

Clinton POLITICAL RESULTS

file Clinton
political results

THE PRESIDENCY

Clinton Struggles To Meld A Governing Coalition

He finds himself with neither fierce enemies nor passionate supporters

As crucial votes neared on his budget plan, President Clinton became embroiled in one of the most intense lobbying attempts in recent history, making public appearances several times a day and holding dozens of meetings and phone conversations with members. The effort included an unprecedented number of one-on-one sessions, including some with freshmen and others with little clout beyond their own vote.

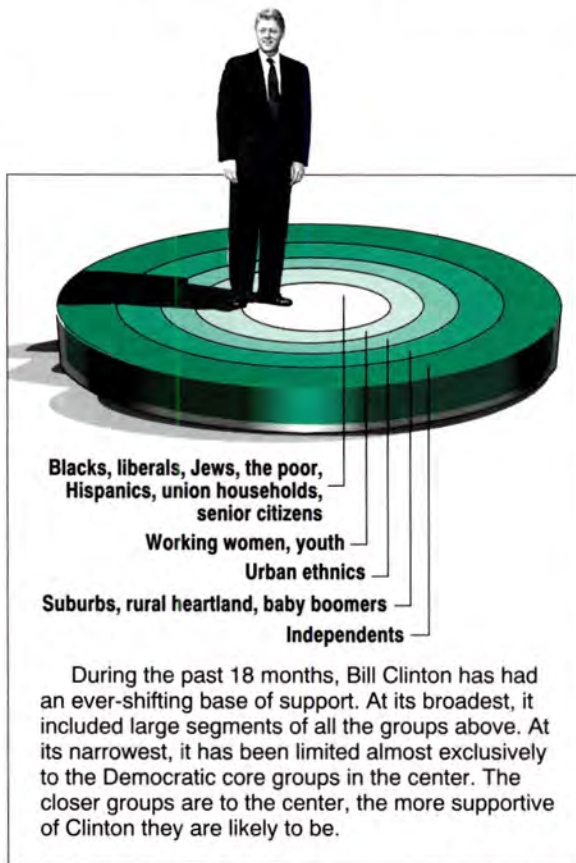
But Clinton had little choice. With perhaps the most important event of his presidency hanging in the balance, he had to face a political reality that has become increasingly clear since November. His 43 percent share of the popular vote — lower than that attained by every member of Congress in 1992 — allows and even encourages members to go their own way.

While Clinton has the advantage of having few permanent enemies, he has the disadvantage of having few passionate supporters. The result is an ever-shifting base that makes it difficult to govern.

The election results and the first six months of his presidency show that Clinton has only a small core of support in the electorate that he can consistently count on: a coalition of liberals, minorities and the elderly that makes up the traditional heart of the Democratic Party.

But last fall's results also show where Clinton might be able to find support to help him fashion the majority coalition that he needs to help get his programs through Congress. (*Results*, p. 2185)

"You don't have to win all the battles," but you have to be on the side of



MARILYN GATES-DAVIS

the working middle class, says Clinton's longtime media consultant Frank Greer. "That's more important than any ideological identification in building a base that can change the country."

Background

Ronald Reagan never had these kinds of problems. His conservative philosophy made him hero or villain to broad swaths of the electorate. Yet it assured him a stable base that helped to successfully launch his administration and sustain him in difficult times.

But since Clinton appeared on the national stage barely 18 months ago,

his constituency has expanded and contracted like an accordion, with key elements sometimes shifting dramatically.

Running in the 1992 Democratic primaries against former Massachusetts Sen. Paul E. Tsongas and former California Gov. Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., Clinton ran best among fellow Southerners (black and white), moderates, Protestants and voters who were not financially well off.

In the fall against George Bush and Ross Perot, he fared best in the industrial Frost Belt among the traditional Democratic coalition as well as among groups such as minorities, the elderly and the poor that had supported Clinton in the spring.

Yet Clinton's appeal in the general election went well beyond the historical party core. He won back many urban ethnic voters who had voted for Reagan and Bush in the 1980s. He easily took the youth vote, which had leaned Republican during the Reagan years. And he made breakthroughs with independents and in the suburbs, the West and the rural heartland,

where Democratic presidential candidates had not run well for more than a quarter-century. (*Map*, p. 2179)

However, he did worse in November among several previously supportive groups. He lost his native South. He lost the votes of whites. And he ran worse among men than women — there had been no gender gap in the primaries.

Now Clinton's support has essentially fallen back to true-blue Democrats. At best, says Democratic consultant Ann F. Lewis, Clinton's base extends from the center of the Democratic Party to the center of the country. At worst, it's the "center of the Democratic Party."

By Rhodes Cook

Minority Districts Form Backbone . . .

Bill Clinton carried 256 of the nation's 435 congressional districts in 1992, but the core of his support was

the 98 districts he won with a majority of the three-way vote. Majority-minority districts (those with a majority

District	District Description	Clinton %	House Member
New York 11	74% black, urban (central Brooklyn)	87	Major R. Owens (D)
New York 15	47% black, 46% Hispanic, urban (Harlem)	86	Charles B. Rangel (D)
New York 10	61% black, urban (parts of Brooklyn)	83	Edolphus Towns (D)
Illinois 1	70% black, urban (South Side Chicago)	81	Bobby L. Rush (D)
Michigan 14	69% black, urban (parts of Detroit)	81	John Conyers Jr. (D)
Michigan 15	70% black, urban (parts of Detroit)	81	Barbara-Rose Collins (D)
New York 16	60% Hispanic, urban (South Bronx)	81	Jose E. Serrano (D)
Illinois 2	68% black, urban (South Side Chicago)	80	Mel Reynolds (D)
Pennsylvania 2	62% black, urban (west Philadelphia)	80	Lucien E. Blackwell (D)
California 9	32% black, 16% Asian, 12% Hispanic, urban (Oakland area)	79	Ronald V. Dellums (D)
California 32	40% black, 30% Hispanic, urban (West Los Angeles)	78	Julian C. Dixon (D)
California 35	43% black, 43% Hispanic, urban (south-central Los Angeles)	78	Maxine Waters (D)
Illinois 7	66% black, urban (downtown Chicago)	78	Cardiss Collins (D)
Maryland 7	71% black, urban (inner-city Baltimore)	78	Kweisi Mfume (D)
New York 8	80% white, urban liberal (West Side Manhattan)	77	Jerrold Nadler (D)
California 8	28% Asian, 16% Hispanic, 13% black, urban liberal (San Francisco)	76	Nancy Pelosi (D)
New York 6	56% black, urban (southeast Queens)	76	Floyd H. Flake (D)
New York 17	42% black, 29% Hispanic, urban (north Bronx)	76	Eliot L. Engel (D)
California 37	34% black, 45% Hispanic, urban (southern L.A. County)	74	Walter R. Tucker III (D)
Florida 17	58% black, 23% Hispanic, urban (parts of Miami, north Dade)	74	Carrie Meek (D)
Maryland 4	58% black, suburban (Prince George's County)	74	Albert R. Wynn (D)
Ohio 11	59% black, urban (east side Cleveland)	73	Louis Stokes (D)
Pennsylvania 1	52% black, urban (south, central Philadelphia)	73	Thomas M. Foglietta (D)
New Jersey 10	60% black, urban (parts of Newark and Jersey City)	71	Donald M. Payne (D)
New York 14	86% white, urban liberal (East Side Manhattan)	70	Carolyn B. Maloney (D)
Louisiana 2	61% black, urban (New Orleans)	69	William J. Jefferson (D)
New York 12	58% Hispanic, urban (Lower East Side Manhattan)	69	Nydia M. Velázquez (D)
Georgia 5	62% black, urban (parts of Atlanta)	68	John Lewis (D)
Louisiana 4	66% black, urban-rural mix (north and east)	68	Cleo Fields (D)
Massachusetts 8	66% white, urban liberal (parts of Boston)	68	Joseph P. Kennedy II (D)
Missouri 1	52% black, urban (north St. Louis)	68	William L. Clay (D)
Alabama 7	68% black, rural-urban mix (parts of Birmingham, Montgomery)	67	Earl F. Hilliard (D)
California 29	84% white, urban liberal (west L.A. County, Beverly Hills)	66	Henry A. Waxman (D)
North Carolina 12	57% black, urban (the I-85 Corridor)	66	Melvin Watt (D)
Tennessee 9	59% black, urban (Memphis)	66	Harold E. Ford (D)
Texas 18	51% black, urban (downtown Houston)	66	Craig Washington (D)
Virginia 3	64% black, rural-urban mix (parts of Richmond and Tidewater)	66	Robert C. Scott (D)
Washington 7	76% white, urban liberal (Seattle and suburbs)	66	Jim McDermott (D)
Georgia 11	64% black, rural-urban mix (east central)	65	Cynthia A. McKinney (D)
Illinois 4	65% Hispanic, urban (parts of Chicago)	65	Luis V. Gutierrez (D)
California 30	61% Hispanic, urban (central, east and southeast Los Angeles)	63	Xavier Becerra (D)
California 33	84% Hispanic, urban (east-central Los Angeles)	63	Lucille Roybal-Allard (D)
Florida 23	52% black, urban (parts of southeast)	63	Alcee L. Hastings (D)
Texas 30	50% black, 17% Hispanic, urban (downtown Dallas)	63	Eddie Bernice Johnson (D)
South Carolina 6	62% black, urban-rural mix (central and south)	62	James E. Clyburn (D)
California 7	63% white, suburban liberal (northeastern Bay Area)	61	George Miller (D)
Illinois 9	73% white, urban liberal (lakefront Chicago)	61	Sidney R. Yates (D)
North Carolina 1	57% black, rural (east)	61	Eva Clayton (D)
Georgia 2	57% black, rural-urban mix (southwest)	60	Sanford D. Bishop Jr. (D)

... Of Support for Clinton in Election

non-white population) were particularly supportive of Clinton, as they have been for Democratic presidential

candidates in the past. The second column includes the majority race or races and a description of the district.

