator Dole's letter, signed by several senators yesterday said simply that the President cannot hope to be successful in this commitment without this consultation. ... The President really needs to deal with this problem" (9/27).

KASICH: OH activist Gene Davis has filed papers with the FEC starting a cmte to draft Rep. John Kasich (R) for pres.

Davis said that though he has never met with Kasich, he is impressed with the House Budget Cmte chair nonetheless: "You see him all over. The guy's dynamic. Right now it looks like a dark horse has as good a chance as the light horse" (COLUMBUS

DISPATCH, 9/24).

***10 MINNESOTA: DEM WINNING STREAK IN JEOPARDY**

ST. PAUL PIONEER PRESS Poll, conducted 9/15-17 by PMR,
surveyed 805 registered MN voters; margin of error +/- 3.5%.

Subsample: 261 likely GOP primary voters; +/- 6%. 287 likely Dem
primary voters; +/- 6% (9/22). Gramm this past weekend won a MN
GOP straw poll (see HOTLINE 9/25).

GOP PRIMARY	W/POWELL	W/OUT POWELL	FAV/UNFAV	ID
Dole	29%	47%	53%/ 12%	100%
Powell	23	--	56 / 8	94
Gramm	9	15	34 / 14	94
Buchanan	8	9	27 / 21	92
Wilson	4	5	19 / 11	68
Alexander	--	1	8 / 6	49
Lugar	--	1	12 / 3	44
Specter	--	--	8 / 17	53
Dornan	--	--	8 / 9	38
Keyes	--	--	6 / 3	42
Undecided	27	22		

CLINTON JOB CLINTON RE-ELECT

Exc/good 41% Re-elect 35%

Fair/poor 59 Consider 28

Replace 37

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Clinton 43% Powell 45% Clinton 31%

Dole 42 Clinton 32 Powell 26

Dole 25

===== SENATE WATCH =====

*11 GEORGIA: NUNN REPORTED TO ANNOUNCE RETIREMENT NEXT WEEK

THE HILL's Myers reports Sen. Sam Nunn (D) "has tentatively decided not to seek a fifth term" and will likely make his plans known next week in an Atlanta press conference. Sources "said Nunn has lost his desire" to serve since the GOP took over the Senate and he lost his Armed Services cmte chair. GA Dem comm. dir. Bill Florence: "My gut level feeling is that he is not going to run." Another source: "I have heard that gays in the military is the only issue the Christian Coalition has to run against Sam Nunn with. He doesn't want to spend the next 14 months discussing the issue. He would rather leave the Senate gracefully and maybe some day be secretary of state" (9/27 issue). Nunn is "not letting on" whether he has decided to seek re-election or retire. "There are indications both ways." A skeleton campaign organization is in place, and the campaign has identified, but not yet rented, office space in Atlanta. Nunn earlier this year hired back fund-raiser Valeria MacPhail from

Gov. Zell Miller (D), and she and campaign treas. Gordon Giffin have "mapped out a schedule of autumn fund-raising events." So far, however, no one has been invited. Aides are preparing a list of accomplishments over the past 23 years (Christensen, ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION, 9/24). That kind of "careful contingency strategy has kept Mr. Nunn's potential opponents off guard and prevented any serious GOP opposition from getting started." One close adviser: "He's sought advice from people and asked them, 'What would I do if I were not a senator?' Some people he's had that kind of conversation with come away from it believing he will not run." But a veteran Dem adviser said, "If I had to bet, I'd say he'd run again" (Lambro, W. TIMES, 9/26). Nunn repeatedly has said that his decision is "more personal than political, that at age 58 he must decide what to do with the rest of his life." His indecision has "given birth to a host of rumors," including one that he might run for gov. in '98, when Miller's term expires (CONSTITUTION, 9/24). An NRSC release header: "Dems fear Nunn exit will devastate party chances in the South" (9/25). Nunn's FEC statement showed him raising just \$4,605 for the first six months of '95. Announced GOPers: physician Paul Braun and hospital administrator Bruce Hatfield. Possible GOPers, if Nunn retires: Reps. Jack Kingston (R-01), John Linder (R-04) & Mac Collins (R-03), '90 gov. nominee/state Sen. Johnny Isakson, AG Mike Bowers, '94 gov. nominee Guy Millner, GA GOP chair Billy Lovett, and ex-Sen. Mack Mattingly. Possible Dems, if Nunn retires: LG Pierre Howard, Sec/State Max Cleland, Gov. Zell Miller, ex-Rep. Buddy Darden, ex-Atlanta Mayor

Andrew Young, and Labor Commis. David Poythress.

*12 LOUISIANA: McCRERY & TAUZIN ARE FRIENDLY, FOR NOW

BATON ROUGE ADVOCATE's McKinney writes that Rep. Billy Tauzin (R-03) has been, since his party switch, introducing himself to Republicans who could be "important allies" if he runs for the seat of retiring Sen. Bennett Johnson (D) in '96. He and fellow GOP Rep. Jim McCrery (R-05) maintain that two Republican congressmen will not run for the Senate seat and divide the GOP vote; that same conversation has taken place between McCrery and Rep. Richard Baker (R-06), who also said they would not run against each other. The "it-can't-be-both-of us" talk between McCrery and Tauzin is "amicable, and it is unresolved," according to McCrery. He notes that both men have "plump campaign bank accounts, and for the first part of 1995 McCrery was raising money at a faster rate than Tauzin." But if not resolved, the "McCrery-Tauzin conversation nevertheless seems to have a certain drift, and that drift has pushed Tauzin closer to the Senate race than McCrery." McCrery has said that while a Senate bid is a "live option," his post on Ways & Means puts him at the "center of the action on the economic issues most critical to the country." McCrery added, "At some point in this thing, if Billy wants to run more than I do, that's got to be taken into consideration as well." Tauzin recently has encouraged a change in GOP rules that insists on a six-month party membership requirement on any candidate seeking its endorsement for elected office. The Senate race will be considered at the state GOP

convention in 1/96, only five months after Tauzin's party switch.

Regardless of who is the GOP nominee, NRSC comm. dir. Gordon Hensley thinks the Dems ultimately will "write off" the race. He said that since Senate Dems already face seven retirements, possibly eight, and since open seats are expensive to run, the "cash-strapped Democrats eventually will spend their limited resources on their incumbents." Consequently, he explained, Dems will "dump some 'open' states, probably those in the South where Republicanism is surging." Sen. John Breaux (D), in response:

"It's a ridiculous comment. It doesn't even deserve a reaction"

(9/24). Possible candidates: N.O. Councilmember Peggy Wilson (R), Sec/State Fox McKeithen (R), AG Richard Ieyoub (D), Insurance Commis. Jim Brown (D), Rep. Jimmy Hayes (D-07), state Rep./'78 Dem Senate cand. Woody Jenkins (R), '90 Senate cand. David Duke (R), ex-Rep. Clyde Holloway (R), state Senate Pres. Sammy Nunez (D), oil company head Pat Taylor (R), state Sen. Max Jordan (R), ex-state House Speaker Bubba Henry (R) and Grand Isle Mayor Andy Valence (D). Added to the list of candidates may be some defeated '95 gov. hopefuls.

***13 OREGON: LONSDALE HOPES THIRD TIME'S THE CHARM**

Under the header, "Lonsdale will remain true to his themes," Medford MAIL TRIBUNE's Wong writes that businessman Harry Lonsdale's (D) "main themes this time are the same as in his two previous campaigns -- changing the U.S. political system and protecting Oregon's environment." Lonsdale: "These are two issues I will not compromise on. I think it will be different

this time because there is a greater awareness of what's wrong with elections. There also are a lot of people who feel guilt for not helping me more in 1992." Lonsdale opted out of this year's special election for Bob Packwood's (R) seat in order to focus his efforts on challenging Sen. Mark Hatfield (R) in '96. Lonsdale "gave a scare to Hatfield" in their '90 campaign. In '92, Lonsdale narrowly lost the Dem primary to then-Rep. Les AuCoin (D), who went on to lose to Packwood. Both times Lonsdale "bankrolled" his campaigns. He said he lost both times to incumbents who were "able to tap out-of-state money" from PACs: "It's not the way our elections should be run. ... At the top of my list is the reform of campaign finances. I suppose that's what drove me to do this again, to get that message out to the voters and bring it to the Senate. Not all members of Congress are corrupt, but I think its a corrupt process." Lonsdale pledged again not to accept PAC money (9/23). Other announced Dem: ex-OR Dem chair R.P. Joe Smith. Other possible Dems if Hatfield retires: Reps. Peter DeFazio (D-04) & Ron Wyden (D-03) and AG Ted Kulongoski. Possible GOPers if Hatfield retires: state Schools Supt. Norma Paulus, state Senate Pres. Gordon Smith, '94 House nominee Bill Witt (R-01) and real estate broker Ron Sunseri. DeFazio, Wyden, Paulus and Smith are also running in the special election for Packwood's seat.

*14 TEXAS: CHAPMAN IS LIKELY TO CHALLENGE GRAMM

Rep. Jim Chapman (D-01) announced 9/26 he would not seek re-election to the House seat he won in a 1985 special election and

instead intends to run for the Senate seat currently held by Phil Gramm (R), who is also seeking the GOP pres. nomination. Chapman, on a Senate campaign: "I am absolutely committed to that race. ... My message today is not a goodbye. It is a farewell to the past with a hope and promise of future success for Texas and the nation. I intend to be a part of that future success."

Chapman said his campaign would cost between \$10-15 million. He was "under serious consideration" for appointment to the Senate when Lloyd Bentsen (D) left in '93 to become Sec/Treas., an appointment that ultimately went to then-TX Railroad Commis. Bob Krueger. Chapman said at the time "his appointment was blocked by activists who objected to his voting record on gay-rights issues" (Alsobrook, Sulpher Springs NEWS-TELEGRAM, 9/27).

Chapman said Gramm "will spend every dime he has in seeking the presidency": "Whoever the survivor of the Democratic nominating process will be, if they survive the primary dead broke, they will be on equal footing with Senator Gramm" (Bowie County CITIZENS-TRIBUNE, 9/27). Announced Dems: atty John Odam and educator Victor Morales. Possible Dems: state Sen. John Montford and '94 nominee Richard Fisher.

===== ON THE HOUSE =====

*15 GA 02: RACIAL GERRYMANDERING TAKES ANOTHER BLOW

The DoJ has abandoned its defense of GA's 2nd CD, as state

attys on 9/25 "admitted that race dictated the drawing of its lines -- putting the future of another majority-black district in jeopardy." These moves increase the likelihood that a panel of federal judges could declare Rep. Sanford Bishop's (D) district unconstitutional. State Rep. Tyrone Brooks (D): "The defense has thrown in the towel. If the courts don't rule against it now, I would be totally shocked. It would be a miracle." Experts contend that this also "opens the way for judges to make sweeping changes in GA's congressional representation." Despite the Supreme Court decision that overturned the constitutionality of the 11th CD, GA AG Michael Bowers (R) said that the state will continue to fight for the 2nd CD "as best we can. ... We'll have an extraordinary burden, but we're not throwing in the towel. We have to tell the truth, as unpleasant as it may be to some people." Redrawing both the 11th and 2nd CDs "could affect as much as two-thirds of the state and eliminate one of the majority black districts" (Alexander, ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 9/26).

*16 IL 05: FLANAGAN'S WALLET GETS BIGGER

Last year Michael Flanagan spent \$7,102 for the GOP nomination and the right to take on Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D). He estimates his '96 re-election bid "will cost more than \$1 million." Flanagan manager Jim McClory: "It is so much money, it is hard for me to comprehend. We will probably spend 10 times what we spent in the primary and 10 times what we spent in the general." Flanagan is "getting a lot of attention" from the GOP, a "stark contrast" to last year's "uphill battle." State Rep.

Rod Blagojevich (D) "plans to spend more than \$750,000 in both the primary and general election" and state Rep. Nancy Kaszak (D) "said she hopes to spend \$1 million in the two contests." RNC chair Haley Barbour "said the party will do all it can to help Flanagan retain the seat": "We know the Democrats will spend enough money to burn a wet mule to try to win it back. But [Flanagan] doesn't have to outspend the Democrats. He's already proven that once." Nursing home worker James Griffin said he plans to run in the Dem primary and expects to spend "just \$5,000 of his own money" (Fornek, CHICAGO SUN TIMES, 9/24). Other announced GOPer: Ret. Air Force Maj. Charles M. Prignano. Other possible Dem: ex-Ald. Carole Bialczak.

===== 50 STATE REPORT =====

***17 VIRGINIA: ALL EYES ON FIGHT FOR LEGISLATURE**

The two major national parties and their leaders "are beginning to pour substantial money into the battle for the Virginia General Assembly, with both sides trying to use the fall elections to build early momentum for 1996." Two-thirds of the money raised by Gov. George Allen (R) came from nat'l GOP groups, including Campaign America, which had been the PAC of Senate Maj. Leader Bob Dole. "Not to be outdone," the DNC has contributed \$110,000 thus far to the VA Dems, "with more yet to come." Both parties expect the election results to be strategically important. W. POST's Baker writes that VA "could choose the

first Republican legislature in the South since Reconstruction or, if the Democrats triumph, become one of the few states to turn back the GOP revolution." VA House Dem Caucus chair Jeff Link: "These elections will say either that '94 was a flash in the pan or [that] it has staying power." In recent weeks, RNC chair Haley Barbour, '94 GOP Senate nominee Ollie North and Reagan AG Ed Meese have raised money for GOP leg. candidates. The VA GOP needs a net gain of four seats in the 100-member House of Delegates and three in the 40-member Senate to "replicate Gingrich's success of last year" (9/24). According to a RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH/News 12 poll conducted by Media General Inc., Virginians are "closely divided on whether to dump" the lower House's Dem majority. The findings on the question of the Assembly's partisan makeup were within the poll's margin of error, 4.5%, "meaning neither party can be seen as having a clear edge, even though a plurality of those interviewed described themselves as Republicans." 36% of respondents said they would tip power to the GOP, and 34% said they would preserve the Dem majority. The GOP has "been steadily picking up seats over the past decade, and hopes the trend will put it over the top this year." Confirming a belief that Virginians vote for individuals, the poll indicated that "only 13% of the electorate chooses a candidate on the basis of party affiliation," while 79% of voters said their vote is guided by a candidates views. While Gov. Allen has "made the election a referendum on his administration. ... [he] might not be able to convert his personal popularity to political gain for his party" (Schapiro, RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH,

9/24).

===== THE STRATEGY INTERVIEWS =====

***18 THE GRAMM CAMPAIGN: AS TOLD BY CHARLIE BLACK**

This is the 2nd in a series of HOTLINE interviews with the top campaign strategists to determine how and where each campaign plans to gain the delegates to win the GOP nomination. CHARLIE BLACK is General Chair of Phil Gramm's campaign. (For interview with Alexander strategist Mike Murphy, see HOTLINE 9/13).

HOTLINE: What do you see as the core strategy of the campaign?

BLACK: The essential strategy is that Phil Gramm's message will win him the nomination. Based on the '94 election, and the direction that the Republican Party is going philosophically, what the Republican voters want is fundamental change in the nature of federal government. They want less spending, less taxes, less regulation, downsizing of the federal government and that's what Phil Gramm's entire career has been about. That's really what's working to help him recruit supporters and the reason he's doing well among the activists who are paying attention to the race right now, and the reason he will do the best among primary voters when they begin to pay attention.

HOTLINE: Let's talk about where you are today in polls as

compared to where you wanted to be right now.

BLACK: The national polls are meaningless until we start having primaries and caucuses and every voter starts paying attention on a daily basis. It's not a national race, it's a series of state contests where our basic strategy is this: We started with Sen. Dole as a strong frontrunner based on name identification, personal popularity, and the fact that he has run before. Pat Buchanan is the second best known because he's run before. What we wanted to do was use this year to build a financial base to be able raise the funds to compete with Sen. Dole -- which we're well on our way to doing -- and to recruit volunteer organizations in the key states in the primary and caucus calendar so that we'd be able to either compete or beat him organizationally next year. And in the course of that, we wanted to get the Gramm message before as many people as possible. So we've done that very well. The only test that you have -- and we do not overrate straw polls -- are the people who vote in straw polls. They are the only ones that have paid attention to the contest, and the only ones who have gone to the trouble to learn a lot about all the candidates, and in those Gramm's winning.

HOTLINE: How much did you spend for the Iowa straw poll?

BLACK: It's a hard question to answer because we've had a plan that started this past January that's geared towards the caucuses in February. The only money we really spent that we would not

have spent had there been no straw poll, was on a few buses and some barbecue. Not a significant amount. I don't know how much it was but it's about the same as Dole, Buchanan or Alexander.

HOTLINE: In terms of your strategy, do you have to win Iowa?

BLACK: Of course we don't have to win Iowa. Bob Dole's the frontrunner and Iowa's his best state in the country.

HOTLINE: Who do you think you need to beat?

BLACK: Traditionally, Iowa and New Hampshire act as the filter, so coming out of New Hampshire it's down to no more than three competitive candidates, maybe no more than two. We want to make that cut, because then we go into the part of the calendar that's very Gramm-friendly. Overall, 55% of the delegates are in the South and the West, which is Gramm's home base, the areas that he should do the best. 45% of the delegates are in the Midwest and Northeast, the areas where Dole should do the best. There are more winner-take-all primaries in the South and West than there are in the Midwest and Northeast. So the process is frankly to Phil's advantage. Now I don't know when Iowa and New Hampshire are going to be yet, they may be before Louisiana. But we'll certainly win the 21 delegates in Louisiana that are up for grabs sometime in February. So then you go to Arizona, and immediately to South Carolina, the gateway to the South, and we'll win those. That's the first time you can say Gramm needs to win states.

HOTLINE: So 2nd-place in AZ or SC would be setbacks?

BLACK: Yeah. It would put us off track if we didn't win either one of those. Depending on what else has happened, it doesn't mean the race is over. But it would be inconsistent with our plan not to win those two.

HOTLINE: Did you suffer a setback in SC when Dole won Gov. David Beasley's endorsement?

BLACK: We'd love to have any Governor, any Senator, any Congressman, and we've got some. But they're only valuable enough to make the difference if they've got organization and they go all out to bring out their organization. For example, what John McCain and Fife Symington are doing for us in Arizona has helped Gramm recruit thousands of volunteers. What Sen. D'Amato and Gov. Pataki are doing for Dole in New York, bringing the whole party apparatus into line, is valuable. In South Carolina, I don't see so far that the Governor and the Senator [Thurmond] and the former Governor [Campbell] are bringing the grass roots into line. Quite the contrary.

HOTLINE: Can you overcome your problems in NH?

BLACK: We're doing pretty well in New Hampshire. Sen. Smith and our leadership there think that, since the 4th of July, Gramm's been making a great deal of headway, again at the level of

recruiting local activists. [NH] is not a natural state for Gramm in terms of culture or geographical vicinity, but he's got a lot of good people there. There were a couple of distractions about primary dates, which he was innocent of, but perception counts. I will say this: the rank and file voters up there are not hung up about all that and he and Gov. Merrill are friends.

HOTLINE: Does Buchanan's candidacy harm you? If it develops into a Dole-Gramm-Buchanan race, doesn't that mean Dole wins?

BLACK: We just had that contest in Iowa and Pat lost. And Dole lost for that matter. Look, Pat cannot run with a front-loaded system that has 30 events in seven weeks. You don't have to run in all 30, but to get the nomination you're going to have to target and run aggressive campaigns in at least 20 of those 30. Pat can't do it. Pat not only has no money, he's got debt, he's broke, he's got no organization in more than four or five states. If Pat Buchanan won New Hampshire, he would still lose the nomination because everything happens so fast, he doesn't have time to leverage the momentum into money and organization and talent and put it on television.

HOTLINE: Did Buchanan bring in people across the state lines to the IA straw poll?

BLACK: Absolutely. In fact, the furthest place I saw buses from were buses from Virginia for Buchanan.

HOTLINE: Say you finish third in NH, but Buchanan finishes second; would that be a dangerous situation?

BLACK: I'd prefer that not to happen. But if that's the only state that he's got the capacity to run a full-blown campaign in, then it wouldn't make that much difference. He does not have the resources to compete down the calendar.

HOTLINE: Isn't Buchanan going for the same voters you are?

BLACK: No. Broadly, there's 70-75% of the Republican primary electorate that are conservative, that are in sync with the Republican revolution of '94 and the Contract with America. And as a subset of that, there's a small group that has protectionist tendencies and wants to stop immigration. The great bulk of those conservative voters agree with Gramm on the issues more than Pat. Gramm is a free-trader. He's pro-immigration. He's certainly not an isolationist like Pat.

HOTLINE: Will Gramm compete in the New England primaries?

BLACK: There are about a dozen events on March 5th and we're in full-bore on some of them. We have some organization in those New England states and we're watching it carefully. The extent to which we gear up is dependent on what the other candidates do. If it's a two-way race by then, Dole versus Gramm, Dole certainly

has the upper hand in those states. If Wilson gets traction and becomes competitive and Wilson and Dole are going to split the establishment vote and the moderate-to-liberal vote, there are enough conservatives in those states that we could win some of them. I don't have in our plan for how we get to 51% of the delegates out of those states. But there might be some opportunity there, so we're getting prepared for it.

HOTLINE: On March 5th is New England, Georgia, Colorado and Maryland. Which of these are most critical?

BLACK: Georgia, obviously, is one of Gramm's best states, and we'll win that. We've got a terrific organization in Maryland, better than anybody else, even though that's a state that you might think more traditionally would lean toward Dole. Colorado we're making a priority. Washington State is having caucuses for half of their delegates that day and we're going to compete hard for that. Minnesota is a traditional Dole state. Dole beat Bush big time there and they're having caucuses instead of a primary this time, and I predict right now we'll win that. We're going to pull Minnesota out from under Dole.

HOTLINE: Are you competing in the Florida straw poll?

BLACK: We've got a pretty good organization at the local level. Dole's obviously going all out there. He's really raised the bar for himself. He's got to win it. We're going to be competitive

with him there. ... We try to win everywhere that we go in. But here again we don't have to win. Dole has to win.

HOTLINE: Are you going to compete in New York or give it up?

BLACK: We're going to make a decision in about three weeks.

Here again, depending on who all is going to be in the race, there may be some opportunity for us. I do not have a lot of New York delegates in my projected count.

HOTLINE: After NY and Super Tuesday are the 3/19 Midwest primaries. Any places that you're stronger in than others there?

BLACK: We're probably a little stronger in Illinois and Michigan than Ohio and Wisconsin, but we're organizing and working all of them. ... Any place in the Midwest you're playing on Dole's turf.

HOTLINE: Is there any danger to Gramm's Senate chances if the presidential campaign doesn't pan out?

BLACK: No. He doesn't have any serious competition. If some did develop, he'd win. Right now, he's got the least worthy opponent he's had. They still got three months to find somebody else.

The real heavyweights, the Ann Richards, the John Sharpes, the people like that that might potentially give Gramm a contest, have already dropped out.

===== POLL UPDATE =====

*19 CNN/USA TODAY/GALLUP:

1,011 adults surveyed 9/22-24; margin of error +/- 3%. GOP
primary subsample: 477 GOPers and lean GOPers; +/- 5% (9/27).

CLINTON JOB NOW 8/95 7/95 FAV/UNFAV

Approve 48% 46% 46% Clinton 55%/ 41%

Disapprove 44 43 44 Powell 64 / 13

GOP PRIMARY W/POWELL W/O POWELL

Powell 31% --

Dole 31 46%

Gramm 8 9

Buchanan 7 8

Forbes 3 4

Wilson 3 4

Alexander 2 2

Dornan 1 1

Lugar 1 3

Specter 1 2

Keyes 0 1

Undec. 12 20

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Clinton 51% Powell (R) 54% Clinton 33%

Dole 44 Clinton 39 Powell (I) 33

Dole 30

IF POWELL WERE TO RUN FOR PRES. ...

