

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	DOB; Birthplace (Partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting
OA/Box Number: 8170

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC [Hillary Rodham Clinton]---Bill Curry for Governor Bridgeport CT October 15
1994

2012-1004-S

ms532

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

FINAL

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
INTRODUCTION OF GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE BILL CURRY
BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT
OCTOBER 15, 1994

TALKING POINTS

- In this time of challenge and change, the President needs partners at the state level so we can move this country forward, so that the people of Connecticut and the people of America will feel empowered by government -- and not powerless under government.
- Bill Curry is a man of the people. Throughout his public career, Bill has proven his commitment to the hard-working people of Connecticut. He has demonstrated independence and courage to do what is right for his constituents.
- As a state senator, Bill worked toward protecting residents from hazardous wastes, opening government records to public scrutiny, and making consumer contracts understandable to the layman.
- As Comptroller, he proposed reforms so that small businesses would have greater health-care purchasing power, he developed an auditing mechanism which uncovered a delay in the returns of personal income tax refunds, and he pushed hard to impose on the state legislature stricter discipline on budgeting and financial reports.
- He is both a manager and a visionary -- the two qualities necessary to be an effective state leader.
- When I think about this election, I am reminded of the Huskies' unforgettable 1990 NCAA Tournament Sweet Sixteen Game against Clemson. Even those of us who don't live in Connecticut remember "THE SHOT" that gave the Huskies their single point victory in the final second of the game. Right now, this election is very close, but as we all know, determination and ability won the game -- and determination and ability will win the election.

NOTE
talking points
for CT
Capricia Marshall
Huskins office 2X
briefing book - MAC

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- In the coming weeks, the race for the governor's office will be close, but just as the Huskies won their 1990 NCAA tournament game in the final second, Bill Curry will win the governorship and bring hope and promise to the state of Connecticut.

Liz,

Is this ok? If you have any questions, call me?

Kathy

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even those of us who ~~didn't~~ don't live in CT
remember

No matter how close now Bill Curry can do the Pres.
the game. heads partnership.
the state level
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Connecticut

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local issues
demonstrated

To: Lissa

From: Kathy

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round of 16
Scott Burrell
Take George

"The Goat"

1990 NCAA tournament
Sweet 16 for
against
Clemson

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President William Jefferson Clinton
Fundraising Luncheon for Gubernatorial Candidate Bill Curry
Bridgeport, Connecticut
October 15, 1994

[Acknowledgments: Luncheon chair Bob Simmons; State party chair Ed Marcus; the First Lady.]

I am happy to be here in Bridgeport and to honor Bill Curry, the man who is showing everyone that conventional wisdom isn't always so wise. The other side likes to pin labels, and they've tried sticking them on Bill, but I can think of a couple of labels that fit Bill Curry perfectly. One says "courageous." And the other says "winner."

Bill Curry has courageously defied the odds and taken on the status quo. And he is a winner because he is putting the roots back in grassroots. His campaign has been one that marches on the high road, to the beat of the people, and they will march with him to the statehouse in November.

As the people of Connecticut have found out, Bill Curry stands for government that works for all the people. He has the only plan to cut property taxes that would put more money into the pockets of ordinary working people in this great state while it fuels economic development and creates jobs. I like that so much, I don't even mind when he gets called the Comeback Kid.

I ran for President because I knew we needed to fight the status quo. And as we've fought and as we have won, we've been helping hardworking Americans. I ran for President because I believe the future for these Americans and for all our country can be the best time we've ever had, if we show the discipline and the courage and the vision to go forward and do what we know we ought to do.

I've been in a lot of tough fights in my life, and none so tough as the one I've been in, in Washington for the last 20 months. But it's been a good fight. It's a fight to give Americans the power to compete and win, and to empower all Americans to live up to their God-given potential; and we have made a good start.

No one would want to go back to the days when we exported jobs, not products. No one would want us to go back to the days when our deficit was exploding and our economy was going downhill. That is exactly the decision that all of you are going to have to make on November the 8th. Whether we keep going in the right direction, or go back to the 1980's trickle-down economics.

The folks in the other party talked a good game. But trickle-down economics made things not better, but worse. It gave tax breaks to the wealthiest Americans and raised taxes on the middle class; it gave our nation a quadrupled deficit; it sent jobs overseas. Most manufacturing jobs lost in our country were lost in trickle-down. And in

their last four years, we had the worst job growth since the Great Depression. Connecticut alone lost 150,000 jobs in those four years.

I don't think we want to go back to that, where families struggle longer and harder for less, where we come apart when we ought to be coming together.

I ask every American in the next four weeks not just to think of their discontent with the political system, but remember the problems we found 20 months ago. And then remember the progress we're making. Remember who fought us every step of the way while we worked for progress. And remember now what they want to do: They want to pull us down so they can push our country back. But I want to build up. I want to move forward. That's the only direction for America.

We cannot turn back. We're headed in a new direction, with a new idea about what our national government ought to do -- not a government that ignores our problems, but not one that promises to solve all the problems for us, either. But, instead, a government that empowers citizens to build good lives of their own, not more government, but less government that works better for ordinary Americans.

Look at the start that's been made. There's the family leave law, which in Connecticut alone provides extra protection for 670,000 working people so they can succeed as parents and workers. Two million kids are going to have a better chance at life because we will have immunization for all American children under the age of two by 1996.

And now we have apprenticeships for young people who don't go to college but want good jobs. We made college loans affordable for 20 million people. Almost 540,000 right here in Connecticut, are eligible for lower interest, longer-term, better repayment college loans. It's the most important thing that's been done for middle-class Americans in a long time by the national government, and we ought to stick with it.

We sent a welfare reform plan to Congress to end welfare as we know it, to move people from welfare to work. And while it hasn't passed yet, it will. And we've already given 17 states permission to get rid of all federal regulations that undermine their ability to move people from welfare to work.

For the first time in a generation, we've begun a serious assault on crime, passing the Brady Bill and the Crime Bill with three strikes and you're out; a 20 percent increase in the number of police officers on the beat in America. In Connecticut, we've already awarded \$2.5 million to put dozens [34] of extra cops on the streets, and over the next six years, Connecticut should receive \$130 million to put up to 1,500 new cops on the streets. We're building a hundred thousand more prison cells and funding prevention programs to give young people a chance to avoid a life of crime.

We've begun, finally, to put our economic house in order. After

12 years of exploding deficits, declining incomes and a quadrupled national debt, now something is being done about the deficit.

We fought for historic deficit reductions -- \$255 billion in federal spending cuts. We did raise tax rates on the top 1.2 percent of Americans, but we cut taxes for 15 million working Americans. In Connecticut, that means more than twice as many taxpayers had lower tax rates as those who had higher [84,000 lower; 39,000 higher]. And we cut taxes for 90 percent of small businesses, including more than 17,000 companies in Connecticut.

Let me remind you: The same folks who exploded our deficit in the '80s said that if our economic program passed, the sky would fall -- the deficit would go up more; the economy would collapse. And every last member of the Republican Party in the Congress voted against that program. Thank goodness Al Gore has a vote.

So what happened? For one thing, the sky did not fall. For another, for the first time since Harry Truman, we're bringing the deficit down three years in a row. We had more jobs created in high wage industries this year than in the previous five years combined. We've had nine months now of growth in manufacturing jobs in a row for the first time in 10 years. America was voted the most productive country in the world by the annual Panel of International Economists for the first time in nine years. And we have 4.6 million new jobs in America in the last 20 months. The unemployment rate here in Connecticut has dropped from 6.5 percent to 5.5 percent.

Our exports are up around the world. To Mexico alone, exports are up 19 percent; exports of cars and trucks are up 500 percent -- 500 percent. And if we pass the world trade agreement, it will enable us to get more high-wage jobs tied to exports. We are doing that.

Another thing we're trying to do is to make government work with less. Republicans talk forever about how much they dislike the federal government and how they wanted to cut bureaucracy and inefficiency. I just want to remind you that it was our Democratic administration that passed laws to reduce the size of the federal bureaucracy by 272,000, to make it the smallest it's been since President Kennedy, and to give every last dollar of the savings to local communities to fight crime.

Now, we still have a lot of work to do. Too many people still haven't gotten a raise in a long time; a million Americans lost their health insurance last year; we have too many people who are trapped in the cycle of welfare. We have social problems that are profound. The political system needs internal reform. These are legitimate problems.

What you have to ask yourself is: Who is more likely to meet these problems? Who is more likely to seize these challenges? You have seen what our strategy is. It's to create more high-wage American jobs; train more Americans to do those jobs; bring free enterprise to poor inner city areas and rural areas that have been ignored for too long;

continue to fight for political reforms; and meet the challenges of America that have not yet been faced in health care, in welfare and in so many other areas. That is our strategy -- fighting for the future.

Now, consider instead what their strategy is. Whenever they were faced with an idea to create jobs, or educate students, or fight crime, or reform the political system -- no matter how good the idea, no matter that they had already supported it -- they tried to stop it, slow it, kill it or just talk it to death.

Well, now these same folks tell us what they'll do if you give them control of Congress. They call it their contract with America. But if you read this contract, it's not a contract with America, it's really a contract on America. It would take us back to the 1980s, to trickle-down economics. And do they make promises: \$1 trillion worth of promises. You give me \$1 trillion, and I'll show you a good time, too.

But all they have is a bunch of promises. And that just means the same thing it meant in the 1980s: exploding the deficit, shipping our jobs overseas, cutting Medicare and veterans' benefits, not funding the crime bill. We must not go back to that sort of politics.

I hope the American people will have a simple answer to this contract. We've been there. We've seen that. We've tried it. And we will not be fooled again.

I offer you a difficult and more challenging contract. But the only one that can work -- it's the contract that had always worked for America -- it is fighting for the future, making the most of the potential of every American. It is doing whatever it takes to compete and win in the global economy of the 21st century.

We have a covenant for the future; they put out a contract on the future. I think the choice is clear.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

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Biographical Information

■ William E. Curry, Jr. P6/b(6)
P6/b(6) He attended Hartford area schools and is a graduate of Georgetown University (B.A., 1974, American Studies) and the University of Connecticut Law School (J.D., 1977). He resides in Farmington.

■ Bill was first elected to office in 1978, as State Senator for Connecticut's 9th Senatorial District. In the Senate, Bill helped win drives to control hazardous wastes, open government records to public scrutiny, and require plain language in consumer contracts.

■ Following his state senate service, Bill worked in both national and international public policy positions in Washington, D.C. From 1985 to 1990, Bill was a partner in the South Windsor law firm of Berman, Curry and Russo, concentrating mostly on real estate development.

■ Bill was elected the 57th Comptroller of Connecticut on November 6, 1990 and was sworn in on January 9, 1991. Since assuming office, Bill has transformed what was once a sleepy governmental backwater into a lively forum for policy discussion and debate. He is perhaps best known for proposing a reform of health-care purchasing for small businesses and municipalities, allowing these entities to band together to form purchasing pools and use market clout to get favorable treatment.