District	District Description	Clinton %	House Member
Arkansas 1	81% white, rural (northeast)	59	Blanche Lambert (D)
New York 9	88% white, urban liberal (parts of Brooklyn and Queens)	59	Charles E. Schumer (D)
Arkansas 4	72% white, rural (south)	58	Jay Dickey (R)
Minnesota 5	84% white, urban liberal (Minneapolis and suburbs)	58	Martin Olav Sabo (D)
Mississippi 2	63% black, rural poor (Mississippi Delta)	58	Bennie Thompson (D) *
Pennsylvania 14	80% white, suburban multi-ethnic (Pittsburgh and suburbs)	58	William J. Coyne (D)
California 12	65% white, urban-suburban mix (San Mateo County area)	57	Tom Lantos (D)
California 26	53% Hispanic, suburban (San Fernando Valley)	57	Howard L. Berman (D)
Florida 3	55% black, urban (parts of Jacksonville, Orlando, Gainesville)	57	Corrine Brown (D)
Wisconsin 5	61% white, urban (northern Milwaukee)	57	Thomas M. Barrett (D)
Arkansas 2	81% white, urban-rural (Little Rock)	56	Ray Thornton (D)
California 6	90% white, suburban liberal (northern Bay Area)	56	Lynn Woolsey (D)
Colorado 1	73% white, urban liberal (Denver)	56	Patricia Schroeder (D)
New York 7	70% white, urban multi-ethnic (parts of Queens and the Bronx)	56	Thomas J. Manton (D)
Texas 28	60% Hispanic, urban-rural mix (South San Antonio)	55	Frank Tejeda (D)
West Virginia 3	95% white, Appalachian (south)	55	Nick J. Rahall II (D)
California 13	64% white, urban-suburban liberal (East Bay)	54	Pete Stark (D)
California 14	78% white, suburban (parts of San Mateo and Santa Clara counties)	54	Anna G. Eshoo (D)
Florida 19	95% white, urban retirees (parts of Palm Beach and Broward counties)	54	Harry Johnston (D)
Illinois 12	81% white, urban-rural industrial (Carbondale; East St. Louis)	54	Jerry F. Costello (D)
Maryland 3	80% white, urban-suburban multi-ethnic (downtown Baltimore)	54	Benjamin L. Cardin (D)
New Jersey 13	41% Hispanic, 14% black, urban (parts of Jersey City and Newark)	54	Robert Menendez (D)
California 17	69% white, rural-resort (Monterey and San Benito counties)	53	Sam Farr (D) *
Indiana 1	74% white, urban-suburban (Gary)	53	Peter J. Visclosky (D)
Maryland 8	81% white, upper-income suburban (Montgomery County)	53	Constance A. Morella (R)
Oregon 3	87% white, urban (east and north Portland)	53	Ron Wyden (D)
Tennessee 5	75% white, urban (Nashville)	53	Bob Clement (D)
Texas 15	75% Hispanic, urban-rural poor mix (south)	53	E. "Kika" de la Garza (D)
California 16	37% Hispanic, 21% Asian, urban (Santa Clara County)	52	Don Edwards (D)
California 31	59% Hispanic, suburban blue-collar (eastern L.A. County)	52	Matthew G. Martinez (D)
Minnesota 4	89% white, urban liberal (St. Paul and suburbs)	52	Bruce F. Vento (D)
Missouri 5	73% white, urban (Kansas City)	52	Alan Wheat (D)
New York 5	84% white, urban-suburban (northeast Queens)	52	Gary L. Ackerman (D)
Pennsylvania 3	89% white, urban (northeast Philadelphia)	52	Robert A. Borski (D)
Pennsylvania 18	91% white, suburbs and mill towns (Pittsburgh suburbs)	52	Rick Santorum (R)
Texas 29	61% Hispanic, urban (east Houston)	52	Gene Green (D)
Arizona 2	50% Hispanic, urban-rural mix (southwest)	51	Ed Pastor (D)
California 5	66% white, urban (Sacramento)	51	Robert T. Matsui (D)
California 34	62% Hispanic, suburban (east L.A. County suburbs)	51	Esteban E. Torres (D)
Illinois 5	87% white, urban multi-ethnic (North Side Chicago)	51	Dan Rostenkowski (D)
Massachusetts 4	94% white, suburbs and mill towns (Boston suburbs)	51	Barney Frank (D)
New Mexico 3	35% Hispanic, 21% American Indian, urban-rural mix (Santa Fe)	51	Bill Richardson (D)
Pennsylvania 20	96% white, Appalachian (southwest)	51	Austin J. Murphy (D)
Texas 16	70% Hispanic, urban multicultural (El Paso and suburbs)	51	Ronald D. Coleman (D)
Virginia 8	76% white, suburban affluent (D.C. suburbs)	51	James P. Moran (D)
Kentucky 3	81% white, urban-suburban (Louisville and suburbs)	50	Romano L. Mazzoli (D)
Massachusetts 7	94% white, suburban (northwest suburbs)	50	Edward J. Markey (D)
New York 18	81% white, urban-suburban (parts of Westchester, Bronx, Queens)	50	Nita M. Lowey (D)
Wisconsin 2	96% white, college town liberal (Madison)	50	Scott L. Klug (R)

* Elected since November

SOURCE: The district vote for president was computed by Polidata with assistance from Congressional Quarterly.

The Democratic Core

The difficulty in defining Clinton's base is due in no small part to the muddled nature of the 1992 election, including the presence of a significant independent candidate in Perot. How well or how poorly Clinton did depends on how the results are viewed.

His 43 percent popular vote victory was the lowest for any presidential winner since 1912. Yet his 5.6 percentage point victory margin was the widest for any Democratic winner since Franklin D. Roosevelt, with the exception of Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964. (Summary, *this page*)

Clinton carried nearly two-thirds of the states (32 plus the District of Columbia) and almost 60 percent of the congressional districts (256 of 435), the highest totals in either category for a Democrat since Johnson in 1964.

Yet Clinton surpassed 50 percent of the vote in only the District of Columbia and his home state of Arkansas and won a majority of the vote cast for Bush, Clinton and Perot in only 98 districts. (Chart, p. 2176)

Those 98 districts define the core of the current Democratic coalition, with blacks as the most loyal component.

Of the nine districts Clinton won with at least 80 percent of the vote, seven had a black majority. Of the 49 districts he carried with at least 60 percent, 30 were majority black.

Of the rest that Clinton won with a "supermajority" of 60 percent or more, a dozen had a population that was majority-minority, either Hispanic or a combination of Hispanic, black and Asian.

The other seven supermajority districts had white majorities but were certifiably liberal, such as the New York 8th (anchored on Manhattan's West Side), the New York 14th (anchored on the East Side), the Massachusetts 8th (based in Cambridge) and the California 29th (which includes much of Hollywood, Beverly Hills and Santa Monica).

Most of Clinton's supermajority districts were urban. Nine were based in New York City, six in Los Angeles County, five in Chicago, two each in Detroit and Philadelphia, plus single districts anchored in Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Dallas, Houston, Miami, New Orleans, Oakland, San Francisco, St. Louis, Memphis, Tenn., and Newark, N.J.

Other Democratic core constituencies were represented in the group of 49 districts that Clinton won with between 50 percent and 60 percent of the vote.

One group was the rural poor in Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta and

the Hispanic Southwest.

The young and well-educated in the North Carolina 4th (which includes the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and North Carolina State University in Raleigh) and the Wisconsin 2nd (with the University of Wisconsin at Madison) formed another support base.

And Clinton showed broad appeal to voters in the Far West, many of whom voted for Michael S. Dukakis in 1988 because they saw the Democrats as more responsive on emerging issues of importance to them, from the environment to child care.

One could drive along the coast highway from Los Angeles to Seattle without passing through a single district that voted last fall for Bush or Perot. Clinton won a number of districts along the Pacific Coast with an outright majority, including 10 in the San Francisco Bay Area or within about an hour's drive of it.

Prodigals and Breakthroughs

The districts that Clinton won with less than a majority featured two types of voters.

There were voters whom Clinton won back to the Democratic fold after a fling with the Republicans in the 1980s, such as the urban ethnic constituency of northeastern Pennsylvania's 11th District (Wilkes-Barre).

And there were those districts where Clinton's victory represented a breakthrough, as in the rural heartland and the suburbs, both mainstays of the GOP presidential coalition.

Helped by the lingering recession in the late 1980s, Dukakis ran well in

the Upper Midwest in 1988. Clinton resonated there even better and won virtually every district that touches the Mississippi River from northern Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico. He even swept almost all of downstate Illinois, including the Peoria-based 18th District, which House Republican leader Robert H. Michel represents.

Clinton's suburban inroads were just as dramatic. Dukakis carried very few suburban districts in 1988. Clinton won a significant number, from the New York 3rd and 4th districts on Long Island to the California 44th in fast-growing Riverside County.

His success in the suburbs and the heartland resulted in an anomaly: 50 districts that voted Democratic for president and Republican for the House. Scores of districts in recent elections have voted Republican for president and Democratic for the House, but few have reversed that order.

In 1988, only 13 districts voted for Dukakis and a GOP House member. In 1984, just one district backed Democrat Walter F. Mondale and a House Republican. (That was the liberal district on Manhattan's East Side represented at the time by Republican Bill Green.)

Even when Jimmy Carter was elected in 1976, he carried only 26 districts that elected a GOP House candidate, and a dozen of those were in his native South. The Clinton-district Republicans in the 103rd Congress are much more geographically diverse: 16 are from the East, 15 from the Midwest, 12 from the West and seven from the South.