Rather see him as Republican 42%

Rather see him as independent 41

Doesn't matter (vol.) 9

Don't want him to run (vol.) 2

Don't know 6

ON ISSUES THAT MATTER MOST, IF ELECTED PRES., POWELL'S

POWELL'S VIEWS ... RACE WOULD MAKE IT ...

Agree w/mine 27% Easier to lead country 12%

Disagree w/mine 6 Harder to lead country 62

Unsure 65 No effect (vol.) 20

HAS THE MEDIA BEEN TOO FAVORABLE

TO POWELL IN RECENT WEEKS?

Yes 26%

No 56

ABORTION SHOULD BE ...

Legal under any circumstances 31%

Legal under certain circumstances 54

Illegal in all circumstances 12

===== TV MONITOR =====

*20 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA" hosted P.J. O'Rourke and comedian Bill Maher. NBC's "Today" hosted Gov. Frank Keating (R-OK). "CBS This Morning" hosted Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA). "FOX Morning News" hosted Dick Lugar, Roger Wilkins, W. POST's Jodie Allen and Sen. Chuck Robb (D-VA).

TONIGHT: CNN's "Inside Politics" hosts Paul Tsongas and Bill Bennett.

LAST NIGHT: "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with Bosnia. ABC, CBS and NBC led with O.J. "M/L" focused on Ruby Ridge with Arlen Specter and Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA). CNBC's "Russert" hosted Dole Dep. Chair Bill Lacy. CNBC's "Equal Time" hosted Dep. WH CoS Harold Ickes. ABC's "Nightline" examined O.J.

LAUGHS: Jay Leno: "The experts were right. They said once this Unabomber gets into the Washington Post, every lunatic in the country would come forward looking for publicity. And sure enough, yesterday Ross Perot announced he's forming a third party. ... Instead of forming a new political party, we should be trying to get rid of the two we already have." Leno, on political people appearing on TV: "Last week John F. Kennedy Jr. on 'Murphy Brown,' the President's brother, Roger Clinton appeared on 'The Nanny.' In fact Bob Dole just got his own show on NBC called 'Mad About Everything'" ("Tonight," NBC, 9/26). David Letterman: "My name is David Letterman. Relax ladies and gentleman, your search for a third party candidate is over" ("Late Show," CBS, 9/26). Comedian Bill Maher: "There was a

picture of Dole and Gingrich on the front page of the paper after welfare got cut and it was like, 'Hey we just cut welfare, we're going to Disneyland'" ("GMA," ABC, 9/27).

TOP TEN REJECTED NAMES FOR ROSS PEROT'S POLITICAL PARTY

- 10. The Rosstafarians.
- 9. United We're Nuts.
- 8. The Dork-O-Crats.
- 7. Wacky Ass Billionaires.
- 6. The You Might Be A Redneck If You Join This Party.
- 5. The Adorable Miniature Candidate and His Friends.
- 4. Yankee Doodle Psychos.
- 3. El Party De Nutjobs.
- 2. Shorty and the Blowfish.
- 1. The Hair Club for Geeks.

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"I always wanted to be known as Skip."

-- Colin Powell, saying he never really liked his given name,

TEXT:
Content-Type: text

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##

--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

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=====

OUR TRIPARTISAN COVERAGE		SPOTLIGHT	
Many say Powell should have			
nothing to do with Perot. Pat		THE GRAMM STRATEGY	
Robertson says Perot should			
stay away from the General.		Today's HOTLINE features	
Others say the best way for the		the second of our "Strategy	
GOP to head off a Perot party		Interviews" -- designed to	
is to nominate Powell. And oh		examine where the campaigns	
yeah. Talk like this makes the		aim to win their delegates.	
WH giddy. (#1) (#2) (#4)		Gramm general chair CHARLIE	
		BLACK says that although	
VIDEO DOLE		they are doing well in the	
New campaign video "An		"1995 Primary" categories	
American Hero" is unveiled.		of money and organization,	
Dole: Small-town boy, patriot,		theirs is, at its essence,	
leader. Can Russell High beat		a message-driven campaign.	
Hope High in the American Dream			
finals? (#5)		FIRST WINS: While Black	
		wouldn't describe 3rd place	
WHAT'S IN A NAME?		in IA and NH as setbacks,	
He's no "Collin," he prefers		LA, AZ and SC are almost	
"Colin." But he'd rather his		must-win states. Gramm	
name was "Skip." (#4)		likely won't play hard in	
		New England, but on that	
HEY PHIL, CALLED HOME LATELY?		same date, he'll be looking	
Rep. Jim Chapman (D-TX) calls		to score in GA, CO and WA.	
it quits, but sets his sights		SUPER SPIN: While the	
on Phil Gramm's seat. (#14)		Gramm strategy has been to	
		win every straw poll in	
THE FLEEING NUNN?		sight, Black sees FL's "P3"	
THE HILL reports Sen. Sam		as a Dole must-win. (#18)	
Nunn (D-GA) has decided to		NEXT UP: Bill Lacy.	
retire. (#11)			

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"Third parties don't win, but they do guarantee
that somebody else with the chance to win doesn't."

-- ABC's Jim Wooten, 9/26

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WHITE HOUSE '96

THIRD PARTY: If not Perot, who? (#1)

THIRD PARTY: Republicans fear split in anti-Clinton vote. (#2)

THIRD PARTY: State-by-state requirements. (#3)

POWELL: Perot party may make GOP need him more than ever. (#4)

DOLE: "An American Hero" is introduced. (#5)

GRAMM: Iowa grapples with his anti-ethanol vote. (#6)

FORBES: Test drives his flat-tax and gold standard in IA. (#7)

WILSON: Hopes to give campaign new life with death penalty. (#8)

THE FIELD: UNION LEADER says stick w/ Pat over Ross & Colin. (#9)

MINNESOTA: Dem winning streak in jeopardy. (#10)

SENATE WATCH

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???? OVERLOOKED ????

A cottage industry of political wagering grew out of the fact
that Jimmy Carter did not use the word "malaise" in his now-
famous 7/15/79 speech. So who labeled it the "Malaise Speech?"
Here's one possibility: Carter, at a KY town meeting on 7/31/79,
said, "Sunday night before last, I made a speech about two

problems in our country -- energy and malaise."

-- courtesy of a HOTLINE reader with excellent reference skills

===== WHITE HOUSE '96 =====

*1 THIRD PARTY: IF NOT PEROT, WHO?

Many observers believe Ross Perot's new third party will ultimately be a vehicle for himself as a candidate. Brookings' Stephen Hess: "These are Perot supporters, so their first choice, of course, will be Ross Perot" (N.Y. POST, 9/27). Unless Perot runs himself, he is limited by federal law to spend only \$1,000 of his own money on the party's candidate; in '92, he "paid for his entire \$59 million campaign, which consisted mostly of large blocs of TV time to discuss his call for reducing the federal budget deficit" (Brown, SCRIPPS HOWARD/W. TIMES, 9/27). UWSA exec. dir. Russ Verney, on the Perot plan: "It's very exciting, it's perhaps the most historical event that's happened in 130 years in American politics" ("IP," CNN, 9/26). Perot spokesperson Sharon Holman reported that five minutes after Perot spoke on "Larry King Live" 9/25, 800,000 calls came in to UWSA HQ, and by the next day the calls were still coming in, at about 500/hour (Hall, USA TODAY, 9/27). CBS' Engberg: "Second acts are tough to mount in politics, but Ross Perot says he'll try" (9/26). NPR's Schorr: "There is no way of knowing whether Perot can invent a new party on television and actually make it fly, but there's no question that he has tapped something in the body politic deeper than malaise and funk" (9/26).

POWELL FACTOR: Many analysts said that such an ind. party could prove an appealing vehicle for Colin Powell, despite the general's seeming preference for the GOP. N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Ball writes Powell's friends "downplayed the chances" he would join Perot's party: "With his colossal approval ratings, Powell doesn't need the unpopular Perot, the general's friends say." Powell backer Tex McCrary: "Powell is a soldier who spends a lot of time under the hood of old Volvos. He has a lot of respect for people who make things. And Perot doesn't make anything besides money" (9/27). If Powell took the ind. route, "he may take pains to prove he owes nothing to anyone, including an outsider like Perot. And if ballot access becomes such a challenge that he runs on lines won by the Perot party, he almost certainly would do so with no strings attached" (Shribman, BOSTON GLOBE, 9/27). N.Y. TIMES' Berke writes "clouding any possible alliance" between Powell and Perot "is that for years there has been bad blood" between Perot and one of Powell's closest friends, ex-Pentagon & State official Richard Armitage (9/27). W. TIMES' Hallow writes Powell and Perot do not "appear to be a good match." Steve Forbes also doubted a Powell-Perot alliance: "Powell likes to run his own show, and he doesn't need Perot to help him get on the ballot." Forbes pollster John McLaughlin: "Perot supporters are angry people of the political right and left who perceive themselves as disenfranchised. ... Powell is not running as an angry man. So Perot's supporters are not his kind of people." Dem consultant David Doak: "Why would Mercedes-Benz want to sell its cars out of a Yugo dealership?" (9/27). Pat Robertson, with a variation on the theme: "There's no way, I

don't believe, that Ross Perot is going to support Colin Powell" ("700 Club," 9/26). Powell told the media following his book tour that he received a weekend phone call from Perot telling him of his plan. Powell: "Obviously, it's something that I would consider and he knows I would consider it. But he did not push me, encourage me, or give any indication that this was the purpose" (CNN, 9/26). Ollie North: "Colin Powell just got a big boost. ... There will be a 'Draft Colin Powell' movement within this party" (WRC-AM, 9/26).

OTHERS: Speculation on who might be the candidate, should Perot not run, includes Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-OH), "whose populist speech rocked the [UWSA] conference in Dallas last month." CA Perot activist Jim Larson said Kaptur "is still on the lips" of UWSA members. Larson: "They love Kaptur. They're almost xenophobic on the subject of NAFTA and GATT and they appreciate her stand. She's William Jennings Bryan and Harry Truman wrapped into one. She's got a populist economic message and she's moderate to conservative on social issues" (Brazaitis, Cleve. PLAIN DEALER, 9/27). Lowell Weicker, who has said he is considering an ind. candidacy: "I don't think I could stand on the platform he enunciated" (USA TODAY, 9/27). Also mentioned: Bill Bradley, ex-Sen. David Boren (D-OK), an "independent-minded Democrat," and Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA), "another politician who seems increasingly uncomfortable in the Democratic ranks" (PLAIN DEALER, 9/27).

*2 THIRD PARTY: REPUBLICANS FEAR SPLIT IN ANTI-CLINTON VOTE

Reaction among Republicans was that Ross Perot "had turned on them and that his potential candidacy -- or that of any third party candidate -- would help re-elect President Clinton ... Only six weeks ago, the Republican presidential contenders trooped down to Dallas to praise Mr. Perot." Bob Dole: "I can't figure the fellow out. We're doing all the things he would have done. It seems to me he has a checklist and if we don't do it in a week, he's going to run for president." Speaker Newt Gingrich said Perot was making a "substantial mistake," calling third parties a "fantasy of delusion -- that you're going to go out and do things differently" (Berke, N.Y. TIMES, 9/27). Phil Gramm: "If we have a credible candidate, a credible program, Ross Perot is not going to be credible." Pete Wilson: "America has been, by and large, well served by a two-party system" (CNN, 9/26). Dole Dep. Chair Bill Lacy: "The concern that I would have is that if you get a Dole-Clinton confrontation, it's an absolutely sort of classic, perfect contrast. If you add someone else to the mix, it makes it a very different situation" ("Russert," CNBC, 9/26). Lamar Alexander said a 3rd party candidate "controlled" by Perot could mean a "deja-lose formula that would make 1996 a rerun of 1992." GOP Chair Haley Barbour said if the GOP fulfills its promise on Capitol Hill, "a Ross Perot party will never materialize or will amount to nothing" (BOSTON GLOBE, 9/27). Pat Buchanan said a move by Perot supporters to a 3d party "is a vote of no confidence in Bob Dole and Phil Gramm in November. Neither of those guys is going to do anything about big money in politics or term limits or NAFTA or GATT and the new world order because

they voted for them" (W. TIMES, 9/27). Bill Bennett "urged his party to just 'let him go'" (W.S. JOURNAL, 9/27). By contrast, Dems were "celebrating," as demonstrated by Pres. Clinton's "hardly critical comments": "I'm an ardent promoter of political reform, as you know. But he'll have to do whatever he wants to do and the American people can make their judgment" (N.Y. TIMES, 9/27). CNN's Shipman, at the WH: "The official line is that it's still far too early to tell what effect Perot's announcement will have. ... Behind the scenes, advisers admit that the Perot announcement ought to help the Clinton candidacy by dividing the anti-Clinton vote" (9/26). ABC's Wooten: "Third parties don't win, but they do guarantee that somebody else with the chance to win doesn't" (9/26). Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-AR): "This all helps out Bill Clinton. It pulls votes away from the Republican Party" (ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 9/27).

NO BIG DEAL: BOSTON GLOBE's Shribman writes Perot's announcement "probably hasn't changed the dynamics" of the election. "The public, to be sure, is impatient with the political class. It is tired of its promises, its performance, its petty disputes. But the voters' hunger is for change -- not for another party, another nomination struggle, another convention and another set of platform fights. ... People who are rejecting the established political parties may resist joining another one." Despite the attractiveness of an ind. campaign, "it is far more important to have an appealing candidate than to have a party structure. Unless Perot attracts a candidate with the appeal of Powell, he is unlikely to have much impact." Dem consultant Keith Fredericks: "We've had lots of parties on the ballot for years, and they never go anywhere. Everything moves on the basis of personality." Denison Univ.'s Emmett Buell: "If this party is going to be his [Perot's] personal possession, if he is going to vet the candidate, if he is going to control the thing, then you have to be unimpressed. Perot has a lot of personal liabilities; there is a party that is dealing with the deficit; and the public's interest is in Colin Powell, not in Ross Perot" (9/27). Political scientist James Reichley acknowledged, "There clearly is more of a hunger for a third force in our politics than at any time since the Progressive era. ... [But] the factors that block it are very strongly in place. It may just fizzle" (W.S. JOURNAL, 9/27).

BOTH GET HURT: W.S. JOURNAL's Harwood writes Dem House and Senate candidates "might also have reason to worry." GOP pollster Frank Luntz "reasons [that] any increase in turnout the party generates is more likely to fall to the Republicans" (9/27). W. POST header: "Perot's Party Is Seen Benefiting Clinton and Hill GOP" (9/27).

*3 THIRD PARTY: STATE-BY-STATE REQUIREMENTS

The following is a state-by-state look at what is needed to get a new party on the ballot for a pres. candidacy, according to Ballot Access News. All dates are '96 except CA, ME and OH (USA TODAY, 9/27):

AL: 11,991 signatures by Sept. 2.

AK: 2,586 signatures by undetermined date.
AZ: 15,062 signatures by May 21.
AR: 21,506 signatures by Jan. 2.
CA: 890,064 signatures from registered voters by Oct. 24. Or,
89,007 people would have to register as members of the
new party by that date.
CO: No procedure.
CT: No procedure.
DE: 180 signatures of registered voters by Aug. 17.
DC: No procedure.
FL: 196,788 signatures by July 16.
GA: 30,036 signatures by July 9.
HI: 4,889 signatures by April 24.
ID: 9,644 signatures by Aug. 31.
IL: No procedure.
IN: No procedure.
IA: No procedure.
KS: 16,418 signatures by June 1.
KY: No procedure.
LA: Must register 5% of registered voters by June 30. Or,
candidate must get at least 5% of vote in a general
election.
ME: 25,551 signatures by Dec. 14.
MD: 10,000 signatures by Aug. 5.
MA: 34,000 signatures of registered voters by July 1.
MI: 30,891 signatures by July 18.
MN: 89,731 signatures by May 1.
MS: Just be organized by April 1.
MO: 10,000 signatures by Aug. 5.
MT: 10,471 signatures by March 14.
NE: 5,741 signatures by Aug. 1.
NV: 3,761 signatures by July 11.
NH: No procedure.
NJ: No procedure.
NM: 2,339 signatures by July 9.
NY: No procedure.
NC: 51,904 signatures by undetermined date.
ND: 7,000 signatures by April 12.
OH: 33,463 signatures by Nov. 20.
OK: 49,751 signatures May 31.
OR: 18,316 signatures on Aug. 27.
PA: No procedure.
RI: 18,069 signatures by Aug. 1.
SC: 10,000 signatures by May 5.
SD: 7,792 signatures by April 2.
TN: 37,179 signatures by May 1.
TX: 43,963 signatures by May 23.
UT: 500 signatures by Jan. 2.
VT: Just be organized by Sept. 19.
VA: No procedure.
WA: No procedure.
WV: No procedure.
WI: 10,000 signatures by June 1.
WY: 8,000 signatures by May 1.

NOTE ON ABOVE: Some states have no procedure by which a new party can qualify before it chooses candidates. In those states, supporters of a specific candidate follow a separate procedure to put that person on the ballot.

YESTERDAY IN OHIO: COLUMBUS DISPATCH's Mike Curtin: "The person who walked into the Ohio Secretary of State's office yesterday to do some paperwork in conjunction with this launch of an independent party was a person from ... Armada, Michigan -- wherever that is. So, clearly there was no person in Ohio who was called upon to ... do that work." On Perot's OH chances: "I would doubt that Ross Perot himself can do 21% in Ohio again. ... An independent candidate would have to be someone other than Ross Perot" (NPR, 9/27).

*4 POWELL: PEROT PARTY MAY MAKE GOP NEED HIM MORE THAN EVER

W.S. JOURNAL's Seib writes, perhaps Ross Perot is "creating a vehicle Colin Powell can drive to the White House." However, it is "more likely" Perot's party makes Powell "a lot more attractive as a Republican candidate in the eyes of GOP skeptics." If Perot's Independence Party actually gets up and running in '96, it poses a "huge problem" for the GOP. It will "suck away" the votes of independent-minded voters who otherwise would vote for a GOPer to "vent their unhappiness" with Pres. Clinton. GOPers must ask themselves "which potential Republican candidate has the greatest potential to hold those independents, to enlarge the party's reach rather than see it narrowed in a three-way race? That would be Colin Powell." In this scenario lies the "most overlooked" and "most important" comparison between Powell and Dwight Eisenhower. In '52, Ike "brought to the polls, and into the GOP column, millions upon millions of new voters." Eisenhower tripled the GOP turnout in NH from '48, and almost tripled the size of the GOP primary electorate overall. In the general election, 33.9 million people voted Republican, a 54% increase over the 22M who voted for Tom Dewey in '48. Overall, turnout went up 26% in '52 (9/27).

MARK HER DOWN AS AN "ANTI": Linda Chavez writes that while it is "almost heretical" to say that Powell is not ready to be pres., his "political philosophy is unformed. It's incoherent." Powell is "not so much independent as he is ambivalent. And one thing the country does not need right now is a president who can't make up his mind on the important issues of the day. We've had that for nearly three years, which is why so many people are yearning for someone who projects authority and confidence to step into the race" (USA TODAY, 9/27).

AT HEART, HE'S ONLY A SEMI-COLIN: Powell appeared last night on the "Tonight Show." When introduced by Jay Leno, he received a standing ovation. Talk mostly centered on his book and family life. When asked whether to pronounce his name "Colin" or "Collin," Powell said he used to be comfortable with either pronunciation, but now he prefers "Colin." But he said he didn't like his name at all. When asked what he would rather be called, Powell replied, "I always wanted to be known as Skip"

("Tonight," NBC, 9/26).

***5 DOLE: "AN AMERICAN HERO" IS INTRODUCED**

Elizabeth Dole looks directly into the camera and speaks of the aftermath of her husband's war injury: "Some said he'd never get out of bed. But they -- the experts -- didn't understand what a man like Bob Dole was made of." The Dole campaign's new 14-minute video, "An American Hero," signals a "determination to make his personal story a central advertising theme" in the race. The film was screened for the first time last night at a DC fundraiser and an 8-minute version was shown on TCI News' "Race for the Presidency." It may "seem odd" for Dole "to kick off his media effort with an essentially biographical approach. But the video, which will be distributed to thousands of supporters and probably distilled to a 60-second version, reflects a tactical decision to stress the personal." Dole media consultant Stuart Stevens: "There's a uniquely powerful story embodied in Bob Dole's life, yet many people really don't know this story. ... There's a thread of character, persistence and values that runs throughout this man's life and says a lot about what sort of president he would be." Strategists believe Dole's WWII heroism "contrasts nicely" with Pres. Clinton. The video, "filled with shots of churches, barbershops and front porches, tries to cast [Dole] as a 'strong role model.'" It uses footage from his April announcement speech, his May attack on Hollywood, and features Dole "movingly" describing his war injury. But the video "rarely ventures beyond such bromides as 'cutting taxes' and 'return power to the states'" and "says little about his legislative record" (Kurtz, W. POST, 9/27). 85,000 copies of the video will be sent to supporters in key states including NH, IA, SC and FL starting mid-October (release, 9/27). W. POST's Kurtz calls the video the Dole version of Clinton's "Man From Hope"(9/27).

CYBER-SURF'S UP! The Dole campaign launched its new web site. Check it out at <http://www.dole96.com> (release, 9/27).

***6 GRAMM: IOWA GRAPPLES WITH HIS ANTI-ETHANOL VOTE**

IA supporters of Phil Gramm, who voted against gov't ethanol programs in 8/94, "want his vote to be seen as principled." Bob Dole supporters, who voted for ethanol, "think otherwise and farm state Democrats agree." When the vote was cast, the debate was framed as "Big Oil against the farmer," and the Senate split along regional rather than party lines. In the end, VP Gore broke a 50-50 deadlock, casting a vote that preserved a share for ethanol in the clean fuels program. Now, as Gramm campaigns in IA, "he says that he has always supported ethanol and agriculture, and that the contrast with Dole in his voting record may say as much about philosophy as it does about who supports agriculture more." Gramm aides "say they are not surprised that the Dole campaign would bring up past ethanol votes as Dole's lead [in IA] shrinks." Gramm spokesperson Bob Haus: "This is what we've been waiting for and expecting." Gramm has picked up support from ex-IA Corn Grower's Assn presidents Bill Horan and Doran Zumbach. Horan has said Gramm's vote against "what became known as the ethanol mandate was in keeping with his beliefs."

Horan: "He is dead-set philosophically against mandates. ... I will tell you there are a number of corn growers who are a little squeamish about these mandates, too." While Horan said Gramm has voted with ethanol "in other instances," the Dole campaign cites other anti-ethanol Gramm votes and notes Dole's current opposition to removing the ethanol tax break. Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA): "Gramm ... has always been opposed to ethanol." But Gramm supporters "say their candidates commitment to finding ways to expand markets and increase barge shipping on the Mississippi River is more important to them than Dole's record on ethanol and farm subsidies. More Horan: "[Gramm] believes the future of agriculture is in the free market and not a check in the mailbox" (Pins, DES MOINES REGISTER, 9/27).

*7 FORBES: TEST-DRIVES HIS FLAT TAX AND GOLD STANDARD IN IA

Steve Forbes visited IA for the first time, "saying the country needs a flat-rate income tax and a return to the gold standard to lower interest rates." Forbes, in a news conference and IN meetings with Register reporters, "fashioned himself as the most vigorous opponent of taxes and spending" in the GOP field: "No one else is willing to carry the banner of growth and opportunity. They all submerge it to a balanced budget. To me, getting the country growing is more important than Washington getting its books right." Forbes "admitted he will have a hard time doing well in the Iowa caucuses" because he "started late." He did say, however, that he would "devote the resources necessary" to get his message across in the state" (Yepsen, DES MOINES REGISTER, 9/27).