■ Bill has also worked to develop a new performance auditing function in which trained accountants have delved into potential problem areas of state government. A special investigation by this unit found in 1992 that the state tax department had withheld personal income tax refunds near the end of the fiscal year. The administration was eventually forced to acknowledge the slowdown.

■ Bill continues to strive successfully to cut red tape and to speed the process of paying the government's bills. He won legislative passage of a paperwork reduction bill that will allow accounts payable auditors greater flexibility in inspecting documents.

Bill Curry For Governor

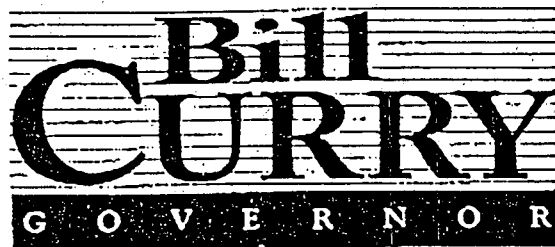
■ In 1993, Bill was the political leader who pushed hard behind the scenes to have the legislature approve a switch to generally accepted accounting principles ("GAAP"). This change from the state's current accounting system was not an easy one for lawmakers to accept, since it imposes stricter discipline on budgeting and financial report. But on the last night of the session, the new system prevailed. It will be phased in over the next three years.

Perhaps most of all, Bill Curry has used his office for the reason people elected him in 1990 -- to watch closely the fiscal workings and performance of the state. At times his independent analysis has prodded the administration into making changes in its official forecasts of revenue and spending.

Bill Curry continues to advocate aggressive management reforms in state government, especially in information technology policy. He is in the lead in calling for major reforms of the state's economic development strategy, demanding from the executive branch a clear statement of goals and an effective implementation plan.

For information or to volunteer, please call
BILL CURRY FOR GOVERNOR
678-7660 or 1-800-37-CURRY

Post Office Box 2675 • Hartford CT 06146-2675



To: Karen Anderson
THE WHITE HOUSE

From: Roy Occhiogrosso
BILL CURRY FOR GOVERNOR

Date: October 13, 1994

RE: Talking points/briefing memo

QUICK OVERVIEW OF CAMPAIGN

Currently, it's a two-way race. The last significant poll done (conducted by the University of Connecticut's School of Social Inquiry) showed the following numbers:

John Rowland (R)	34
Bill Curry (D)	28
Eunice Groark (ACP)	8
Tom Scott (I)	5

For the press in Connecticut, and nationally, this was a dramatic sign of the momentum we've gathered since our primary victory. The first poll pitting Curry against Rowland showed us trailing him by 30 points.

MAJOR CAMPAIGN ISSUES

The main issue-related difference between Curry and Rowland is in the area of tax reform. Rowland has proposed eliminating the state income tax over a 5-6 year period.

Curry has proposed a \$1 billion cut in the property tax (which would represent an across-the-board cut of 22.7%).

A quick bit of history: No state has ever repealed an income tax in this nation's history, with the exception of Alaska. And that only happened because they struck oil!

So, Rowland's proposal is completely unrealistic; in fact, we like to say he's "drilling for votes, not oil."

Post Office Box 2675 • Hartford, CT 06146-2675

Ⓢ Paid for by Bill Curry for Governor • John R. Harvey, Treasurer

From a policy perspective, it's also the wrong tax to cut. He's trying to do here what Christine Todd Whitman has done in New Jersey: institute a massive cut in state taxes. Problem is, as they've already found out in New Jersey, this will lead to massive increases in local taxes, specifically, the property tax. In fact, in a study done by The Record (a Bergen County daily paper), 85% of taxpayers are today paying more in taxes than they were before Whitman began phasing in her income tax cut - this increase is due to skyrocketing property tax rates.

All Rowland is proposing, therefore, is a shift in tax burden from the state level to the local level.

The income tax is also a flat tax (4.5% for everyone). So, eliminating it -- even if it could be done -- would be another example of Republicans helping the rich at the expense of the middle class and poor.

Curry's plan to cut property taxes would put more money into the pockets of average working people than any other proposal that's been put forth in this campaign.

In addition -- and this is important -- cutting the property tax speaks directly to the issue of economic development and job creation. Everyone agrees that in Connecticut, small businesses will be the job creators of the future (short and long-term). Right now, the cost of doing business in Connecticut is just too high - reducing small businesses' overhead by almost 25% would give them a real shot in the arm and allow them to do what they do best: create jobs.

Also, in terms of lowering the cost of doing business, Curry's been pushing a market-based health care reform plan in Connecticut for 4 years (FYI - the President is familiar with Curry's plan: they've discussed the issue several times).

In a nutshell, Curry's plan to reduce property taxes and reform health care will do more to help the business community, generate economic development, and generate job creation, than anything Rowland's proposed.

OTHER SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

- ✓ Campaign finance reform - Curry has consistently fought for lobbying reform and state purchasing reform. The words "campaign finance reform" have never left Rowland's lips.
- ✓ Health care reform - again, Curry has proposed health care reform which would save small businesses upwards of \$400 million, municipalities \$60 million, and would push Connecticut to universal coverage. Rowland, again, hasn't even mentioned the subject.
- ✓ Crime - Curry has proposed adding 700 new police officers, most of whom Curry thinks ought to be deployed in community-based policing. Curry supported the President's crime bill. Rowland has tried to own this issue from the "tough guy" perspective. Curry and Rowland agree on:

- ✓ Making death penalty easier to impose (by allowing aggravating factors, as well as mitigating factors, to be weighed in the decision-making process.
- ✓ Need for prison reform (Connecticut's had more than a few escapes and violent incidents in its prisons this year)

Rowland, however, has proposed a "two strikes and your out" proposal, while Curry thinks "three strikes and your out" is more realistic (although he hasn't publicly stated he's for it).

CRITICISMS OF ROWLAND

- ✓ As a Congressman (CT's 5th Congressional District, 1984-1990) Rowland supported the failed Republican supply-side economic policies of the 1980's. Now, he's re-packaged supply-side economics and he's trying to sell it in Connecticut. It failed us then, it'll fail us now.
- ✓ After losing the 1990 race for governor in Connecticut (by 2.8% to Lowell Weicker), Rowland became a "consultant" for the state's largest defense manufacturers (Textron Lycoming, United Technologies). During that time, he earned close to \$1 million for activities which he will not disclose (he wasn't registered as a lobbyist, but still won't disclose his actual employment records).

During the time he was working for these companies, and earning almost \$1 million, these companies laid off thousands of Connecticut workers.

In an ironic twist, Bob Dole was in town this week to stump for Rowland: How nice that the man who prevented lobbying reform from passing in Washington came to Connecticut to stump for the candidate who spent the last 4 years as a lobbyist!

- ✓ As a Congressman, Rowland "bounced" 108 checks, the most of any member of Connecticut's congressional delegation.
- ✓ As a Congressman, Rowland voted the "pro-life" agenda 14 consecutive times. Then, 3 days before he officially announced his 1990 gubernatorial candidacy, he changed his mind, saying:

"I can't address a statewide race in the same way I would as a federal legislator. You just can't do that. I mean, you just can't get away with it. I feel differently about abortion as a statewide candidate. My position hasn't changed, but my vote did. Absolutely."

- ✓ Rowland has a credibility problem: in addition to "flopping" on abortion, he's had radically different positions on gun control (he supported the original Brady bill, now he rails against gun control), he has flopped on the income tax, and he's alternated between threatening to lay off thousands of state employees and praising them.

POSITIVE TALKING POINTS FOR BILL CURRY

- ✓ Much like the President did in 1992, Curry has overcome several imposing obstacles during this campaign season:
 - ✓ As the "outsider," he was not the party-endorsed candidate at our state convention. Yet, despite all the party hierarchy lining up on the other side (with their endorsements, influence, and money), Curry was able to win the primary, 55%-45%.
 - ✓ Curry is a fighter! He's proven that you can run a grassroots, old-fashioned campaign based on vision, courage and real change.
 - ✓ Curry is Connecticut's version of the "Comeback Kid." 3 weeks before the primary election, we trailed our opponent by more than 20 points - we won by 10.
 - ✓ In 1990, the Democratic gubernatorial nominee (former Congressman Bruce Morrison) garnered just 20% of the vote in the general election - mostly because the traditional Democratic coalition gave much of its support to Lowell Weicker. Curry has managed to bring that coalition -- labor, minorities, old-guard, progressives -- back together, and it's obviously placed us in a position to win this election.

PLEASE NOTE!

We've been very successful at bringing together the Democrats who supported our primary opponent - State Sen. John Larson. Larson, by the way, is one of the honorary chairs of Saturday's event. We would prefer that the President not refer to Curry's primary victory "over Larson," but rather to Curry's primary victory. In other words, yes, we're very proud of the way we won the primary, but we're also proud of the fact that we've managed to bring Larson and his supporters back to the fold. So, we'd like the President to emphasize Curry's "come-from-behind, stunning primary win," but not at the expense of Sen. Larson and/or those who supported him (most of the party hierarchy supported him).

The piece about Curry bringing the coalition back together is also for background use. As I'm sure you've figured out by now, we're fighting the impression that Bill is a liberal, who's a tool of labor and the minority community - so, please watch any references to the bringing together of the "traditional" -- i.e., labor, minorities, liberals -- Democratic base of support.

OTHER QUICK FACTS ABOUT CURRY & CONNECTICUT

- ✓ Curry was elected Comptroller in 1990, despite being outspent by an almost 5 to 1 ratio. Prior to that, he served 2 terms in the State Senate (1978-1982). In 1982, he lost a very close race for Congress to Nancy Johnson (51.5%-48.5%).
- ✓ Connecticut voter registration numbers are as follows (numbers are approximated):

Democrats	700,000
Independents	670,000
Republicans	475,000
ACP	1,600

Rowland remains front-runner, but faces obstacles

*Brian M. Baldwin
and Richard F. Wareing*

Whoever said Connecticut was the land of steady habits wasn't talking about politics. Just ask John B. Larson. With the Republican and Democratic primaries now over, the stage is set for a knock-down, drag-out brawl between no less than four major candidates — Lt. Gov. Eunice S. Groark, State Comptroller William E. Curry Jr., former Waterbury Congressman John G. Rowland and radio talkmaster Tom Scott.

Rowland, who has come out ahead in every three-way poll conducted thus far, is undoubtedly the front-runner. The former Republican congressman turned consultant already has raised about \$2 million and still has about \$900,000 left. With this formidable war chest he will outspend Curry, Groark and Scott combined in the next eight weeks.

Moreover, Rowland has had most of the Republican establishment marching lock-step behind him for months. As such, mobilizing his base of GOP partisans for Election Day should not be much of a problem.