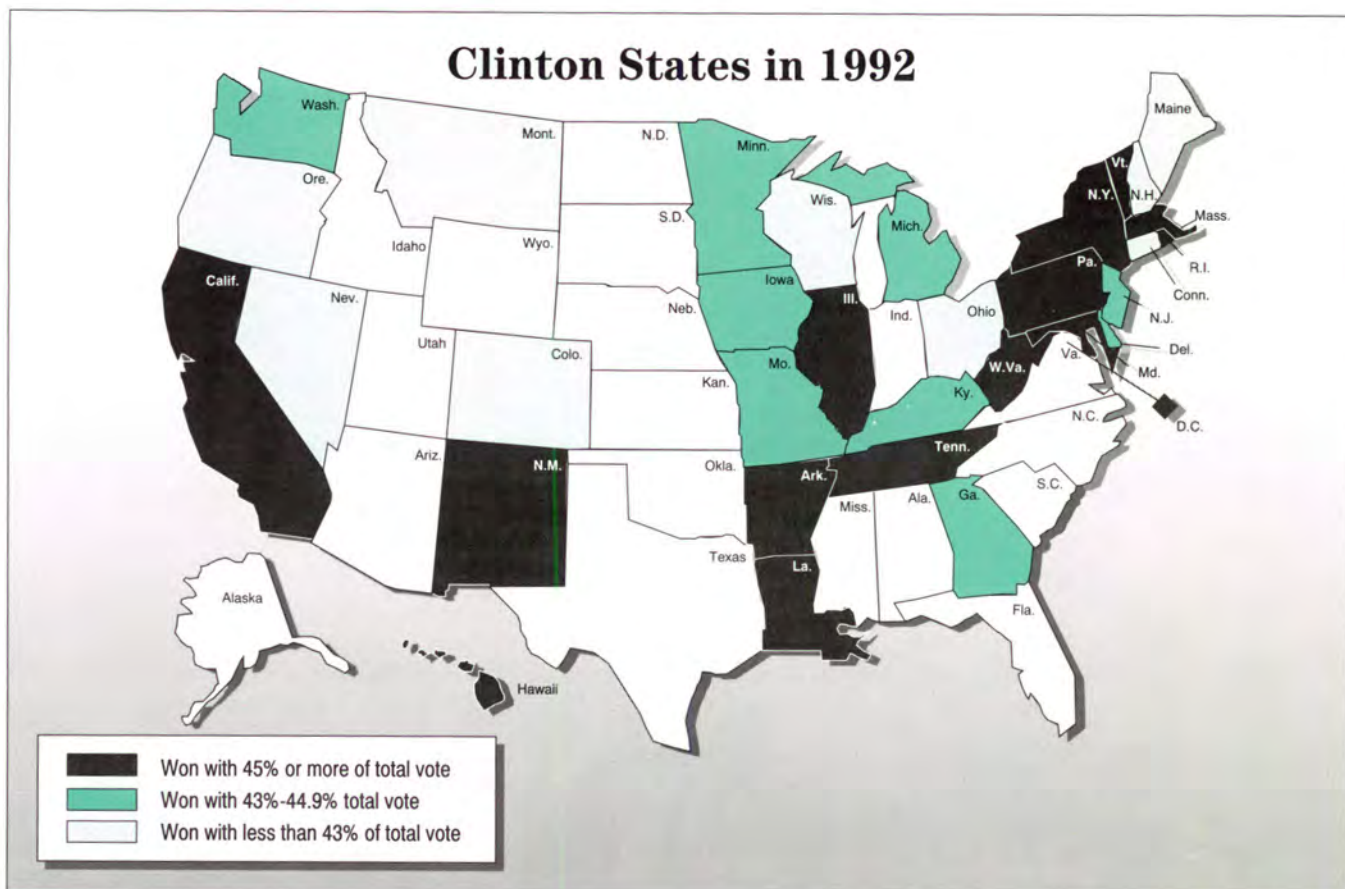
District Vote Summary

Both the breadth and shallowness of President Clinton's victory in 1992 were illustrated by the district-by-district results. Clinton carried 256 of the nation's 435 congressional districts and won more districts than did President Bush in every region except the South. In both of those measurements, it was the broadest-based victory by any Democratic presidential candidate since Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964. Yet Clinton won fewer than 100 districts with a majority of the vote cast for Clinton, Bush and independent Ross Perot. Perot carried no districts.

	Districts Won		With Majority of Vote	
	Clinton	Bush	Clinton	Bush
East	72	28	29	2
Midwest	65	40	17	2
South	59	78	28	30
West	60	33	24	0
TOTAL	256	179	98	34

SOURCE: The totals are based on district results computed by Polidata with assistance from Congressional Quarterly.

Clinton States in 1992



MARILYN GATES-DAVIS

Building on the Base

By practically any measurement, Clinton has less support now than when he was elected. A nationwide Los Angeles Times poll in mid-June indicated that only 37 percent of respondents would support Clinton for re-election. A Gallup Poll in July placed his presidential approval rating at 41 percent.

There has been "an erosion in positive feelings [about Clinton] across the board," says David W. Moore, vice president of the Gallup Organization.

As a result, Clinton appears to be strongest now where he was strongest in the election, among the Democratic core constituency — blacks, Hispanics, Jews, liberals, low-income voters and the elderly, many of whom grew up during Roosevelt's New Deal. He has lost ground among the swing voters who made his election possible.

Support among suburban voters has softened with his abandonment of a middle-class tax cut. The public focus on gays in the military has weakened his appeal to socially conservative urban ethnics and rural, small-town voters.

Clinton's present base, says Everett C. Ladd, executive director of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at

the University of Connecticut, is a "pretty liberal group." It looks like those voters who stayed with "Mondale in 1984 and Dukakis in 1988."

The problem, says Ladd, is that Clinton's presidency has been out of sync with the political mainstream. Ladd sees the Clinton administration, like Carter's, as dominated by Democratic activists who are "pro-government, believe America has been asserting itself too prominently in the world, and hold to a liberal perspective on social issues compared to the public at large."

GOP pollster Bill McInturff of Public Opinion Strategies finds intense support for Clinton to be limited. He pegs the number of voters who strongly disapprove of Clinton's job performance at 28 percent, twice the percentage who strongly approve. "I don't get the sense there's any real enthusiasm for him anymore among anybody," adds Millersville University political scientist Terry G. Madonna, who does polling in Pennsylvania.

But not all is bleak for Clinton. McInturff finds Clinton drawing comparatively high levels of support these days from working women and from young voters age 18 to 24.

Michael McKeon, a Democratic pollster in Joliet, Ill., sees voters in the Chicago suburbs in no rush to judge the new president. "There is no lynch mob mentality," he says. "It's like a marriage that's got problems."

Ultimately, Democratic National Committee (DNC) Chairman David Wilhelm believes that Clinton's ability to significantly expand his base will depend on the ability of Democrats in Washington to get things done.

"I think the swing votes are still swing. I think we have an electorate very much in flux," Wilhelm says. "I think the key is performance."

To that end, the DNC has attempted to marshal grass-roots support in the party and its union allies for Clinton's economic plan that features letter-writing campaigns to newspapers, calls to members and radio and TV advertising in targeted areas.

"If we pass the economic plan, NAFTA and health care, it will speak to the independents, the suburbs, the Perot voters, the rural voters in a more compelling way than any tactic or slogan could do," Wilhelm says. "... It's too soon to tell where the [swing] voters are going to end up." ■

OBITUARY

Michigan Rep. Henry Dies; Republicans Mull Race

The July 31 death of Michigan Republican Rep. Paul B. Henry ended his painful battle with brain cancer. It also brought to a close a 14-year political career that was filled with statewide promise.

Henry was elected to a fifth term in 1992 despite having been diagnosed in the fall of 1992 as having a fatal form of cancer. Just two weeks before the election, doctors removed a 3-inch tumor from his brain.

Although Henry returned to Washington to be sworn in to the 103rd Congress on Jan. 5, he had been bedridden at his Grand Rapids Township home since late spring. Henry was 51.

A field of aspirants for Henry's heavily Republican 3rd District began taking shape the week of Aug. 2. As of press time, GOP Gov. John Engler had yet to set a date for the special primary and election, though GOP sources said they expect the special election to be held Nov. 2.

Popular Henry Tough To Label

Neither a rigid conservative nor a moderate, Henry defied ideological labels. A deeply religious man who did not hide his evangelical Christian beliefs, he tended more to win friends and respect with his integrity than to earn political allies through his independence.

Henry, a former Peace Corps volunteer, taught political science at Calvin College in Grand Rapids. In 1978, he was elected to the Michigan House; in 1982, he won a seat in the state Senate.

Two years later, he was elected to the House from the then-5th District to succeed GOP Rep. Harold S. Sawyer who retired. He had no trouble in his four re-election campaigns.

In Congress, Henry would strike tones that were at once eminently reasonable and somewhat self-righteous. His unfailingly thoughtful approach to issues was cited by members who eulogized him on the House and Senate floors. It also had caught the eye of political observers anticipating his statewide viability. Before his illness, Henry was widely mentioned as a chal-

lenger to Democratic Sen. Donald W. Riegle Jr. in 1994.

A Maverick From the Start

When he joined the House, some in the GOP wondered whether he would behave as a "real" Republican or would stray to the left.

Henry's actions in confronting his first major issue gave them little solace. Just two months into his first term, he voted against the MX missile, despite heavy pressure from Reagan White House lobbyists who portrayed the vote as a crucial test of party loyalty. Of the 31-member GOP freshman class, only two others bucked the president.

Throughout his career, Henry would continue to break ranks on some high-profile votes.

Although he was a longtime opponent of abortion, Henry nevertheless voted for legislation in the 102nd Congress that would have lifted the government's ban on fetal tissue research (as did some other strong abortion op-

ponents); President George Bush opposed lifting the ban.

In the 101st Congress, he split from Republicans to back civil rights legislation and to oppose a constitutional amendment to ban flag desecration. He was also one of the leading House proponents of a national bottle bill.

But Henry was no liberal. On the Education and Labor Committee, he generally voted with Republicans on labor issues. On other issues, Henry often sought to bridge the partisan gap.

Battle for Succession

The race to succeed Henry will be waged largely in the Republican primary. Politically, the Grand Rapids-based 3rd has changed little from when Gerald R. Ford represented the area.

The candidates considered most likely to run include state Rep. Ken Sikkema; businessman Glen Steil, who co-chaired the successful 1992 statewide ballot drive for state and federal term limits; Marge Byington, a state Commerce Department official; and Mike Maxfield, Kent County GOP chairman.

Others looking at the race include state Sen. Vern J. Ehlers, state Rep. Richard Bandstra and Henry aide Beth Bandstra (no relation). Republican National Committeeman Charles W. Yob said that Ehlers would be the favorite if he ran. ■

RESIGNATION

'Deficit Hawk' Penny To Quit

Rep. Timothy J. Penny, a Democratic "deficit hawk" from southeastern Minnesota, stunned the House on Aug. 6 by announcing that he will not run for re-election next year.

Penny reached the zenith of his political influence in this, his sixth term, as he helped moderate and conservative Democrats press their demands for budget cuts. After winning a pledge from President Clinton to seek more spending cuts this fall, Penny helped corral votes for the budget-reconciliation bill Aug. 5.

The next morning, an emotional Penny came to the House floor to announce that he would not run again.

"I have always said that nothing would make me more proud than to cast a vote for a tough budget-balancing package — one full of deep and

controversial program and entitlement cuts as well as tax increases — and then retire knowing I had done the right thing for the country," he said.

"The deficit-reduction program just adopted by the House, though certainly controversial, is far short of the plan I envisioned and well short of what is needed to balance the budget and restore economic growth."

Later, Penny said he made up his mind several weeks ago. "The bottom line is, I just don't want to stay forever," he said. "I've never adapted to Washington life. This is not my cup of tea."

Penny has made no secret over the years about his frustration with the workings of Congress. His career has revolved around efforts to balance the budget, frequently putting him in conflict with appropriators and the House Democratic leadership.

Penny said he plans to work in the private sector and will stay active in the Concord Coalition, an anti-deficit group founded in 1992 by former Sens. Warren B. Rudman, R-N.H., and Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass. ■

By Dave Kaplan

1992 ELECTION

District Vote for President

Listed below are the 1992 presidential election vote tallies for Bill Clinton, George Bush and Ross Perot within each congressional district in the 50 states.

The results, computed by Polidata with the assistance of Congressional Quarterly, are based on records provided by state, county and municipal election officials nationwide.

In some jurisdictions, precincts are split between two or more congressional districts and official records do not break out the presidential vote within the precincts. In those split precincts, the presidential vote has been estimated, extrapolating from each precinct's House election vote. Also, in some

jurisdictions with more than one House district, official records do not break out the absentee presidential vote by district. In those jurisdictions, the absentee presidential vote for each district has been estimated, extrapolating from the jurisdiction's total House absentee vote.

The entry for each district includes its current representative, the total number of votes cast for Clinton, Bush and Perot, and the vote tally and percentage for each candidate. The winner's percentage is in **boldface**. Due to rounding, percentages may not add to 100. Votes cast for other presidential candidates are not included in these computations.