WHY FORBES IS WELCOME: W. POST'S Broder writes Forbes' entry is a "welcome event" because he has "a coherent set of conservative ideas. ... Whether you agree with him or not, he will add to the quality of the upcoming candidate debates" (9/27). BOSTON GLOBE's Shribman writes Forbes "is a leading indicator of where the conservatives who are running the Congress today are heading, even if they aren't saying so and even if they don't know it yet themselves." House froshies and other "torchbearers of the Republican Revolution" lined up with Dole early, but "their hearts are with Steve Forbes." Forbes is a "reluctant warrior" who twice tried to talk Jack Kemp back into the race. Kemp "didn't bite. So Forbes is running himself. ... Forbes won't win the election, but he won't be lost in the campaign" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 9/27).

*8 WILSON: HOPES TO GIVE CAMPAIGN NEW LIFE WITH DEATH PENALTY

"Returning to a theme that brought him to office," Pete Wilson signed a bill that, if ratified by voters, will be the first expansion of CA's death penalty law in its 17 years. "As he tries to generate support for his struggling" campaign, Wilson signed a bill authorizing a statewide vote to extend the death penalty to include murders committed carjackings and retaliatory killings of jurors. Today, Wilson will sign a bill calling for a statewide vote to expand the death penalty to murders committed during drive-by shootings. CA's death penalty requires voter approval for changes. These measures will appear on the CA

ballot in 3/96, the same ballot used for the pres. primary.

"Passage is likely given California voters' strong support of capital punishment." The anti-crime theme has been Wilson's "most consistent refrain" as gov., and he hopes to use this event and others like it to "boost his standing" in CA polls where he trails both Pres. Clinton and Bob Dole. Wilson spokesperson Sean Walsh said the bill signing was "yet another demonstration that, while other politicians talk about being tough on crime, Wilson takes action. ... You see Bob Dole and Phil Gramm talking and getting nothing done in Washington. We can take all these bills to other states and show what we've done." As Wilson signed the bill, he "took the opportunity to slap at Congress," urging that it limit death penalty appeals (Morain, L.A. TIMES, 9/27).

GORTON, BUT NOT FORGOTTEN: During the news conference, a "tired" Wilson said "he has yet to complete a restructuring of his troubled" campaign. Wilson said he regrets the loss of manager George Gorton but added he still has "abundant talent serving me." Wilson said he plans to stick to the "game plan" outlined by Gorton. Gorton resigned last week "amid signs that [Wilson's] effort is deeply in debt and struggling to survive." Wilson said his plan is "the same as it has been, and that is to concentrate on the early primaries, because they are early, and also because they are states that look very good to us: New Hampshire, New England, New York." He said the campaign will also "make a major effort" in FL and AZ. Wilson, asked about his campaign's health: "There isn't anything that I can add to what you have heard recently. I think we have been quite candid. ... We were disappointed with fundraising in the summer months. September has been, I think, pretty good for us." Wilson also said he doesn't anticipate "at this point" the need to borrow against the federal matching funds. On the personal health front, Wilson's voice, which cracked repeatedly, "sounded no closer to recovery than it did shortly after he underwent throat surgery in April" (Chance/Chavez, SACRAMENTO BEE, 9/27).

*9 FIELD NOTES: UNION LEADER SAYS STICK W/PAT OVER ROSS, COLIN

BUCHANAN: A Manchester UNION LEADER editorial keeps up its pro-Buchanan theme: "A third political party is neither wise nor necessary, and that is particularly true if Ross Perot places himself at the helm of the new venture. ... The problem in the nation today is not the two political parties, but rather the tired leaders of those parties too often continuing the past practice of being all things to all people. Never has it been more evident than in the recycled has-beens offering themselves up to New Hampshire's citizens as the voices of the future: the Bob Doles, Phil Gramms, Pete Wilsons, Lamar Alexanders. ... The era of Democratic excess must be brought to a formal close. The foundation already is in place. It remains merely to place the proper individual at the helm. And that individual already is a candidate, already is known to New Hampshire's voters and taxpayers, already has made a serious bid for Presidency. Patrick Buchanan, like Powell, and Perot, has never held elective office, but he has served in the White House under two [admins.]. He, more importantly, has been dealing with the issues on center

stage today for a long time, as a commentator and columnist, discussing them in detail, exploring the options, advancing solutions. He knows the system and what is broken. He knows the international scene, our real friends --and our enemies. ...

Buchanan represents an alternative whose time has come" (9/27).

LUGAR: Dick Lugar appeared on "FOX Morning News" to discuss progress made in the Bosnia peace process. Lugar, on Pres.

Clinton's failure to discuss the U.S. position with Congress:

"Clearly the level of consultation that has to occur simply has not occurred ... The President needs to talk to Congress because without that, there will simply be argument after argument. ... Senator Dole's letter, signed by several senators yesterday said simply that the President cannot hope to be successful in this commitment without this consultation. ... The President really needs to deal with this problem" (9/27).

KASICH: OH activist Gene Davis has filed papers with the FEC starting a cmte to draft Rep. John Kasich (R) for pres. Davis said that though he has never met with Kasich, he is impressed with the House Budget Cmte chair nonetheless: "You see him all over. The guy's dynamic. Right now it looks like a dark horse has as good a chance as the light horse" (COLUMBUS DISPATCH, 9/24).

*10 MINNESOTA: DEM WINNING STREAK IN JEOPARDY

ST. PAUL PIONEER PRESS Poll, conducted 9/15-17 by PMR, surveyed 805 registered MN voters; margin of error +/- 3.5%. Subsample: 261 likely GOP primary voters; +/- 6%. 287 likely Dem primary voters; +/- 6% (9/22). Gramm this past weekend won a MN GOP straw poll (see HOTLINE 9/25).

GOP PRIMARY	W/POWELL	W/OUT POWELL	FAV/UNFAV	ID
Dole	29%	47%	53%/ 12%	100%
Powell	23	--	56 / 8	94
Gramm	9	15	34 / 14	94
Buchanan	8	9	27 / 21	92
Wilson	4	5	19 / 11	68
Alexander	--	1	8 / 6	49
Lugar	--	1	12 / 3	44
Specter	--	--	8 / 17	53
Dornan	--	--	8 / 9	38
Keyes	--	--	6 / 3	42
Undecided	27	22		

CLINTON JOB	CLINTON RE-ELECT
Exc/good 41%	Re-elect 35%
Fair/poor 59	Consider 28
	Replace 37

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Clinton 43%	Powell 45%	Clinton 31%
Dole 42	Clinton 32	Powell 26
	Dole 25	

===== SENATE WATCH =====

***11 GEORGIA: NUNN REPORTED TO ANNOUNCE RETIREMENT NEXT WEEK**

THE HILL's Myers reports Sen. Sam Nunn (D) "has tentatively decided not to seek a fifth term" and will likely make his plans known next week in an Atlanta press conference. Sources "said Nunn has lost his desire" to serve since the GOP took over the Senate and he lost his Armed Services cmte chair. GA Dem comm. dir. Bill Florence: "My gut level feeling is that he is not going to run." Another source: "I have heard that gays in the military is the only issue the Christian Coalition has to run against Sam Nunn with. He doesn't want to spend the next 14 months discussing the issue. He would rather leave the Senate gracefully and maybe some day be secretary of state" (9/27 issue). Nunn is "not letting on" whether he has decided to seek re-election or retire. "There are indications both ways." A skeleton campaign organization is in place, and the campaign has identified, but not yet rented, office space in Atlanta. Nunn earlier this year hired back fund-raiser Valeria MacPhail from Gov. Zell Miller (D), and she and campaign treas. Gordon Giffin have "mapped out a schedule of autumn fund-raising events." So far, however, no one has been invited. Aides are preparing a list of accomplishments over the past 23 years (Christensen, ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION, 9/24). That kind of "careful contingency strategy has kept Mr. Nunn's potential opponents off guard and prevented any serious GOP opposition from getting started." One close adviser: "He's sought advice from people and asked them, 'What would I do if I were not a senator?' Some people he's had that kind of conversation with come away from it believing he will not run." But a veteran Dem adviser said, "If I had to bet, I'd say he'd run again" (Lambro, W. TIMES, 9/26). Nunn repeatedly has said that his decision is "more personal than political, that at age 58 he must decide what to do with the rest of his life." His indecision has "given birth to a host of rumors," including one that he might run for gov. in '98, when Miller's term expires (CONSTITUTION, 9/24). An NRSC release header: "Dems fear Nunn exit will devastate party chances in the South" (9/25). Nunn's FEC statement showed him raising just \$4,605 for the first six months of '95. Announced GOPers: physician Paul Braun and hospital administrator Bruce Hatfield. Possible GOPers, if Nunn retires: Reps. Jack Kingston (R-01), John Linder (R-04) & Mac Collins (R-03), '90 gov. nominee/state Sen. Johnny Isakson, AG Mike Bowers, '94 gov. nominee Guy Millner, GA GOP chair Billy Lovett, and ex-Sen. Mack Mattingly. Possible Dems, if Nunn retires: LG Pierre Howard, Sec/State Max Cleland, Gov. Zell Miller, ex-Rep. Buddy Darden, ex-Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, and Labor Commis. David Poythress.

***12 LOUISIANA: McCRERY & TAUZIN ARE FRIENDLY, FOR NOW**

BATON ROUGE ADVOCATE's McKinney writes that Rep. Billy Tauzin (R-03) has been, since his party switch, introducing himself to Republicans who could be "important allies" if he runs for the seat of retiring Sen. Bennett Johnson (D) in '96. He and fellow GOP Rep. Jim McCreery (R-05) maintain that two Republican

congressmen will not run for the Senate seat and divide the GOP vote; that same conversation has taken place between McCrery and Rep. Richard Baker (R-06), who also said they would not run against each other. The "it-can't-be-both-of us" talk between McCrery and Tauzin is "amicable, and it is unresolved," according to McCrery. He notes that both men have "plump campaign bank accounts, and for the first part of 1995 McCrery was raising money at a faster rate than Tauzin." But if not resolved, the "McCrery-Tauzin conversation nevertheless seems to have a certain drift, and that drift has pushed Tauzin closer to the Senate race than McCrery." McCrery has said that while a Senate bid is a "live option," his post on Ways & Means puts him at the "center of the action on the economic issues most critical to the country." McCrery added, "At some point in this thing, if Billy wants to run more than I do, that's got to be taken into consideration as well." Tauzin recently has encouraged a change in GOP rules that insists on a six-month party membership requirement on any candidate seeking its endorsement for elected office. The Senate race will be considered at the state GOP convention in 1/96, only five months after Tauzin's party switch. Regardless of who is the GOP nominee, NRSC comm. dir. Gordon Hensley thinks the Dems ultimately will "write off" the race. He said that since Senate Dems already face seven retirements, possibly eight, and since open seats are expensive to run, the "cash-strapped Democrats eventually will spend their limited resources on their incumbents." Consequently, he explained, Dems will "dump some 'open' states, probably those in the South where Republicanism is surging." Sen. John Breaux (D), in response: "It's a ridiculous comment. It doesn't even deserve a reaction" (9/24). Possible candidates: N.O. Councilmember Peggy Wilson (R), Sec/State Fox McKeithen (R), AG Richard Ieyoub (D), Insurance Commis. Jim Brown (D), Rep. Jimmy Hayes (D-07), state Rep./'78 Dem Senate cand. Woody Jenkins (R), '90 Senate cand. David Duke (R), ex-Rep. Clyde Holloway (R), state Senate Pres. Sammy Nunez (D), oil company head Pat Taylor (R), state Sen. Max Jordan (R), ex-state House Speaker Bubba Henry (R) and Grand Isle Mayor Andy Valence (D). Added to the list of candidates may be some defeated '95 gov. hopefuls.

*13 OREGON: LONSDALE HOPES THIRD TIME'S THE CHARM

Under the header, "Lonsdale will remain true to his themes," Medford MAIL TRIBUNE's Wong writes that businessman Harry Lonsdale's (D) "main themes this time are the same as in his two previous campaigns -- changing the U.S. political system and protecting Oregon's environment." Lonsdale: "These are two issues I will not compromise on. I think it will be different this time because there is a greater awareness of what's wrong with elections. There also are a lot of people who feel guilt for not helping me more in 1992." Lonsdale opted out of this year's special election for Bob Packwood's (R) seat in order to focus his efforts on challenging Sen. Mark Hatfield (R) in '96. Lonsdale "gave a scare to Hatfield" in their '90 campaign. In '92, Lonsdale narrowly lost the Dem primary to then-Rep. Les AuCoin (D), who went on to lose to Packwood. Both times Lonsdale

"bankrolled" his campaigns. He said he lost both times to incumbents who were "able to tap out-of-state money" from PACs: "It's not the way our elections should be run. ... At the top of my list is the reform of campaign finances. I suppose that's what drove me to do this again, to get that message out to the voters and bring it to the Senate. Not all members of Congress are corrupt, but I think its a corrupt process." Lonsdale pledged again not to accept PAC money (9/23). Other announced Dem: ex-OR Dem chair R.P. Joe Smith. Other possible Dems if Hatfield retires: Reps. Peter DeFazio (D-04) & Ron Wyden (D-03) and AG Ted Kulongoski. Possible GOPers if Hatfield retires: state Schools Supt. Norma Paulus, state Senate Pres. Gordon Smith, '94 House nominee Bill Witt (R-01) and real estate broker Ron Sunseri. DeFazio, Wyden, Paulus and Smith are also running in the special election for Packwood's seat.

*14 TEXAS: CHAPMAN IS LIKELY TO CHALLENGE GRAMM

Rep. Jim Chapman (D-01) announced 9/26 he would not seek re-election to the House seat he won in a 1985 special election and instead intends to run for the Senate seat currently held by Phil Gramm (R), who is also seeking the GOP pres. nomination. Chapman, on a Senate campaign: "I am absolutely committed to that race. ... My message today is not a goodbye. It is a farewell to the past with a hope and promise of future success for Texas and the nation. I intend to be a part of that future success." Chapman said his campaign would cost between \$10-15 million. He was "under serious consideration" for appointment to the Senate when Lloyd Bentsen (D) left in '93 to become Sec/Treas., an appointment that ultimately went to then-TX Railroad Commis. Bob Krueger. Chapman said at the time "his appointment was blocked by activists who objected to his voting record on gay-rights issues" (Alsobrook, Sulpher Springs NEWS-TELEGRAM, 9/27). Chapman said Gramm "will spend every dime he has in seeking the presidency": "Whoever the survivor of the Democratic nominating process will be, if they survive the primary dead broke, they will be on equal footing with Senator Gramm" (Bowie County CITIZENS-TRIBUNE, 9/27). Announced Dems: atty John Odam and educator Victor Morales. Possible Dems: state Sen. John Montford and '94 nominee Richard Fisher.

===== ON THE HOUSE =====

*15 GA 02: RACIAL GERRYMANDERING TAKES ANOTHER BLOW

The DoJ has abandoned its defense of GA's 2nd CD, as state attys on 9/25 "admitted that race dictated the drawing of its lines -- putting the future of another majority-black district in jeopardy." These moves increase the likelihood that a panel of federal judges could declare Rep. Sanford Bishop's (D) district unconstitutional. State Rep. Tyrone Brooks (D): "The defense has thrown in the towel. If the courts don't rule against it now, I would be totally shocked. It would be a miracle." Experts contend that this also "opens the way for judges to make sweeping changes in GA's congressional representation." Despite the Supreme Court decision that overturned the constitutionality of

the 11th CD, GA AG Michael Bowers (R) said that the state will continue to fight for the 2nd CD "as best we can. ... We'll have an extraordinary burden, but we're not throwing in the towel. We have to tell the truth, as unpleasant as it may be to some people." Redrawing both the 11th and 2nd CDs "could affect as much as two-thirds of the state and eliminate one of the majority black districts" (Alexander, ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 9/26).

*16 IL 05: FLANAGAN'S WALLET GETS BIGGER

Last year Michael Flanagan spent \$7,102 for the GOP nomination and the right to take on Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D). He estimates his '96 re-election bid "will cost more than \$1 million." Flanagan manager Jim McClory: "It is so much money, it is hard for me to comprehend. We will probably spend 10 times what we spent in the primary and 10 times what we spent in the general." Flanagan is "getting a lot of attention" from the GOP, a "stark contrast" to last year's "uphill battle." State Rep. Rod Blagojevich (D) "plans to spend more than \$750,000 in both the primary and general election" and state Rep. Nancy Kaszak (D) "said she hopes to spend \$1 million in the two contests." RNC chair Haley Barbour "said the party will do all it can to help Flanagan retain the seat": "We know the Democrats will spend enough money to burn a wet mule to try to win it back. But [Flanagan] doesn't have to outspend the Democrats. He's already proven that once." Nursing home worker James Griffin said he plans to run in the Dem primary and expects to spend "just \$5,000 of his own money" (Fornek, CHICAGO SUN TIMES, 9/24). Other announced GOPer: Ret. Air Force Maj. Charles M. Prignano. Other possible Dem: ex-Ald. Carole Bialczak.

===== 50 STATE REPORT =====

*17 VIRGINIA: ALL EYES ON FIGHT FOR LEGISLATURE

The two major national parties and their leaders "are beginning to pour substantial money into the battle for the Virginia General Assembly, with both sides trying to use the fall elections to build early momentum for 1996." Two-thirds of the money raised by Gov. George Allen (R) came from nat'l GOP groups, including Campaign America, which had been the PAC of Senate Maj. Leader Bob Dole. "Not to be outdone," the DNC has contributed \$110,000 thus far to the VA Dems, "with more yet to come." Both parties expect the election results to be strategically important. W. POST's Baker writes that VA "could choose the first Republican legislature in the South since Reconstruction or, if the Democrats triumph, become one of the few states to turn back the GOP revolution." VA House Dem Caucus chair Jeff Link: "These elections will say either that '94 was a flash in the pan or [that] it has staying power." In recent weeks, RNC chair Haley Barbour, '94 GOP Senate nominee Ollie North and Reagan AG Ed Meese have raised money for GOP leg. candidates. The VA GOP needs a net gain of four seats in the 100-member House of Delegates and three in the 40-member Senate to "replicate Gingrich's success of last year" (9/24). According to a RICHMOND

TIMES-DISPATCH/News 12 poll conducted by Media General Inc., Virginians are "closely divided on whether to dump" the lower House's Dem majority. The findings on the question of the Assembly's partisan makeup were within the poll's margin of error, 4.5%, "meaning neither party can be seen as having a clear edge, even though a plurality of those interviewed described themselves as Republicans." 36% of respondents said they would tip power to the GOP, and 34% said they would preserve the Dem majority. The GOP has "been steadily picking up seats over the past decade, and hopes the trend will put it over the top this year." Confirming a belief that Virginians vote for individuals, the poll indicated that "only 13% of the electorate chooses a candidate on the basis of party affiliation," while 79% of voters said their vote is guided by a candidates views. While Gov. Allen has "made the election a referendum on his administration. ... [he] might not be able to convert his personal popularity to political gain for his party" (Schapiro, RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 9/24).

===== THE STRATEGY INTERVIEWS =====

***18 THE GRAMM CAMPAIGN: AS TOLD BY CHARLIE BLACK**

This is the 2nd in a series of HOTLINE interviews with the top campaign strategists to determine how and where each campaign plans to gain the delegates to win the GOP nomination. CHARLIE BLACK is General Chair of Phil Gramm's campaign. (For interview with Alexander strategist Mike Murphy, see HOTLINE 9/13).

HOTLINE: What do you see as the core strategy of the campaign?

BLACK: The essential strategy is that Phil Gramm's message will win him the nomination. Based on the '94 election, and the direction that the Republican Party is going philosophically, what the Republican voters want is fundamental change in the nature of federal government. They want less spending, less taxes, less regulation, downsizing of the federal government and that's what Phil Gramm's entire career has been about. That's really what's working to help him recruit supporters and the reason he's doing well among the activists who are paying attention to the race right now, and the reason he will do the best among primary voters when they begin to pay attention.

HOTLINE: Let's talk about where you are today in polls as compared to where you wanted to be right now.

BLACK: The national polls are meaningless until we start having primaries and caucuses and every voter starts paying attention on a daily basis. It's not a national race, it's a series of state contests where our basic strategy is this: We started with Sen. Dole as a strong frontrunner based on name identification, personal popularity, and the fact that he has run before. Pat Buchanan is the second best known because he's run before. What we wanted to do was use this year to build a financial base to be able raise the funds to compete with Sen. Dole -- which we're well on our way to doing -- and to recruit volunteer

organizations in the key states in the primary and caucus calendar so that we'd be able to either compete or beat him organizationally next year. And in the course of that, we wanted to get the Gramm message before as many people as possible. So we've done that very well. The only test that you have -- and we do not overrate straw polls -- are the people who vote in straw polls. They are the only ones that have paid attention to the contest, and the only ones who have gone to the trouble to learn a lot about all the candidates, and in those Gramm's winning.

HOTLINE: How much did you spend for the Iowa straw poll?

BLACK: It's a hard question to answer because we've had a plan that started this past January that's geared towards the caucuses in February. The only money we really spent that we would not have spent had there been no straw poll, was on a few buses and some barbecue. Not a significant amount. I don't know how much it was but it's about the same as Dole, Buchanan or Alexander.

HOTLINE: In terms of your strategy, do you have to win Iowa?

BLACK: Of course we don't have to win Iowa. Bob Dole's the frontrunner and Iowa's his best state in the country.

HOTLINE: Who do you think you need to beat?

BLACK: Traditionally, Iowa and New Hampshire act as the filter, so coming out of New Hampshire it's down to no more than three competitive candidates, maybe no more than two. We want to make that cut, because then we go into the part of the calendar that's very Gramm-friendly. Overall, 55% of the delegates are in the South and the West, which is Gramm's home base, the areas that he should do the best. 45% of the delegates are in the Midwest and Northeast, the areas where Dole should do the best. There are more winner-take-all primaries in the South and West than there are in the Midwest and Northeast. So the process is frankly to Phil's advantage. Now I don't know when Iowa and New Hampshire are going to be yet, they may be before Louisiana. But we'll certainly win the 21 delegates in Louisiana that are up for grabs sometime in February. So then you go to Arizona, and immediately to South Carolina, the gateway to the South, and we'll win those. That's the first time you can say Gramm needs to win states.

HOTLINE: So 2nd-place in AZ or SC would be setbacks?

BLACK: Yeah. It would put us off track if we didn't win either one of those. Depending on what else has happened, it doesn't mean the race is over. But it would be inconsistent with our plan not to win those two.

HOTLINE: Did you suffer a setback in SC when Dole won Gov. David Beasley's endorsement?

BLACK: We'd love to have any Governor, any Senator, any

Congressman, and we've got some. But they're only valuable enough to make the difference if they've got organization and they go all out to bring out their organization. For example, what John McCain and Fife Symington are doing for us in Arizona has helped Gramm recruit thousands of volunteers. What Sen. D'Amato and Gov. Pataki are doing for Dole in New York, bringing the whole party apparatus into line, is valuable. In South Carolina, I don't see so far that the Governor and the Senator [Thurmond] and the former Governor [Campbell] are bringing the grass roots into line. Quite the contrary.

HOTLINE: Can you overcome your problems in NH?

BLACK: We're doing pretty well in New Hampshire. Sen. Smith and our leadership there think that, since the 4th of July, Gramm's been making a great deal of headway, again at the level of recruiting local activists. [NH] is not a natural state for Gramm in terms of culture or geographical vicinity, but he's got a lot of good people there. There were a couple of distractions about primary dates, which he was innocent of, but perception counts. I will say this: the rank and file voters up there are not hung up about all that and he and Gov. Merrill are friends.

HOTLINE: Does Buchanan's candidacy harm you? If it develops into a Dole-Gramm-Buchanan race, doesn't that mean Dole wins?

BLACK: We just had that contest in Iowa and Pat lost. And Dole lost for that matter. Look, Pat cannot run with a front-loaded system that has 30 events in seven weeks. You don't have to run in all 30, but to get the nomination you're going to have to target and run aggressive campaigns in at least 20 of those 30. Pat can't do it. Pat not only has no money, he's got debt, he's broke, he's got no organization in more than four or five states. If Pat Buchanan won New Hampshire, he would still lose the nomination because everything happens so fast, he doesn't have time to leverage the momentum into money and organization and talent and put it on television.