Although Rowland is in the pole position, heading into the stretch, he still faces obstacles.

Foremost is the viability of his 38 percent scenario. Rowland supporters have worked to convince Republicans that if Rowland can just hold on to the 38 percent of the vote he got in 1990, he will be elected. Although plausible, this scenario has potential pitfalls.

First, while Rowland is Rowland, Groark is not Lowell P. Weicker Jr. Even assuming Rowland holds on to his 38 percent, Democrat Curry will win

if Groark fails to get more than 23 percent of the vote. Given the qualitative difference between candidate Weicker and candidate Groark, this is a real possibility.

Second, the 38 percent scenario is predicated on Rowland's capturing the entire Republican base. Although he has most of his party lined up behind him, his sometimes nasty primary with Secretary of the State Pauline R. Kezer may have permanently alienated at least some of her moderate supporters. In a tight race, a loss of even a few alienated moderate Republicans could be fatal.

Third, Rowland's self-proclaimed "worst nightmare" may pose a threat to Rowland's right flank. Scott is likely to appeal not only to disaffected independents, but also to hard-core conservatives angered over Rowland's flip-flops on the income tax and abortion. A loss of three or four percentage points worth of conservatives to Scott's verbal barrages could be the difference.

Finally, Rowland carries political baggage in the form of his bounced checks as a congressman and the ethical questions surrounding his murky relationship with various big companies as a consultant after the 1990 campaign.

Moreover, as Kezer showed during the primary, Rowland does not always respond well when confronted with these problems. Thus, there exists the potential for Rowland not only to be damaged by an attack on his character, but also the chance that his sometimes volatile temper could cause significant collateral harm.

Curry finds himself in an excellent position to capitalize on a Rowland implosion. He comes off of a stunning primary victory. Clearly, momentum is on his side. Further, Groark is not Weicker. Therefore, Curry may not face the same threat to his Democratic Party base as did Bruce A. Morrison in 1990, although the presence of Audrey Rowe on



Margaret Scott / Special to The Courant

the ACP ticket may cut into the traditional Democratic stranglehold on black voters.

Like Rowland, however, Curry also faces potentially significant problems. First, in securing his primary victory, Curry relied on an activist field organization from the party's liberal wing. His campaign war chest was, and remains, empty and it is unclear whether Curry can raise the money to wage an effective general election campaign.

Curry may find it impossible to close the ground between him and his Republican opponent. Further, although Rowland is weak on the ethics issue, it is unclear whether Curry will even attempt to make Rowland the issue given Curry's high-road approach during the Democratic primary.

Finally, although Groark and Rowe probably

cannot make the same inroads into Curry's Democratic base as Weicker did in 1990, the rift between Curry's liberals and the party regulars backing Larson could result in enough Election Day damage to the Democratic base to turn Rowland's 38 percent scenario into success.

Similarly, Groark brings both positives and negatives. On the plus side, Groark, carries no baggage. As such, she can probably make some headway against Rowland by pressing the ethics issue. Also, with Rowe on ticket, Groark can make some headway into Curry's core constituency.

On the minus side, Groark has little money and has shown no ability to raise the kind of cash needed for a last-minute media blitz. Also, her cadre of independent voters is much smaller than either Rowland's GOP base or Curry's Democratic base. As such, she'll have to cover much more ground to end up in the same place. Further, Groark lacks Weicker's charisma so she may find it difficult to lure liberals away from the Democratic camp. While Groark cannot be taken lightly, she has significant hurdles to clear.

Thus, although Rowland is out in front, a Republican victory in November is by no means assured. If either Curry or Groark can make a strong move in the next three or four weeks, they may be able to overtake Rowland.

This will not be easy for either candidate, however, because neither can come close to matching Rowland's war chest and because both have significant electoral liabilities that may prevent them from taking advantage of Rowland's own weaknesses. The primary outcome still suggests that the race is Rowland's to lose.

Brian M. Baldwin and Richard F. Wareing are Republican analysts and lawyers who practice in Hartford.

Larson undone by poll, state workers

Failed candidate unsure of next step

By Alvin Powell
and Gregory B. Hladky
Register Staff

HARTFORD — For John Larson, it's all over but the second-guessing.

Democrats inside and outside the state senator's failed gubernatorial campaign say state Comptroller William E. Curry Jr. of Farmington won Tuesday's primary with superior field organization, a labor-intensive effort to identify pro-Curry voters and get them to the polls.

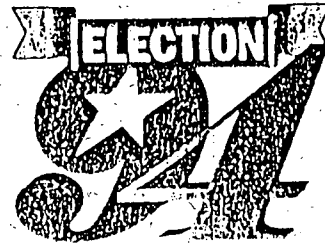
But Larson and some of his campaign officials also cited a wave of anti-Larson voting among state workers angry at being denied

raises this year and a poll conducted by a highly paid Washington, D.C., firm that failed to pick up any signs Larson was in trouble.

Still, Larson said Thursday that he wouldn't have changed his television-intensive, reach-out-to-all-voters strategy designed to win the primary with enough money to go into the general election.

"Bill played to his strength and we played to ours," Larson said during a news conference at the Legislative Office Building. "I have no regrets; I wouldn't have changed the strategy whatsoever."

Larson said he wasn't sure what he will do next. He is finishing his last term as president pro tempore



of the state Senate and said he'd like to sell his insurance business to his brothers and try something else.

He said he'd consider teaching college, getting involved with public television or continuing to work with children and families.

Democratic state Chairman Edward Marcus said Larson took a

gamble and lost. Though he backed Larson during the primary, Marcus said he thought Larson should have spent money on the field organization necessary to win the primary and then focused on the general election.

"I believe, frankly, that one has to win the playoff game to play in the Super Bowl," Marcus said.

A different strategy may have brought out more pro-Larson voters, but it may not have eased the anger of state workers.

"I would say there is absolutely no doubt that one significant reason that John Larson lost is precisely because he is regarded as a chief architect of the state budget that did not include any raises for state workers," said Ira Leonard, acting president of Southern Con-

necticut State University's chapter of the American Association of University Professors. "I know that the anger of state employees was very real and very deeply felt."

David McQuade, Larson's chief aide in the state Senate and a top campaign adviser, said union resentment toward Larson was part of a broader pattern of voter dissatisfaction with all political and governmental insiders.

In order to have won, McQuade argued, "We would have had to create a different kind of John Larson, to run him as an outsider... and I don't think we could have done that."

The Larson campaign's failed strategy of concentrating on TV ads that focused on the general

Please see Larson, Page A5

Larson: No regrets on failed campaign

Continued from Page A3

election campaign was based in part on the advice of highly paid consultants and pollsters, McQuade said.

"The consultants always suggested that we could get by Curry, but that our biggest problem would be (Republican) John Rowland," McQuade said. A poll done for the Larson campaign in the last week of August showed Larson beating Curry 2-1 among likely Democratic primary voters, according to McQuade.

McQuade said Larson's pollsters, Garin-Hart Strategic Researching of Washington, D.C., are now trying to figure out where they went wrong.

The Garin-Hart poll results buttressed Larson's TV strategy and undercut those Larson advisers arguing that more money should be spent on field organization to combat Curry's grass-roots support.

But, McQuade is uncertain that a last-minute spending spree to build a field organization would have been effective. "Curry had a ready-made organization" composed of liberal activist groups and union organizers, he said.

"We would have had to spend two to three times the amount of money Curry did to create an effective field organization," McQuade said.



BILL CURRY IS CONGRATULATED BY JOHN LARSON IN HARTFORD LAST NIGHT

Curry: 'Old politics is dead'

By Jay Akasie
HERALD REPORTER

Bill Curry told supporters throughout his campaign that to get elected governor he first would have to challenge the orthodoxy of his party.

But within the last 24 hours Curry found himself carrying his party's banner. He has quickly moved from the role of challenger to a symbol of Democratic hope to reclaim the capitol after four years.

No stranger to the inner workings of Hartford, the state controller said he hopes that his own brand of Nouveau Politique — indeed, the brand he believes is responsible for his win yesterday — will continue to stand as a fresh voice against his Republican competitor.

John Rowland.

"The old political debate is dead," Curry said to hundreds of campaign workers and supporters as poll results showed he was sweeping past his primary opponent by a two-to-one margin in some towns. "The new politics meets the anger and frustration that people feel. In the next eight weeks, I will show the people of this state a blueprint for change which addresses their anger."

Curry, a Farmington resident, swept past Democratic-endorsed John Larson in yesterday's state primary. He now begins the task of distinguishing himself from the impressive campaign purse of Republican John Rowland, his next opponent, much to the credit of Larson.

Curry and Larson embraced

last night after Larson arrived at Curry's campaign headquarters at the Hartford Sheraton. They said that they had run a model campaign, never smearing each other's names, and had tirelessly debated the issues.

Democrats claim that Curry's position bears a strong contrast to that of Rowland, whose successful defense against Plainville challenger Pauline Kezer has come closer to splitting the GOP than their own party.

And perhaps it was the defeated Larson who best set the tone for Curry's next eight weeks: The race pits one Democrat against three Republicans, he said to the crowd.

Whether Connecticut voters will see A Connecticut Party's Eunice Groark and newly-an-

nounced Independent Tom Scott as Republicans by another name is still uncertain. But Curry said that the change he represents, well after elections in 1990 and 1994 promising the same, will distinguish himself from his opponents.

"This isn't about a return to power; it's about a return to principle. We're the ones with an agenda on the table. We want to heal the cities and fix our finances the way the Democratic Party did in its glory days, by going neighbor to neighbor," Curry said.

Curry began his last day of primary campaigning yesterday in New Britain, a city in which he said he has spent more time than any other but his hometown. Standing outside

SEE CURRY, PAGE 11

★ Curry

Continued from Page 1

Vance School before dawn, Curry told voters that the needs and concerns of Connecticut's cities — especially New Britain — would be his priority as governor.

NEW BRITAIN REACTION

This city, having historically cast a political shadow over Curry's own Farmington, was one of the most interesting primary battle grounds. John Larson had been enthusiastically supported here by retiring State Sen. Joseph Harper and former Mayor Donald DeFronzo.

So Curry's significant win could very well be a sign that local Democrats reflect a statewide mindset. Change in their government, after four years of promises to do much of the same, would only come with the state controller from Farmington.

New Britain alderwoman Barbara Kirejczyk attended last night's rally at Curry headquarters and echoed much of the same mentality: That despite the support of prominent political names in the city, Democrats voted from the heart.

"There was a very strong alliance in New Britain with Larson, Harper, and DeFronzo, so they expected to take the city. But what you're seeing is the silent Democrats coming out and saying that they want true change in their government," Mrs. Kirejczyk said.