District, Member	Votes cast	Clinton vote	Clinton %	Bush vote	Bush %	Perot vote	Perot %
Alabama							
1. Sonny Callahan, R	229,420	84,202	37	118,421	52	26,797	12
2. Terry Everett, R	234,199	82,550	35	124,272	53	27,377	12
3. Glen Browder, D	220,948	92,142	42	105,034	48	23,772	11
4. Tom Bevill, D	240,209	104,557	44	107,087	45	28,565	12
5. Robert E. "Bud" Cramer, D	249,298	102,124	41	110,256	44	36,918	15
6. Spencer Bachus, R	284,539	77,506	27	180,798	64	26,235	9
7. Earl F. Hilliard, D	218,801	146,955	67	58,365	27	13,481	6
Alaska							
AL Don Young, R	253,775	78,294	31	102,000	40	73,481	29
Arizona							
1. Sam Coppersmith, D	262,174	88,247	34	105,784	40	68,143	26
2. Ed Pastor, D	145,112	74,588	51	41,757	29	28,767	20
3. Bob Stump, R	269,256	86,060	32	109,840	41	73,356	27
4. Jon Kyl, R	276,531	86,922	31	118,927	43	70,682	26
5. Jim Kolbe, R	276,712	115,986	42	104,301	38	56,425	20
6. Karan English, D	239,092	91,247	38	91,477	38	56,368	24
Arkansas							
1. Blanche Lambert, D	222,861	131,585	59	71,160	32	20,116	9
2. Ray Thornton, D	234,705	130,435	56	84,922	36	19,348	8
3. Tim Hutchinson, R	252,453	109,111	43	107,351	43	35,991	14
4. Jay Dickey, R	232,260	134,692	58	73,891	32	23,677	10
California							
1. Dan Hamburg, D	255,248	119,491	47	74,597	29	61,160	24
2. Wally Herger, R	262,626	93,823	36	101,505	39	67,298	26
3. Vic Fazio, D	243,903	99,781	41	90,799	37	53,323	22
4. John T. Doolittle, R	287,716	97,501	34	117,155	41	73,060	25
5. Robert T. Matsui, D	236,705	120,577	51	73,562	31	42,566	18
6. Lynn Woolsey, D	301,785	169,301	56	71,564	24	60,920	20
7. George Miller, D	230,553	140,159	61	51,356	22	39,038	17
8. Nancy Pelosi, D	247,777	187,201	76	39,396	16	21,180	9
9. Ronald V. Dellums, D	237,315	186,714	79	29,394	12	21,207	9
10. Bill Baker, R	300,821	127,450	42	107,191	36	66,180	22
11. Richard W. Pombo, R	195,757	79,432	41	75,319	38	41,006	21
12. Tom Lantos, D	242,336	139,244	57	64,967	27	38,125	16
13. Pete Stark, D	214,955	116,829	54	55,100	26	43,026	20
14. Anna G. Eshoo, D	268,505	143,727	54	71,736	27	53,042	20
15. Norman Y. Mineta, D	274,553	127,060	46	83,301	30	64,192	23
16. Don Edwards, D	164,993	86,418	52	44,693	27	33,882	21
17. Sam Farr, D	212,244	111,937	53	57,990	27	42,317	20
18. Gary A. Condit, D	181,900	74,357	41	67,898	37	39,645	22
19. Richard H. Lehman, D	223,225	85,049	38	97,124	44	41,052	18
20. Cal Dooley, D	119,184	55,942	47	44,674	37	18,568	16
21. Bill Thomas, R	204,027	66,284	32	94,727	46	43,016	21
22. Michael Huffington, R	259,890	106,815	41	92,045	35	61,030	23

District, Member	Votes cast	Clinton vote	Clinton %	Bush vote	Bush %	Perot vote	Perot %
23. Elton Gallegly, R	214,896	82,613	38	74,106	34	58,177	27
24. Anthony C. Beilenson, D	265,925	128,572	48	79,728	30	57,625	22
25. Howard P. "Buck" McKeon, R	230,690	83,305	36	89,987	39	57,398	25
26. Howard L. Berman, D	127,853	72,673	57	31,013	24	24,167	19
27. Carlos J. Moorhead, R	221,114	98,057	44	80,986	37	42,071	19
28. David Dreier, R	219,225	82,958	38	90,644	41	45,623	21
29. Henry A. Waxman, D	276,374	183,233	66	55,924	20	37,217	13
30. Xavier Becerra, D	89,970	56,378	63	21,750	24	11,842	13
31. Matthew G. Martinez, D	115,315	59,616	52	37,250	32	18,449	16
32. Julian C. Dixon, D	189,140	147,623	78	23,956	13	17,561	9
33. Lucille Roybal-Allard, D	53,398	33,642	63	12,607	24	7,149	13
34. Esteban E. Torres, D	155,014	78,889	51	48,181	31	27,944	18
35. Maxine Waters, D	129,067	100,432	78	16,685	13	11,950	9
36. Jane Harman, D	269,118	111,014	41	95,646	36	62,458	23
37. Walter R. Tucker III, D	122,727	90,523	74	19,299	16	12,905	11
38. Steve Horn, R	198,971	88,728	45	66,647	33	43,596	22
39. Ed Royce, R	229,808	78,305	34	100,669	44	50,834	22
40. Jerry Lewis, R	216,771	76,363	35	86,453	40	53,955	25
41. Jay C. Kim, R	184,680	64,666	35	78,902	43	41,112	22
42. George E. Brown Jr., D	167,770	76,964	46	54,978	33	35,828	21
43. Ken Calvert, R	201,074	76,040	38	76,837	38	48,197	24
44. Al McCandless, R	214,819	87,180	41	76,772	36	50,867	24
45. Dana Rohrabacher, R	250,148	80,646	32	105,893	42	63,609	25
46. Robert K. Dornan, R	119,583	44,352	37	47,689	40	27,542	23
47. C. Christopher Cox, R	278,206	86,279	31	127,700	46	64,227	23
48. Ron Packard, R	246,182	71,621	29	108,581	44	65,980	27
49. Lynn Schenk, D	262,771	114,081	43	82,834	32	65,856	25
50. Bob Filner, D	142,643	69,546	49	42,830	30	30,267	21
51. Randy "Duke" Cunningham, R	268,920	86,870	32	108,470	40	73,580	27
52. Duncan Hunter, R	219,510	74,913	34	81,421	37	63,176	29
Colorado							
1. Patricia Schroeder, D	241,822	135,372	56	63,207	26	43,243	18
2. David E. Skaggs, D	272,882	123,341	45	82,991	30	66,550	24
3. Scott McInnis, R	266,845	107,330	40	92,314	35	67,201	25
4. Wayne Allard, R	254,386	93,922	37	97,062	38	63,402	25
5. Joel Hefley, R	253,785	70,671	28	125,664	50	57,450	23
6. Dan Schaefer, R	268,823	99,045	37	101,613	38	68,165	25
Connecticut							
1. Barbara B. Kennelly, D	267,926	133,686	50	82,086	31	52,154	19
2. Sam Gejdenson, D	265,445	113,553	43	79,110	30	72,782	27
3. Rosa DeLauro, D	271,395	121,163	45	96,085	35	54,147	20
4. Christopher Shays, R	259,996	109,122	42	110,072	42	40,802	16
5. Gary A. Franks, R	266,184	93,966	35	111,327	42	60,891	23
6. Nancy L. Johnson, R	278,456	110,828	40	99,633	36	67,995	24
Delaware							
AL Michael N. Castle, R	287,580	126,054	44	102,313	36	59,213	21
Florida							
1. Earl Hutto, D	230,245	59,247	26	117,712	51	53,286	23
2. Pete Peterson, D	240,191	101,623	42	91,760	38	46,808	19
3. Corrine Brown, D	162,927	93,384	57	49,288	30	20,255	12
4. Tillie Fowler, R	248,368	75,323	30	131,930	53	41,115	17
5. Karen L. Thurman, D	264,800	110,058	42	90,598	34	64,144	24
6. Cliff Stearns, R	238,644	74,349	31	113,029	47	51,266	21
7. John L. Mica, R	236,157	81,312	34	105,263	45	49,582	21
8. Bill McCollum, R	213,710	67,724	32	102,514	48	43,472	20
9. Michael Bilirakis, R	273,837	93,626	34	112,832	41	67,379	25
10. C.W. Bill Young, R	269,457	107,685	40	97,492	36	64,280	24
11. Sam M. Gibbons, D	201,820	82,898	41	79,126	39	39,796	20
12. Charles T. Canady, R	196,616	67,802	34	89,585	46	39,229	20
13. Dan Miller, R	290,518	100,950	35	124,271	43	65,297	22
14. Porter J. Goss, R	280,610	87,856	31	129,605	46	63,149	23
15. Jim Bacchus, D	271,113	83,679	31	117,685	43	69,749	26
16. Tom Lewis, R	274,499	97,621	36	108,426	39	68,452	25
17. Carrie Meek, D	133,734	99,539	74	24,721	18	9,474	7
18. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R	166,496	54,252	33	94,963	57	17,281	10
19. Harry A. Johnston, D	294,440	158,752	54	88,829	30	46,859	16