HOTLINE: Did Buchanan bring in people across the state lines to the IA straw poll?

BLACK: Absolutely. In fact, the furthest place I saw buses from were buses from Virginia for Buchanan.

HOTLINE: Say you finish third in NH, but Buchanan finishes second; would that be a dangerous situation?

BLACK: I'd prefer that not to happen. But if that's the only state that he's got the capacity to run a full-blown campaign in, then it wouldn't make that much difference. He does not have the resources to compete down the calendar.

HOTLINE: Isn't Buchanan going for the same voters you are?

BLACK: No. Broadly, there's 70-75% of the Republican primary electorate that are conservative, that are in sync with the Republican revolution of '94 and the Contract with America. And as a subset of that, there's a small group that has protectionist tendencies and wants to stop immigration. The great bulk of those conservative voters agree with Gramm on the issues more than Pat. Gramm is a free-trader. He's pro-immigration. He's certainly not an isolationist like Pat.

HOTLINE: Will Gramm compete in the New England primaries?

BLACK: There are about a dozen events on March 5th and we're in full-bore on some of them. We have some organization in those New England states and we're watching it carefully. The extent to which we gear up is dependent on what the other candidates do. If it's a two-way race by then, Dole versus Gramm, Dole certainly has the upper hand in those states. If Wilson gets traction and becomes competitive and Wilson and Dole are going to split the establishment vote and the moderate-to-liberal vote, there are enough conservatives in those states that we could win some of them. I don't have in our plan for how we get to 51% of the delegates out of those states. But there might be some opportunity there, so we're getting prepared for it.

HOTLINE: On March 5th is New England, Georgia, Colorado and Maryland. Which of these are most critical?

BLACK: Georgia, obviously, is one of Gramm's best states, and we'll win that. We've got a terrific organization in Maryland, better than anybody else, even though that's a state that you might think more traditionally would lean toward Dole. Colorado we're making a priority. Washington State is having caucuses for half of their delegates that day and we're going to compete hard for that. Minnesota is a traditional Dole state. Dole beat Bush big time there and they're having caucuses instead of a primary this time, and I predict right now we'll win that. We're going to pull Minnesota out from under Dole.

HOTLINE: Are you competing in the Florida straw poll?

BLACK: We've got a pretty good organization at the local level. Dole's obviously going all out there. He's really raised the bar for himself. He's got to win it. We're going to be competitive with him there. ... We try to win everywhere that we go in. But here again we don't have to win. Dole has to win.

HOTLINE: Are you going to compete in New York or give it up?

BLACK: We're going to make a decision in about three weeks. Here again, depending on who all is going to be in the race, there may be some opportunity for us. I do not have a lot of New York delegates in my projected count.

HOTLINE: After NY and Super Tuesday are the 3/19 Midwest

primaries. Any places that you're stronger in than others there?

BLACK: We're probably a little stronger in Illinois and Michigan than Ohio and Wisconsin, but we're organizing and working all of them. ... Any place in the Midwest you're playing on Dole's turf.

HOTLINE: Is there any danger to Gramm's Senate chances if the presidential campaign doesn't pan out?

BLACK: No. He doesn't have any serious competition. If some did develop, he'd win. Right now, he's got the least worthy opponent he's had. They still got three months to find somebody else. The real heavyweights, the Ann Richards, the John Sharpes, the people like that that might potentially give Gramm a contest, have already dropped out.

===== POLL UPDATE =====

*19 CNN/USA TODAY/GALLUP:

1,011 adults surveyed 9/22-24; margin of error +/- 3%. GOP primary subsample: 477 GOPers and lean GOPers; +/- 5% (9/27).

CLINTON JOB	NOW	8/95	7/95		FAV/UNFAV
Approve	48%	46%	46%	Clinton	55%/ 41%
Disapprove	44	43	44	Powell	64 / 13

GOP PRIMARY	W/POWELL	W/O POWELL
Powell	31%	--
Dole	31	46%
Gramm	8	9
Buchanan	7	8
Forbes	3	4
Wilson	3	4
Alexander	2	2
Dornan	1	1
Lugar	1	3
Specter	1	2
Keyes	0	1
Undec.	12	20

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Clinton	51%	Powell (R)	54%	Clinton	33%
Dole	44	Clinton	39	Powell (I)	33
		Dole	30		

IF POWELL WERE TO RUN FOR PRES. ...

Rather see him as Republican	42%
Rather see him as independent	41
Doesn't matter (vol.)	9
Don't want him to run (vol.)	2
Don't know	6

ON ISSUES THAT MATTER MOST,		IF ELECTED PRES., POWELL'S	
POWELL'S VIEWS ...		RACE WOULD MAKE IT ...	
Agree w/mine	27%	Easier to lead country	12%

Disagree w/mine	6	Harder to lead country	62
Unsure	65	No effect (vol.)	20

HAS THE MEDIA BEEN TOO FAVORABLE TO POWELL IN RECENT WEEKS?

Yes 26%
No 56

ABORTION SHOULD BE ...

Legal under any circumstances	31%
Legal under certain circumstances	54
Illegal in all circumstances	12

===== TV MONITOR =====

*20 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA" hosted P.J. O'Rourke and comedian Bill Maher. NBC's "Today" hosted Gov. Frank Keating (R-OK). "CBS This Morning" hosted Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA). "FOX Morning News" hosted Dick Lugar, Roger Wilkins, W. POST's Jodie Allen and Sen. Chuck Robb (D-VA).

TONIGHT: CNN's "Inside Politics" hosts Paul Tsongas and Bill Bennett.

LAST NIGHT: "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with Bosnia. ABC, CBS and NBC led with O.J. "M/L" focused on Ruby Ridge with Arlen Specter and Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA). CNBC's "Russert" hosted Dole Dep. Chair Bill Lacy. CNBC's "Equal Time" hosted Dep. WH CoS Harold Ickes. ABC's "Nightline" examined O.J.

LAUGHS: Jay Leno: "The experts were right. They said once this Unabomber gets into the Washington Post, every lunatic in the country would come forward looking for publicity. And sure enough, yesterday Ross Perot announced he's forming a third party. ... Instead of forming a new political party, we should be trying to get rid of the two we already have." Leno, on political people appearing on TV: "Last week John F. Kennedy Jr. on 'Murphy Brown,' the President's brother, Roger Clinton appeared on 'The Nanny.' In fact Bob Dole just got his own show on NBC called 'Mad About Everything'" ("Tonight," NBC, 9/26). David Letterman: "My name is David Letterman. Relax ladies and gentleman, your search for a third party candidate is over" ("Late Show," CBS, 9/26). Comedian Bill Maher: "There was a picture of Dole and Gingrich on the front page of the paper after welfare got cut and it was like, 'Hey we just cut welfare, we're going to Disneyland'" ("GMA," ABC, 9/27).

TOP TEN REJECTED NAMES FOR ROSS PEROT'S POLITICAL PARTY

10. The Rosstafarians.
9. United We're Nuts.
8. The Dork-O-Crats.
7. Wacky Ass Billionaires.
6. The You Might Be A Redneck If You Join This Party.
5. The Adorable Miniature Candidate and His Friends.
4. Yankee Doodle Psychos.
3. El Party De Nutjobs.
2. Shorty and the Blowfish.
1. The Hair Club for Geeks.

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"I always wanted to be known as Skip."

-- Colin Powell, saying he never really liked his given name,
"Tonight Show," NBC, 9/26

----- Start RFC822 Headers -----

Received: by ccsmtpl.NETSOURCE.COM (5.65+/1.3)

id 15929.AA; Wed, 27 Sep 95 12:43:25 GMT

Message-Id: <9509271227.AA13944@apn.com>

Date: Wed, 27 Sep 95 12:27 EDT

From: hotline@apn.com

To: hotline.notes@ovp.gov

Subject: Hotline 09/27/95

Content-Length: 61409

----- End RFC822 Headers -----

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: hotline (hotline @ apn.com@INTERNET at CCROUTER@CCMAIL [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-NOV-1995 13:03:00.00

SUBJECT: Hotline 11/06/95

TO: hotline (hotline [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

--- Monday --- November 6, 1995 --- Vol. 9 --- No. 36 ---

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ELECTION DAY '95 (#13) (#14) | SPOTLIGHT |

One day left, are you up to |

date on the latest? | EVERY PICTURE TELLS A STORY |

MS GOV: Dick Molpus (D) picks |

up the backing of 3 papers. | Let's check out what's |

S.F. MAYOR: A new charge is | brewing in some key states. |

leveled at Willie Brown. |

| MAINE: Phil Gramm grabs |

I'M MR. SAMPLENAME, AND I VOTE | another straw poll. Dick |

A Gramm campaign blunder in a | Lugar, in second, calls it |

bulk mailing to FL P3 delegates | a great victory, but was he |

draws ridicule from rivals and | looking for more than this |

press. Meanwhile, expectations | in his memo? (#1) |

remain Dole's big straw hurdle. | ARIZONA: This state is |

Keep an eye on Lamar. (#4) | critical to Gramm and it's |

SINCE YOU CAN'T BUY TICKETS: | where Pat Buchanan has |

Give the Dole tree a shake and | thrown down his anti-Gramm |

see what P3 freebies you get. | gauntlet. So what does the |

| REPUBLIC poll say? Dole |

MERRILL MAKES HIS MOVE? | and Powell are tied for the |

Dole's statement on "Meet the | lead, third place is owned |

Press" fuels rumor he may | by Steve Forbes. (#5) |

collect the blessing of NH Gov. | FLORIDA: Dole holds off |

this week. "Wishful thinking" | Powell for lead. Alexander |

or reality? (#8) | is anemic in his must-win |

| state. (#4) |

JUST LIKE PLAYING DOMINOES | NEW HAMPSHIRE: A new |

Another House Dem, Ron | BOSTON HERALD poll shows a |

Coleman (TX 16), retires. (#17) | familiar story: Powell and |

| Dole tied for the lead. |

IT'S CYBER-REVOLUTIONARY! | Why are so many candidates |

See pg.2 for a preview of | regarded negatively? (#2) |

what's new at PoliticsUSA. | _____ |

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"Every moment we shared was a joy because he was a good man, and an inspiration because he was a great man."

-- President Clinton, eulogizing Yitzhak Rabin, 11/6

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WHITE HOUSE '96: ME Straw Poll (#1); NH (#2); IA (#3); FL (#4);
AZ (#5); Powell (#6); Clinton (#7); Dole (#8); Field (#9)

NATIONAL BRIEFING: Welfare (#10); Rabin (#11); Covers (#12)

CAMPAIGNS OF '95

S.F. MAYOR: Brown hit with new charge. (#13)

MISSISSIPPI GOV: Down the stretch they come. (#14)

SENATE WATCH: VA: Warner questions Miller's '95 commitment. (#15)

ON THE HOUSE

MA: Moakley reconsidering his reconsideration. (#16)

TX 16: Coleman is the 3rd TX Dem to hang up his spurs. (#17)

WA 09: Kreidler says no to Tate rematch. (#18)

HOUSE NOTES: Paxson sees 20-30 seat pickup; 3 more switches. (#19)

L.A. TIMES POLL (#20)

TV MONITOR (#21)

ON THE WEB: This week inaugurates PoliticsUSA, the World Wide
Web service on politics and government that is a joint venture of
the AMERICAN POLITICAL NETWORK and NATIONAL JOURNAL. Starting
today: "In Focus," which takes a special look at politics on-line
-- how the Internet and the Web have changed the course of
political discussion -- and a look at the demographics of Web
users. Check it out at <http://www.PoliticsUSA.com>

???? OVERLOOKED ????

"Not content with the limited field of declared candidates,"

a Draft Rush Limbaugh for President cmte has been launched out of
Greenville, SC. The group hopes to get 700,000 signed petitions
supporting a Limbaugh candidacy (release 11/3).

===== WHITE HOUSE '96 =====

*1 ME STRAW POLL: GRAMM TAKES IT; A LUGAR LETDOWN OR VICTORY?

Nearly 1,500 ME GOPers cast ballots 11/4 in a straw poll at
the ME GOP convention. The results:

	VOTES	PERCENT OF VOTE
Gramm	602	42%
Lugar	303	21
Dole	144	10
Specter	118	8
Dornan	84	6
Taylor	73	5
Buchanan	41	3
Charles Collins	29	2
Forbes	9	1
Keyes	7	0
Alexander	6	0
Powell	6	0

Phil Gramm walked away the winner, earning a victory that is "likely to have greater consequences for his closest rival" (Higgins, BANGOR DAILY NEWS, 11/5). The outcome "came as a setback" to Dick Lugar and Arlen Specter, who had campaigned "aggressively" in Maine. It also reaffirmed that Gramm has a strong state organization, and "may be the only GOP candidate who can defeat [Bob] Dole." Dole did not attend the event (Campbell, ME SUNDAY TELEGRAM, 11/5). Gramm said he was pleased with the results that give a "strong indication of how well our effort is being received by Republican activists" (release, 11/4). However, TELEGRAM's Campbell noted Gramm's campaign "paid the \$15 registration fee for more than 100 college students to attend the event, undoubtedly boosting the size of Gramm's victory" (11/5). The Lugar campaign saw the results as "something to celebrate," and thanked the state for the 2nd-place finish. For Lugar, the "great Maine victory" was finishing ahead of Dole, proving that, according spokesperson Terry Holt, "on a level playing field Lugar can compete." The campaign's strategy is based on the assumption that Dole will "fall out of the race and Lugar will inherit his support" (Schneider, INDIANAPOLIS STAR, 11/5). BOSTON GLOBE's Zuckman said Lugar's finish gave him a "slight boost" (11/5). But TELEGRAM's Campbell noted Lugar "failed to meet expectations" and spent upwards of \$33,000 on the ME campaign, which included two TV ads (11/5). Dole spokesperson Nelson Warfield: "Nothing could better illustrate the difference

between the Dole and Gramm strategies. While they're campaigning for straw poll votes in Maine, we're campaigning for real votes in Iowa" (TELEGRAM, 11/5). ME Sens. Olympia Snowe (R) and Bill Cohen (R) "advocated quietly" for Dole during their own appearances at the convention (BANGOR DAILY NEWS, 11/5). The Specter campaign "attempted to downplay the significance of the results, saying the poll was driven more by having money to organize the effort, rather than the actual electoral landscape" (Jesdanun, AP/CONCORD MONITOR, 11/5). Charles Collins, who finished 8th, is described as a hotel developer.

CRAZY STRAWS: BOSTON GLOBE's Zuckman writes straw polls are "notoriously poor indicators of who will actually win a party's nomination. Maine last held a straw poll in 1979. George Bush won the event and Ronald Reagan did not participate." The results may be "completely irrelevant" if Colin Powell enters, and while Gramm's win may "give him some momentum" for FL's P3 straw poll, Lugar's finish "may fade from memory" since he has not campaigned in FL (11/5).

THE SPEECHES: Gramm received two standing ovations during his speech, the first of which came in a reference to an anti-gay initiative slated for the 11/7 ME ballot. He said, "I am for equal opportunity for everyone, but I am for special opportunities and privileges for no one." Later Bob Dornan "skewered Gramm for only alluding to the referendum, rather than addressing the issue head on." Dornan: "If someone is going to mention no special rights for people, have the guts to mention Question 1." Lugar, "in a glitzy and well-choreographed entrance

that featured a biographical video and music by the Talking Heads, stressed his experience in foreign policy during 19 years in the Senate" (GLOBE, 11/5). Without mentioning names, Lugar also warned GOPers "not to nominate a person who comes across as mean-spirited" (TELEGRAM, 11/5). Specter attempted to "tap" the popularity of Powell by "attacking conservatives" who have urged the general not to run. Lamar Alexander and Pat Buchanan ignored the straw poll (Dowd, REUTER, 11/5). BOSTON GLOBE header: "Perot's idea of 3d party building steam in Maine" (11/5).

*2 NEW HAMPSHIRE: DOLE, POWELL TIED; WHERE'S LAMAR?

A BOSTON HERALD poll, conducted 11/1-3 by Univ./NH, surveyed 448 NH GOP voters; margin of error +/- 4.6% (11/5).

	W/POWELL	W/O POWELL	FAV/UNFAV	ID
Powell	27%	--	59%/ 16%	98%
Dole	27	36%	53 / 28	100
Forbes	6	8	27 / 27	88
Buchanan	5	6	24 / 55	99
Gramm	4	6	26 / 43	94
Alexander	3	4	22 / 34	85
Lugar	1	2	10 / 34	72
Specter	1	1	11 / 41	80
Keyes	1	1	6 / 37	60
Dornan	0	0	7 / 30	57
Taylor	0	0	6 / 27	57
DK/Other	25	36	--	--

INTENSITY

Definitely vote for 1st choice 19%

Could change mind 65

*3 IOWA: POWELL GETS A WARM INVITATION

DES MOINES REGISTER's Yepsen argues against Colin Powell's strategy of bypassing the IA caucuses because of the false perceptions that Bob Dole has a "lock" on IA and "most Iowa Republican caucus-goers are now religious zealots who won't like Powell's pro-choice stance." Such a strategy was "followed so effectively" by "Presidents" Pete Wilson, Al Gore and Fritz Hollings. "It is a strategy often promoted by those consultants and pundits who hate coming all the way out to Iowa (and rarely do). ... It's true that for most candidates, it's too late to start in Iowa. Powell is just not an ordinary candidate."

Bypassing IA "is dumb because it would mean closing the door on a real opportunity." Three reasons for Powell's participation:

- 1) IA GOP moderates "have lacked a champion" and they "would like their party back. Powell is just the horse they could ride."
- 2) Many caucus-goers are "looking for a winner. Any candidate who leads an incumbent Democrat president in the polls is going to have a number of party leaders saying, 'That's good enough for me.'" 3) Dole "has been and remains a sitting duck in Iowa."

While he is the front-runner, he is a vulnerable one." Yepsen concludes Powell "could ... beat" Dole in IA, and "it would stagger" Dole. Bypassing IA would be "letting Dole have a free ride ... He would let Dole win, eliminate some opposition and consolidate conservatives. ... The sooner Powell strikes Dole, the better" (11/6).

ALEXANDER SLAPS AT PAT: In weekend speeches in IA, Lamar Alexander took a "thinly-veiled slap" at Pat Buchanan and other "protectionists" in the GOP: "I've become increasingly concerned about the protectionist voices in our party who would have us build a wall around our country to solve our problem. ... These guys would have us selling soybeans and corn and computers only to ourselves. They'd turn this supermarket of the world into a country store." Alexander "declined to point a specific finger" at Buchanan, but said, "I'll let the imagination roll" (Yepsen, REGISTER, 11/4).

SCHOOL SHOOTOUT: Alexander and Dole campaigned on school reform. At the IA GOP's "Fall Event," Alexander told "about 700" of his plan to keep schools open year-round. But he added, "I lose the sixth-grade vote when I say that" (REGISTER, 11/6). Alexander also proposed a voucher plan for private-sector job training. Dole said he's preparing to unveil a voucher plan to help parents finance private school tuition. Dole, at a "Christian academy": "If the rich -- the Kennedys and the others -- can pick private schools, why is it denied to middle-class and low-income Americans?" (REGISTER, 11/5). School vouchers are "popular with conservatives, particularly social and religious

conservatives with increasing clout in Republican politics. "

Dole's selection of a Christian academy as the forum for making his speech "carried clear symbolism in the fight for Iowa's leadoff" caucuses in 2/96. IA "religious conservatives ... have been leery of Dole. In recent weeks he has gone out of his way to toughen his message and sound more conservative themes" (Glover, AP, 11/5).

*4 FLORIDA: DOLE LEADS POWELL, REST OF FIELD

A Voices of FL poll, conducted 10/19-24 for a consortium of 6 newspapers and 11 TV stations, including the MIAMI HERALD and ST. PETE TIMES, surveyed 909 likely voters; margin of error +/- 3.3% (11/6). GOP subsample: 320 LVs; +/- 5.5%.

GOP PRIMARY	W/POWELL	W/O POWELL
Dole	30%	41%
Powell	22	--
Gramm	7	8
Buchanan	6	7
Alexander	1	2
Lugar	1	1
Specter	1	2
DK/other	32	39

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Powell	47%	Clinton	40%	Clinton	41%
Clinton	33	Dole	38	Gramm	36

GRAMM'S MAIL SNAFU: FL Sec/State/Gramm FL chair Sandra

Mortham sent a "personalized" letter as part of an attempt to woo the 3,400 delegates to FL's Presidency III convention set for 11/17-18. However, the letter was not quite as personalized as had been intended. Due to a "printer's error," the letter read: "Many people have been in touch with us and are strongly encouraging our campaign efforts. But, Mr. Samplename we need your help." Mortham spokesperson Gene McGee: "All campaigns make mistakes from time to time." McGee also released letters from the Lamar Alexander and Bob Dole campaigns that contained spelling errors (Fiedler, MIAMI HERALD, 11/5). A "gleeful" Alexander campaign FL director Tre Evans sent out an open letter urging the Gramm camp to provide every campaign with their "secret list" of delegates, including: "Mr. Careless Mailvendor, Mr. Yourjust A. Nameonalisttome, Mr. & Mrs. Insinceremail, Mr. Machinewritten, [and] Dr. Roboletter" (STANDARD, 11/13 issue).

PLAYING THE EXPECTATIONS GAME: With P3 only 11 days away, the effort to woo delegates and set expectations has intensified. Dole, who called the event "the most important political event of the year for us," has engaged in a "free-spending effort." His campaign also tried to paint Gramm as the P3 favorite. Dole strategist Warren Tompkins: "Gramm has the most to lose in P3." Meanwhile, Mortham called Dole the front-runner: "He has to win in order to stay as the front-runner and frankly I think he needs to win to stay in the race." Because FL is so critical to his strategy, Lamar Alexander "has much to prove" at P3. Alexander

told delegates, "You don't have to accept the conventional wisdom [that Dole will be the nominee] -- you can create the conventional wisdom." Every P3 delegate has received a letter from a resident of Maryville, TN, Alexander's hometown (King, AP, 11/5). ORLANDO SENTINEL's Griffin writes, "Keep an eye on Lamar Alexander. When the dust settles" at P3, he "should be right in the thick of the race" (11/5). Alexander spokesperson Dan McLagan: "The Dole people hit the panic button down here. ... If they fall short of 50 percent, they fall short of the expectations game." McLagan charged the Dole campaign with offering delegates "fruit baskets the size of a Shetland pony." The Dole camp has distributed Godiva chocolates and Crabtree & Evelyn soaps. Still, Dole's campaign has attempted to tamp down expectations. Dole FL leader Jeannie Austin: "He doesn't have to win. He's still the frontrunner, regardless" (Thompson/Kuhnhenh, K.C. STAR, 11/5).

***5 ARIZONA: GRAMM IS STALLED, AND VOTERS PREFER POWELL**

An ARIZONA REPUBLIC poll, conducted 10/18-22, surveyed 800 registered voters; margin of error +/- 3.5%. GOP subsample: +/- 5.3% (11/5).

GOP PRIMARY		GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS			
Dole	22%	Powell	54%	Clinton	45%
Powell	21	Clinton	27	Dole	43
Forbes	11				
Gingrich	6	Clinton	47%		

Buchanan	5	Gramm	31
Gramm	5		
Undecided	24		

In a 3-way race with Powell as an independent, Powell "would get more votes" than Clinton and Dole. Gramm, "who touts support of the state GOP's establishment, appears to have stalled."

Gramm AZ chair/Sen. John McCain: "Political pundits have declared the Gramm campaign dead on numerous occasions, and this story will probably be another in a long line of them, but the reality is the campaign's alive and well." More "surprising" is Forbes' 3rd place (Murphy/Mayes, ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 11/5).