Democrat Wins Upset Victory In Connecticut

By JONATHAN RABINOVITZ

Special to The New York Times

HARTFORD, Sept. 13 — William F. Curry Jr., a longtime critic of the Democratic leadership that has dominated Connecticut government for decades, today wrested the party's nomination for governor from one of its stalwarts, the leader of the State Senate, John B. Larson.

On the Republican side, John Rowland, a former Congressman who was the party's candidate for governor in 1990, resoundingly defeated Secretary of the State Pauline R. Kezer, as expected, to gain the his party's nomination for governor.

The result set up a stark ideological battle over taxes for the November election between Mr. Rowland, who has pledged to repeal the state's three-year-old income tax, and Mr. Curry, who supports it and instead vows to cut property taxes, which he says are more regressive.

The income tax was initiated under Gov. Lowell P. Welcker Jr., a former Republican who was elected as an independent four years ago and who is not seeking re-election. In 1990, Mr. Welcker barely edged out Mr. Rowland.

In an interview this evening as he watched the returns coming in at his campaign celebration at the Sheraton Hotel in Hartford, Mr. Curry said, "There is a new politics struggling to

Continued on Page B6, Column 1

Democrat Wins Upset Victory In Connecticut

Continued From Page A1

be born that meets the anger and frustration that people feel."

Today's victory was a stunning upset for Mr. Curry, the State Comptroller, that few expected a year ago when he began his campaign to bring "fundamental change" to the party and its state government. Mr. Larson, the state's third-highest official and the party's endorsed candidate, is a popular Democratic leader who only a month ago had a 2-to-1 lead in the polls of registered Democrats.

But Mr. Curry, whose base is the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, never appeared to falter in his belief that voters wanted someone outside the party hierarchy to shake things up. In response to Mr. Larson's proposal to cut the income tax by 25 percent, Mr. Curry said it was sloganeering on a well-worn issue and instead changed the focus of the debate by proposing a \$1 billion cut in the property tax.

And for months, Mr. Curry concentrated on melding a coalition of unions, citizens' groups and environmental groups into a campaign field organization, while Mr. Larson focused on blanketing the airwaves with television commercials.

Today, it appeared that Mr. Curry's distinctive message and superior effort to get out the vote had provided him with his victory. With 49 percent of the vote counted, Mr. Curry had received 59 percent of the vote to Mr. Larson's 41 percent.

A SECOND CHANCE

Mr. Rowland's victory gives him a second chance to win the governor's office after losing four years ago by 2 percentage points to Mr. Welcker.

And it sets him up as the front-runner in a tangled four-way race that includes Mr. Curry; Lieut. Gov. Eunice S. Groark, who succeeds Mr. Welcker as the candidate of A Connecticut Party, and a former State Senator, Tom Scott, an even more conservative anti-tax Republican than Mr. Rowland who is running as an independent.

Mr. Rowland had 68 percent to Mr. Kezer's 32 percent, with 49 percent of the votes counted.

In other races, Dr. Gerald Labriola, a retired pediatrician and the Republican Party-endorsed candidate for Senate, defeated his challenger, Dr. Joseph Bentivegna, an ophthalmologist who opposes the death penalty and favors dispensing diluted drugs to addicts.

Centerpiece of Bid

Dr. Labriola has made campaign finance reform a centerpiece of his bid for office, and he now faces the incumbent, Senator Joseph I. Lieberman, who has a war chest of \$4.1 million, more than 30 times the combined amount Dr. Labriola and Dr. Bentivegna had raised.

In the Fifth Congressional District, State Senator James H. Maloney, the party-endorsed candidate, triumphed over accusations that he had not paid taxes and was an old-time Democratic insider, defeating his challenger, Thomas S. Luby, the majority leader in the State House of Representatives.

Mr. Maloney will next try to unseat the two-term incumbent, Gary A. Franks, a Republican. It would be the first Democratic victory in this district, which includes Waterbury, Meriden and parts of Fairfield County, since 1984.

Continued from Page 1

55 percent to 45 percent.

Turnout in both primaries — about 115,000 Republicans and 169,000 Democrats voted — approached 25 percent of eligible voters for each party.

Convincing wins

Any doubts that Rowland would crush Kezer were dispelled within minutes of the polls' closing at 8 p.m. It took only 91 minutes for Kezer, who had run an aggressive but underfunded campaign, to concede.

Soon afterward, Rowland spoke to his supporters at the Sheraton in Waterbury, telling them, "I am deeply, deeply honored to officially be the Republican nominee for governor."

He said he had just spoken to Kezer, and she had offered her support.

The Republicans, he said, have to "make sure the voters of the state are not fooled again like they were four years ago." He called for less government and fewer regulations, and reiterated his intent to eliminate the state income tax over five years. To Democrats, especially moderates, he said: "Hello and welcome."

"After 24 years it is now our time."

Asked if there was a role for Kezer in his administration, Rowland said, "You'd better believe it."

Later, Rowland said he was pleased to be running against Curry, and said he would like there to be three debates.

Before Rowland took the stage in Waterbury, Kezer was consoling her supporters in Southington with these words: "I know the results are not what we wanted tonight, but we have come so far. We were in this race to win it, but if that's not the case, I said we would go forward as the united Republican Party — and that we will."

She told supporters she has no regrets, and thanked them for their help.

"We worked as a team. We cared about each other. You all cared about me and I thank you from the bottom of my heart."

Asked about her plans when she leaves office in January, she replied: "I don't know what the future holds, but the future has always held wonderful things for Pauline Kezer and her family."

It took slightly longer, though not much longer, for clarity to settle over a Democratic race that the experts said would be touch and go for at least a few hours.

The predicted tug-of-war never materialized, despite state Sen. George Jepsen's small dose of good news from Stamford. The early numbers had Larson winning, 114 to 20.

"We'll take that. It's a good beginning," said Mary Phil Guinan, a former Hartford Democratic town chairwoman and Larson supporter.

But, in what was perhaps a foreshadowing of impending disaster, Larson's staff tossed reporters from his headquarters as the votes began dribbling in. The first numbers were posted at 8:30. The candidate, who had told reporters he would arrive at that time, was nowhere to be seen.

Larson spoke briefly to the press at 10 p.m., outside his headquarters at Founders Plaza in East Hartford, saying he wanted to leave quickly to congratulate Curry.

"I'm going not only to congratulate, but to endorse him. The Democrats are going to be united," Larson said. "Bill Curry was an outstanding opponent. It was an honor to debate him. It was an honor to be on the same playing field. I'm confident we'll be together and win in November."

Shortly after that, Larson arrived at the Sheraton in Hartford where Curry and hundreds of supporters packed a steamy ballroom.

Midway through Curry's victory speech, Larson, in an unusually conciliatory gesture, waded through the crowd and joined Curry on stage where the two rivals embraced.

"I think the choice is clear in this campaign," Larson said. "It's three Republicans against one Democrat."

Curry returned the compliments, going out of his way to praise Larson, praising him for running what Curry called an "honorable and substantive campaign."

Turning to the crowd, Curry said: "You made history tonight. This [campaign] isn't about a return to power. This is about a return to principles."

Meanwhile, Bridgeport Mayor Joseph P. Ganim — who won the party nomination for lieutenant governor — said Tuesday night he had grown close to Larson and his family, but could work just as comfortably with Curry.

"I have a great amount of respect for Bill Curry," he said. "It was an outstanding campaign, a clean campaign."

Democratic State Chairman Edward L. Marcus, who had backed Larson and urged Curry to drop his challenge, pledged his support Tuesday night.

"Bill won the primary. We'll all go to work for him starting tomorrow morning."

Hopscotching and jitters

For the gubernatorial candidates, Tuesday was a day like most others recently, except for the inevitable hopscotching from polling place to polling place, and the excusable case of Primary Day jitters.

Curry's Hartford headquarters was humming with activity as field organizers screamed instructions to volunteers in satellite offices around the state and staffers hunted up unused telephones.

Between 500 and 600 telephones in 67 locations were going virtually nonstop, said spokesman Roy Occhiogrosso.

Choreographing the telephone activities at the Curry nerve center on Farmington Avenue was pony-tailed Peter Tercyak, a whirl of movement who cajoled and psyched up the troops.

"Rock on," he said over the phone to one operative. "Got Fight! Win!" Tercyak seemed forever in search of a spare telephone to pair with a volunteer. Without missing a beat, he turned to another field coordinator: "Hey, Eric, how's it going? Work 'em hard, work 'em hard."

In Larson's hometown of East Hartford, Mayor Robert M. DeCrescenzo took the day off to campaign for Larson, who has represented the town in the state Senate, on the town council or on the school board since 1978.

While his allies were minding the store in East Hartford, Larson took off for the state's Democratic strongholds, campaigning arm in arm with the mayors and party pooh-bahs in Manchester, New Britain, New Haven, Hartford, Middletown and Waterbury. At 3:45, having done all that he could, he headed up to relax with wife Leslie and his two daughters.

Rowland spent part of his day traveling around the state, beginning in Milford with a breakfast meeting. He voted at 11 a.m. at the J.W. Tinker School in Waterbury, where he later read to a kindergarten class. He later campaigned in Newington and Torrington, capping off his day by taking his three children to dinner.

Up and out early, Kezer appeared at a 7 a.m. forum sponsored by The Courant and then took questions for 30 minutes on WHC radio, which had previously endorsed her long-shot candidacy. From the studio, she swung over to her Capitol office, where she signed some elections-related papers.

The only other must-do item on her checklist was voting, and she did so shortly after 10:30 a.m. at the Linden Street School in Plainville, a neat brick building on a quiet street of modest bungalows and cape-style homes.

A cluster of family members and friends waved Kezer for Governor placards and cheered as she stepped from her car. "Thanks kids," she beamed, as she bent to kiss each of her grandchildren, not caring whether it would wrinkle her rose-colored suit or smear her makeup.

Courant Staff Writers Craig Riggall, Matthew Daly, Dan Haar, Susan Kinsman, Alan Levin and Mark Parnickas contributed to this story.

Maloney to face Franks in 5th District

It's Curry vs. Rowland



Michael Asaro Republican-American

Republican John Rowland waves to supporters after Tuesday's primary victory over Pauline Kezer.

Democratic voters reject party choice

By Jennifer Heldt
and Christopher J. Feola
Republican-American

HARTFORD — Democrat Bill Curry surprised the party establishment and snatched his party's gubernatorial nomination from endorsed candidate John Larson in a close primary Tuesday.

Republicans chose frontrunner John Rowland over challenger Pauline Kezer by a 2 to 1 margin: 18,432 to 36,784 at presstime, with 800 of 812 precincts reporting. The Rowland camp did almost as much celebrating over the Curry's victory, saying it presented a clear choice between the liberal Curry and the conservative Rowland. Larson is a conservative Democrat.

Curry, 42, claimed victory shortly after 10 p.m. speaking to an enthusiastic large crowd at the Hartford Sheraton. With 716 of 812 precincts reporting, Curry was leading 84,837 to 66,619 at press time.