District, Member	Votes cast	Clinton vote	Clinton %	Bush vote	Bush %	Perot vote	Perot %
20. Peter Deutsch, D	249,018	116,547	47	83,626	34	48,845	20
21. Lincoln Diaz-Balart, R	146,404	45,561	31	85,342	58	15,501	11
22. E. Clay Shaw Jr., R	258,220	114,938	45	98,148	38	45,134	17
23. Alcee L. Hastings, D	153,255	96,629	63	34,659	23	21,967	14
Georgia							
1. Jack Kingston, R	193,275	75,066	39	89,692	46	28,517	15
2. Sanford D. Bishop Jr., D	161,419	96,648	60	47,307	29	17,464	11
3. Mac Collins, R	218,689	81,383	37	105,290	48	32,016	15
4. John Linder, R	251,634	101,990	41	116,418	46	33,226	13
5. John Lewis, D	207,571	140,270	68	52,087	25	15,214	7
6. Newt Gingrich, R	279,991	82,355	29	155,760	56	41,876	15
7. George "Buddy" Darden, D	200,375	77,103	38	93,175	47	30,097	15
8. J. Roy Rowland, D	209,440	83,332	40	94,018	45	32,090	15
9. Nathan Deal, D	201,959	70,969	35	98,184	49	32,806	16
10. Don Johnson, D	205,630	81,014	39	95,164	46	29,452	14
11. Cynthia McKinney, D	183,617	118,708	65	48,026	26	16,883	9
Hawaii							
1. Neil Abercrombie, D	183,226	87,632	48	72,156	39	23,438	13
2. Patsy T. Mink, D	185,823	91,630	49	64,635	35	29,558	16
Idaho							
1. Larry LaRocco, D	244,963	75,499	31	101,787	42	67,677	28
2. Michael D. Crapo, R	225,090	61,514	27	100,858	45	62,718	28
Illinois							
1. Bobby L. Rush, D	263,868	214,045	81	32,628	12	17,195	7
2. Mel Reynolds, D	243,494	194,796	80	31,730	13	16,968	7
3. William O. Lipinski, D	263,729	108,211	41	102,626	39	52,892	20
4. Luis V. Gutierrez, D	126,980	82,497	65	29,091	23	15,392	12
5. Dan Rostenkowski, D	243,729	124,437	51	80,139	33	39,153	16
6. Henry J. Hyde, R	261,041	86,444	33	121,863	47	52,734	20
7. Cardiss Collins, D	235,772	184,383	78	35,437	15	15,952	7
8. Philip M. Crane, R	249,310	76,327	31	118,714	48	54,269	22
9. Sidney R. Yates, D	253,302	155,503	61	68,485	27	29,314	12
10. John Edward Porter, R	261,269	108,149	41	112,401	43	40,719	16
11. George E. Sangmeister, D	248,732	108,447	44	90,085	36	50,200	20
12. Jerry F. Costello, D	244,597	132,556	54	69,850	29	42,191	17
13. Harris W. Fawell, R	275,076	88,324	32	128,627	47	58,125	21
14. Dennis Hastert, R	241,719	83,107	34	105,698	44	52,914	22
15. Thomas W. Ewing, R	253,593	107,962	43	98,372	39	47,259	19
16. Donald Manzullo, R	260,220	95,102	37	108,949	42	56,169	22
17. Lane Evans, D	265,292	124,173	47	95,553	36	45,566	17
18. Robert H. Michel, R	277,510	116,864	42	113,656	41	46,990	17
19. Glenn Poshard, D	277,820	131,483	47	95,672	34	50,665	18
20. Richard J. Durbin, D	280,739	130,383	46	94,532	34	55,824	20
Indiana							
1. Peter J. Visclosky, D	222,665	117,126	53	68,403	31	37,136	17
2. Philip R. Sharp, D	233,680	81,915	35	101,341	43	50,424	22
3. Tim Roemer, D	215,549	82,483	38	91,708	43	41,358	19
4. Jill L. Long, D	221,636	69,292	31	102,779	46	49,565	22
5. Steve Buyer, R	226,365	70,893	31	103,118	46	52,354	23
6. Dan Burton, R	269,169	61,171	23	153,280	57	54,718	20
7. John T. Myers, R	223,502	70,699	32	103,700	46	49,103	22
8. Frank McCloskey, D	243,948	103,697	43	97,070	40	43,181	18
9. Lee H. Hamilton, D	240,377	98,063	41	97,441	41	44,873	19
10. Andrew Jacobs Jr., D	196,201	92,514	47	70,458	36	33,229	17
Iowa							
1. Jim Leach, R	277,298	128,655	46	95,660	34	52,983	19
2. Jim Nussle, R	270,512	120,228	44	95,005	35	55,279	20
3. Jim Ross Lightfoot, R	264,038	120,495	46	96,515	37	47,028	18
4. Neal Smith, D	273,443	117,863	43	107,745	39	47,835	17
5. Fred Grandy, R	259,421	99,112	38	109,966	42	50,343	19
Kansas							
1. Pat Roberts, R	290,095	81,526	28	123,019	42	85,550	29
2. Jim Slattery, D	273,126	98,527	36	98,999	36	75,600	28
3. Jan Meyers, R	306,557	116,729	38	114,220	37	75,608	25

District, Member	Votes cast	Clinton vote	Clinton %	Bush vote	Bush %	Perot vote	Perot %
4. Dan Glickman, D	282,965	93,652	33	113,713	40	75,600	27
Kentucky							
1. Tom Barlow, D	244,108	116,637	48	96,602	40	30,869	13
2. William H. Natcher, D	239,486	98,955	41	107,339	45	33,192	14
3. Romano L. Mazzoli, D	285,246	143,824	50	105,520	37	35,902	13
4. Jim Bunning, R	241,468	94,335	39	106,695	44	40,438	17
5. Harold Rogers, R	229,310	109,591	48	95,831	42	23,888	10
6. Scotty Baesler, D	246,608	101,762	41	105,191	43	39,655	16
Louisiana							
1. Robert L. Livingston, R	276,802	86,886	31	155,422	56	34,494	12
2. William J. Jefferson, D	221,710	153,342	69	54,555	25	13,813	6
3. W. J. "Billy" Tauzin, D	257,595	115,406	45	105,989	41	36,200	14
4. Cleo Fields, D	220,705	150,000	68	54,230	25	16,475	7
5. Jim McCrery, R	258,719	95,048	37	127,134	49	36,537	14
6. Richard H. Baker, R	263,628	92,040	35	135,915	52	35,673	14
7. Jimmy Hayes, D	261,673	123,248	47	100,140	38	38,285	15
Maine							
1. Thomas H. Andrews, D	363,716	145,191	40	115,697	32	102,828	28
2. Olympia J. Snowe, R	313,028	118,229	38	90,807	29	103,992	33
Maryland							
1. Wayne T. Gilchrest, R	249,392	93,165	37	109,039	44	47,188	19
2. Helen Delich Bentley, R	272,022	98,267	36	121,087	45	52,668	19
3. Benjamin L. Cardin, D	254,296	136,829	54	82,494	32	34,973	14
4. Albert R. Wynn, D	201,138	149,262	74	37,716	19	14,160	7
5. Steny H. Hoyer, D	240,415	107,618	45	95,356	40	37,441	16
6. Roscoe G. Bartlett, R	260,066	88,196	34	125,494	48	46,376	18
7. Kweisi Mfume, D	204,631	159,191	78	32,431	16	13,009	6
8. Constance A. Morella, R	295,119	156,043	53	103,477	35	35,599	12
Massachusetts							
1. John W. Olver, D	271,098	130,311	48	72,246	27	68,541	25
2. Richard E. Neal, D	263,918	121,750	46	76,244	29	65,924	25
3. Peter I. Blute, R	271,207	122,900	45	84,711	31	63,596	23
4. Barney Frank, D	282,472	144,352	51	75,080	27	63,040	22
5. Martin T. Meehan, D	268,610	112,959	42	85,260	32	70,391	26
6. Peter G. Torkildsen, R	307,174	134,424	44	96,857	32	75,893	25
7. Edward J. Markey, D	299,499	150,102	50	87,432	29	61,965	21
8. Joseph P. Kennedy II, D	201,369	136,582	68	39,284	20	25,503	13
9. Joe Moakley, D	274,129	131,539	48	85,981	31	56,609	21
10. Gerry E. Studds, D	316,503	133,776	42	101,936	32	80,791	26
Michigan							
1. Bart Stupak, D	285,215	118,879	42	100,997	35	65,339	23
2. Peter Hoekstra, R	280,608	95,342	34	127,008	45	58,258	21
3. Paul B. Henry, R	276,177	94,721	34	128,677	47	52,779	19
4. Dave Camp, R	276,046	104,709	38	103,464	37	67,873	25
5. James A. Barcia, D	264,214	118,699	45	84,525	32	60,990	23
6. Fred Upton, R	253,550	100,683	40	97,200	38	55,667	22
7. Nick Smith, R	255,949	96,940	38	96,336	38	62,673	24
8. Bob Carr, D	289,362	117,654	41	103,725	36	67,983	23
9. Dale E. Kildee, D	265,211	117,872	44	92,262	35	55,077	21
10. David E. Bonior, D	277,363	100,587	36	115,849	42	60,927	22
11. Joe Knollenberg, R	317,058	117,274	37	149,109	47	50,675	16
12. Sander M. Levin, D	283,639	119,055	42	115,065	41	49,519	17
13. William D. Ford, D	255,557	125,913	49	86,769	34	42,875	17
14. John Conyers Jr., D	221,544	180,007	81	28,937	13	12,600	6
15. Barbara-Rose Collins, D	178,791	144,092	81	26,421	15	8,278	5
16. John D. Dingell, D	269,010	118,079	44	97,968	36	52,963	20
Minnesota							
1. Timothy J. Penny, D	283,440	109,829	39	98,384	35	75,227	27
2. David Minge, D	281,072	103,447	37	98,015	35	79,610	28
3. Jim Ramstad, R	327,023	129,171	39	117,975	36	79,877	24
4. Bruce F. Vento, D	287,097	148,046	52	79,690	28	59,361	21
5. Martin Olav Sabo, D	288,387	167,941	58	68,072	24	52,374	18
6. Rod Grams, R	303,250	119,847	40	101,495	33	81,908	27

District, Member	Votes cast	Clinton vote	Clinton %	Bush vote	Bush %	Perot vote	Perot %
7. Collin C. Peterson, D	271,593	104,359	38	103,624	38	63,610	23
8. James L. Oberstar, D	289,482	138,357	48	80,586	28	70,539	24
Mississippi							
1. Jamie L. Whitten, D	204,426	84,555	41	101,889	50	17,982	9
2. Bennie Thompson, D	181,207	105,052	58	66,350	37	9,805	5
3. G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery, D	200,489	67,645	34	116,689	58	16,155	8
4. Mike Parker, D	203,499	84,089	41	102,666	50	16,744	8
5. Gene Taylor, D	183,974	58,905	32	100,128	54	24,941	14
Missouri							
1. William L. Clay, D	236,360	161,794	68	44,980	19	29,586	13
2. James M. Talent, R	314,628	114,792	36	126,788	40	73,048	23
3. Richard A. Gephardt, D	272,783	120,866	44	87,406	32	64,511	24
4. Ike Skelton, D	256,934	94,951	37	96,752	38	65,231	25
5. Alan Wheat, D	258,198	134,932	52	67,503	26	55,763	22
6. Pat Danner, D	274,254	110,064	40	89,005	32	75,185	27
7. Mel Hancock, R	264,262	96,621	37	118,817	45	48,824	18
8. Bill Emerson, R	240,654	109,858	46	89,238	37	41,558	17
9. Harold L. Volkmer, D	265,696	109,995	41	90,669	34	65,032	24
Montana							
AL Pat Williams, D	405,939	154,507	38	144,207	36	107,225	26
Nebraska							
1. Doug Bereuter, R	247,771	80,700	33	107,092	43	59,979	24
2. Peter Hoagland, D	242,593	78,697	32	115,244	48	48,652	20
3. Bill Barrett, R	244,282	57,467	24	121,342	50	65,473	27
Nevada							
1. James Bilbray, D	225,445	98,801	44	70,586	31	56,058	25
2. Barbara F. Vucanovich, R	272,111	90,347	33	105,242	39	76,522	28
New Hampshire							
1. Bill Zeliff, R	267,639	101,415	38	104,653	39	61,571	23
2. Dick Swett, D	265,222	107,625	41	97,831	37	59,766	23
New Jersey							
1. Robert E. Andrews, D	244,312	118,060	48	78,095	32	48,157	20
2. William J. Hughes, D	250,284	101,718	41	97,696	39	50,870	20
3. H. James Saxton, R	283,075	114,503	40	113,583	40	54,989	19
4. Christopher H. Smith, R	266,010	105,335	40	109,907	41	50,768	19
5. Marge Roukema, R	294,403	99,733	34	146,004	50	48,666	17
6. Frank Pallone Jr., D	250,864	110,821	44	98,397	39	41,646	17
7. Bob Franks, R	282,146	115,846	41	125,592	45	40,708	14
8. Herb Klein, D	235,075	107,304	46	99,974	43	27,797	12
9. Robert G. Torricelli, D	256,781	122,676	48	102,578	40	31,527	12
10. Donald M. Payne, D	176,706	125,922	71	35,930	20	14,854	8
11. Dean A. Gallo, R	297,846	97,697	33	153,731	52	46,418	16
12. Dick Zimmer, R	302,575	121,447	40	130,651	43	50,477	17
13. Robert Menendez, D	174,782	95,144	54	64,727	37	14,911	9
New Mexico							
1. Steven H. Schiff, R	209,755	95,677	46	81,046	39	33,032	16
2. Joe Skeen, R	171,182	70,646	41	68,754	40	31,782	19
3. Bill Richardson, D	185,399	95,294	51	63,024	34	27,081	15
New York							
1. George J. Hochbrueckner, D	252,178	96,890	38	101,160	40	54,128	21
2. Rick A. Lazio, R	228,795	91,430	40	92,762	41	44,603	19
3. Peter T. King, R	287,738	126,112	44	121,176	42	40,450	14
4. David A. Levy, R	256,439	119,947	47	106,016	41	30,476	12
5. Gary L. Ackerman, D	250,156	131,095	52	88,586	35	30,475	12
6. Floyd H. Flake, D	152,443	115,253	76	27,855	18	9,335	6
7. Thomas J. Manton, D	164,704	91,803	56	57,783	35	15,118	9
8. Jerrold Nadler, D	218,835	169,005	77	37,614	17	12,216	6
9. Charles E. Schumer, D	205,601	121,110	59	66,917	33	17,574	9
10. Edolphus Towns, D	150,094	125,206	83	19,177	13	5,711	4
11. Major R. Owens, D	120,303	104,678	87	11,709	10	3,916	3
12. Nydia M. Velázquez, D	97,857	67,114	69	25,622	26	5,121	5