***6 POWELL: STILL NO LEAKS FROM THE TIGHT-SHIPED TEAM**

As last week drew to a close, "rumors were growing" that Colin Powell might announce his pres. plans as early as this week (Gibbs, TIME, 11/13 issue). Theoretically, Powell has until 12/15 -- the filing deadline for NH. But "insiders say" an announcement is likely to come between 11/18 -- the date of FL's "Presidency III" straw poll -- and Thanksgiving (Apple, N.Y. TIMES, 11/4). "Sources say" if Powell decides to run for the GOP nomination, he would use the 11/19-21 GOP Govs. Conference in Nashua, NH to kickoff his campaign (Ellis, BOSTON GLOBE, 11/4). The upshot of speculation from those "vouching familiarity" with Powell's thought process, is "no one really seems to know what he will decide or when" (Barabak, COPLEY/S.D. UNION-TRIBUNE, 11/4).

FOR AND AGAINST: NEWSWEEK'S Klein argues in favor of an

independent Powell candidacy, saying if run properly, Powell's campaign could "lance the nation's political boil." Powell could launch a crusade to "rescue America from its poisoned political atmosphere." If Powell runs as a GOPer "we'd all have to prepare for the unavoidable, stomach-turning moment when the general made himself available for a photo-op with the oleaginous tele-quack Pat Robertson. ... Already, Powell has done a great service by confounding the extremist publicists and fund raisers of the Republican right. In two minutes with Barbara Walters, he demonstrated that the infamous 'hot button' issues [including abortion, affirmative action, crime and gun control] aren't so hot." Powell illustrated that the prevailing sense of a "great ideological divide" separating Americans is an illusion, that there is, in fact, "a great national consensus on most issues" (11/13 issue). STANDARD's Barnes contends there is "a strong case" Powell should not run. It consists of several elements: 1) He isn't ready. Powell "hasn't thought through" many of his positions on domestic issues. His positions are "often self cancelling." 2) He'd be a weak GOP nominee. "If the GOP nominee gets a one-on-one shot at Clinton, chances are he'll win. And that goes for any Republican with a realistic prospect of winning the nomination -- but not Powell. If nominated, he'd provoke a third-party campaign ... whose effect would be to draw Republican votes and re-elect Clinton." 3) He would never get along with Newt Gingrich (11/13 issue).

TED CALLS HIM A DEMOCRAT: Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA), on Powell as the GOP nominee: "He'd be very formidable. ... [But] I

don't think that Colin Powell is going to be able to pass those litmus tests of the radical right in the Republican Party. Quite frankly, I think he talks a little more like a Democrat" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 11/5). Powell's cousin, wealthy financier Bruce Llewellyn, said while he would assist a candidacy in "any way I can," he has advised the general to "skip the campaign": "I don't want him to run. It's a very messy business. I don't see how he will be welcomed by the Republican Party" (Schwartzman, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 11/5).

DIRE WARNING: BOSTON GLOBE's Nyhan warns Powell not to run because he would lose and risk "losing a lot: time, money, reputation, and maybe even losing your maximum potential to influence the debate about how to shoulder this country out of its spiritual ditch. ... Think Dukakis. Think Mondale. Think Muskie and Romney and Rockefeller and Adlai Stevenson. Think loser" (11/3).

TALKING EMPTY HEADS? NEW YORKER's "Talk of the Town" asks, "Why do all the talking heads keep saying that voters have no idea where Colin Powell stands on the issues? Just by occasionally walking through a room whose furnishings include a television set, you'd know this much about Powell's views: he is a strong believer in free market economics; he would be reluctant to send American troops abroad; he is essentially pro-choice; he is amenable to some restrictions on gun ownership; he is opposed to prayer in schools; he views America as a society still sufficiently racist to require some form of affirmative action; he is against openly allowing gays in the military; he thinks the

Contract with America is a bit harsh in its treatment of Americans who need help. Does the average voter really know that much about what Richard Lugar believes? What do voters know about Lamar Alexander? They know that he walks around in a flannel shirt and that he'd answer that he is the only outsider in the race even if the question was whether or not he had change for a quarter" (11/13 issue).

CCRI IMPACT: U.S. NEWS' "Washington Whispers" reports California's "controversial" initiative to end all racial preferences -- the CA Civil Rights Initiative -- is "in danger of collapsing, in large part because of a lack of financial support from the Republican National Committee and the GOP state party. One reason supporters of the initiative believe the national has party has backed off: Gen. Colin Powell" (11/13).

HE DIDN'T SAY NO, DID HE? Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA), asked if he would consider being Powell's running mate if the general runs as an independent: "I would say, Colin, let's sit down and talk a lot about the direction you're going to go in and what you believe in for the country. I've never aspired to be president or vice-president, or even a United States Senator, simply for holding a title. I think it depends on the direction that you see for the country, and I'd like to see that vision from him" ("Evans & Novak," CNN, 11/5).

MORE TALKERS: Gary Hart: "This cocoon is a very deceptive one and it may suggest to him he's in for an easy ride when in fact, as we all agree, he's going to be taken apart." Michael Dukakis: "The fact that a thousand people show up at your book

signing is not a tidal wave. And you've just got to be awfully sure that you yourself and the people that are closest to you, you love the most, feel very strongly and very positively about it" ("Nightline," ABC, 11/3). Ross Perot: "What you're starting to see around General Powell is called 'redefining the person'. I call it dirty politics" ("Sunday Journal," C-SPAN, 11/5). Mark Shields: "What Ronald Reagan always grasped is that politics is a matter of addition, not subtraction" ("NewsHour," PBS, 11/3). Eleanor Clift: "This is bad news for the Republican Shiites. It's great news for the moderate wing of the party. ... They'll grow, blossom" ("McLaughlin Group," 11/4). W. POST's Juan Williams: "What you're seeing here is the far right really killing itself off" ("Capital Gang Sunday," CNN, 11/5).

NEW YORK STATE OF MIND: Marist pollster Lee Miringoff: "The problem for Colin Powell is not his popularity in the state, it's getting on the ballot" ("IP," CNN, 11/3).

SOUTHERN STRENGTH: Political analyst Charlie Cook, on the perception that Powell might have problems in the South: "The South has the strongest military tradition in the country and one where being a former Army general would be a real asset. I don't see a single state that Powell would not be competitive in. He would be very, very strong" ("IP," CNN, 11/3).

THE GENERAL AND THE FIELD GENERAL: DES MOINES REGISTER's Yepsen notes, "According to conventional wisdom," Jack Kemp "is billed" as Powell's runningmate. Yepsen also writes that Powell may wait until 2000. "In four years, President Clinton might be finishing out his last term. Or an aging President Dole might be

calling it quits after one. Waiting might be the Eisenhower-esque thing to do" (11/6).

*7 CLINTON: ATTACKS GOP BUDGET, WRITES ON BOSNIA, FEARS POWELL

In a guest essay in NEWSWEEK, Pres. Clinton argues peace in Bosnia "matters to America -- to our values and our interests. We have an urgent stake in stopping the slaughter, preventing the war from spreading, and building a Europe at peace." On the issue of sending troops to Bosnia: "I will not deploy U.S. troops to Bosnia unless the parties commit to a solid peace agreement" (11/13 issue). Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA): "It's unthinkable -- virtually unthinkable -- for the President to commit American military forces even as part of a NATO alliance force if the Congress has clearly disapproved that action. But also it's unthinkable for us to lead the parties to the peace table, for us to carry out the bombing campaign as the leader of NATO, for us to ask the NATO allies to participate, for the President to make this pledge publicly and then say, 'No, we will not be a part of it'" ("Evans & Novak," CNN, 11/4).

POWELL PUTS PREZ IN PRECARIOUS POSITION: NEWSWEEK's Turque & Cohn report the WH "has been polling on Powell for months, and the results are depressing for the Democrats ... Powell is clearly the White House's worst nightmare: a black centrist with an aura of moral authority many voters never sensed in Clinton." When asked about a possible Powell candidacy, Clinton's "defensiveness was in plain view," as he said the general had "a lot of admirable qualities," but went on to tout his own admin.'s

diversity. Privately, aides have been "trashing Powell's book as the unheroic memoir of a bureaucratic survivor." If Powell does run, Clinton "insiders are counting on the press to whittle down his numbers" (11/13 issue). N.Y. TIMES' Purdum notes Powell could be the WH's "best friend" if he either ran and "was denied" the GOP nomination "after a bitter internecine fight" that allowed Dems to paint the GOP as "extremists," or, if Powell won a nomination which provoked a third-party conservative run. But the flip side is, what if Powell won the nomination of a united GOP. Then Powell "would be all but impossible to attack, tricky to defend against and terribly hard to beat" (11/6).

A NEW "DICKY" CLINTON WH: NEW REPUBLIC's Cooper writes "the rise" of Richard Holbrooke and Dick Morris "says a lot about the changing culture of the Clinton Administration": "Holbrooke and Morris set the tone for an administration that is more cutthroat but more efficient, too. The two share a preternatural sense of ambition that, White House officials grudgingly acknowledge, make them good for their jobs. ... [T]he two share an innate rattle-the-cages sensibility that the Clinton administration is grateful for" (11/20 issue). Bob Novak reports leading the charge against "Dickie" Morris at a meeting between WH CoS Leon Panetta and Hill Dems were Reps. Joe Kennedy (D-MA) and John Bryant (D-TX) (11/4).

PSYCHOANALYZING THE PREZ: George Will writes, "Today's bipartisan consensus is that Clinton is neither bad nor dangerous, just silly. ... [H]e believes everything he says at the moment he emphatically says it, and continues to believe it at full throttle right up to the moment he repudiates it"

(NEWSWEEK, 11/13 issue). Explaining the recent Wattenberg gaffe, NEWSWEEK's Alter writes, "Maybe it's just Clinton's prolix problem. Even in school, the teachers thought he yakked too much. Fellow adult children of alcoholics see a classic pattern: telling people what they want to hear" (11/13 issue). Mary McGrory, on Clinton's upcoming end-of-the-month trip to Ireland: "He has been issuing weekly bulletins about his search for self and telling us where he has gone wrong. Here is a man who needs to go to confession. ... The best thing about a good purging in Ireland would be that Clinton could put an end to the self-flagellation that is making his party so nervous" (W. POST, 11/5). N.Y. TIMES' Dowd trashes Clinton's "serial sincerity": "He has cut loose so many people in his eagerness to get re-elected that his strategists have been forced to repackage betrayal as independence" (11/5). Charles Krauthammer: "Last week, I said that the President liked Morris because Morris was the only guy in America with fewer principles than Clinton. Well, now I'm reconsidering because I think I'm being unfair to Morris" ("Inside Washington," 11/4). CNN's Blitzer: "[WH] officials fear the President's accomplishments will be lost in the Washington political fog unless he stops talking so freely about his constantly evolving thinking." George Mason Univ.'s Roger Wilkins: "The President dug his own hole by making it clear that there is no principle that he's prepared to stand on, no position he's prepared to defend for any length of time, no person or ally who can count on him" ("IP," 11/3). Mark Shields, quoting pollster Peter Hart: "Clinton doesn't need twelve one-

month strategies, he needs one twelve-month strategy. He doesn't need four one-year strategies, he needs one four-year strategy" ("NewsHour," PBS, 11/3).

*8 DOLE: RUMORS OF A MERRILL ENDORSEMENT AROUND

AP's King reports NH Gov. Steve Merrill "has been in talks recently with Bob Dole and a senior Dole aide about possibly endorsing the GOP frontrunner." A NH GOP source said Merrill "was inclined to endorse Dole, perhaps as early as this week." However, another "prominent" NH Republican "said he believed a few more details needed to be worked out and that any definite talk of an endorsement 'might be optimistic.'" Still, the second source noted "there has been substantial progress." In a phone interview Sunday night, Merrill CoS Steve Edwards "did not flatly rule out an announcement this week." Edwards: "If and when the governor is going to say something he will do so. ... Until then, anything said is just speculation." Earlier, Merrill spokesperson Jim Rivers said of a Dole endorsement, "It's nothing more than wishful thinking at this point." Dole met with Merrill 11/2 in DC, "ostensibly to discuss Republican budget plans ... but the possibility of an endorsement also came up, according to the NH Republican sources. Merrill then talked in more detail to Scott Reed, Dole's campaign manager, the sources said." Merrill "has left open the possibility of staying neutral in the race, and has publicly questioned what benefit his endorsement would be to Dole," who already has the backing of NH Reps. Bill Zeff and Charlie Bass, as well as Sen. Judd Gregg. But, "with Powell said

to be poised to make his decision, Dole aides have made the case to Merrill that a timely endorsement would carry significant weight" (Manchester UNION LEADER, 11/6). CONCORD MONITOR's Rau writes rival campaigns have interpreted events "as evidence that Dole has reason to expect" a Merrill endorsement. Gramm NH manager Jim Courtovich: "[Dole's] received the endorsement of three very popular elected officials and yet his numbers have tumbled. ... [Gramm's] waiting for the endorsement of the voters of New Hampshire. ... As we move close to the election, more and more voters are starting to focus in on this and these are people less likely to be swayed by an endorsement" (11/6).

GETTING PRESSED: Dole, on "Meet the Press," was asked by Tim Russert if Merrill would endorse him this week. Dole: "I assume you'd have to ask Governor Merrill. ... I would certainly be honored to have that endorsement. ... This would be the icing on the cake in New Hampshire." Asked if such an endorsement would keep Powell out of the race, Dole responded, "I'm not certain about that. But I think there might have been some feeling in the Powell camp that I know they made phone calls to Governor Merrill. There might be some feeling that if he stayed neutral they would have a better shot in New Hampshire." Dole also said he would not go after Powell with negative campaigning if the general enters. Dole, on Steve Forbes' TV ads which attack him: "I don't know if they're hurting, but I don't like them. They're not very accurate." Dole was asked if he would reconsider the Senate welfare bill if a recent HHS study accurately predicts that it would cause 1 million more children

to go into poverty. Dole answered: "If that were the case, I'd certainly want to make some changes because I hope I'm just as sensitive about the needs of children and seniors, or anybody else" (11/5).

***9 FIELD NOTES: FORBES, BUCHANAN, WI POLL**

FORBES: Bob Novak reports that Steve Forbes attracted over 100 "well-heeled" New Yorkers at Manhattan's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to support his bid. "In the vanguard was Leonard Lauder, who runs the Estee Lauder perfume firm and is a major political money man." The turnout was "surprising" in light of the fact that Dole has "cornered" the NY GOP establishment. In a "footnote" Novak continues, "Polls prepared for Forbes by campaign consultant John McLaughlin show him pushing up to second place behind Dole in Iowa and Arizona, two early delegate-selecting states. An independent survey also puts Forbes second behind Dole" in NH (N.Y. POST, 11/4).

PAT GETS SOME NORTHERN EXPOSURE: Pat Buchanan became the first candidate to venture to Alaska, as he conducted a 3-day visit that he hopes will "pay off in January, when the state Republican party conducts its presidential-preference straw poll." Speaking in a church at an event organized by the Christian Coalition, Buchanan "quot[ed] the Bible and the Constitution, calling up ghosts from the American Revolution and the Vietnam War." He turned his campaign speech "into a tent revival." After enumerating his enemies -- "faceless federal bureaucrats, liberal Supreme Court justices, the United Nations

and Bill Clinton" -- he received "loads of applause, accented with 'amens' from the crowd of about 300." The crowd "cheered as much" when he "bashed" NAFTA as when he "blasted" Clinton's pro-choice appointments to the Supreme Court. Buchanan, "who knows how to deliver lines," broadened his attack to include some of his opponents. On Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA): "He's at 1 percent in the polls, with a 3 percent margin of error -- he might not even exist." Buchanan went on to say "efforts to keep religion out of schools and to revise history texts are evidence that special interests are at war with traditional American culture and values" (Rinehart, ANCHORAGE DAILY NEWS, 11/5). Buchanan said a "strong showing" in AK could give him "momentum" to challenge Bob Dole. Buchanan: "If I win, it will send major shock waves through the Republican Party" (AP/Fairbanks DAILY NEWS-MINER, 11/4).

WISCONSIN: A St. Norbert College/WI Public Radio poll, conducted 10/21-27, surveyed 483 adults; margin of error +/- 4.5% (MILWAUKEE JOURNAL-SENTINEL, 11/5).

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Powell	45%	Clinton	48%	Clinton	31%	Clinton	36%
Clinton	37	Dole	43	Powell (I)	31	Dole	33
	Dole	26	Perot (I)	22			

In a GOP primary, Dole garners 52%, Gramm gets 8%, Buchanan 6%, while the others each got 3% of the vote or less. Pollster David Wegge: "When you analyze these results based on the

potential Republican candidates, one can easily see that Colin Powell could potentially be the strongest candidate on the list" (Gilbert, JOURNAL-SENTINEL, 11/5).

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

*10 WELFARE: CLINTON RETHINKS, OR IS THAT TRIANGULATES, POSITION

In the wake of his conversation with Ben Wattenberg, in which Pres. Clinton said his welfare reform proposals were "too weak," W. POST's Devroy & Vobjeda report Clinton "privately told acquaintances" that he is, in his words, "rethinking" his position on welfare. Previously, Clinton indicated he would sign a welfare reform bill if the Senate version prevails in the House-Senate conference. The Senate version, unlike the House version, does not ban cash aid to unwed teenage mothers and additional payments to mothers who have more children while receiving welfare. Recently, though, Clinton has been facing "heavy pressure" from Dem senators and some of his own aides to reject "whatever emerges from Capitol Hill." A study being conducted by OMB on the effects of the Senate bill on childhood poverty could give Clinton a reason to veto welfare reform. The study is due to be completed 11/7. In an interview with black columnists, Clinton "said he would have no choice but to veto the bill if he believed it harmed children economically" (11/4). WH Press Sec. Mike McCurry, asked if the president would accept the Senate welfare bill as it exists now: "The President may have to accept that version. But we're thinking optimistically. We

think there will be more improvements in the bill" ("IP Weekend," CNN, 11/4). Senior aides have argued to Clinton that he "should use the study and whatever ammunition he has to reject the Senate version" (W. POST, 11/4). Clinton adviser Dick Morris "is telling Clinton ... he should sign the harsh Senate bill and/or the budget but that he can't veto both" (Cooper, NEW REPUBLIC, 11/20). Sen. Pat Moynihan (D-NY) "said he was 'very much' encouraged" by Clinton's "rethinking": "I have felt from the beginning that when the president saw the numbers of children that would be just thrown into poverty by the Senate bill -- much less the House bill -- that he would say, 'I can't do that.'" Moynihan went on to predict that "three-fourths" of Senate Dems who voted with GOPers on the bill would follow Clinton "on a retreat, just as they followed his lead in supporting it" (Goldschlag, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 11/5). In an open letter to the President published in the W. POST, Children's Defense Fund Pres. and FOB Marian Wright Edelman called for Clinton's "unwavering moral leadership" and asked him to oppose the Senate and House versions of welfare reform, which would "make more children poor and sick" (11/3).

***11 RABIN: THE TRAGIC DEATH OF A MIDDLE EAST STATESMAN**

Pres. Clinton: "Peace must be, and peace will be, Prime Minister Rabin's lasting legacy. Tonight, the land for which he gave his life is in mourning. But I want the world to remember what Prime Minister Rabin said here at the White House barely one month ago, and I quote: 'We should not let the land flowing with

milk and honey become a land flowing with blood and tears. Don't let it happen" (11/5). Yasir Arafat: "I am very sad and very shocked for this awful and terrible crime" (ABC, 11/5). Acting P.M. Shimon Peres: "The last song he sang was the Song of Peace. He put this song in his pocket, and the bullet went through this song" (TIME, 11/15 issue). Bob Dole: "Everybody who knew the Prime Minister had great respect for him as a soldier, as a peacemaker. ... He was certainly a man of integrity and I believe the one person who'd gotten the peace process this far" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 11/5). Lamar Alexander: "The United States must continue to support the peace process so that the assassin's bullet can never succeed in changing policy" (11/5). Newt Gingrich, choking back tears before a group of 500 at a fundraiser: "I was a bit overwhelmed tonight to have an experience of such hatred that killed Rabin today" (Spellman, CONCORD MONITOR, 11/5). Arlen Specter: "I compliment the Clinton Administration on what has been done here" ("Late Edition," CNN, 11/5). Al Hunt, on where the President's role in the peace process stands: "This is one of the few areas in the world where Bill Clinton really does have some credibility and he has a person there, Dennis Ross, who's done a marvelous job, so there will be some continuity." Mark Shields: "The President himself does have a credibility and a legitimacy as a peacemaker here. ... This is a real test of his leadership" ("Gang," CNN, 11/4).

*12 COVER TO COVER

NEWSWEEK: Yitzhak Rabin. "Can Peace Survive?" (11/13).

TIME: Yitzhak Rabin. "Yitzhak Rabin, 1922-1995" (11/13).

U.S. NEWS: Graphic of computer keyboard with golden dollar sign. "Gold Rush in Cyberspace. The Internet Will Change Everything -- And Everyone Wants a Piece of the Action" (11/13).

WEEKLY STANDARD: Cartoon of a smiling NYC Mayor Rudy Giuliani decked out in cop outfit dumping a load of garbage he has just swept up. "Rudy Cleans it Up: New York's Civility Crusade" (11/13).

===== CAMPAIGNS OF '95 =====

***13 SAN FRANCISCO MAYOR: BROWN HIT WITH NEW CHARGE**

According to sworn testimony by the chief lawyer for the Assembly, Willie Brown, while speaker, "personally signed the papers that fired two women who said they had been sexually harassed" by a San Diego assemblyman. Sexual harassment has "become an issue" in the final days of the campaign, "with at least four women charging that their complaints of sexual harassment by their bosses in the lower house were whitewashed in official investigations." Brown, who has stressed that he has "zero tolerance" for sexual harassment during the campaign, denied that "he had been personally involved in the firings except for the routine signing of their termination papers": "I'm the counter-signer for everybody. ... I don't know who in the hell they are. It is really unfair, and it is painful for me to be vilified for something I have absolutely nothing on earth to

do with" (Taylor/Bowman, S.F. CHRONICLE, 11/5).

WILD RACE: The charge was the latest episode in a campaign that has seen everything -- Mayor Frank Jordan showering with two disc jockeys, a "visibly angry" Brown trying to "make a joke out of his legal defense of two cocaine dealers, one of whom fled the country," and ex-Supervisor/ex-HUD official Roberta Achtenberg, a "longtime civil rights lawyer," who was accused of "trampling the civil rights of some citizens while she was HUD's fair housing officer." This was a race that Brown, "who has collected far more endorsements ... than there are Democrats in the Legislature," was "supposed to walk away with." Instead, it has become the "fight of his political life. The wiles and the wheeling and dealing that made him untouchable as Assembly Speaker have drawn wariness as much as awe" in S.F. (Yoachum, CHRONICLE, 11/6). NPR's Gonzales notes that once Brown announced his candidacy, it was thought to be "only a matter of time before his coronation. Instead, Brown finds himself in a race for his political life" (11/3).

FACTORS TO WATCH: Calling the race the city's "first down-to-the-wire" battle in 20 years, CHRONICLE's Matier & Ross list some things that could make the difference. On race, they note that "pollsters found whites giving different answers to different interviewers" and thus suspect it could make a difference. The Brown campaign "will be doubling its efforts" to get out the black vote. Voter turnoff: Some think Jordan lost 3-4% "as a result of his recent naked-in-the-bathroom antics." Said one insider: "Jordan undid in five minutes what Clint Reilly

(his campaign manager) took six months to create -- an unremitting battering of Willie." The Brown campaign "sent out 92,000 mailers with the photo" of Jordan in the shower. Last-minute hit mail: "Don't be surprised if you see some pretty wild stuff on Jordan in the shower, Brown's history of defending drug dealers or the sex harassments that allegedly went on under Brown's leadership in the state Assembly." Field operations: Jordan is "counting heavily on conservatives who turn out rain or shine." Brown is "banking on Democratic regulars, women and minorities, who vote much less often." Achtenberg is looking for a "big gay and progressive vote." Others: Supervisor Angela Alioto, who has dropped out of the race and endorsed Achtenberg, will still be on the ballot, as will Republican Ben Hom. These candidates "could pull up to" 5%, a potential "deciding factor" in a photo-finish race. Polls: The last tight race here occurred in '75, when liberal state Sen. George Moscone, moderate Supervisors Pres. Dianne Feinstein and conservative Supervisor John Barbegelata "went down to the wire in a bruising finish." The polls showed that Feinstein "looked like a shoo-in" to make the runoff, but she finished third to Barbegelata (11/6).
Runoff: 12/12.