"You made history tonight," the state comptroller said. "The conventional wisdom was that if you didn't have the money and you didn't have the television advertisement and you wouldn't attack your opponent, then you couldn't win. That's wrong."

Larson, senate president pro tempore, gave Curry a resounding endorsement and promised to work for a Democratic victory. Curry will run with Bridgeport Mayor Joseph Ganim, Larson's choice for lieutenant governor.

Democrats hope that the strong grassroots organization that helped Curry beat the odds and win against Larson will carry him to victory against a large field of gubernatorial candidates in November.

Rowland and Curry will take on Lt. Gov. Eunice Groark of a Connecticut Party, Joseph Zdonczyk of the Concerned Citizens party and petitioning candidate Tom Scott of the Independence Party.

Rowland immediately attacked Curry's platform.

"Curry by his own admission is a liberal. Now he says he wants to cut taxes and cut spending," said Rowland. "He has a credibility issue."

Rowland pointed out that he ran against another liberal four years ago — Gov. Lowell P. Weicker Jr., who narrowly defeated Rowland. Weicker, said Rowland, also said he was against higher taxes, against an income tax and intended to cut spending.

"Then he immediately reversed himself after the election," Rowland said.

Republican leaders believe the Rowland victory puts the party well on its way to the governor's seat for the first time in two decades.

Rowland has led all candidates in the polls and with fund raising. He has raised more than \$2 million.

Election '94

Stories, results, 6-7A

The candidates

Here's a list of matchups for the general election Nov. 8, following Tuesday's primary vote.

A — A Connecticut Party
D — Democrat
R — Republican

Governor

Eunice Groark-A
William Curry-D
John Rowland-R

U.S. Senate

Joseph Lieberman-D
Gerald Labriola-R

Congress/5th Dist.

Gary Franks-R
James Maloney-D

Lt. Governor

Joe Ganim-D
Jodi Reil-R

Sec. of State

Miles S. Rapoport-D
Andrea M. Scott-R

31st Senate

Thomas Colapietro-D
Daniel F. Hurley-R

71st House

Robert Davino-D
Philip Giordano-R

74th House

Paul D'Angelo-R
Michael J. Janura-D

75th House

John F. Alseph Jr.-R
Thomas F. Conway-D

Curry trailed Larson in fund raising — \$844,700 to \$1.4 million. Curry is expected to raise more money now that the primary is over.

Rowland's choice for lieutenant governor, Jodi Reil, defeated challenger Joe Ricci in a race that mirrored her running mates. Reil, a state representative from Bronxfield, defeated Ricci, a New Canaan attorney, 48,452 to 32,631 at presstime with 730 of 812 precincts reporting.

Reil, 48, has been a lawmaker since 1984. She was in line to become the house leader of her party, but gave up the chance to run with Rowland.

Retired pediatrician Gerald Labriola, of Naugatuck, easily won the Republican nomination to challenge incumbent U.S. Sen. Joe Lieberman.

By Paul Bass

Bill Curry & The New Politics

Challenger's upset victory showed Connecticut Democrats are intent on an independent revolution. But is that enough?

Below a wall poster of South African President Nelson Mandela, the desks were hopelessly cluttered with flyers, publications, memos. On chairs, on the floor, atop the desks' clutter, sat three dozen men and women, some college-aged, some middle-aged, all the kind of people willing to go all out on behalf of a campaign they believe in. The unruly scene was on the third floor of the First & Summerfield United Methodist Church, across from the New Haven Green. Normally, the office was shared by two local unions, Locals 34 and 35 of the Federation of University Employees. Five days before last week's Connecticut Democratic primary, the volunteer workers answered the phone, "Curry for Governor." They were about to win a big one.

The candidate, Democratic challenger Bill Curry, at that moment considered all but politically dead by people in "real" campaign offices, had stopped by to rally his local troops. They were a combination of Yale blue-collar and pink-collar employees, plus local organizers from District 1199 of the health care workers' union. "We've got to beat these guys," Curry told the rapt crowd. "The Democratic Party invented community organizing. But that's long gone."

What the candidate proceeded to say—and how the gathered organizers reacted, despite their skepticism of politicians masquerading as standard-bearers for causes—showed why Curry would become Connecticut's Comeback Kid in less than a week. And it foreshadowed his stunning 10-percentage-point victory over John Larson, the party-endorsed, Democratic-establishment-backed candidate.

"Think of the Democratic Party as a factory that has been abandoned by its owners," Curry told the New Haven organizers, his tie loosened, his hair slightly ruffled, his voice urgent but measured. "The generation that replaced the original owners are the Rolodex kids who pick candidates they can control." Heads nodded. They left the factory's old equipment idle, Curry said. Management spent more time shuffling paper money, playing the market, arranging mergers and hostile takeovers. That earned them quick paper profits, but in the long run would throw people out of work and erode the company's long-term productive capacity.

But the "workers" got smart, Curry continued, and took control of the levers of power themselves. "If we win next Tuesday," Curry said, "it will be the most important defeat of status quo politics in either party in my lifetime."

That, more or less, is just what happened. Curry's message has caught fire across Connecticut's political landscape this year, especially among the three ideologically different gubernatorial candidates with a shared history of challenging political party establishments: Democrat Curry, A Connecticut Party's Eunice Groark and Independence Party standard-bearer Tom Scott. On election day, the three independent challengers, un beholden to the establishment of either major political party, will receive the majority of votes for governor of Connecticut—even if they all lose to Republican John Rowland.

Curry's message, the message that inspired the union-oriented crowd in New Haven—and that fired up the state in 1990, 1992, and now 1994—has nothing to do with the tired American political rhetoric of liberals-versus-conservatives. It has to do with insiders versus outsiders. Favoritism versus populism. The "grassroots" versus "the machine." It has to do with finding a way to tackle society's most dif-

KATHLEEN CEE PHOTO



The Comeback Kid: out to revitalize progressive politics

ficult issues, rather than an old-style politics based on obtaining money and power for politicians and their friends. The vote statewide for Curry came more from the suburbs than from the cities. In other words, it came from the voters who supposedly lean toward the conservative candidates in elections hinging on liberal-versus-conservative issues.

Last week Connecticut's Democrats in effect declared their independence from old-fashioned party machines, signalling a shift away from the political status quo that is catching on across the country.

You can excuse Curry for exaggerating a little. After all, a lifelong Republican named Lowell Weicker bolted from his party four years ago and won the governor's office under the banner of a new political party with virtually no membership.

But Curry did pull off a historic victory—and, more importantly, a victory that is waking up the politicians and pundits of Connecticut to the fact that politics-as-usual is dying a painful death. Weicker's victory was not, as some have claimed, a fluke based solely on his outsized personality. Connecticut voters were—and still are—fed up enough to act on their frustration with how politics-as-business left the state in the 1980s with the country's highest per capita debt—and two political parties unable to tackle the flight of jobs, an ineffective government bureaucracy, urban decline and drug-related crime.

The party dinosaurs are dead. Their embarrassingly corrupt and back-room-dealing conventions this summer amounted to a vain last gasp for broad public approval. Consider the evidence. Because Curry won the Democratic primary, and because two serious independent-party candidates are also on the gubernatorial ballot, only one of the four candidates on the gubernatorial ballot will have gotten where he is with the backing of a traditional party organization. That candidate, John Rowland, may still win.

He also very well may not (see accompanying story). But even if he wins, he probably will not obtain more than 35 percent of the vote.

That means that at least 65 percent of the state's voters will pull the lever in November for candidates who challenged, rather than were promoted, by established party organizations. "Precisely because 65 percent or more would be in the disaffected column is why I, or Curry for that matter can win," says Tom Scott. Scott built his campaign from the populist pulpit of a radio call-in show, not from phone calls and deal-making with party politicians. "People realize the parties have sold them out in presenting any hope, any solution for Connecticut's problems. We have an enlightened electorate. They are not sheep. They are pretty sophisticated."

The exciting, diverse race for governor suddenly has thrust upon the state's voters the politics of the future: more choices, more flamboyant personalities, clearer differences on policy and major-party candidates stressing their independence from their own parties—as well as more opportunities than ever for both wealthy special-interests and grassroots activists to drive the process. While a new politics is being born, as Curry puts it, the direction it will take remains very much up for grabs.

The three independent challengers, un beholden to the establishment of either major political party, will receive the majority of votes for governor of Connecticut—even if they all lose.

This year's new-style campaign follows years of building political independence, both in Connecticut and nationally. Consider that:

- Unaffiliated voters—those who refuse to register with an established party—are the second-largest bloc in the state, with almost 200,000 more people than the Republicans and only 35,000 behind the Democrats. And the unaffiliateds are the only significantly growing group of registered voters. Their ranks have grown 15 percent since 1989, according to figures from the Secretary of the State's office. Republican and Democratic rolls have remained stagnant. Also, minor parties have basically doubled their membership rolls and the A Connecticut Party has come into its own. (These last figures are less significant because all told we're talking about a total of 3,686 voters out of 1.85 million.)

- All voters have consistently crossed party lines in electing mixed tickets. In the 1990 election, statewide voters elected an independent governor, a Democratic attorney general, and a Republican secretary of the state—and got more independent government as a result. In 1993, Hartford elected an independent-party mayor, while third parties fielded more candidates than ever in municipal elections throughout the state. State law did away with the party lever just as it was mattering less than ever.

- Politicians have increasingly picked up from voters the sense that they do not care about party labels. This is especially true in suburbs, where the fastest population growth has occurred.

The overwhelming perception before the primary was that if John Rowland or [Democrat] John Larson were elected in November, it wouldn't make a difference. It was unprecedented in Connecticut history," reports Republican State Senator Bill Aniskovich of Branford.

Aniskovich differentiates this attitude from the traditional "Tweddle Dee/Tweddle Dum" argument that the Democrats and Republicans advance almost identical platforms—the Democrats veering just a little to the left of center, the Republicans just a little to the right. That sense reflected the determination of parties to govern effectively by operating close to the center, Aniskovich says. "The traditional partisan politics has been correctly perceived by many to be concerned solely with the accumulation of power by individuals within the establishment," Aniskovich says. "If the parties stood for something [else], people would feel parties offered them a real choice."

- Nationally, Ross Perot's dramatic third-place showing in the 1992 presidential election, which enabled Democrat Bill Clinton to win with only 43 percent of the vote, demonstrated that Connecticut is hardly alone.

"Some of what is going on is the None of the Above syndrome," observes Democratic State Rep. Patricia Dillon. "I had the benefit of watching commercials in three or four states the past few weeks. Twenty-year veterans of Congress were saying 'the politicians would have you believe...' as if these ultimate insiders were somehow populist outsiders."