District, Member	Votes cast	Clinton vote	Clinton %	Bush vote	Bush %	Perot vote	Perot %
13. Susan Molinari, R	209,874	82,796	39	100,761	48	26,317	13
14. Carolyn B. Maloney, D	229,844	159,750	70	53,675	23	16,419	7
15. Charles B. Rangel, D	144,909	124,594	86	15,589	11	4,726	3
16. Jose E. Serrano, D	123,478	100,602	81	18,834	15	4,042	3
17. Eliot L. Engel, D	158,364	120,286	76	30,133	19	7,945	5
18. Nita M. Lowey, D	234,710	117,937	50	94,754	40	22,019	9
19. Hamilton Fish Jr., R	260,003	104,950	40	109,965	42	45,088	17
20. Benjamin A. Gilman, R	260,412	116,294	45	107,107	41	37,011	14
21. Michael R. McNulty, D	290,431	140,251	48	99,094	34	51,086	18
22. Gerald B. H. Solomon, R	278,759	99,988	36	116,238	42	62,533	22
23. Sherwood Boehlert, R	247,948	92,549	37	99,497	40	55,902	23
24. John M. McHugh, R	225,972	85,078	38	86,357	38	54,537	24
25. James T. Walsh, R	262,049	108,334	41	95,476	36	58,239	22
26. Maurice D. Hinchey, D	261,036	116,525	45	91,625	35	52,886	20
27. Bill Paxon, R	273,347	90,194	33	115,432	42	67,721	25
28. Louise M. Slaughter, D	271,066	119,055	44	103,544	38	48,467	18
29. John J. LaFalce, D	260,491	103,528	40	86,732	33	70,231	27
30. Jack Quinn, R	260,620	119,115	46	68,172	26	73,333	28
31. Amo Houghton, R	242,731	82,959	34	97,447	40	62,325	26

North Carolina

1. Eva Clayton, D	182,464	111,398	61	53,026	29	18,040	10
2. Tim Valentine, D	214,701	85,542	40	98,516	46	30,643	14
3. H. Martin Lancaster, D	191,900	74,639	39	89,038	46	28,223	15
4. David Price, D	271,025	126,616	47	105,555	39	38,854	14
5. Stephen L. Neal, D	227,468	97,821	43	99,087	44	30,560	13
6. Howard Coble, R	234,784	75,652	32	120,684	51	38,448	16
7. Charlie Rose, D	163,016	70,664	43	70,136	43	22,216	14
8. W. G. "Bill" Hefner, D	194,474	81,697	42	85,758	44	27,019	14
9. Alex McMillan, R	248,994	80,953	33	131,335	53	36,706	15
10. Cass Ballenger, R	238,634	76,021	32	127,067	53	35,546	15
11. Charles H. Taylor, R	244,093	105,064	43	104,383	43	34,646	14
12. Melvin Watt, D	193,982	127,941	66	49,105	25	16,936	9

North Dakota

AL Earl Pomeroy, D	306,496	99,168	32	136,244	44	71,084	23
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Ohio

1. David Mann, D	243,364	104,494	43	104,339	43	34,531	14
2. Rob Portman, R	277,061	78,957	28	146,098	53	52,006	19
3. Tony P. Hall, D	259,824	107,798	41	104,414	40	47,612	18
4. Michael G. Oxley, R	254,963	77,918	31	118,088	46	58,957	23
5. Paul E. Gillmor, R	263,551	87,883	33	109,020	41	66,648	25
6. Ted Strickland, D	248,726	98,768	40	100,162	40	49,796	20
7. David L. Hobson, R	250,678	84,111	34	112,517	45	54,050	22
8. John A. Boehner, R	255,973	75,189	29	120,847	47	59,937	23
9. Marcy Kaptur, D	250,854	118,818	47	81,881	33	50,155	20
10. Martin R. Hoke, R	258,404	107,460	42	92,849	36	58,095	22
11. Louis Stokes, D	231,180	169,877	73	37,880	16	23,423	10
12. John R. Kasich, R	259,748	104,187	40	108,618	42	46,943	18
13. Sherrod Brown, D	266,379	101,104	38	94,651	36	70,624	27
14. Tom Sawyer, D	261,085	119,144	46	81,603	31	60,338	23
15. Deborah Pryce, R	267,395	95,627	36	119,355	45	52,413	20
16. Ralph Regula, R	254,970	95,193	37	98,953	39	60,824	24
17. James A. Traficant Jr., D	266,566	133,213	50	68,417	26	64,936	24
18. Douglas Applegate, D	256,501	110,494	43	87,429	34	58,578	23
19. Eric D. Fingerhut, D	287,736	114,357	40	106,950	37	66,429	23

Oklahoma

1. James M. Inhofe, R	247,772	73,495	30	122,189	49	52,088	21
2. Mike Synar, D	226,992	96,510	43	81,375	36	49,107	22
3. Bill Brewster, D	227,791	94,763	42	77,054	34	55,974	25
4. Dave McCurdy, D	217,001	72,613	33	90,467	42	53,921	25
5. Ernest Jim Istook Jr., R	250,988	61,842	25	129,465	52	59,681	24
6. Glenn English, D	215,328	73,843	34	92,379	43	49,106	23

Oregon

1. Elizabeth Furse, D	309,068	136,630	44	99,304	32	73,134	24
2. Bob Smith, R	279,050	97,672	35	106,839	38	74,539	27
3. Ron Wyden, D	278,073	146,835	53	72,338	26	58,900	21
4. Peter A. DeFazio, D	291,723	123,387	42	93,889	32	74,447	26

District, Member	Votes cast	Clinton vote	Clinton %	Bush vote	Bush %	Perot vote	Perot %
5. Mike Kopetski, D	293,248	116,790	40	103,387	35	73,071	25
Pennsylvania							
1. Thomas M. Foglietta, D	205,762	149,699	73	39,042	19	17,021	8
2. Lucien E. Blackwell, D	230,630	184,284	80	31,836	14	14,510	6
3. Robert A. Borski, D	240,035	124,944	52	75,474	31	39,617	17
4. Ron Klink, D	245,541	118,701	48	76,193	31	50,647	21
5. William F. Clinger, R	215,515	78,049	36	89,373	41	48,093	22
6. Tim Holden, D	218,324	78,326	36	89,791	41	50,207	23
7. Curt Weldon, R	285,274	111,518	39	123,954	43	49,802	17
8. James C. Greenwood, R	257,160	101,630	40	99,269	39	56,261	22
9. Bud Shuster, R	204,905	66,929	33	97,772	48	40,204	20
10. Joseph M. McDade, R	230,848	88,150	38	95,820	42	46,878	20
11. Paul E. Kanjorski, D	218,834	91,671	42	84,203	38	42,960	20
12. John P. Murtha, D	220,300	102,777	47	72,671	33	44,852	20
13. Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, D	271,133	119,042	44	107,811	40	44,280	16
14. William J. Coyne, D	249,895	145,419	58	66,016	26	38,460	15
15. Paul McHale, D	221,452	92,363	42	81,349	37	47,740	22
16. Robert S. Walker, R	225,035	72,719	32	109,037	48	43,279	19
17. George W. Gekas, R	230,355	73,654	32	115,598	50	41,103	18
18. Rick Santorum, R	265,056	137,507	52	80,795	30	46,754	18
19. Bill Goodling, R	222,462	74,445	33	104,258	47	43,759	20
20. Austin J. Murphy, D	239,866	121,815	51	69,802	29	48,249	20
21. Tom Ridge, R	234,464	105,538	45	81,003	35	47,923	20
Rhode Island							
1. Ronald K. Machtley, R	216,446	107,702	50	61,011	28	47,733	22
2. Jack Reed, D	233,499	105,597	45	70,590	30	57,312	25
South Carolina							
1. Arthur Ravenel Jr., R	191,418	62,513	33	102,194	53	26,711	14
2. Floyd D. Spence, R	227,678	82,964	36	119,122	52	25,592	11
3. Butler Derrick, D	198,432	69,365	35	102,458	52	26,609	13
4. Bob Inglis, R	197,211	65,092	33	107,983	55	24,136	12
5. John M. Spratt Jr., D	190,605	81,197	43	85,971	45	23,437	12
6. James E. Clyburn, D	190,515	118,394	62	59,799	31	12,322	6
South Dakota							
AL Tim Johnson, D	334,901	124,888	37	136,718	41	73,295	22
Tennessee							
1. James H. Quillen, R	206,850	75,681	37	106,939	52	24,230	12
2. John J. "Jimmy" Duncan Jr., R	226,194	92,889	41	108,109	48	25,196	11
3. Marilyn Lloyd, D	220,446	97,296	44	97,361	44	25,789	12
4. Jim Cooper, D	208,052	100,292	48	83,922	40	23,838	11
5. Bob Clement, D	213,724	112,795	53	79,398	37	21,531	10
6. Bart Gordon, D	231,082	109,895	48	93,036	40	28,151	12
7. Don Sundquist, R	228,674	91,644	40	114,544	50	22,486	10
8. John Tanner, D	210,189	101,328	48	89,533	43	19,328	9
9. Harold E. Ford, D	229,348	151,590	66	68,358	30	9,400	4
Texas							
1. Jim Chapman, D	220,760	85,745	39	84,516	38	50,499	23
2. Charles Wilson, D	215,237	91,698	43	76,372	35	47,167	22
3. Sam Johnson, R	276,247	58,352	21	133,807	48	84,088	30
4. Ralph M. Hall, D	230,424	65,617	28	95,181	41	69,626	30
5. John Bryant, D	175,036	70,766	40	59,237	34	45,033	26
6. Joe L. Barton, R	275,495	67,131	24	125,693	46	82,671	30
7. Bill Archer, R	239,243	52,501	22	137,541	57	49,201	21
8. Jack Fields, R	245,256	55,330	23	134,583	55	55,343	23
9. Jack Brooks, D	227,190	98,959	44	80,813	36	47,418	21
10. J. J. Pickle, D	267,677	128,813	48	84,560	32	54,304	20
11. Chet Edwards, D	184,537	66,521	36	75,651	41	42,365	23
12. Pete Geren, D	203,568	75,792	37	71,212	35	56,564	28
13. Bill Sarpalius, D	202,135	73,454	36	87,492	43	41,189	20
14. Greg Laughlin, D	212,051	78,776	37	86,178	41	47,097	22
15. E. "Kika" de la Garza, D	152,237	80,085	53	52,080	34	20,072	13
16. Ronald D. Coleman, D	129,760	65,614	51	45,367	35	18,779	14
17. Charles W. Stenholm, D	215,712	73,388	34	86,490	40	55,834	26