***14 MISSISSIPPI GOVERNOR: DOWN THE STRETCH THEY COME**

Gov. Kirk Fordice (R) and the GOP revolution "now appear threatened" as MS voters go to the polls for "what many expect to be razor-tight statewide elections." In the last few weeks, Dems "have begun moving up in polling" by "concentrating on

traditional issues of improving schools, attacking the accountability of Republican incumbents and warning of dire consequences of extreme changes in Washington." Dems appear "to have returned from the dead" by turning the debate "from a sweeping ideological liberal vs. conservative discussion to more traditional stump issues." Sec/State Dick Molpus (D) appears to have "changed the dynamics of the race by concentrating on the issue that has united a majority of black and white voters for so many years" -- education. Molpus: "This race has become a referendum on the importance of public education in Mississippi and ... everything else is secondary." By focusing on the issue, the Molpus campaign hopes to win over the bulk of the 15% of the voters who remain undecided. Molpus has run TV spots featuring Molpus' wife, Sally, saying the governor's education proposals were "scary" and "threatened public education." The ads have had the "double impact" of raising both the issue of education and Fordice's personality. Fordice's "core strength, the force of his macho, hard-driving personality, would appear suddenly to have become his great weakness as some middle-of-the-road, female voters turn a cold shoulder to him" (Branson, Memphis COMMERCIAL APPEAL, 11/5). The most recent Mason-Dixon poll shows Fordice with a 45-40% lead (see HOTLINE, 11/3). In a review of the campaign, N.Y. TIMES' Sack writes that Molpus has been able to stay close to Fordice "by seeking a large black turnout and appealing aggressively to women" (11/4).

PANTS ON FIRE: Sid Salter, in a Jackson CLARION-LEDGER op-ed, writes that in the final days of the campaign a "new" Fordice

"has emerged" -- "one willing to pay television stations to broadcast allegations against his opponent that simply have no basis in fact." Fordice, "fighting for his political life," is now trying to "sell the message" that Molpus is a slum lord, is on the federal dole and that his company is managing crime-ridden public housing projects. Molpus called the ad a "flat, outright lie," and HUD Acting State Coord. Tom Cooper "said that ... the allegations ... were not true" (11/5).

ENDORSEMENTS: Jackson CLARION-LEDGER, Pascagoula MISSISSIPPI PRESS and Biloxi SUN HERALD endorsed Molpus (11/5).

===== SENATE WATCH =====

*15 VIRGINIA: WARNER QUESTIONS MILLER'S '95 COMMITMENT

Sen. John Warner (R) questioned primary challenger/Reagan OMB Dir. Jim Miller's (R) credibility by asking whether his PAC, Commonwealth PAC, "did what it promised" it helping GOP legis. candidates this year. Warner said that publicly available facts about the PAC "would raise in the minds of Republican contributors to Miller a question of credibility," arguing that "he has the responsibility to answer." Miller responded that Warner was "trying to discredit anybody who gets in his way." Commonwealth PAC "spent \$80,118 overall by Oct. 25 and donated \$905 to campaigns of four General Assembly candidates. ... It reported paying [Vic] Gresham \$34,000 between November 1994 and Aug. 14." Vic Gresham is now "running Miller's 1996 Senate campaign." In "another large expenditure," Commonwealth PAC bought a contributors list from the Miller Senate campaign for

\$19,800 in 10/94. Warner mgr Joy Wilson: "There are some very serious questions here." Wilson also "asked whether Miller's PAC may have supported ... his Senate campaign without such efforts being duly reported." Gresham said Commonwealth PAC hasn't taken steps to support Miller's Senate campaign. Miller defended the PAC as "being above-board and said he had worked hard to comply with the law." '97 LG cand. T. Coleman Andrews (R), on Miller: "I've seen Jim every single week for at least six months ... helping candidates. I don't think there's any question about the fact he's doing his part to help candidates out" (Hardin, RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 11/4).

POLL REAX: Miller trails Warner 41-39% in the latest Mason-Dixon poll (see HOTLINE, 11/3), "making next year's Republican nomination a far closer race than the general election." Mary Washington College Poli. Sci. prof. Mark Rozell: "When the challenger is within striking distance at this stage, that show's there's a real vulnerability." Miller comm. dir. Pattye Fava: "Warner has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars and his numbers have gone nowhere." Warner mgr. Joy Wilson: "The reflection of no movement ... simply means the senator and the voters have the same priorities for 1995" (Hatch, FAIRFAX JOURNAL, 11/3). Miller: "These numbers are very, very encouraging." Fava: "The poll can not be read as anything but a severe blow to Warner's campaign. It's obvious that Warner has alienated rank and file Republicans. This poll proves the voters of Virginia will not be bought" (release, 11/3). Possible GOp: VA GOP chair Patrick McSweeney. Also: ex-VA Dem chair Mark

Warner.

===== ON THE HOUSE =====

***16 MASSACHUSETTS: MOAKLEY RECONSIDERING HIS RECONSIDERATION**

MA 09: Rep. Joe Moakley (D) confirmed 11/2 that "unless doctors are able to operate on his bad hip soon, he may not seek re-election." Several Moakley aides and close friends "speculate that the odds are less than 50-50" he will run in '96. Moakley, who "vigorously denied a widespread rumor" that he was going to announce his retirement this week, said, "Christ, every time I sneeze, they're ordering caskets for me. ... I want to stay, but I just don't know if I can, healthwise. ... My hip is real bad. If I could get the hip done right away, no problem. If not, I'll take another look at things in that light. ... Nothing is cast in cement." Moakley, described as "ambivalent" about seeking another term, expects to know within a few weeks when he can have the surgery (Miga, BOSTON HERALD, 11/3).

MA 03: Moakley aide Jim McGovern (D) said he will seek the Dem nomination for the seat held by Rep. Peter Blute (R). Despite his infirmities, Moakley "is expected to push hard for McGovern" by hosting fundraisers in DC and Boston. Another "major obstacle" for the other announced Dem, Fall River Mayor John Mitchell (D), is that '94 Dem nominee Kevin O'Sullivan is "vowing to support McGovern." McGovern "itches to battle" Blute,

both of whom "have sparred regularly in the press, in and out of election season." McGovern: "I profoundly and passionately disagree with the agenda put forth by Peter Blute and Newt Gingrich. It goes against everything I value and believe in." Blute CoS Rob Gray: "Good. I hope he wins the primary. We'll clean his clock" (Hohler, BOSTON GLOBE, 11/4).

MA 10: BOSTON GLOBE editorial, on Rep. Gerry Studds' (D) retirement: "Studds says he is not abandoning ship, and it would be unfair to level that charge at him. After 12 terms of solid representation in Congress ... Studds has every right to reclaim private time and look to new pursuits. ... Still, Studds' departure is good news for the very force he now rails against: the Republican majority in Congress. ... [He] says he expects to be succeeded by another Democrat, but the district ... is fertile for the GOP" (11/4). Michael Kennedy, brother of Rep. Joe Kennedy (D-08), announced 11/2 that he will "stay out" of the race (Miga, BOSTON HERALD, 11/3). Announced Dem: Norfolk Co. DA William Delahunt. Announced GOPers: MA House GOP Leader Edward Teague and '94 GOP nominee Keith Hemeon. Possible Dems: ex-State Sen. Paul Harold, state Sen. Therese Murray and state Rep. Eric Turkington. Possible GOPers: '94 Senate primary cand. John Lakian, state Rep. Robert Hedlund, MA Econ. Affairs Sec. Gloria Larson and '92 nominee Michael Crossen. Filing deadline: 5/7.

*17 TX 16: COLEMAN IS THE THIRD TEXAS DEM TO HANG UP HIS SPURS

Rep. Ron Coleman (D) announced he will not seek a ninth term, "saying that he has already served longer than he'd

planned" (AP/HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 11/4). Coleman: "I leave with few regrets, little rancor, no apologies. I have followed my heart and fought to make better the lives of all El Pasoans."

Coleman is the third Texas Dem to announce retirement from the House, following Reps. Jim Chapman (D-01) and Charlie Wilson (D-02). Coleman, who was "expected to face a stiff challenge" in next year's primary, cited his "achievements to expose and end the evils of colonias," or border slums. However, his links to the developers of the colonias "has placed his dealings under intense scrutiny." TX AG Dan Morales (D) charged "Democratic leaders" with threatening to run a primary challenge against Morales "if he proceeded with a lawsuit against" a colonia developer who is a "state Democratic leader." Morales did not identify Coleman but "subsequent reports" did (AP, 11/5). Possible Dem: U.S. Border Patrol official Silvestre Reyes.

*18 WA 09: KREIDLER SAYS NO TO TATE REMATCH

Ex-Rep. Mike Kreidler (D) said 11/3 he will not seek a rematch with frosh Rep. Randy Tate (R), who unseated him after one term in '94. Kreidler said, "As much as I loved fighting for 9th District families as a member of Congress, I love spending more time with my own family. I don't want to give that up right now, and I feel that I'm doing a lot for Washingtonians right here" on the Northwest Power Planning Council (Callaghan, Tacoma NEWS TRIBUNE, 11/4). ROLL CALL's Sheffner reports that WA strategists on both sides call Tate the "most vulnerable" of all GOP House members and that Dems have "one definite candidate" --

state Sen. Adam Smith (11/6 issue).

***19 HOUSE NOTES: PAXON SEES 20-30 SEAT PICKUP, 3 MORE SWITCHES**

In a 10/31 interview with the HOTLINE, NRCC chair Bill Paxon (R-NY) predicted that the GOP will pick up between 20-30 seats in '96, thus retaining the party's majority in the House -- something they haven't done since the elections of 1928. He also said that "at least" three more Dems will switch to the GOP this year, with speculation that the next one to jump will be Rep. Mike Parker (D-MS 04). Three Dems have already bolted in '95: Nathan Deal (GA 09), Greg Laughlin (TX 14) and Billy Tauzin (LA 03). Paxon said that candidate recruitment and incumbency protection is in excellent shape, under the watchful eye of Speaker Newt Gingrich, and expected more senior Dems to decide to leave office. The GOP currently controls the House 233-199-1, with two Dem vacancies; Paxon said there was "no question" that his party would capture the CA 15 seat vacated by Rep. Norm Mineta (D) in the 12/12 special election with ex-Rep. Tom Campbell (R), and said the effort by Dem cand. Jerry Estruth to link Campbell with Gingrich would fail.

===== POLL UPDATE =====

***20 L.A. TIMES:**

1,426 adults surveyed 10/27-30; margin of error +/- 3%

Subsamples: 1,190 registered voters, +/- 3% (release, 11/5).

CLINTON JOB NOW 9/95 CONFIDENCE IN CONGRESS

Approve 50% 51% Great deal/quite a lot 12%

Disapprove 44 43 Some/very litte 85

CLINTON RE-ELECT (among RVs) WOULD YOU CONSIDER VOTING FOR

Vote for 36% AN IND OR THIRD-PARTY CAND.?

Vote against 51 Yes 43%

DK 13 Choose Dem or GOP 38

Depends on who runs 16

IS THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM SOUND? (among RVs)

NOW 9/95

Sound 51% 58%

Unsound 47 38

WHICH PARTY CAN BEST HANDLE THE PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY? WHO HAS BETTER IDEAS TO SOLVE THOSE PROBLEMS?

Dems 32% Clinton 33%

GOP 33 GOPers 42

Both equally 6 Both equally 4

Neither 19 Neither 13

IMPRESSION OF DEM PARTY IMPRESSION OF GOP

Favorable 44% Favorable 46%

Unfavorable 42 Unfavorable 42

Haven't heard enough 11 Haven't heard enough 10

WHICH PARTY WOULD YOU RATHER SEE WIN IN YOUR CD?

(among RVs, w/leaners)

Dem 44%

GOP 42

IND 3

Neither/DK 11

"Because America is dominated by large, powerful interests,
people like me have almost no say in the political system"

AGREE 69%

DISAGREE 29

WHICH DO YOU FAVOR? ALL WHITES BLACKS

Smaller gov't with fewer services 68% 73% 31%

Larger gov't with many services 23 19 52

WHICH IS A BIGGER PROBLEM

Rich people not paying their share of taxes 20%

Welfare recipients getting benefits they don't deserve 40

Neither 3

Both equally 35

SHOULD HOMOSEXUALS GET PROTECTION UNDER CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS?

Should get protection 43%

Should get no protection 50

DO YOU FAVOR THE SUPREME COURT DECISION WHICH PERMITS A WOMEN TO
GET AN ABORTION W/IN THE FIRST 3 MONTHS OF PREGNANCY?

Favor 50%

Oppose 34

Indifferent 12

FAVOR PRAYERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

Favor 75%

Oppose 20

PROBLEMS FACING MINORITIES IN INNER CITIES ARE PROBLEMS OF ...

	ALL	WHITES	BLACKS
Personal responsibility	47%	52%	17%
Racism/Economic injustice	36	32	62
Both equally	10	8	15

===== TV MONITOR =====

*21 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA", NBC's "Today" and "CBS This Morning" showed live coverage of the Rabin funeral. "Today" hosted ex-Sec/States James Baker and Henry Kissinger. "GMA" hosted Kissinger. "FOX Morning News" hosted ex-NSA dir. Lt. Gen. William Odom, NEWSWEEK's Evan Thomas, ex-RNC chair Frank Fahrenkopf, George Mason Univ.'s Roger Wilkins, ROLL CALL's Susan Glasser, and ex-WH Counsels Myer Feldman and C. Boyden Gray.

TONIGHT: CNBC's "Russert" hosts Ben Wattenberg. CNBC's "Equal Time" hosts Thomas.

SUNDAY: ABC's "Brinkley" hosted Baker, Likud Party chair Benjamin Netanyahu and Israeli Foreign Ministry Dir. General Yuri Savir. NBC's "Meet the Press" hosted Israeli Amb. Itamar Rabinovich, Bob Dole and Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA). CBS' "Face the Nation" hosted Rabinovich, U.S. Amb. to Israel Martin Indyk, N.Y. TIMES' Martin Freedman, and Johns Hopkins' Fouad Ajami. CNN's "Late Edition" hosted Arlen Specter, Netanyahu and Israeli Economics Min. Yossi Beilin. C-SPAN's "Sunday Journal" hosted Ross Perot. "McLaughlin's One on One" hosted ACU's David Keene and Arianna Huffington.

LAUGHS: David Letterman, on Bob Dole: "Everybody's worried about how he's going to hold up under the rigors of the big campaign. ... Yesterday, trying to help out, his wife said that Bob Dole has the energy of ten men, that's great. He also happens to have the combined age of ten men" ("Late Show," CBS, 11/3).

TOP TEN SIGNS CHRISTOPHER DARDEN AND MARCIA CLARK ARE IN LOVE

10. Recently spotted necking in back row of the Menendez trial.
9. Lately, when he rises, it's not always to object.
8. They've asked Judge Ito to preside over their honeymoon and drag it out for months.
7. They're covered with each others' fingerprints, if you know what I mean.
6. They both giggle whenever they hear the word "subpoena."

5. The L.A.P.D. lab says the evidence shows they're not in love
-- so they must be in love.
4. That lingerie in Darden's laundry wasn't exactly planted by
Mark Fuhrman.
3. Have been speaking out in favor of cameras in the bedroom.
2. Seen checking into a hotel under the name "Mr. and Mrs.
Lopez."
1. She obtained a search warrant for his pants ("Late Show,"
CBS, 11/3).

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"Last week, I said that the President liked [Dick] Morris
because Morris was the only guy in America with fewer
principles than Clinton. Well, now I'm reconsidering
because I think I'm being unfair to Morris."

-- Charles Krauthammer, "Inside Washington," 11/4===== ATTACHMENT 1

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--- Monday --- November 6, 1995 --- Vol. 9 --- No. 36 ---

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--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

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=====

ELECTION DAY '95 (#13) (#14) | SPOTLIGHT |

One day left, are you up to |
date on the latest? | EVERY PICTURE TELLS A STORY |

MS GOV: Dick Molpus (D) picks |
up the backing of 3 papers. | Let's check out what's |

S.F. MAYOR: A new charge is | brewing in some key states. |
leveled at Willie Brown. |

| MAINE: Phil Gramm grabs |
I'M MR. SAMPLENAME, AND I VOTE | another straw poll. Dick |

A Gramm campaign blunder in a | Lugar, in second, calls it |
bulk mailing to FL P3 delegates | a great victory, but was he |
draws ridicule from rivals and | looking for more than this |
press. Meanwhile, expectations | in his memo? (#1) |
remain Dole's big straw hurdle. | ARIZONA: This state is |
Keep an eye on Lamar. (#4) | critical to Gramm and it's |

SINCE YOU CAN'T BUY TICKETS: | where Pat Buchanan has |
Give the Dole tree a shake and | thrown down his anti-Gramm |
see what P3 freebies you get. | gauntlet. So what does the |
| REPUBLIC poll say? Dole |

MERRILL MAKES HIS MOVE? | and Powell are tied for the |
Dole's statement on "Meet the | lead, third place is owned |
Press" fuels rumor he may | by Steve Forbes. (#5) |
collect the blessing of NH Gov. | FLORIDA: Dole holds off |
this week. "Wishful thinking" | Powell for lead. Alexander |
or reality? (#8) | is anemic in his must-win |
| state. (#4) |

JUST LIKE PLAYING DOMINOES | NEW HAMPSHIRE: A new |
Another House Dem, Ron | BOSTON HERALD poll shows a |
Coleman (TX 16), retires. (#17) | familiar story: Powell and |
| Dole tied for the lead. |

IT'S CYBER-REVOLUTIONARY! | Why are so many candidates |
See pg.2 for a preview of | regarded negatively? (#2) |
what's new at PoliticsUSA. |

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"Every moment we shared was a joy because he was a good
man, and an inspiration because he was a great man."
-- President Clinton, eulogizing Yitzhak Rabin, 11/6

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WHITE HOUSE '96: ME Straw Poll (#1); NH (#2); IA (#3); FL (#4);
AZ (#5); Powell (#6); Clinton (#7); Dole (#8); Field (#9)

NATIONAL BRIEFING: Welfare (#10); Rabin (#11); Covers (#12)

CAMPAIGNS OF '95

S.F. MAYOR: Brown hit with new charge. (#13)

MISSISSIPPI GOV: Down the stretch they come. (#14)

SENATE WATCH: VA: Warner questions Miller's '95 commitment. (#15)

ON THE HOUSE

MA: Moakley reconsidering his reconsideration. (#16)

TX 16: Coleman is the 3rd TX Dem to hang up his spurs. (#17)

WA 09: Kreidler says no to Tate rematch. (#18)

HOUSE NOTES: Paxson sees 20-30 seat pickup; 3 more switches. (#19)

L.A. TIMES POLL (#20)

TV MONITOR (#21)

ON THE WEB: This week inaugurates PoliticsUSA, the World Wide
Web service on politics and government that is a joint venture of
the AMERICAN POLITICAL NETWORK and NATIONAL JOURNAL. Starting
today: "In Focus," which takes a special look at politics on-line
-- how the Internet and the Web have changed the course of
political discussion -- and a look at the demographics of Web
users. Check it out at <http://www.PoliticsUSA.com>

???? OVERLOOKED ????

"Not content with the limited field of declared candidates,"
a Draft Rush Limbaugh for President cmte has been launched out of
Greenville, SC. The group hopes to get 700,000 signed petitions
supporting a Limbaugh candidacy (release 11/3).

===== WHITE HOUSE '96 =====

*1 ME STRAW POLL: GRAMM TAKES IT; A LUGAR LETDOWN OR VICTORY?

Nearly 1,500 ME GOPers cast ballots 11/4 in a straw poll at
the ME GOP convention. The results:

	VOTES	PERCENT OF VOTE
Gramm	602	42%
Lugar	303	21
Dole	144	10
Specter	118	8
Dornan	84	6
Taylor	73	5
Buchanan	41	3
Charles Collins	29	2

Forbes	9	1
Keyes	7	0
Alexander	6	0
Powell	6	0
Others	3	0

Phil Gramm walked away the winner, earning a victory that is "likely to have greater consequences for his closest rival" (Higgins, BANGOR DAILY NEWS, 11/5). The outcome "came as a setback" to Dick Lugar and Arlen Specter, who had campaigned "aggressively" in Maine. It also reaffirmed that Gramm has a strong state organization, and "may be the only GOP candidate who can defeat [Bob] Dole." Dole did not attend the event (Campbell, ME SUNDAY TELEGRAM, 11/5). Gramm said he was pleased with the results that give a "strong indication of how well our effort is being received by Republican activists" (release, 11/4). However, TELEGRAM's Campbell noted Gramm's campaign "paid the \$15 registration fee for more than 100 college students to attend the event, undoubtedly boosting the size of Gramm's victory" (11/5). The Lugar campaign saw the results as "something to celebrate," and thanked the state for the 2nd-place finish. For Lugar, the "great Maine victory" was finishing ahead of Dole, proving that, according spokesperson Terry Holt, "on a level playing field Lugar can compete." The campaign's strategy is based on the assumption that Dole will "fall out of the race and Lugar will inherit his support" (Schneider, INDIANAPOLIS STAR, 11/5). BOSTON GLOBE's Zuckman said Lugar's finish gave him a "slight boost" (11/5). But TELEGRAM's Campbell noted Lugar "failed to meet expectations" and spent upwards of \$33,000 on the ME campaign, which included two TV ads (11/5). Dole spokesperson Nelson Warfield: "Nothing could better illustrate the difference between the Dole and Gramm strategies. While they're campaigning for straw poll votes in Maine, we're campaigning for real votes in Iowa" (TELEGRAM, 11/5). ME Sens. Olympia Snowe (R) and Bill Cohen (R) "advocated quietly" for Dole during their own appearances at the convention (BANGOR DAILY NEWS, 11/5). The Specter campaign "attempted to downplay the significance of the results, saying the poll was driven more by having money to organize the effort, rather than the actual electoral landscape" (Jesdanun, AP/CONCORD MONITOR, 11/5). Charles Collins, who finished 8th, is described as a hotel developer.

CRAZY STRAWS: BOSTON GLOBE's Zuckman writes straw polls are "notoriously poor indicators of who will actually win a party's nomination. Maine last held a straw poll in 1979. George Bush won the event and Ronald Reagan did not participate." The results may be "completely irrelevant" if Colin Powell enters, and while Gramm's win may "give him some momentum" for FL's P3 straw poll, Lugar's finish "may fade from memory" since he has not campaigned in FL (11/5).

THE SPEECHES: Gramm received two standing ovations during his speech, the first of which came in a reference to an anti-gay initiative slated for the 11/7 ME ballot. He said, "I am for equal opportunity for everyone, but I am for special opportunities and privileges for no one." Later Bob Dornan

"skewered Gramm for only alluding to the referendum, rather than addressing the issue head on." Dornan: "If someone is going to mention no special rights for people, have the guts to mention Question 1." Lugar, "in a glitzy and well-choreographed entrance that featured a biographical video and music by the Talking Heads, stressed his experience in foreign policy during 19 years in the Senate" (GLOBE, 11/5). Without mentioning names, Lugar also warned GOPers "not to nominate a person who comes across as mean-spirited" (TELEGRAM, 11/5). Specter attempted to "tap" the popularity of Powell by "attacking conservatives" who have urged the general not to run. Lamar Alexander and Pat Buchanan ignored the straw poll (Dowd, REUTER, 11/5). BOSTON GLOBE header: "Perot's idea of 3d party building steam in Maine" (11/5).

*2 NEW HAMPSHIRE: DOLE, POWELL TIED; WHERE'S LAMAR?