- Both major parties are wracked by what voters see as moral or ethical corruption by party leaders. Several state Republican parties, for instance, have been taken over by troops from the Christian Coalition, much to the chagrin of older-line GOP leaders. One of those states is Virginia. A mainstream Republican representing that state is even jeopardizing his party's solid chance of capturing a U.S. Senate seat this fall by running an independent bid against party-endorsed Oliver North, whom the Christian Coalition catapulted to the nomination. (Similarly, Virginia's Democrats were suffering from an independent quest by one of their own, too; but last week that candidate, Doug Wilder, quit the race.)

How did it come about that a state known as The Land of Steady Habits moved to the forefront of such a volatile trend?

"We may be steady, but we're willing to take a risk for the better," says

Last week Connecticut's Democrats in effect declared their independence from old-fashioned party machines, signalling a shift away from the political status quo that is catching on across the country.

Lieutenant Governor Eunice Groark, whose unchallenged party-endorsed independent candidacy for governor has been overshadowed in recent weeks by the major-party primaries. She mentions Connecticut's tradition of inventions like the cotton gin and the Colt revolver. And, she adds, "Connecticut has been willing to take a risk on women." The state elected two women to Congress in the 1940s at a time when few states the size of Connecticut could elect even one, she points out. The state also boasts the country's first popularly elected female governor, Ella Grasso. Groark does not have to say that her own ticket fits that independent-minded mold: she and her running mate, Audrey Rowe, would be the first two-woman ticket in Connecticut's history to win if they top the polls in November.

Watching the breakdown of the old party machines has been instructive, especially from any vantage point outside the cloistered state capital. "Machine" can be a deceptive term; anyone running for office builds a machine. By raising more than \$4 million, mostly from established special interests, early in a campaign with no real opponent, Sen. Joe Lieberman has proved this year that he runs the most formidable electoral machine in the state. Similarly, the "anti-machine" forces that Curry has patched together in his campaign are, by definition, a new, alternative machine in and of themselves.

The term has come to signify the traditional, urban-based network of party officials, elected officials, lobbyists, contractors, and patronage employees who pull out the money and the voters on election day in return for government favors.

Urban patronage has largely (though not completely) dried up, in large part because of downsized government and a backlash against payroll-padded, inefficient bureaucracies. More voters live in the spread-out suburbs now.

Party leaders have hurt themselves by resisting efforts to broaden their political base. They have preferred instead to keep control of their dwindling power base. Republicans, for example, overturned former party member Lowell Weicker's reforms, which briefly invited unaffiliated voters to vote in primaries. Democrats abandoned their own temporarily anti-machine candidate, Bruce Morrison, in the 1990 gubernatorial election, gambling they could use a big loss to return to power over the progressive wing of the party in 1994. (They picked John Larson to do it. Ooops.) Both parties have conspired to block open primaries, in which the popular vote, rather than a small set of machine-chosen delegates, would select the parties' nominees for office.

"The refrain from coming out of our convention this summer—'It's our turn!'—is the enthusiasm of power-grabbers. It's not the chant of someone looking to make a change," says Aniskovich, who publicly backs his party's gubernatorial candidate but campaigns aggressively on his own among Branford's liberal Democrats. "This new political landscape requires the seeds to run our own campaigns," he says. "We have to make our own case. That's not a bad thing."

"Party politics is not in and of itself bad," notes Democratic State Rep. Dillon. Dillon has made a career out of appealing to independent-minded voters without depending on party leaders—while refraining from attacking the mechanics of party-building and traditional campaign organizing. "What's bad is when it gets self-referential and self-absorbed."

Unquestionably, global political change has precipitated the independent revolution. The end of the Cold War toppled entrenched political machines all over the world. In the process, it dismantled the familiar markers of the Cold War-driven liberal-conservative debate, as desperately as some Republicans cling to throwing the "liberal" tag at their opponents. That tactic now generally works only when the candidate runs from the label and lets the opponent define the terms of the race. Party machines, as much as any political force in this country, have scrambled to understand confusing, often contradictory polling results to address public concerns like crime and taxes in new ways.

Curry succeeded in doing that in the primary campaign among progressives, as well as conservatives and independent suburbanites. He told progressives that Democrats can no longer simply push for spending more money on traditional social-service organizations to address social problems. Even if voters would support that strategy, it has not been shown to work, he told them. His campaign sought to apply traditional Democratic principles—like social justice, concern for the poor and middle class, progressive taxation, rather than an unfair burden on the poor, and above all, a sense that government has a role in addressing social problems—to the realities of the modern world.

While other Democratic and Republican candidates reacted to popular discontent by promising to cut the new state income tax, Curry argued that cutting the property tax instead, thus leveling its unfairly high burden on some inner city and suburban communities, would do a better job. In the process, he appealed to both the traditionally Democratic urban vote and the traditionally more independent suburban vote at the same time. He also had a chance to accuse his opponents of pandering to public perceptions rather than seriously tackling an issue. In addition, Curry called for improving rather than cutting the income tax by taxing the wealthy proportionately more than the working- and middle-classes.

In the general election, look for Curry to try to do that not just with the property tax, but with government aid to business, streamlining bureaucracy and reforming prisons. Yes, the Weicker administration has given too many breaks to big businesses that have not created new jobs, he argues. Instead of just wiping out those dollars, Curry proposes funneling them to small, local companies, especially those owned by workers.



Groark: competition from the center

Yes, Connecticut's prisons need attention. But rather than just calling for a "tougher" correctional system, Curry says, let's look at how to rehabilitate inmates and reform prisons through mandatory literacy training and more community policing aimed at crime prevention. Yes, the bureaucracy of state government has become bloated at times and inefficient. But instead of removing government's inability to address big issues, he argues, let's retrain workers and loosen the constraints of bureaucracy to enable them to do their job better.

Yes, government and political parties have grown corrupt and beholden to big money. Rather than ditch the major parties, Curry believes, people should rebuild the parties under a system of open, direct primaries and limits on campaign con-

KATHLEEN CEE PHOTO



Scott: the New Right populist

"The refrain from coming out of the Republican convention this summer—'It's our turn!'—is the enthusiasm of power-grabbers."

tributions and spending. As the independent Democratic standard bearer, he will have to battle Groark in the early going of the fall campaign to wear the mantle of The Candidate Who Can Beat Rowland, while attempting to paint Groark as The Wasted Vote. She will be playing the same game. Whoever wins this unofficial contest by mid-October is likely to get the lion's share of the late fundraising proceeds, former Larson supporters and campaign workers.

Groark may be formidable competition for Curry. Her campaign is based on the idea that Connecticut government has finally begun to change in the past four years under the Weicker administration. She can point to four years of balanced state budgets after a decade of record debt. She credits the income tax, which provided a more reliable income stream than the sales tax and which enabled the state to lower corporate and sales taxes. Using independent federal government statistics, Groark argues that almost all jobs left the state before the income tax took effect and defends the Weicker administration's aid to large companies that considered leaving the state. Otherwise, she says, the number of jobs lost in Connecticut would have been much larger. In fact, jobs have slowly returned to the state under the income tax. Any fiddling with the tax, she maintains, including Curry's progres-

sivity, would only upset that progress.

In the next few weeks, there should also be interesting tag-team match-ups. Groark and Scott, for example, have already begun ganging up on Rowland to paint him as the insider candidate who bounced checks as a U.S. Congressman and traded in on his Congressional experience to lobby on behalf of large companies laying off Connecticut workers. "I call him 'Washington lobbyist John Rowland,'" Scott boasts. "It drives him nuts!" Scott and Curry are likely to team up as the two amiable, straight-talking populists who are happy to debate their different outsider perspectives.

Connecticut, it appears, will have plenty of reason to pay attention to a political campaign this fall.

LACY PHOTO



Dillon: None-of-the-above syndrome

Why Rowland Can Be Beat

John Rowland, the Republican candidate for governor, started chanting "liberal, liberal" the minute Bill Curry won the Democratic primary last week. So the theory goes, Democrats from the "liberal" wing of the party never win governor's races. Some of the more credulous reporters in the state immediately picked up on the argument as the latest conventional wisdom (since the previous conventional wisdom about the primacy of party politics had been demolished in the primary).

Rowland was touching on one of the more peculiar facts of political life in Connecticut for the past few decades. The state has sent some of the country's most liberal Democrats to Washington, people like Sam Gejdenson, Toby Moffett, Bruce Morrison, Rosa DeLauro. But until last week no Democrat identified with the party's liberal/progressive wing could win a primary for governor, let alone a general election.

Toby Moffett tried in 1986. He failed to gather enough delegates to make the ballot for the primary. Bruce Morrison tried in 1990. There was no primary. He humiliated his party by coming in third in the general election, with barely 20 percent of the vote. As a result, Rowland and the conventional-wisdom press chorus advance the argument that by choosing Curry, Democrats have forfeited the general election because a "liberal" can't win statewide.

That argument, though, misreads the real dynamics of the primary, as well as the winning candidate, who strayed dramatically from the traditional "liberal" Democratic fold. The argument also fails to recognize the continued failure of Hartford political insiders to predict the changes in Connecticut's political landscape in the 1990s.

Though he is certainly a lifelong backer of "progressive" groups like unions, environmentalists and Ralph Nader-style citizen-action organizers, Curry has always argued that government can spend money more wisely to get the job done. He has always appealed to voters from other parties. That is why he

beat even conservative law-and-order candidate Rowland in a recent preference poll of Connecticut state troopers.

Rather than try to sound more like a conservative—which both Moffett and Morrison attempted, fooling nobody—Curry has sought to redefine progressivism. He has taken issues like property tax reform and rehabilitation of prison inmates to argue that traditional Democratic principles can be updated to take into account concerns about high taxes and a failing criminal justice system. Curry strengthened that part of his campaign in the last few weeks before the primary. Not coincidentally, that was about when his candidacy started to gain momentum.

While it is true that Curry galvanized the liberal-oriented vote that wins primary elections, but not general elections, analysts fail to recognize that he also won the suburbs, not just the more liberal cities. That is because he ran against machine party politics. That is the big sell in this campaign. That is why most voters in the 1990 and 1994 gubernatorial elections will have voted against candidates who were products of party machines. And that is why all three of Rowland's main opponents are focusing on his "insider" history of trading on his U.S. congressional experience to gain high-paying lobbying contracts with big Connecticut corporations.

In fact, the one moment Morrison briefly did well in 1990 was when he stopped running from the "liberal" label by embracing universal health-care coverage. There was a similar moment in 1988 when Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis stopped denying that he was a liberal and defined the label on his own terms. The lesson was that voters are tired of politicians denying what they are.



Larson: victim of the machine

That is why they liked Ronald Reagan—rightly or wrongly, he believed in something. A Republican liberal, Lowell Weicker, won the governor's mansion in 1990 by mounting a campaign against the major parties and championing some traditionally liberal positions while redefining others.

As *Hartford Courant* political columnist Don Noel pointed out last week, Morrison never got the chance to run against a party machine. It formally backed him because the incumbent Democratic governor stepped down before Morrison got a chance to beat him in a primary. By contrast, Curry got a huge lift from his upset victory.