District, Member	Votes cast	Clinton vote	Clinton %	Bush vote	Bush %	Perot vote	Perot %
18. Craig Washington, D	178,881	118,349	66	40,150	22	20,382	11
19. Larry Combest, R	217,522	50,815	23	130,639	60	36,068	17
20. Henry B. Gonzalez, D	168,320	81,380	48	57,974	34	28,966	17
21. Lamar Smith, R	277,398	70,402	25	143,720	52	63,276	23
22. Tom DeLay, R	230,521	63,175	27	116,614	51	50,732	22
23. Henry Bonilla, R	171,875	72,452	42	70,577	41	28,846	17
24. Martin Frost, D	179,850	73,019	41	60,020	33	46,811	26
25. Michael A. Andrews, D	182,710	85,325	47	64,896	36	32,489	18
26. Dick Armey, R	252,883	52,771	21	118,610	47	81,502	32
27. Solomon P. Ortiz, D	164,684	78,491	48	58,802	36	27,391	17
28. Frank Tejeda, D	172,605	94,112	55	51,293	30	27,200	16
29. Gene Green, D	104,728	54,424	52	31,864	30	18,440	18
30. Eddie Bernice Johnson, D	156,623	98,031	63	33,514	21	25,078	16
Utah							
1. James V. Hansen, R	235,133	50,622	22	115,627	49	68,884	29
2. Karen Shepherd, D	258,323	81,233	31	101,169	39	75,921	29
3. Bill Orton, D	216,005	51,574	24	105,836	49	58,595	27
Vermont							
AL Bernard Sanders, I	287,705	133,592	46	88,122	31	65,991	23
Virginia							
1. Herbert H. Bateman, R	241,264	81,826	34	120,131	50	39,307	16
2. Owen B. Pickett, D	179,306	62,946	35	85,773	48	30,587	17
3. Robert C. Scott, D	190,479	124,857	66	48,843	26	16,779	9
4. Norman Sisisky, D	228,500	90,641	40	106,392	47	31,467	14
5. Lewis F. Payne Jr., D	221,983	90,769	41	104,236	47	26,978	12
6. Robert W. Goodlatte, R	224,649	84,037	37	111,405	50	29,207	13
7. Thomas J. Bliley Jr., R	282,656	85,357	30	154,575	55	42,724	15
8. James P. Moran, D	258,949	133,183	51	96,799	37	28,967	11
9. Rick Boucher, D	219,448	99,099	45	93,673	43	26,676	12
10. Frank R. Wolf, R	249,225	83,214	33	124,783	50	41,228	17
11. Leslie L. Byrne, D	241,347	102,721	43	103,907	43	34,719	14
Washington							
1. Maria Cantwell, D	274,068	112,353	41	88,456	32	73,259	27
2. Al Swift, D	266,270	109,438	41	87,957	33	68,875	26
3. Jolene Unsoeld, D	249,008	104,748	42	82,647	33	61,613	25
4. Jay Inslee, D	205,096	71,848	35	87,996	43	45,252	22
5. Thomas S. Foley, D	246,442	99,676	40	90,294	37	56,472	23
6. Norm Dicks, D	244,489	106,373	44	77,538	32	60,578	25
7. Jim McDermott, D	291,426	191,781	66	54,478	19	45,167	15
8. Jennifer Dunn, R	267,659	102,857	38	92,276	34	72,526	27
9. Mike Kreidler, D	221,594	93,963	42	69,592	31	58,039	26
West Virginia							
1. Alan B. Mollohan, D	245,743	113,756	46	86,131	35	45,856	19
2. Bob Wise, D	231,445	104,257	45	90,375	39	36,813	16
3. Nick J. Rahall II, D	204,616	112,988	55	65,468	32	26,160	13
Wisconsin							
1. Peter W. Barca, D	266,967	109,790	41	94,712	35	62,465	23
2. Scott L. Klug, R	296,260	149,340	50	94,368	32	52,552	18
3. Steve Gunderson, R	278,126	120,261	43	90,731	33	67,134	24
4. Gerald D. Kleczka, D	283,774	116,048	41	108,463	38	59,263	21
5. Thomas M. Barrett, D	251,120	142,047	57	76,935	31	32,138	13
6. Tom Petri, R	281,398	97,248	35	114,698	41	69,452	25
7. David R. Obey, D	277,999	117,203	42	93,238	34	67,558	24
8. Toby Roth, R	285,994	101,493	35	115,128	40	69,373	24
9. F. James Sensenbrenner Jr., R	295,302	88,176	30	142,582	48	64,544	22
Wyoming							
AL Craig Thomas, R	198,770	68,160	34	79,347	40	51,263	26

SECTION NOTES

S 612 Would Allow Phone Users To Block Caller ID

Without debate, the Senate Judiciary Committee on Aug. 3 approved legislation by voice vote that would require all states allowing Caller ID to also require telephone companies to provide free services enabling customers to prevent their phone numbers from being revealed.

The bill (S 612), which is similar to draft legislation pending in the House Energy and Commerce Telecommunications Subcommittee, would amend the federal wiretapping laws to ensure that Caller ID — a telephone service that identifies the phone number of incoming calls — is legal. The legislation also provides that telephone users have the option of blocking their numbers from appearing on the receiving machines. (1992 *Almanac*, p. 191)

Supporters of the legislation point to a variety of situations in which callers would wish to keep a number private, including victims of domestic abuse who call home from shelters and police officials working undercover.

Backers also maintain that there are other phone services, such as Call Trace or Call Return, that are more effective ways of stopping harassing calls.

Park Concession Bill's Chances Perk Up in the Senate

A compromise proposal aimed at changing the management of national parks concessions has found new support in the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, increasing its chances of moving this year.

Senators were scheduled Aug. 3 to mark up a bill (S 208) sponsored by Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests. But adjournment-week time conflicts forced Bumpers to request a postponement.

The Bumpers bill has been repeatedly criticized by Wyoming's Malcolm Wallop, the ranking member of the Energy Committee, and other Republicans as lacking "business sense." But Robert F. Bennett, R-Utah, said Aug. 3 that he is willing to work with Bumpers to draft a compromise bill.



Bumpers



Bennett

"We need to restructure the whole policy," Bennett said. "But it needs something other than the Bumpers bill."

The key provision in Bumpers' bill would open up concession contracts at national parks to competitive bidding procedures. The bill also would end the practice of giving concessioners the perpetual right to renew contracts.

There is wide disagreement with a provision in S 208 that would repeal a section in the current law that gives concessioners a financial stake in any capital improvements they make at a national park. If a contract is terminated under current law, the government must pay the concessioner the replacement costs of any structure, even if it has depreciated in value over the years. Bumpers' bill would take into consideration the declining value of any capital improvement.

Bill Would Let NASA Employees Take Early Retirement

The House on Aug. 6 passed a bill to allow NASA employees to take early retirement. The bill (HR 2876, previously HR 2800) was approved Aug. 4 by the House Science Committee and cleared by leaders of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

The bill would authorize "buyout" options of \$25,000 to more than 1,000 space agency employees working on the space station *Freedom*. (*Weekly Report*, p. 2046)

Bill Would Let Satellite Carriers Continue Beaming Networks

The House Judiciary Subcommittee on Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration gave voice vote approval Aug. 5 to legislation (HR 1103) that would extend the right of

satellite carriers to transmit, without permission, network programming.

These carriers are companies that lease space on a satellite in order to beam programming to viewers with satellite dishes, many of whom are in rural areas.

The Satellite Home Viewer Act of 1988 granted transmission rights to carriers through 1994. The measure would have extended these rights through 1998, but the subcommittee gave voice vote approval to an amendment offered by Hamilton Fish Jr., R-N.Y., that would extend the transmission rights one more year.

HR 1103 would require arbitration to set the cost for satellite carriers of transmitting network signals. Currently, carriers pay broadcasters for each person they serve in an area where the broadcast signal is not received.

D.C. Statehood Measure Advances in House

A bill that would make the District of Columbia the 51st state took one step forward Aug. 5 when a House District of Columbia subcommittee voted, 5-2, to send it to the full committee. Under the bill (HR 51), procedures are outlined for admission of the new state, which would be called New Columbia.

The Judiciary and Education Subcommittee chairwoman, Eleanor Holmes Norton, D-D.C., acknowledged that in considering statehood for the District of Columbia, "what you see is a state that has no characteristics of any other state." But she added that something must be done about the fact that D.C. residents do not have full representation. "There are 600,000 people left in the nether world of democracy."

The panel's ranking Republican, Dana Rohrabacher, Calif., said D.C. residents should get beyond the idea of statehood because it "is not a reality" and focus on other solutions. He said he supports the idea of retrocession, under which D.C. would be returned to the state of Maryland.

The full committee is expected to take up the bill after the August recess, and Norton said she intends to ask for a floor vote on D.C. statehood sometime this fall.

EDUCATION

Pared Funding Speeds Passage Of National Service

The House adopted the conference report on President Clinton's priority National and Community Service program Aug. 6, moving one more item close to the president's win column.

The House approved the report 275-152 on the last day before the August recess, and the Senate was expected to follow suit. Clinton repeatedly touted the virtues of a National Service program during his 1992 presidential campaign.

The measure (HR 2010) moved with lightning speed throughout the week after previously being snarled in a Senate filibuster. First, the Senate passed the bill Aug. 3 by a vote of 58-41. House and Senate conferees resolved their differences over funding and approved a final version Aug. 4. Clinton was expected to sign it soon after it cleared the Senate.

The National Service program would give awards of up to \$4,725 a year for no more than two years to individuals age 17 or older who performed community service before, during or after their postsecondary education. Local programs would offer stipends to participants of up to \$7,400 a year, with the federal government providing 85 percent of the stipend. The federal government also would provide up to 85 percent of the cost of health- and child-care benefits.

Nonprofit organizations, including institutions of higher education, local governments, school districts and state or federal agencies, would run the individual programs. Young people could work in such positions as nurse's aides in hospitals or helpers in police departments, or in environmental jobs in national parks.