A BOSTON HERALD poll, conducted 11/1-3 by Univ./NH, surveyed 448 NH GOP voters; margin of error +/- 4.6% (11/5).

	W/POWELL	W/O POWELL	FAV/UNFAV	ID
Powell	27%	--	59%/ 16%	98%
Dole	27	36%	53 / 28	100
Forbes	6	8	27 / 27	88
Buchanan	5	6	24 / 55	99
Gramm	4	6	26 / 43	94
Alexander	3	4	22 / 34	85
Lugar	1	2	10 / 34	72
Specter	1	1	11 / 41	80
Keyes	1	1	6 / 37	60
Dornan	0	0	7 / 30	57
Taylor	0	0	6 / 27	57
DK/Other	25	36	--	--

INTENSITY

Definitely vote for 1st choice 19%
 Could change mind 65

*3 IOWA: POWELL GETS A WARM INVITATION

DES MOINES REGISTER's Yepsen argues against Colin Powell's strategy of bypassing the IA caucuses because of the false perceptions that Bob Dole has a "lock" on IA and "most Iowa Republican caucus-goers are now religious zealots who won't like Powell's pro-choice stance." Such a strategy was "followed so effectively" by "Presidents" Pete Wilson, Al Gore and Fritz Hollings. "It is a strategy often promoted by those consultants and pundits who hate coming all the way out to Iowa (and rarely do). ... It's true that for most candidates, it's too late to start in Iowa. Powell is just not an ordinary candidate." Bypassing IA "is dumb because it would mean closing the door on a real opportunity." Three reasons for Powell's participation:
 1) IA GOP moderates "have lacked a champion" and they "would like their party back. Powell is just the horse they could ride."

2) Many caucus-goers are "looking for a winner. Any candidate who leads an incumbent Democrat president in the polls is going to have a number of party leaders saying, 'That's good enough for me.'" 3) Dole "has been and remains a sitting duck in Iowa. While he is the front-runner, he is a vulnerable one." Yepsen concludes Powell "could ... beat" Dole in IA, and "it would stagger" Dole. Bypassing IA would be "letting Dole have a free ride ... He would let Dole win, eliminate some opposition and consolidate conservatives. ... The sooner Powell strikes Dole, the better" (11/6).

ALEXANDER SLAPS AT PAT: In weekend speeches in IA, Lamar Alexander took a "thinly-veiled slap" at Pat Buchanan and other "protectionists" in the GOP: "I've become increasingly concerned about the protectionist voices in our party who would have us build a wall around our country to solve our problem. ... These guys would have us selling soybeans and corn and computers only to ourselves. They'd turn this supermarket of the world into a country store." Alexander "declined to point a specific finger" at Buchanan, but said, "I'll let the imagination roll" (Yepsen, REGISTER, 11/4).

SCHOOL SHOOTOUT: Alexander and Dole campaigned on school reform. At the IA GOP's "Fall Event," Alexander told "about 700" of his plan to keep schools open year-round. But he added, "I lose the sixth-grade vote when I say that" (REGISTER, 11/6). Alexander also proposed a voucher plan for private-sector job training. Dole said he's preparing to unveil a voucher plan to help parents finance private school tuition. Dole, at a "Christian academy": "If the rich -- the Kennedys and the others -- can pick private schools, why is it denied to middle-class and low-income Americans?" (REGISTER, 11/5). School vouchers are "popular with conservatives, particularly social and religious conservatives with increasing clout in Republican politics." Dole's selection of a Christian academy as the forum for making his speech "carried clear symbolism in the fight for Iowa's leadoff" caucuses in 2/96. IA "religious conservatives ... have been leery of Dole. In recent weeks he has gone out of his way to toughen his message and sound more conservative themes" (Glover, AP, 11/5).

*4 FLORIDA: DOLE LEADS POWELL, REST OF FIELD

A Voices of FL poll, conducted 10/19-24 for a consortium of 6 newspapers and 11 TV stations, including the MIAMI HERALD and ST. PETE TIMES, surveyed 909 likely voters; margin of error +/- 3.3% (11/6). GOP subsample: 320 LVs; +/- 5.5%.

GOP PRIMARY	W/POWELL	W/O POWELL
Dole	30%	41%
Powell	22	--
Gramm	7	8
Buchanan	6	7
Alexander	1	2
Lugar	1	1
Specter	1	2
DK/other	32	39

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Powell 47% Clinton 40% Clinton 41%
Clinton 33 Dole 38 Gramm 36

GRAMM'S MAIL SNAFU: FL Sec/State/Gramm FL chair Sandra Mortham sent a "personalized" letter as part of an attempt to woo the 3,400 delegates to FL's Presidency III convention set for 11/17-18. However, the letter was not quite as personalized as had been intended. Due to a "printer's error," the letter read: "Many people have been in touch with us and are strongly encouraging our campaign efforts. But, Mr. Samplename we need your help." Mortham spokesperson Gene McGee: "All campaigns make mistakes from time to time." McGee also released letters from the Lamar Alexander and Bob Dole campaigns that contained spelling errors (Fiedler, MIAMI HERALD, 11/5). A "gleeful" Alexander campaign FL director Tre Evans sent out an open letter urging the Gramm camp to provide every campaign with their "secret list" of delegates, including: "Mr. Careless Mailvendor, Mr. Yourjust A. Nameonalisttome, Mr. & Mrs. Insinceremail, Mr. Machinewritten, [and] Dr. Roboletter" (STANDARD, 11/13 issue).

PLAYING THE EXPECTATIONS GAME: With P3 only 11 days away, the effort to woo delegates and set expectations has intensified. Dole, who called the event "the most important political event of the year for us," has engaged in a "free-spending effort." His campaign also tried to paint Gramm as the P3 favorite. Dole strategist Warren Tompkins: "Gramm has the most to lose in P3." Meanwhile, Mortham called Dole the front-runner: "He has to win in order to stay as the front-runner and frankly I think he needs to win to stay in the race." Because FL is so critical to his strategy, Lamar Alexander "has much to prove" at P3. Alexander told delegates, "You don't have to accept the conventional wisdom [that Dole will be the nominee] -- you can create the conventional wisdom." Every P3 delegate has received a letter from a resident of Maryville, TN, Alexander's hometown (King, AP, 11/5). ORLANDO SENTINEL's Griffin writes, "Keep an eye on Lamar Alexander. When the dust settles" at P3, he "should be right in the thick of the race" (11/5). Alexander spokesperson Dan McLagan: "The Dole people hit the panic button down here. ... If they fall short of 50 percent, they fall short of the expectations game." McLagan charged the Dole campaign with offering delegates "fruit baskets the size of a Shetland pony." The Dole camp has distributed Godiva chocolates and Crabtree & Evelyn soaps. Still, Dole's campaign has attempted to tamp down expectations. Dole FL leader Jeannie Austin: "He doesn't have to win. He's still the frontrunner, regardless" (Thompson/Kuhnhenh, K.C. STAR, 11/5).

*5 ARIZONA: GRAMM IS STALLED, AND VOTERS PREFER POWELL

An ARIZONA REPUBLIC poll, conducted 10/18-22, surveyed 800 registered voters; margin of error +/- 3.5%. GOP subsample: +/- 5.3% (11/5).

Dole	22%	Powell	54%	Clinton	45%
Powell	21	Clinton	27	Dole	43
Forbes	11				
Gingrich	6	Clinton	47%		
Buchanan	5	Gramm	31		
Gramm	5				
Undecided	24				

In a 3-way race with Powell as an independent, Powell "would get more votes" than Clinton and Dole. Gramm, "who touts support of the state GOP's establishment, appears to have stalled." Gramm AZ chair/Sen. John McCain: "Political pundits have declared the Gramm campaign dead on numerous occasions, and this story will probably be another in a long line of them, but the reality is the campaign's alive and well." More "surprising" is Forbes' 3rd place (Murphy/Mayes, ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 11/5).

*6 POWELL: STILL NO LEAKS FROM THE TIGHT-SHIPED TEAM

As last week drew to a close, "rumors were growing" that Colin Powell might announce his pres. plans as early as this week (Gibbs, TIME, 11/13 issue). Theoretically, Powell has until 12/15 -- the filing deadline for NH. But "insiders say" an announcement is likely to come between 11/18 -- the date of FL's "Presidency III" straw poll -- and Thanksgiving (Apple, N.Y. TIMES, 11/4). "Sources say" if Powell decides to run for the GOP nomination, he would use the 11/19-21 GOP Govs. Conference in Nashua, NH to kickoff his campaign (Ellis, BOSTON GLOBE, 11/4). The upshot of speculation from those "vouching familiarity" with Powell's thought process, is "no one really seems to know what he will decide or when" (Barabak, COPLEYS.D. UNION-TRIBUNE, 11/4).

FOR AND AGAINST: NEWSWEEK'S Klein argues in favor of an independent Powell candidacy, saying if run properly, Powell's campaign could "lance the nation's political boil." Powell could launch a crusade to "rescue America from its poisoned political atmosphere." If Powell runs as a GOPer "we'd all have to prepare for the unavoidable, stomach-turning moment when the general made himself available for a photo-op with the oleaginous tele-quack Pat Robertson. ... Already, Powell has done a great service by confounding the extremist publicists and fund raisers of the Republican right. In two minutes with Barbara Walters, he demonstrated that the infamous 'hot button' issues [including abortion, affirmative action, crime and gun control] aren't so hot." Powell illustrated that the prevailing sense of a "great ideological divide" separating Americans is an illusion, that there is, in fact, "a great national consensus on most issues" (11/13 issue). STANDARD's Barnes contends there is "a strong case" Powell should not run. It consists of several elements: 1) He isn't ready. Powell "hasn't thought through" many of his positions on domestic issues. His positions are "often self cancelling." 2) He'd be a weak GOP nominee. "If the GOP nominee gets a one-on-one shot at Clinton, chances are he'll win. And that goes for any Republican with a realistic prospect of winning the nomination -- but not Powell. If nominated, he'd provoke a third-party campaign ... whose effect would be to draw Republican

votes and re-elect Clinton." 3) He would never get along with Newt Gingrich (11/13 issue).

TED CALLS HIM A DEMOCRAT: Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA), on Powell as the GOP nominee: "He'd be very formidable. ... [But] I don't think that Colin Powell is going to be able to pass those litmus tests of the radical right in the Republican Party. Quite frankly, I think he talks a little more like a Democrat" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 11/5). Powell's cousin, wealthy financier Bruce Llewellyn, said while he would assist a candidacy in "any way I can," he has advised the general to "skip the campaign": "I don't want him to run. It's a very messy business. I don't see how he will be welcomed by the Republican Party" (Schwartzman, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 11/5).

DIRE WARNING: BOSTON GLOBE's Nyhan warns Powell not to run because he would lose and risk "losing a lot: time, money, reputation, and maybe even losing your maximum potential to influence the debate about how to shoulder this country out of its spiritual ditch. ... Think Dukakis. Think Mondale. Think Muskie and Romney and Rockefeller and Adlai Stevenson. Think loser" (11/3).

TALKING EMPTY HEADS? NEW YORKER's "Talk of the Town" asks, "Why do all the talking heads keep saying that voters have no idea where Colin Powell stands on the issues? Just by occasionally walking through a room whose furnishings include a television set, you'd know this much about Powell's views: he is a strong believer in free market economics; he would be reluctant to send American troops abroad; he is essentially pro-choice; he is amenable to some restrictions on gun ownership; he is opposed to prayer in schools; he views America as a society still sufficiently racist to require some form of affirmative action; he is against openly allowing gays in the military; he thinks the Contract with America is a bit harsh in its treatment of Americans who need help. Does the average voter really know that much about what Richard Lugar believes? What do voters know about Lamar Alexander? They know that he walks around in a flannel shirt and that he'd answer that he is the only outsider in the race even if the question was whether or not he had change for a quarter" (11/13 issue).

CCRI IMPACT: U.S. NEWS' "Washington Whispers" reports California's "controversial" initiative to end all racial preferences -- the CA Civil Rights Initiative -- is "in danger of collapsing, in large part because of a lack of financial support from the Republican National Committee and the GOP state party. One reason supporters of the initiative believe the national has party has backed off: Gen. Colin Powell" (11/13).

HE DIDN'T SAY NO, DID HE? Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA), asked if he would consider being Powell's running mate if the general runs as an independent: "I would say, Colin, let's sit down and talk a lot about the direction you're going to go in and what you believe in for the country. I've never aspired to be president or vice-president, or even a United States Senator, simply for holding a title. I think it depends on the direction that you see for the country, and I'd like to see that vision from him" ("Evans & Novak," CNN, 11/5).

MORE TALKERS: Gary Hart: "This cocoon is a very deceptive one and it may suggest to him he's in for an easy ride when in fact, as we all agree, he's going to be taken apart." Michael Dukakis: "The fact that a thousand people show up at your book signing is not a tidal wave. And you've just got to be awfully sure that you yourself and the people that are closest to you, you love the most, feel very strongly and very positively about it" ("Nightline," ABC, 11/3). Ross Perot: "What you're starting to see around General Powell is called 'redefining the person'. I call it dirty politics" ("Sunday Journal," C-SPAN, 11/5). Mark Shields: "What Ronald Reagan always grasped is that politics is a matter of addition, not subtraction" ("NewsHour," PBS, 11/3). Eleanor Clift: "This is bad news for the Republican Shiites. It's great news for the moderate wing of the party. ... They'll grow, blossom" ("McLaughlin Group," 11/4). W. POST's Juan Williams: "What you're seeing here is the far right really killing itself off" ("Capital Gang Sunday," CNN, 11/5).

NEW YORK STATE OF MIND: Marist pollster Lee Miringoff: "The problem for Colin Powell is not his popularity in the state, it's getting on the ballot" ("IP," CNN, 11/3).

SOUTHERN STRENGTH: Political analyst Charlie Cook, on the perception that Powell might have problems in the South: "The South has the strongest military tradition in the country and one where being a former Army general would be a real asset. I don't see a single state that Powell would not be competitive in. He would be very, very strong" ("IP," CNN, 11/3).

THE GENERAL AND THE FIELD GENERAL: DES MOINES REGISTER's Yepsen notes, "According to conventional wisdom," Jack Kemp "is billed" as Powell's runningmate. Yepsen also writes that Powell may wait until 2000. "In four years, President Clinton might be finishing out his last term. Or an aging President Dole might be calling it quits after one. Waiting might be the Eisenhoweresque thing to do" (11/6).

***7 CLINTON: ATTACKS GOP BUDGET, WRITES ON BOSNIA, FEARS POWELL**

In a guest essay in NEWSWEEK, Pres. Clinton argues peace in Bosnia "matters to America -- to our values and our interests. We have an urgent stake in stopping the slaughter, preventing the war from spreading, and building a Europe at peace." On the issue of sending troops to Bosnia: "I will not deploy U.S. troops to Bosnia unless the parties commit to a solid peace agreement" (11/13 issue). Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA): "It's unthinkable -- virtually unthinkable -- for the President to commit American military forces even as part of a NATO alliance force if the Congress has clearly disapproved that action. But also it's unthinkable for us to lead the parties to the peace table, for us to carry out the bombing campaign as the leader of NATO, for us to ask the NATO allies to participate, for the President to make this pledge publicly and then say, 'No, we will not be a part of it'" ("Evans & Novak," CNN, 11/4).

POWELL PUTS PREZ IN PRECARIOUS POSITION: NEWSWEEK's Turque & Cohn report the WH "has been polling on Powell for months, and the results are depressing for the Democrats ... Powell is clearly the White House's worst nightmare: a black centrist with

an aura of moral authority many voters never sensed in Clinton." When asked about a possible Powell candidacy, Clinton's "defensiveness was in plain view," as he said the general had "a lot of admirable qualities," but went on to tout his own admin.'s diversity. Privately, aides have been "trashing Powell's book as the unheroic memoir of a bureaucratic survivor." If Powell does run, Clinton "insiders are counting on the press to whittle down his numbers" (11/13 issue). N.Y. TIMES' Purdum notes Powell could be the WH's "best friend" if he either ran and "was denied" the GOP nomination "after a bitter internecine fight" that allowed Dems to paint the GOP as "extremists," or, if Powell won a nomination which provoked a third-party conservative run. But the flip side is, what if Powell won the nomination of a united GOP. Then Powell "would be all but impossible to attack, tricky to defend against and terribly hard to beat" (11/6).

A NEW "DICKY" CLINTON WH: NEW REPUBLIC's Cooper writes "the rise" of Richard Holbrooke and Dick Morris "says a lot about the changing culture of the Clinton Administration": "Holbrooke and Morris set the tone for an administration that is more cutthroat but more efficient, too. The two share a preternatural sense of ambition that, White House officials grudgingly acknowledge, make them good for their jobs. ... [T]he two share an innate rattle-the-cages sensibility that the Clinton administration is grateful for" (11/20 issue). Bob Novak reports leading the charge against "Dickie" Morris at a meeting between WH CoS Leon Panetta and Hill Dems were Reps. Joe Kennedy (D-MA) and John Bryant (D-TX) (11/4).

PSYCHOANALYZING THE PREZ: George Will writes, "Today's bipartisan consensus is that Clinton is neither bad nor dangerous, just silly. ... [H]e believes everything he says at the moment he emphatically says it, and continues to believe it at full throttle right up to the moment he repudiates it" (NEWSWEEK, 11/13 issue). Expaining the recent Wattenberg gaffe, NEWSWEEK's Alter writes, "Maybe it's just Clinton's prolix problem. Even in school, the teachers thought he yakked too much. Fellow adult children of alcoholics see a classic pattern: telling people what they want to hear" (11/13 issue). Mary McGrory, on Clinton's upcoming end-of-the-month trip to Ireland: "He has been issuing weekly bulletins about his search for self and telling us where he has gone wrong. Here is a man who needs to go to confession. ... The best thing about a good purging in Ireland would be that Clinton could put an end to the self-flagellation that is making his party so nervous" (W. POST, 11/5). N.Y. TIMES' Dowd trashes Clinton's "serial sincerity": "He has cut loose so many people in his eagerness to get re-elected that his strategists have been forced to repackage betrayal as independence" (11/5). Charles Krauthammer: "Last week, I said that the President liked Morris because Morris was the only guy in America with fewer principles than Clinton. Well, now I'm reconsidering because I think I'm being unfair to Morris" ("Inside Washington," 11/4). CNN's Blitzer: "[WH] officials fear the President's accomplishments will be lost in the Washington political fog unless he stops talking so freely about his constantly evolving thinking." George Mason Univ.'s Roger Wilkins: "The President dug his own hole by making it clear

that there is no principle that he's prepared to stand on, no position he's prepared to defend for any length of time, no person or ally who can count on him" ("IP," 11/3). Mark Shields, quoting pollster Peter Hart: "Clinton doesn't need twelve one-month strategies, he needs one twelve-month strategy. He doesn't need four one-year strategies, he needs one four-year strategy" ("NewsHour," PBS, 11/3).

*8 DOLE: RUMORS OF A MERRILL ENDORSEMENT ABOUND

AP's King reports NH Gov. Steve Merrill "has been in talks recently with Bob Dole and a senior Dole aide about possibly endorsing the GOP frontrunner." A NH GOP source said Merrill "was inclined to endorse Dole, perhaps as early as this week." However, another "prominent" NH Republican "said he believed a few more details needed to be worked out and that any definite talk of an endorsement 'might be optimistic.'" Still, the second source noted "there has been substantial progress." In a phone interview Sunday night, Merrill CoS Steve Edwards "did not flatly rule out an announcement this week." Edwards: "If and when the governor is going to say something he will do so. ... Until then, anything said is just speculation." Earlier, Merrill spokesperson Jim Rivers said of a Dole endorsement, "It's nothing more than wishful thinking at this point." Dole met with Merrill 11/2 in DC, "ostensibly to discuss Republican budget plans ... but the possibility of an endorsement also came up, according to the NH Republican sources. Merrill then talked in more detail to Scott Reed, Dole's campaign manager, the sources said." Merrill "has left open the possibility of staying neutral in the race, and has publicly questioned what benefit his endorsement would be to Dole," who already has the backing of NH Reps. Bill Zeff and Charlie Bass, as well as Sen. Judd Gregg. But, "with Powell said to be poised to make his decision, Dole aides have made the case to Merrill that a timely endorsement would carry significant weight" (Manchester UNION LEADER, 11/6). CONCORD MONITOR's Rau writes rival campaigns have interpreted events "as evidence that Dole has reason to expect" a Merrill endorsement. Gramm NH manager Jim Courtovich: "[Dole's] received the endorsement of three very popular elected officials and yet his numbers have tumbled. ... [Gramm's] waiting for the endorsement of the voters of New Hampshire. ... As we move close to the election, more and more voters are starting to focus in on this and these are people less likely to be swayed by an endorsement" (11/6).

GETTING PRESSED: Dole, on "Meet the Press," was asked by Tim Russert if Merrill would endorse him this week. Dole: "I assume you'd have to ask Governor Merrill. ... I would certainly be honored to have that endorsement. ... This would be the icing on the cake in New Hampshire." Asked if such an endorsement would keep Powell out of the race, Dole responded, "I'm not certain about that. But I think there might have been some feeling in the Powell camp that I know they made phone calls to Governor Merrill. There might be some feeling that if he stayed neutral they would have a better shot in New Hampshire." Dole also said he would not go after Powell with negative campaigning if the general enters. Dole, on Steve Forbes' TV ads which

attack him: "I don't know if they're hurting, but I don't like them. They're not very accurate." Dole was asked if he would reconsider the Senate welfare bill if a recent HHS study accurately predicts that it would cause 1 million more children to go into poverty. Dole answered: "If that were the case, I'd certainly want to make some changes because I hope I'm just as sensitive about the needs of children and seniors, or anybody else" (11/5).

*9 FIELD NOTES: FORBES, BUCHANAN, WI POLL

FORBES: Bob Novak reports that Steve Forbes attracted over 100 "well-heeled" New Yorkers at Manhattan's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to support his bid. "In the vanguard was Leonard Lauder, who runs the Estee Lauder perfume firm and is a major political money man." The turnout was "surprising" in light of the fact that Dole has "cornered" the NY GOP establishment. In a "footnote" Novak continues, "Polls prepared for Forbes by campaign consultant John McLaughlin show him pushing up to second place behind Dole in Iowa and Arizona, two early delegate-selecting states. An independent survey also puts Forbes second behind Dole" in NH (N.Y. POST, 11/4).

PAT GETS SOME NORTHERN EXPOSURE: Pat Buchanan became the first candidate to venture to Alaska, as he conducted a 3-day visit that he hopes will "pay off in January, when the state Republican party conducts its presidential-preference straw poll." Speaking in a church at an event organized by the Christian Coalition, Buchanan "quot[ed] the Bible and the Constitution, calling up ghosts from the American Revolution and the Vietnam War." He turned his campaign speech "into a tent revival." After enumerating his enemies -- "faceless federal bureaucrats, liberal Supreme Court justices, the United Nations and Bill Clinton" -- he received "loads of applause, accented with 'amens' from the crowd of about 300." The crowd "cheered as much" when he "bashed" NAFTA as when he "blasted" Clinton's pro-choice appointments to the Supreme Court. Buchanan, "who knows how to deliver lines," broadened his attack to include some of his opponents. On Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA): "He's at 1 percent in the polls, with a 3 percent margin of error -- he might not even exist." Buchanan went on to say "efforts to keep religion out of schools and to revise history texts are evidence that special interests are at war with traditional American culture and values" (Rinehart, ANCHORAGE DAILY NEWS, 11/5). Buchanan said a "strong showing" in AK could give him "momentum" to challenge Bob Dole. Buchanan: "If I win, it will send major shock waves through the Republican Party" (AP/Fairbanks DAILY NEWS-MINER, 11/4).

WISCONSIN: A St. Norbert College/WI Public Radio poll, conducted 10/21-27, surveyed 483 adults; margin of error +/- 4.5% (MILWAUKEE JOURNAL-SENTINEL, 11/5).