The conventional (lack of) wisdom in 1990 was that Bill O'Neill could not be beaten if he ran again for governor, because the party organization backed him. They said that up until the day he announced he would not run again—realizing he couldn't even win a party primary, let alone the general election.

The pundits and insiders said Bill Curry could not beat John Larson in last week's primary election. Because Larson had the party organization. Because he had the money. Now, they say, Curry cannot beat Rowland because a "liberal" can't win.

Theoretically, in a four-way gubernatorial race, 26 percent is enough to win. In reality, 30 to 35 percent will take a tight race. Even Scott—a telegenic, natural populist like Curry, despite their different philosophical approaches—has a shot at that. According to even Rowland's polls, Scott began his campaign with a higher percentage than Bill Curry had to begin with.

Rowland remains the frontrunner. But he begins with a base of voters, estimated at between 35 and 38 percent, that can only grow smaller as the other candidates gang up on him and moderates choose their "anyone but Rowland" candidate. Sure, he can still win—but so may one of his rivals. And the most visible right now is Bill Curry.

By Paul Bass



Rowland: liberals, liberals

Curry's new campaign ad

Candidate: William E. Curry Jr.

Party: Democrat

Title: Thunder

Length: 30 seconds

Visual: Scenes of Curry talking and shaking hands are overlaid with quotations from newspapers.

Script: *Narrator:* "On Sept. 13, the people spoke and lightning struck Connecticut. The people voted for Bill Curry to 'challenge the status quo.' (Hartford Courant, 9/7/94) Newspapers say Bill Curry has a 'history of independence from machine politics . . . ' (New Haven Advocate, 9/8/94) 'From his days as state senator . . . Bill Curry has worked first and foremost for the public good.' (New Haven Advocate, 9/8/94) As comptroller,

WATCHING THE ADS



Bill Curry 'put taxpayers first . . . ' (New

London Day, 9/4/94) and 'has proven he can manage the state's money smartly.' (Register

Citizen, 9/3/94) Bill Curry has 'the credentials, the talent and the drive to turn our state around.' (Register Citizen, 9/3/94) Vision. Courage. Real change. Bill Curry, governor."

Analysis: Curry waited eight days after his primary victory to air his first television ad of the general election campaign. That's eight days he let his name disappear from the public eye, risking the loss of some of the momentum gained in the closing days of the primary campaign. The most likely reason for the hiatus: Curry had to raise money to pay for the air time. He ended the primary campaign in



Curry campaign

debt. The style of this ad is very similar to those he aired before the primary, and all the quotations are drawn from pre-primary newspaper endorsements.

Accuracy: All the quotations are from newspaper editorials. Those are opinions and, as such, can't be called accurate or inaccurate. All the editorials did praise Curry, although, except for the Register Citizen, not as unreservedly as these excerpts imply. The Day said Curry "has had to put taxpayers first in his capacity as comptroller" — not exactly the same as saying he "put taxpayers first." The Day went on to say it hoped Curry would "hang onto that trait" and not see the governorship as a chance to give "unreasonable raises" to state employees. The New Haven Advocate's reference to his "independence from machine politics" came in the context of reserving judgment on its general-election endorsement. The Advocate said Lt. Gov. Eunice S. Groark has the same independence, and Curry still "has to prove that he has . . . the extraordinary backbone and progressive courage" that Groark has displayed.

Larry Williams / The Hartford Courant

CONNECTICUT

AFL-CIO backs Curry's bid for governor

By ANDREW JULIEN
Courant Staff Writer

Organized labor, seeing a chance to pump up its sagging political clout, Thursday unanimously endorsed upstart Democrat William E. Curry Jr.'s bid to become governor.

"I think what we're going to find is we're engaged, people feel good about this," said AFL-CIO President John W. Olsen. "We're going to get the vote out. We're going to work it."

The state AFL-CIO, at its annual convention, also endorsed U.S. Sen.

Joseph I. Lieberman's re-election bid despite strong opposition. The only other contest that sparked any debate was the race for the U.S. House of Representatives in the 4th District, where Republican incumbent Rep. Christopher Shays won the federation's backing.

In other congressional races, the AFL-CIO endorsed Rep. Barbara B. Kennelly, D-1st District; Rep. Sam Gejdenson, D-2nd District; Rep. Rosa L. DeLauro, D-3rd District; and Democratic challengers James H. Maloney in the 5th District and Charlotte Koskoff in the 6th Dis-

trict.

In statewide races, the AFL-CIO threw its support behind Democratic candidates, backing Richard Blumenthal for attorney general; Miles S. Rapoport for secretary of the state; Nancy Wyman for comptroller and Joseph Suggs for treasurer.

The labor federation's decision to endorse Curry was not a surprise. Curry's speech before the convention Thursday morning was more of a rally than a talk, complete with patriotic trombone music and homemade signs.

But although the endorsement by

the delegates gathered at the Sheraton-Hartford Hotel was not unexpected, it holds potential both for Curry and the labor movement itself.

Curry defeated the party-backed candidate, state Senate President Pro Tem John B. Larson, in the Sept. 13 primary by piecing together a broad-based grass-roots coalition. He hammered away at the populist theme Thursday, urging the convention delegates to get involved in the campaign.

"Take out your Christmas card lists," Curry said. "Call your friends

and neighbors."

And although organized labor doesn't have the numbers it once did, the movement's ability to mobilize volunteers and take a campaign directly to the voters can help Curry broaden the strategy that helped him defeat Larson.

"This is about organizing neighborhoods and communities," Curry said.

The federation's endorsement is also expected to yield donations to Curry's campaign from an array of

Please see AFL-CIO, Page A16

Off-duty prison guards attacked

Assault sends 2 to hospital

By MAXINE BERNSTEIN
Courant Staff Writer

At least a dozen men armed with bricks, stones and pipes beat up two off-duty prison guards as they



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endorses Curry

Continued from Page A3

labor organizations.

Looking beyond November, Curry's campaign also presents the labor movement with a chance to regain some of the political sway it has lost as its numbers have declined. The movement now has nearly 200,000 union members working for government or private business in Connecticut, about 15 percent of the state's work force.

With five candidates in the governor's race, the thinking inside the labor movement is that labor's ability to mobilize voters will be magnified. The large field is expected to shrink the percentage of the total vote needed for victory, giving extra weight to each vote.

"In a five-way race it doesn't take much to win and it doesn't take much to lose," Olsen said. "The people can make a difference."

Labor insiders also feel that in Curry they have a candidate they can wholeheartedly support. As a state senator, Curry was considered a strong backer of labor, and he has won support with promises to cut property taxes and restore some of the benefits injured workers lost in 1993.

"He talks our talk, he knows our feeling," said John Shove, a state prison guard attending the convention. "The AFL-CIO ... is going to be out there shaking the bushes, tying up phone lines, knocking on doors."

In his address to the delegates, Curry honed in on a sensitive issue among organized workers. He noted that the high wages earned by American workers were once considered a point of pride, but are now perceived as a weakness of the nation's economy.

"At some point along the way it got refined as a problem," Curry said. "People began to scapegoat the working person."

When it came time to endorse Curry, there was no debate. His candidacy won the federation's backing on a voice vote.

By contrast, the question of whether to endorse Lieberman's re-election bid was a far more contentious affair.

Lieberman has upset many in the labor movement with his support of the North American Free Trade Agreement and his role in the debate over President Clinton's health care proposal. Some feel Lieberman's actions served to derail the president's plan.

"I think we make a serious mistake by endorsing Joseph Lieberman," said Bob Hurvitz, a representative of District 1199 of the New England Health Care Employees Union. "We only express our weakness as labor."

Others, however, noted that although Lieberman has gone against organized labor on some key issues, his overall record of support is good. Supporters also pointed to the importance of maintaining a Democratic majority in the Senate.

"He has been there for us, let's be there for him," said Michael Dennehy, a representative of the postal workers union.

Despite a strong chorus of nays, a voice vote affirmed the federation's support for Lieberman.

The question of whether to support Shays' re-election bid in the 4th District also sparked some discussion. There was no talk of backing Shays' Democratic opponent, Jonathan Kantrowitz, only whether to endorse Shays or take no position in the race.

Several union leaders from Fairfield County said that although Shays, a Republican, does not always agree with labor's position, he has shown a willingness to listen to their concerns.

"We have had a tremendous

working relationship with him," said Frank Carroll, a representative of the electrical workers union. "He's an individual with compas-

sion and a brain of his own."

With Shays expected to win re-election handily, the convention voted to offer him its endorsement.

WEDNESDAY

PM

Food Day

Judges talk: What makes a great chili? /31

Final out?

Curtains closing on the baseball season /72

Clearing, low near 55 tonight; sunny, near 70 on Thursday /56

1ST EDITION

Journal Inquirer

SEPTEMBER 14, 1994

HOME DELIVERED 35 CENTS / NEWSSTAND 50 CENTS

'Outsider' gets in

Curry takes Dem nomination from Larson, the party's pick /3



Jeff Kiehl / Journal Inquirer

Curry, left, signals victory to his supporters Tuesday. In the GOP primary, endorsed candidate John G. Rowland, above, easily defeated challenger Pauline Kezer.

Adrian Keating / Journal Inquirer

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New Haven Register

182ND YEAR, NO. 257, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1994

NEWSSTAND 50 CENTS

SHORELINE • STATE

Curry clobbers Larson



Comptroller William E. Curry Jr. smiles after casting his ballot in the Democratic gubernatorial primary at East Farm's School in Farmington.

Larson blames wrath of state unions for defeat

By CHRISTOPHER KEATING
Courant Staff Writer

The wrath of state employees was the single most important factor in Sen. John B. Larson's defeat in the Tuesday's Democratic gubernatorial primary, he said Thursday.

Larson was targeted by the unions after opposing five union pay increases that had been awarded this year in binding arbitration. Under state law, the arbitrated increases for state employees can be overturned by a two-thirds vote of either chamber in the legislature.

Several state-employee unions backed Comptroller William E. Cur-

ry Jr., who defeated Larson in Tuesday's primary.

Larson was among more than 20 senators who opposed the pay increases, and he was hounded by union pickets dating back to March at the Democrats' annual Jefferson-Jackson-Bailey Dinner.

"The vote against the state-employee unions looms large at this point," Larson said during a press conference Thursday. "It's really the only one [factor] that hits at the anger of people."

Larson's defeat was foreshadowed by the strong feelings of the union pickets in March. They held signs that included "Labor against

Larson" and "Labor for Rowland." Larson stopped to talk to the protesters before attending the Democratic dinner, which is held annually to replenish the party coffers before the fall elections.

"We can't appropriate money that's not there," Larson told the protesters. "I'm sorry."

"Watch how sorry you're going to be in November!" shouted a picketer in the crowd.