Eli J. Segal, the director of the Office of National Service in the White House, sat in on the House-Senate



Backed by, left to right, Wofford, Durenberger and Jeffords, Kennedy takes the microphone Aug. 3 to whip up bipartisan support for National Service.

R. MICHAEL JENKINS

vice, "It was hard to find too much opposition to the concept."

But when the legislation reached the floors of the House and Senate, it ran into a wall of Republicans worried about spending too much money on the program. Many were concerned that the funding would come at the expense of federal student aid programs that award money based on need.

Nevertheless, Segal said he had hoped the bill would reach Clinton in July and was thrilled with its progress in August. He also said the changes made to satisfy critics "are so small as to be non-existent."

BOXSCORE

Bill: HR 2010 — H Rept 103-219: National Service.

Latest action: The House adopted the conference report, 275-152, on Aug. 6 and the Senate was expected to clear it. The Senate passed the bill, 58-41, on Aug. 3.

Next likely action: President Clinton's signature.

Background: The bill would give education awards of up to \$4,725 a year for two years to individuals who perform community service before, during or after college or trade school.

Reference: Weekly Report, pp. 2055, 1959, 1577, 1233, 1091.

conference. "We're one step closer," he said when it was all over. "Now we have to design a program that's going to work."

Segal said that six months ago, when he began meeting with members of Congress to discuss National Ser-

Senate Passage

The Senate voted 58-41 to pass the National Service bill, picking up seven Republicans and losing four Democrats. The delay in bringing the bill to a vote occurred when Republicans threatened to filibuster the measure because they said it would cost too much money to put 150,000 young people to work. (*Vote 231, p. 2193*)

Republican opponents defeated a cloture motion July 29 when Democrats failed by one vote to get the 60 needed to cut off debate. Democrats dropped a second scheduled cloture vote July 30 when Republicans backed down because at least five GOP members said they would go along with the Democrats.

While Democrats were united in their attempts to stop the filibuster and pass the bill, four members in their ranks voted against final passage: Robert C. Byrd, W.Va.; Ernest F. Hollings, S.C.; and Jim Exon and Bob Kerrey, both of Nebraska.

On the other side, four more Republicans joined the three who initially voted for cloture to pass the bill. The four were: Mark O. Hatfield, Ore.; Kay Bailey Hutchison, Texas; Arlen Specter, Pa.; and Ted Stevens, Alaska.

By Jill Zuckman

The three who voted for cloture and final passage were: John H. Chafee, R.I.; Dave Durenberger, Minn.; and James M. Jeffords, Vt.

Segal said the close vote reflected members' continuing concern about costs. "Right to the end, there was some anxiety about the program," he said.

To win passage, Democrats pared the measure by placing caps on spending of \$300 million in fiscal 1994, \$500 million in fiscal 1995 and \$700 million in fiscal 1996. That would cut the maximum number of service workers to about 100,000 from 150,000, Senate aides said.

But senators said the slower rate of growth would not harm the initiative.

"National Service is what the effort to reinvent America is all about," said Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee. "The passage of this legislation marks the end of the 'me' era in American life."

Jeffords, an early Republican supporter, said he did not have any qualms about spending money on National Service because he believes the people who sign up otherwise would have served in the armed forces, which Congress is cutting back. "It's a time when we have to reorder our priorities," Jeffords said.

House and Senate Differences

There were a few key differences between the House and Senate bills.

The House would have started the program at a faster rate, authorizing \$394 million in fiscal 1994 and unspecified sums in the next four years to provide 150,000 people with service jobs. The Senate, however, would have started slower, placing the caps on spending at \$300 million, \$500 million and \$700 million. Conferees agreed to adopt the Senate's slower approach.

The House and Senate also took different approaches in distributing funds to states for service programs. The House would have given one-third of the money to the states based on population, one-third by competitive grants, and the remaining one-third of the funds would go to federal agencies, national parks or national nonprofit groups to provide service opportunities.

The Senate, on the other hand, would have given more money to the states automatically.

Conferees agreed to adopt the House language, but modified it so that at least one-third of the money would go for competitive grants and whatever is left over would be used for federal agencies and national nonprofit groups. ■

Highlights of the Bill

The National Service conference report adopted by the House on Aug. 6 would give education awards for community service. The bill would do the following:

A New Corporation

- Create a Corporation for National and Community Service to administer the program by combining two existing independent federal agencies, the Commission on National and Community Service and ACTION.

- Require the corporation to administer all programs authorized under the National and Community Service Act and Domestic Volunteer Service Act, including VISTA and the older Americans volunteer programs.

- Require each state to establish a commission on National Service to receive a federal grant. Commissions would include 15 to 25 citizens or community service experts to be appointed by the governor on a bipartisan basis.

- Require state commissions to form plans for National Service and prepare applications to the corporation for funding. Commissions could not operate programs, though they could fund state agencies that did. Commissions would have to allocate at least 60 percent of funds to non-state groups.

Participants

- Allow people to serve before, during or after postsecondary education. Participants could be age 17 or older. Participants would have to be high school graduates or agree to achieve general equivalency diplomas.

- Require that participants be chosen on a non-discriminatory basis, without regard to political affiliation. Information about National Service would be available through high schools, colleges and other placement offices. Recruiters would have to pay special attention to the needs of disadvantaged youths.

- Require that to earn an education award, a participant could serve one year of full-time service, two years of part-time service or three years of part-time service if the person was in school. A person could serve up to two terms and earn up to two education awards.

- Set education awards at \$4,725 for one term of service. Education awards would have to be used within five years of completing a term of service.

- Set stipends at 85 percent of a minimum wage stipend equivalent to benefits received by VISTA volunteers. Programs could provide additional stipends up to twice this amount, with no federal match.

- Require that all participants without health insurance receive coverage. Federal funds would pay up to 85 percent of the cost. Full-time participants would receive child-care assistance if they needed it.

Funding

- Distribute the funds according to the House plan, giving one-third to the states based on population, a minimum of one-third to the states based on competition, and whatever is left up to one-third to participating federal agencies and national not-for-profit organizations.

- Require that all participants receive education awards.

- Authorize the program for three years with funding set at \$300 million in fiscal 1994, \$500 million in fiscal 1995 and \$700 million in fiscal 1996.

- Require programs to pay 15 percent of the stipend and health-care benefits in cash and 25 percent of other program costs receiving federal support. The 25 percent match could be in cash or in kind from any source other than programs funded under the national service act.

—Jill Zuckman



Steve Gunderson, Wis., left, was a key GOP supporter of the bill, which Education and Labor Committee Chairman William D. Ford, D-Mich., steered through the House.

SUPREME COURT

Ginsburg's Easy Confirmation Means More Time To Prepare

Ruth Bader Ginsburg will become the 107th justice of the Supreme Court when she is sworn in Aug. 10, just seven weeks after President Clinton selected her.

The Senate easily confirmed Ginsburg on Aug. 3, following a pro forma debate the day before. The vote was 96-3. (*Vote 232, p. 2193*)

Republican Sens. Jesse Helms, N.C., Don Nickles, Okla., and Robert C. Smith, N.H., opposed Ginsburg. Sen. Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., was absent but had expressed his support.

The quick confirmation will give Ginsburg more time to prepare for her first term (which opens Oct. 4) than either of her two immediate predecessors had. Those justices, David H. Souter and Clarence Thomas, were sworn in in October.

Quick confirmation also allows her to participate in a September conference to decide which new cases the court should hear in the coming term.

During confirmation hearings, Ginsburg said retired Justice Byron R. White, whom she is replacing, already had begun setting aside materials for her and offering advice about how to prepare for the fall term.

By Holly Idelson

White retired June 28, after 31 years on the high court.

Ginsburg is expected to carry on his centrist tradition, but with a somewhat more liberal tilt. The sharpest distinction between the two is probably on abortion rights; Ginsburg supports a constitutional right to seek an abortion, while White was one of two justices dissenting from the landmark *Roe v. Wade* decision upholding legalized abortion.

Clinton praised his nominee and the nonpartisan climate of the confirmation.

Senators also were pleased with the low-key approval process, although some of their good will appeared based on conflicting visions of how Ginsburg will perform on the Supreme Court. Liberals looked toward her progressive record as an advocate for women's rights in the 1970s, while conservatives concentrated on her restrained record as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

A touch of that ambiguity followed



Ginsburg

Ginsburg through the final vote.

Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., praised Ginsburg's testimony supporting a constitutional right to privacy and other liberties not specifically mentioned in the Constitution.

But Orrin G. Hatch, Utah, the panel's ranking Republican, lauded Ginsburg's comments about judicial restraint and said she "exploded the judicial activist notion that the Ninth Amendment is somehow a font of enumerated rights for judges to elaborate."

The three conservative senators who voted no were not assuaged, saying Ginsburg would prove more of a judicial activist than some were bargaining on. Helms focused on Ginsburg's support for abortion rights and speculated that she also would support gay rights. Smith said he was primarily deterred by Ginsburg's refusal to cite her views on the death penalty, despite her willingness to make detailed remarks about abortion rights.

Charles E. Grassley, R-Iowa, defended his decision to support Ginsburg in the face of some conservative opposition. He called for a golden rule approach to Supreme Court nominations, urging Republicans to treat Ginsburg as they would want a Republican nominee to be treated.

Ginsburg's nomination marks the Democrats' first opportunity to place a justice on the high court since 1967. She will be the second woman to serve on the Supreme Court and its first Jewish member since the resignation of Justice Abe Fortas in 1969. ■

LAW/JUDICIARY

Senate Moves Fast On FBI Nominee

Federal Judge Louis J. Freeh appeared certain to become the new director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as lawmakers pushed to put the widely respected nominee in place before the August recess.

The Judiciary Committee approved Freeh's nomination 18-0 Aug. 3, with no debate. On Aug. 5, senators agreed to debate the nomination in a scant 10 minutes, with a vote expected before adjournment.

The FBI directorship carries a 10-

By Holly Idelson

year term, but the director serves at the pleasure of the president.

The agency recently has been bruised by controversy surrounding former Director William S. Sessions, who was forced out amid allegations of ethical improprieties.

Senators hailed Freeh, who is 43, as an ideal choice to revive the agency's faded image and to meet the challenges of terrorism and other national threats. In his career as an FBI agent, federal prosecutor and judge, Freeh has earned a reputation for integrity and effectiveness.

At the confirmation hearing July 29, senators of both parties praised Freeh's abilities and his willingness to give up a lifetime post on the federal bench. President Bush appointed Freeh to a judgeship in 1991, after 10 years as a prosecutor.

During that confirmation hearing, Freeh pledged to steer the bureau clear of partisan politics and to continue Sessions' efforts to hire and promote women and minorities.

Freeh said the FBI needs more staff diversity to operate most effectively and as a matter of fairness. He also said the agency must rise above turf battles and improve its cooperation with local and international police. ■

CORRECTION

Hate Crimes. Weekly Report, p. 2064, third column, first paragraph under box. The comments attributed to Xavier Becerra should have been attributed to Rep. Melvin Watt, D-N.C. ■