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Powell	45%	Clinton	48%	Clinton	31%	Clinton	36%
Clinton	37	Dole	43	Powell (I)	31	Dole	33
		Dole	26	Perot (I)	22		

In a GOP primary, Dole garners 52%, Gramm gets 8%, Buchanan 6%, while the others each got 3% of the vote or less. Pollster David Wegge: "When you analyze these results based on the potential Republican candidates, one can easily see that Colin Powell could potentially be the strongest candidate on the list" (Gilbert, JOURNAL-SENTINEL, 11/5).

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

***10 WELFARE: CLINTON RETHINKS, OR IS THAT TRIANGULATES, POSITION**

In the wake of his conversation with Ben Wattenberg, in which Pres. Clinton said his welfare reform proposals were "too weak," W. POST's Devroy & Vobjeda report Clinton "privately told acquaintances" that he is, in his words, "rethinking" his position on welfare. Previously, Clinton indicated he would sign a welfare reform bill if the Senate version prevails in the House-Senate conference. The Senate version, unlike the House version, does not ban cash aid to unwed teenage mothers and additional payments to mothers who have more children while receiving welfare. Recently, though, Clinton has been facing "heavy pressure" from Dem senators and some of his own aides to reject "whatever emerges from Capitol Hill." A study being conducted by OMB on the effects of the Senate bill on childhood poverty could give Clinton a reason to veto welfare reform. The study is due to be completed 11/7. In an interview with black columnists, Clinton "said he would have no choice but to veto the bill if he believed it harmed children economically" (11/4). WH Press Sec. Mike McCurry, asked if the president would accept the Senate welfare bill as it exists now: "The President may have to accept that version. But we're thinking optimistically. We think there will be more improvements in the bill" ("IP Weekend," CNN, 11/4). Senior aides have argued to Clinton that he "should use the study and whatever ammunition he has to reject the Senate version" (W. POST, 11/4). Clinton adviser Dick Morris "is telling Clinton ... he should sign the harsh Senate bill and/or the budget but that he can't veto both" (Cooper, NEW REPUBLIC, 11/20). Sen. Pat Moynihan (D-NY) "said he was 'very much' encouraged" by Clinton's "rethinking": "I have felt from the beginning that when the president saw the numbers of children that would be just thrown into poverty by the Senate bill -- much less the House bill -- that he would say, 'I can't do that.'" Moynihan went on to predict that "three-fourths" of Senate Dems who voted with GOPers on the bill would follow Clinton "on a retreat, just as they followed his lead in supporting it" (Goldschlag, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 11/5). In an open letter to the President published in the W. POST, Children's Defense Fund Pres. and FOB Marian Wright Edelman called for Clinton's "unwavering moral leadership" and asked him to oppose the Senate and House versions of welfare reform, which would "make more children poor and sick" (11/3).

***11 RABIN: THE TRAGIC DEATH OF A MIDDLE EAST STATESMAN**

Pres. Clinton: "Peace must be, and peace will be, Prime

Minister Rabin's lasting legacy. Tonight, the land for which he gave his life is in mourning. But I want the world to remember what Prime Minister Rabin said here at the White House barely one month ago, and I quote: 'We should not let the land flowing with milk and honey become a land flowing with blood and tears. Don't let it happen'" (11/5). Yasir Arafat: "I am very sad and very shocked for this awful and terrible crime" (ABC, 11/5). Acting P.M. Shimon Peres: "The last song he sang was the Song of Peace. He put this song in his pocket, and the bullet went through this song" (TIME, 11/15 issue). Bob Dole: "Everybody who knew the Prime Minister had great respect for him as a soldier, as a peacemaker. ... He was certainly a man of integrity and I believe the one person who'd gotten the peace process this far" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 11/5). Lamar Alexander: "The United States must continue to support the peace process so that the assassin's bullet can never succeed in changing policy" (11/5). Newt Gingrich, choking back tears before a group of 500 at a fundraiser: "I was a bit overwhelmed tonight to have an experience of such hatred that killed Rabin today" (Spellman, CONCORD MONITOR, 11/5). Arlen Specter: "I compliment the Clinton Administration on what has been done here" ("Late Edition," CNN, 11/5). Al Hunt, on where the President's role in the peace process stands: "This is one of the few areas in the world where Bill Clinton really does have some credibility and he has a person there, Dennis Ross, who's done a marvelous job, so there will be some continuity." Mark Shields: "The President himself does have a credibility and a legitimacy as a peacemaker here. ... This is a real test of his leadership" ("Gang," CNN, 11/4).

*12 COVER TO COVER

NEWSWEEK: Yitzhak Rabin. "Can Peace Survive?" (11/13).

TIME: Yitzhak Rabin. "Yitzhak Rabin, 1922-1995" (11/13).

U.S. NEWS: Graphic of computer keyboard with golden dollar sign. "Gold Rush in Cyberspace. The Internet Will Change Everything -- And Everyone Wants a Piece of the Action" (11/13).

WEEKLY STANDARD: Cartoon of a smiling NYC Mayor Rudy Giuliani decked out in cop outfit dumping a load of garbage he has just swept up. "Rudy Cleans it Up: New York's Civility Crusade" (11/13). ===== CAMPAIGNS OF '95 =====

*13 SAN FRANCISCO MAYOR: BROWN HIT WITH NEW CHARGE

According to sworn testimony by the chief lawyer for the Assembly, Willie Brown, while speaker, "personally signed the papers that fired two women who said they had been sexually harassed" by a San Diego assemblyman. Sexual harassment has "become an issue" in the final days of the campaign, "with at least four women charging that their complaints of sexual harassment by their bosses in the lower house were whitewashed in official investigations." Brown, who has stressed that he has "zero tolerance" for sexual harassment during the campaign, denied that "he had been personally involved in the firings except for the routine signing of their termination papers": "I'm the counter-signer for everybody. ... I don't know who in the hell they are. It is really unfair, and it is painful for me to

be vilified for something I have absolutely nothing on earth to do with" (Taylor/Bowman, S.F. CHRONICLE, 11/5).

WILD RACE: The charge was the latest episode in a campaign that has seen everything -- Mayor Frank Jordan showering with two disc jockeys, a "visibly angry" Brown trying to "make a joke out of his legal defense of two cocaine dealers, one of whom fled the country," and ex-Supervisor/ex-HUD official Roberta Achtenberg, a "longtime civil rights lawyer," who was accused of "trampling the civil rights of some citizens while she was HUD's fair housing officer." This was a race that Brown, "who has collected far more endorsements ... than there are Democrats in the Legislature," was "supposed to walk away with." Instead, it has become the "fight of his political life. The wiles and the wheeling and dealing that made him untouchable as Assembly Speaker have drawn wariness as much as awe" in S.F. (Yoachum, CHRONICLE, 11/6). NPR's Gonzales notes that once Brown announced his candidacy, it was thought to be "only a matter of time before his coronation. Instead, Brown finds himself in a race for his political life" (11/3).

FACTORS TO WATCH: Calling the race the city's "first down-to-the-wire" battle in 20 years, CHRONICLE's Matier & Ross list some things that could make the difference. On race, they note that "pollsters found whites giving different answers to different interviewers" and thus suspect it could make a difference. The Brown campaign "will be doubling its efforts" to get out the black vote. Voter turnout: Some think Jordan lost 3-4% "as a result of his recent naked-in-the-bathroom antics." Said one insider: "Jordan undid in five minutes what Clint Reilly (his campaign manager) took six months to create -- an unremitting battering of Willie." The Brown campaign "sent out 92,000 mailers with the photo" of Jordan in the shower. Last-minute hit mail: "Don't be surprised if you see some pretty wild stuff on Jordan in the shower, Brown's history of defending drug dealers or the sex harassments that allegedly went on under Brown's leadership in the state Assembly." Field operations: Jordan is "counting heavily on conservatives who turn out rain or shine." Brown is "banking on Democratic regulars, women and minorities, who vote much less often." Achtenberg is looking for a "big gay and progressive vote." Others: Supervisor Angela Alioto, who has dropped out of the race and endorsed Achtenberg, will still be on the ballot, as will Republican Ben Hom. These candidates "could pull up to" 5%, a potential "deciding factor" in a photo-finish race. Polls: The last tight race here occurred in '75, when liberal state Sen. George Moscone, moderate Supervisors Pres. Dianne Feinstein and conservative Supervisor John Barbagelata "went down to the wire in a bruising finish." The polls showed that Feinstein "looked like a shoo-in" to make the runoff, but she finished third to Barbagelata (11/6). Runoff: 12/12.

***14 MISSISSIPPI GOVERNOR: DOWN THE STRETCH THEY COME**

Gov. Kirk Fordice (R) and the GOP revolution "now appear threatened" as MS voters go to the polls for "what many expect to be razor-tight statewide elections." In the last few weeks, Dems

"have begun moving up in polling" by "concentrating on traditional issues of improving schools, attacking the accountability of Republican incumbents and warning of dire consequences of extreme changes in Washington." Dems appear "to have returned from the dead" by turning the debate "from a sweeping ideological liberal vs. conservative discussion to more traditional stump issues." Sec/State Dick Molpus (D) appears to have "changed the dynamics of the race by concentrating on the issue that has united a majority of black and white voters for so many years" -- education. Molpus: "This race has become a referendum on the importance of public education in Mississippi and ... everything else is secondary." By focusing on the issue, the Molpus campaign hopes to win over the bulk of the 15% of the voters who remain undecided. Molpus has run TV spots featuring Molpus' wife, Sally, saying the governor's education proposals were "scary" and "threatened public education." The ads have had the "double impact" of raising both the issue of education and Fordice's personality. Fordice's "core strength, the force of his macho, hard-driving personality, would appear suddenly to have become his great weakness as some middle-of-the-road, female voters turn a cold shoulder to him" (Branson, Memphis COMMERCIAL APPEAL, 11/5). The most recent Mason-Dixon poll shows Fordice with a 45-40% lead (see HOTLINE, 11/3). In a review of the campaign, N.Y. TIMES' Sack writes that Molpus has been able to stay close to Fordice "by seeking a large black turnout and appealing aggressively to women" (11/4).

PANTS ON FIRE: Sid Salter, in a Jackson CLARION-LEDGER op-ed, writes that in the final days of the campaign a "new" Fordice "has emerged" -- "one willing to pay television stations to broadcast allegations against his opponent that simply have no basis in fact." Fordice, "fighting for his political life," is now trying to "sell the message" that Molpus is a slum lord, is on the federal dole and that his company is managing crime-ridden public housing projects. Molpus called the ad a "flat, outright lie," and HUD Acting State Coord. Tom Cooper "said that ... the allegations ... were not true" (11/5).

ENDORSEMENTS: Jackson CLARION-LEDGER, Pascagoula MISSISSIPPI PRESS and Biloxi SUN HERALD endorsed Molpus (11/5).

===== SENATE WATCH =====

*15 VIRGINIA: WARNER QUESTIONS MILLER'S '95 COMMITMENT

Sen. John Warner (R) questioned primary challenger/Reagan OMB Dir. Jim Miller's (R) credibility by asking whether his PAC, Commonwealth PAC, "did what it promised" it helping GOP legis. candidates this year. Warner said that publicly available facts about the PAC "would raise in the minds of Republican contributors to Miller a question of credibility," arguing that "he has the responsibility to answer." Miller responded that Warner was "trying to discredit anybody who gets in his way." Commonwealth PAC "spent \$80,118 overall by Oct. 25 and donated \$905 to campaigns of four General Assembly candidates. ... It reported paying [Vic] Gresham \$34,000 between November 1994 and Aug. 14." Vic Gresham is now "running Miller's 1996 Senate

campaign." In "another large expenditure," Commonwealth PAC bought a contributors list from the Miller Senate campaign for \$19,800 in 10/94. Warner mgr Joy Wilson: "There are some very serious questions here." Wilson also "asked whether Miller's PAC may have supported ... his Senate campaign without such efforts being duly reported." Gresham said Commonwealth PAC hasn't taken steps to support Miller's Senate campaign. Miller defended the PAC as "being above-board and said he had worked hard to comply with the law." '97 LG cand. T. Coleman Andrews (R), on Miller: "I've seen Jim every single week for at least six months ... helping candidates. I don't think there's any question about the fact he's doing his part to help candidates out" (Hardin, RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 11/4).

POLL REAX: Miller trails Warner 41-39% in the latest Mason-Dixon poll (see HOTLINE, 11/3), "making next year's Republican nomination a far closer race than the general election." Mary Washington College Poli. Sci. prof. Mark Rozell: "When the challenger is within striking distance at this stage, that show's there's a real vulnerability." Miller comm. dir. Pattye Fava: "Warner has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars and his numbers have gone nowhere." Warner mgr. Joy Wilson: "The reflection of no movement ... simply means the senator and the voters have the same priorities for 1995" (Hatch, FAIRFAX JOURNAL, 11/3). Miller: "These numbers are very, very encouraging." Fava: "The poll can not be read as anything but a severe blow to Warner's campaign. It's obvious that Warner has alienated rank and file Republicans. This poll proves the voters of Virginia will not be bought" (release, 11/3). Possible GOPer: VA GOP chair Patrick McSweeney. Also: ex-VA Dem chair Mark Warner.

===== ON THE HOUSE =====

***16 MASSACHUSETTS: MOAKLEY RECONSIDERING HIS RECONSIDERATION**

MA 09: Rep. Joe Moakley (D) confirmed 11/2 that "unless doctors are able to operate on his bad hip soon, he may not seek re-election." Several Moakley aides and close friends "speculate that the odds are less than 50-50" he will run in '96. Moakley, who "vigorously denied a widespread rumor" that he was going to announce his retirement this week, said, "Christ, every time I sneeze, they're ordering caskets for me. ... I want to stay, but I just don't know if I can, healthwise. ... My hip is real bad. If I could get the hip done right away, no problem. If not, I'll take another look at things in that light. ... Nothing is cast in cement." Moakley, described as "ambivalent" about seeking another term, expects to know within a few weeks when he can have the surgery (Miga, BOSTON HERALD, 11/3).

MA 03: Moakley aide Jim McGovern (D) said he will seek the Dem nomination for the seat held by Rep. Peter Blute (R). Despite his infirmities, Moakley "is expected to push hard for McGovern" by hosting fundraisers in DC and Boston. Another "major obstacle" for the other announced Dem, Fall River Mayor John Mitchell (D), is that '94 Dem nominee Kevin O'Sullivan is "vowing to support McGovern." McGovern "itches to battle" Blute,

both of whom "have sparred regularly in the press, in and out of election season." McGovern: "I profoundly and passionately disagree with the agenda put forth by Peter Blute and Newt Gingrich. It goes against everything I value and believe in." Blute CoS Rob Gray: "Good. I hope he wins the primary. We'll clean his clock" (Hohler, BOSTON GLOBE, 11/4).

MA 10: BOSTON GLOBE editorial, on Rep. Gerry Studds' (D) retirement: "Studds says he is not abandoning ship, and it would be unfair to level that charge at him. After 12 terms of solid representation in Congress ... Studds has every right to reclaim private time and look to new pursuits. ... Still, Studds' departure is good news for the very force he now rails against: the Republican majority in Congress. ... [He] says he expects to be succeeded by another Democrat, but the district ... is fertile for the GOP" (11/4). Michael Kennedy, brother of Rep. Joe Kennedy (D-08), announced 11/2 that he will "stay out" of the race (Miga, BOSTON HERALD, 11/3). Announced Dem: Norfolk Co. DA William Delahunt. Announced GOPers: MA House GOP Leader Edward Teague and '94 GOP nominee Keith Hemeon. Possible Dems: ex-State Sen. Paul Harold, state Sen. Therese Murray and state Rep. Eric Turkington. Possible GOPers: '94 Senate primary cand. John Lakian, state Rep. Robert Hedlund, MA Econ. Affairs Sec. Gloria Larson and '92 nominee Michael Crossen. Filing deadline: 5/7.

***17 TX 16: COLEMAN IS THE THIRD TEXAS DEM TO HANG UP HIS SPURS**

Rep. Ron Coleman (D) announced he will not seek a ninth term, "saying that he has already served longer than he'd planned" (AP/HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 11/4). Coleman: "I leave with few regrets, little rancor, no apologies. I have followed my heart and fought to make better the lives of all El Pasoans." Coleman is the third Texas Dem to announce retirement from the House, following Reps. Jim Chapman (D-01) and Charlie Wilson (D-02). Coleman, who was "expected to face a stiff challenge" in next year's primary, cited his "achievements to expose and end the evils of colonias," or border slums. However, his links to the developers of the colonias "has placed his dealings under intense scrutiny." TX AG Dan Morales (D) charged "Democratic leaders" with threatening to run a primary challenge against Morales "if he proceeded with a lawsuit against" a colonia developer who is a "state Democratic leader." Morales did not identify Coleman but "subsequent reports" did (AP, 11/5). Possible Dem: U.S. Border Patrol official Silvestre Reyes.

***18 WA 09: KREIDLER SAYS NO TO TATE REMATCH**

Ex-Rep. Mike Kreidler (D) said 11/3 he will not seek a rematch with frosh Rep. Randy Tate (R), who unseated him after one term in '94. Kreidler said, "As much as I loved fighting for 9th District families as a member of Congress, I love spending more time with my own family. I don't want to give that up right now, and I feel that I'm doing a lot for Washingtonians right here" on the Northwest Power Planning Council (Callaghan, Tacoma NEWS TRIBUNE, 11/4). ROLL CALL's Sheffner reports that WA strategists on both sides call Tate the "most vulnerable" of all GOP House members and that Dems have "one definite candidate" --

state Sen. Adam Smith (11/6 issue).

***19 HOUSE NOTES: PAXON SEES 20-30 SEAT PICKUP, 3 MORE SWITCHES**

In a 10/31 interview with the HOTLINE, NRCC chair Bill Paxon (R-NY) predicted that the GOP will pick up between 20-30 seats in '96, thus retaining the party's majority in the House -- something they haven't done since the elections of 1928. He also said that "at least" three more Dems will switch to the GOP this year, with speculation that the next one to jump will be Rep. Mike Parker (D-MS 04). Three Dems have already bolted in '95: Nathan Deal (GA 09), Greg Laughlin (TX 14) and Billy Tauzin (LA 03). Paxon said that candidate recruitment and incumbency protection is in excellent shape, under the watchful eye of Speaker Newt Gingrich, and expected more senior Dems to decide to leave office. The GOP currently controls the House 233-199-1, with two Dem vacancies; Paxon said there was "no question" that his party would capture the CA 15 seat vacated by Rep. Norm Mineta (D) in the 12/12 special election with ex-Rep. Tom Campbell (R), and said the effort by Dem cand. Jerry Estruth to link Campbell with Gingrich would fail.

===== POLL UPDATE =====

***20 L.A. TIMES:**

1,426 adults surveyed 10/27-30; margin of error +/- 3%
Subsamples: 1,190 registered voters, +/- 3% (release, 11/5).

CLINTON JOB NOW 9/95 CONFIDENCE IN CONGRESS

Approve	50%	51%	Great deal/quite a lot	12%
Disapprove	44	43	Some/very litte	85

CLINTON RE-ELECT (among RVs) WOULD YOU CONSIDER VOTING FOR

Vote for	36%	AN IND OR THIRD-PARTY CAND.?	
Vote against	51	Yes	43%
DK	13	Choose Dem or GOP	38
		Depends on who runs	16

IS THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM SOUND? (among RVs)

	NOW	9/95
Sound	51%	58%
Unsound	47	38

WHICH PARTY CAN BEST HANDLE THE PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY? WHO HAS BETTER IDEAS TO SOLVE THOSE PROBLEMS?

Dems	32%	Clinton	33%
GOP	33	GOPers	42
Both equally	6	Both equally	4
Neither	19	Neither	13

IMPRESSION OF DEM PARTY IMPRESSION OF GOP

Favorable	44%	Favorable	46%
Unfavorable	42	Unfavorable	42
Haven't heard enough	11	Haven't heard enough	10

WHICH PARTY WOULD YOU RATHER SEE WIN IN YOUR CD?

(among RVs, w/leaners)

Dem 44%
GOP 42
IND 3
Neither/DK 11

"Because America is dominated by large, powerful interests,
people like me have almost no say in the political system"

AGREE 69%
DISAGREE 29

WHICH DO YOU FAVOR? ALL WHITES BLACKS

Smaller gov't with fewer services 68% 73% 31%
Larger gov't with many services 23 19 52

WHICH IS A BIGGER PROBLEM

Rich people not paying their share of taxes 20%
Welfare recipients getting benefits they don't deserve 40
Neither 3
Both equally 35

SHOULD HOMOSEXUALS GET PROTECTION UNDER CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS?

Should get protection 43%
Should get no protection 50

DO YOU FAVOR THE SUPREME COURT DECISION WHICH PERMITS A WOMEN TO
GET AN ABORTION W/IN THE FIRST 3 MONTHS OF PREGNANCY?

Favor 50%
Oppose 34
Indifferent 12

FAVOR PRAYERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

Favor 75%
Oppose 20

PROBLEMS FACING MINORITIES IN INNER CITIES ARE PROBLEMS OF ...

ALL WHITES BLACKS
Personal responsibility 47% 52% 17%
Racism/Economic injustice 36 32 62
Both equally 10 8 15

===== TV MONITOR =====

*21 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA", NBC's "Today" and "CBS This Morning" showed live coverage of the Rabin funeral. "Today" hosted ex-Sec/States James Baker and Henry Kissinger. "GMA" hosted Kissinger. "FOX Morning News" hosted ex-NSA dir. Lt. Gen. William Odom, NEWSWEEK's Evan Thomas, ex-RNC chair Frank Fahrenkopf, George Mason Univ.'s Roger Wilkins, ROLL CALL's Susan Glasser, and ex-WH Counsels Myer Feldman and C. Boyden Gray.

TONIGHT: CNBC's "Russert" hosts Ben Wattenberg. CNBC's "Equal Time" hosts Thomas.

SUNDAY: ABC's "Brinkley" hosted Baker, Likud Party chair

Benjamin Netanyahu and Israeli Foreign Ministry Dir. General Yuri Savir. NBC's "Meet the Press" hosted Israeli Amb. Itamar Rabinovich, Bob Dole and Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA). CBS' "Face the Nation" hosted Rabinovich, U.S. Amb. to Israel Martin Indyk, N.Y. TIMES' Martin Freedman, and Johns Hopkins' Fouad Ajami. CNN's "Late Edition" hosted Arlen Specter, Netanyahu and Israeli Economics Min. Yossi Beilin. C-SPAN's "Sunday Journal" hosted Ross Perot. "McLaughlin's One on One" hosted ACU's David Keene and Arianna Huffington.

LAUGHS: David Letterman, on Bob Dole: "Everybody's worried about how he's going to hold up under the rigors of the big campaign. ... Yesterday, trying to help out, his wife said that Bob Dole has the energy of ten men, that's great. He also happens to have the combined age of ten men" ("Late Show," CBS, 11/3).

TOP TEN SIGNS CHRISTOPHER DARDEN AND MARCIA CLARK ARE IN LOVE

10. Recently spotted necking in back row of the Menendez trial.
9. Lately, when he rises, it's not always to object.
8. They've asked Judge Ito to preside over their honeymoon and drag it out for months.
7. They're covered with each others' fingerprints, if you know what I mean.
6. They both giggle whenever they hear the word "subpoena."
5. The L.A.P.D. lab says the evidence shows they're not in love -- so they must be in love.
4. That lingerie in Darden's laundry wasn't exactly planted by Mark Fuhrman.
3. Have been speaking out in favor of cameras in the bedroom.
2. Seen checking into a hotel under the name "Mr. and Mrs. Lopez."
1. She obtained a search warrant for his pants ("Late Show," CBS, 11/3).

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"Last week, I said that the President liked [Dick] Morris because Morris was the only guy in America with fewer principles than Clinton. Well, now I'm reconsidering because I think I'm being unfair to Morris."
-- Charles Krauthammer, "Inside Washington," 11/4

-30-

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To: hotline.notes@ovp.gov
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