At the same dinner, Curry said he would have voted in favor of the pay increases, adding that state employees have become "the scapegoats and the lightning rods for the politicians."

Besides losing the support of the unions, Larson's campaign also miscalculated by relying heavily on television advertising that ended up reaching many Republicans, unaffiliated voters and out-of-state residents who could not vote for him in the primary. The Larson strategy was that the wide television sweep would eventually filter down to the 23 percent of registered Democrats who turned out to vote in the primary.

Curry, by contrast, deployed a more organized field operation that targeted "prime" voters who have a

Please see Larson, Page A12

Larson blames anger of unions

Continued from Page A3

history of voting in primaries. Some registered Democrats said they received several campaign mailings from Curry, but never heard a word from Larson.

Larson conceded that his strategy was primarily focused on beating Republican candidate John G. Rowland in November, rather than beating Curry in September. But Larson said several times that he never overlooked Curry.

"There were two different strategies," Larson said. "Ours was always with a focus toward November. . . . It clearly was not without risk and not without peril."

Larson also relied heavily on the party machinery to bring out the vote, but he said that "the last time it worked pretty well" was about 25 years ago.

Curry received support from hard-core, committed Democrats who were willing to spend their time and their money on his behalf. An example of that type of committed supporter is Peter Gasparino, the senior member of Greenwich's finance board. A longtime Democrat who has run several failed races for state Senate, Gasparino said he used his own money to send a letter to 1,100 Democrats in Greenwich, telling them to vote for Curry.

Gasparino focused only on the "prime list" of voters who cast ballots in primaries that included the 1990 race between Democratic gubernatorial candidates Bruce Morrison and William Cibes.

The strategy worked. Curry won Greenwich by 57 percent to 43 percent — a higher percentage than his overall win.

While Greenwich represented only a small number of votes in the overall primary, Gasparino's effort showed the type of work that was done by committed liberals on Curry's behalf.

Curry believes that this type of grass-roots support will also be effective in the general election. Lar-



Associated Press

■ State Sen. John B. Larson of East Hartford, who held a press conference in Hartford Thursday, said the anger of state employees was the main reason for his defeat in Tuesday's Democratic gubernatorial primary. State-employee unions targeted Larson after his opposition to pay raises.

son, too, says Curry can win in a field that includes Rowland; Lt. Gov. Eunice Groark, a former Republican; and conservative Republican Tom Scott, who is running as an independent.

"With three Republicans in the race," Larson said, "the Democrats are not in as bad shape as some of the pundits might otherwise conclude."

Regarding his future, Larson says he would like to teach at a university and also sell his insurance business to his brothers. He would continue working as an insurance broker with Johnson and Higgins, a major insurance firm based in Hartford. He intends to spend more time with his family and possibly become involved in public television in the same way that former Trinity College president Tom Gerety conducted public affairs shows.

With hindsight on his defeat, Larson said he has no regrets and would not have done anything differently. Even if he spent more money on a field operation, Larson said, "I'm not so sure that the results would have been dramatically different."

Larson took full responsibility for

the strategy of relying on television advertisements to defeat Curry's extensive field operation.

"I wouldn't have changed the strategy whatsoever," Larson said.

Even when Curry was far behind in the polls, Curry spokesman Roy Occhiogrosso said the primary was Curry's "home turf" and that the field operation strategy could defeat the television strategy.

During the campaign, Curry said Larson was spending so much mon-

ey on television and not getting much in return.

"If I were John, I'd probably sue my media consultants," Curry said. "If I were a Larson donor, I'd ask for a performance audit."

Larson kept his sense of humor Thursday, despite the obvious disappointment that showed in an hourlong press conference.

When asked what went wrong, Larson responded, "Bill got more votes than I did."

Curry's troops capitalized on Larson's miscalculations

By MICHELE JACKLIN
Courant Political Writer

John B. Larson went marching off to war with the top brass at his side. With their buttons gleaming and bayonets raised, they were poised to fight on the Democrats' battlefield.

There was only one factor they overlooked: the infantry was with William E. Curry Jr.

Larson and his generals — Democratic Party poobahs with titles like town chairman and mayor, state senator and first selectman — were totally unprepared for the guerrilla warfare deployed by their enemy. While they were busily anticipating the next battle on Nov. 8, Curry's troops quietly set up their supply lines and moved in the artillery.

Blam! That was the sound of Larson being pulverized by Curry in Tuesday's Democratic primary for governor.

Some political observers called Curry's 16,000-vote win a surprise; others framed it as a stunning upset. But in fact, many Democratic insiders saw the results coming six months ago when

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Curry's big grass-roots victory sets stage for November contest

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the word on the street was: Larson takes the convention; Curry wins the primary.

And so it happened.

Perhaps the only surprise was that Larson, the Senate president pro tem from East Hartford, didn't rejigger his strategy when he had the chance.

Choosing from an array of options, Larson decided to wage an expensive media campaign, which many Monday morning quarterbacks agreed Wednesday was a huge, and ultimately fatal, miscalculation. Among the naysayers was Democratic Party Chairman Edward L. Marcus, who from the beginning of the race was in Larson's corner.

"In my opinion, their strategy was incorrect," said Marcus. "Primaries are won out in the field, but the people doing their TV felt the strategy was right."

Looking ahead to a likely Nov. 8 clash against Republican John G.

Rowland, Larson virtually ignored Curry, spending nearly \$700,000 to build his name recognition and image via television.

Voters in Hoboken, N.J., East Longmeadow, Mass., and White Plains, N.Y. — who got the commercials on their TVs — may have been impressed. Unfortunately for Larson, they didn't get to vote Tuesday.

Democrats in Hartford did. So did Democrats in New Britain and Waterbury, places where the party organizations were solidly behind Larson. In the end, they let him down royally.

In addition, with most of his money going into media, Larson relied on the Democratic machine to crank into gear and turn out his vote. In town after town, the machine sputtered and crashed.

Curry carried a lopsided 138 of the state's 169 municipalities, employing a field operation and outreach program that his lieutenants began fashioning last spring. His campaign was assisted by trade unionists, progressive activists and

environmentalists, among others. Some of their techniques were unconventional, to say the least.

Merrilee Milstein, a health care union leader, said she knew of one woman who wrote personal notes about Curry to the 200 friends on her Christmas card list. Others stood at intersections holding placards or made hundreds of phone calls.

By comparison, the party establishment appeared to do next to nothing for Larson, other than offer photo opportunities for various mayors to shake his hand.

It may be premature to sound the death knell for the Democratic machine that flourished in the days of Chairman John Bailey and held its own with William A. O'Neill in the governor's chair. But the party's weaknesses first appeared in 1986, were magnified in 1990 (when one in five voters grudgingly supported the Democrats' gubernatorial standard-bearer) and fully exposed in 1994. Simply put, party leaders can't deliver like they could in Bai-

ley's day.

After the results were tallied Tuesday night, civil rights lawyer John Brittain was happily eating crow at the Curry victory celebration in Hartford. He had sat out the primary because he thought Curry didn't have a chance. He had seen the evidence with his own eyes.

"I was standing in the Civic Center during the [party's nominating] convention and I saw Larson with all those mayors. I told my Curry friends to pack their tent and go home," Brittain recalled. "Well, I'm eating my words."

Yet, it's an oversimplification to entirely blame the party hierarchy for Larson's demise. Every machine needs an engine, and Larson, an affable politician with a gap-toothed smile, wasn't it. He said he would fight crime, improve public schools and create jobs. Sure. Everyone says those things. He failed to distinguish himself from the pack.

Larson, who won plaudits for his gracious concession Tuesday night,

declined to speak with reporters Wednesday, saying he didn't want to deflect attention from Curry. But Larson's campaign manager, Martha Carlson, showed up at headquarters Wednesday morning.

Carlson refused to make excuses for Larson's defeat, saying the strategy advocated by his nationally known pollster — Peter Hart & Associates — and by his media consultants — Doak Shrum Harris & Devine — seemed to make perfect sense.

"Our choice was to spend a ton of money in the field and win the primary and be standing here today like Curry is with no money, or to try to elbow our way past Curry and be standing here with a quarter-million dollars," she said. "We chose the second as our strategy. I feel very comfortable with the way our campaign was run."

Carlson confirmed that Marcus tried to persuade Larson to modify his approach, but that campaign officials decided to stay the course. By doing so, they played into the hands

of Curry's energized troops.

Although Curry insisted that his offering of a "substantive blueprint on how to fix the brokenness of the state," his call for change and his issues were as crucial to his victory as his strategy, he nonetheless was at a partial loss to explain his juggernaut.

Yes, he said, the labor unions were important, but so were the informal networks that contacted and attracted voters from across the political spectrum.

The prevailing wisdom is that grass-roots, issue-oriented campaigns have gone the way of paper ballots, and that big money and paid media are the dominant factors in modern campaigning. But Curry proved the wisdom wrong.

Asked what fueled his drive to victory, Curry struggled to synthesize his thoughts and finally gave up. He smiled and said, "I can't put all of it onto a bumper sticker yet."

Courant Staff Writers Alan Levin and Mark Pazniokas contributed to this story.

Curry won old-fashioned way

HARTFORD (AP) — Sounding very much like fellow Georgetown grad Bill Clinton, Connecticut's William E. Curry Jr. pulled off what political pundits once predicted was beyond his grasp.

He fed voters' desires for change and government reform, told them he "felt their pain," and then beat a man who had been in the governor's race longer than any other candidate in any of the three major parties.

Curry beat Democrat John B. Larson in Tuesday's primary battle the old-fashioned way: with shoe leather and a grassroots organization.

Curry was outspent 10-to-1 in television advertising by the Larson campaign.

But while Larson was flooding the screens with feel-good pictures more suitable to a general election, Curry was crossing the state, firing up Democrats with his call for property tax reform, more cops on the beat and a shakeup in the party hierarchy.

"My guess is when people look back on this election, TV will mean less because people are tired of the hype," Curry said yesterday in reflecting on his come-from-behind win.

Larson has yet to offer his explanation for what happened. He issued a brief statement saying the day was Curry's and he wouldn't talk with reporters until today.

As far as Larson campaign director Martha Carlson saw it, the campaign had two choices: run an expensive grassroots campaign, win the primary by a sizeable margin but end up broke, or squeak by Curry by relying on the political machinery afforded party-backed candidates.

Instead, "we have no win and a couple of hundred grand" left in campaign donations, she said. "We knew it was a risk we could lose the primary ... and we died by it."

It didn't help, she said, that as the Senate Democratic leader, Larson voted against pay raises that had been negotiated with state employee unions during this year's legislative session. Union leaders had promised to make the Democratic Party pay politically for the rejection of pay raises, and their support of Curry fulfilled that pledge in part.

"The vote for Bill Curry yesterday was labor. The labor vote absolutely outgunned us," Carlson said.