

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 4, 1994

Dear Editor:

As you know, President Clinton vowed when he came to Washington to make improving the economy the number one goal of his Administration. While there have been reasonable disagreements about the specifics, it is hard to disagree with the results. The deficit is being cut virtually in half, the economy has produced nearly 4.5 million new jobs, trade barriers in Asia, Europe, and the rest of our own hemisphere are dropping, and most of the economic indicators are heading in the right direction. We have more to do, but we have taken major steps forward.

I am greatly concerned that this economic progress is imperiled by the package of proposals unveiled by my former Republican colleagues in Congress last week -- their so-called "Contract with America." My concern is that this proposal, if enacted, would not only retard much of the progress we have made on the economy but represent a major step backwards to the fiscal policies of the 1980's that led to exploding Federal deficits and debt. And if the Republicans regard this not as a serious governing proposal, but simply a campaign ploy, I believe the American people will feel even more cynical about their leaders than they do today.

The "contract" -- crafted by the Republican leadership and signed by most House Republican incumbents and candidates -- calls for a balanced Federal budget, while at the same time advocating over \$300 billion in new tax cuts and new spending. Despite the leaders' assertion that balancing the budget can be accomplished at "no cost," the fact is it would require savings of \$700-\$800 billion over five years. Yet not once does the "contract" identify where the spending cuts would come from to pay for even the new tax cuts and spending increases, let alone to balance the budget. That is over \$1 trillion in unpaid promises.

While many good things happened to America in the 1980's, there is one experience we must not repeat -- running up the Federal deficit by providing something for nothing and then leaving it to the next generation to pay for the costs. The American people have paid the price for those policies; the last thing they need is for our leaders to return to them.

As John F. Kennedy said, "To govern is to choose." And your readers deserve to know what the choices are. It is important, for example, for your readers to know that one of the inevitable results of this program would be significant cuts in Medicare, Social Security, or both, as the attached chart shows. Given the prominence of these programs in the budget, the signers of the "contract" cannot simply put these programs off limits and still achieve their other goals -- that is, if they take these other goals seriously.

Editorial Page Editor
October 4, 1994
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Enclosed with this letter are four inserts that I urge you read: a White House analysis of the budget effects of this proposal; a White House analysis of its effects on senior citizens; an independent analysis by the widely respected Concord Coalition, the group devoted to deficit reduction run by former Senators Paul Tsongas and Warren Rudman, deeply respected fiscal conservatives; and a series of recent articles and editorials on this issue.

Please examine the materials we have provided. I hope you will contact Dawn Alexander in the White House press office at (202) 456-2100 if you have any questions. And if you share my concerns about the Republican contract, please let your readers know as well. Help us to stay on the path of deficit reduction and economic stability, and avoid a return to fiscal irresponsibility as part of an effort to gain partisan advantage.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Leon E. Panetta', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Leon E. Panetta
Chief of Staff

ATTACHMENT 1:

Summary of House Republican Contract

Table 1

Table 2

Table 3

SUMMARY OF HOUSE REPUBLICAN CONTRACT

1. TRILLION DOLLAR COSTS: On September 27, 1994, House Republicans signed a list of promises (increased spending, tax cuts, and a balanced budget) that together will require unprecedented budgetary savings of more than \$1 trillion over a five-year period and \$1.5 trillion over a seven-year period.

2. AT LEAST AN \$800 BILLION HOLE -- WITH NO SAVINGS IN THEIR

CONTRACT: The House Republican Contract includes no plan as to how to pay for their plan. None. The House Republican leadership's "cost estimate" document included only "examples of possible offsets" that are not actually in the "Contract." Yet, even if one assumed unchallenged that they would do all of these cuts -- *there would still be at least an \$800 billion shortfall which would likely increase the deficit. Over a seven-year period, the hole would be well above \$1 trillion even with the "possible offsets."* The list of "possible" specific cuts includes: \$10 billion in student loans cuts, \$7.5 billion in worker training cuts, \$3 billion in agriculture and rural cuts, \$16 billion in international policy cuts, \$50 billion in cuts from Medicare, Medicaid and Retirees). (See Tables 1-3, attached).

3. TAX CUTS: HIDDEN COSTS AND CUTS FOR THE WELL-OFF: Many of the tax cuts proposed are either cuts that benefit the most well-off or tax cuts which are designed to hide the large costs they would cause to the federal deficit.

Tax Cuts for the Well Off: The contract includes a \$6 billion cut in the estate tax and a large \$56 billion capital gains tax cut -- a tax cut of which over 70% of the benefits go to families making over \$100,000. Past Joint Tax Committee studies show that 95% of the benefit of the IRA expansion will go to the top one-fifth of taxpayers. Even the child tax credit is more generous to well-off families than working poor families. A family of four making \$150,000 would get \$1000 while a family making \$17,000 would get nothing.

Hidden Deficit Costs: The "Contract" includes at least two tax cuts -- the backloaded, roll-over IRA and the neutral cost recovery system -- which are specially designed to hide current costs and push deficit increases beyond the five-year budget window. **If one accepted this deceptive accounting, these two provisions would constitute a \$24.2 billion tax increase on private savings and investment.** Yet, once beyond the budget window, a study by the Joint Tax Committee shows that the IRA plan would lose \$30-40 billion over five years, while estimates by the Joint Tax Committee and the Congressional Research Service show the depreciation allowance cost swelling to \$40-50 billion over five years past the budget window.

4. MEDICARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY: To balance the budget and pay for their new spending and tax cuts, the House Republicans would have to call for dramatic cuts in either Medicare or Social Security -- and most likely both. *To fulfill their contract by the year 2002 would mean a 20% reduction in Medicare and Social Security -- even if the cuts were just across-the-board, which would include cuts in fighting crime, veterans, education and other important areas. Entitlement cap proposals that focus on the rate of growth would have an ever harsher impact on Medicare. If Social Security were to be exempt from such savings, a 30% across-the-board reduction on Medicare, fighting crime, education and training would be required.*

5. HISTORIC REFRAIN OF FISCAL RECKLESSNESS: The President and Congress fought for and signed a historic deficit reduction plan that is working because it was real and did not use phony numbers. The promise of a panoply of tax cuts for well-off Americans, spending increases and a balanced budget with no specifics is the same recipe that led to the deficit skyrocketing between 1981-1986, when the Republicans controlled both the White House and the Senate. This is not a period we should go back to.

Table 1
Summary of Budget Affects of House Republican
"Contract with America"
(\$ in billions, totals over 5 years)

Savings Needed to Balance the Budget	\$743.00
Total Revenue Losses and Spending Increases	+ <u>278.80</u>
TOTAL COST	\$1.0218 TRILLION
Proposed Spending Cuts (As estimated by the House Republican leadership)	- <u>221.07</u>
TOTAL SHORTFALL	\$800.73 BILLION

Table 2
Cost of House Republican "Contract with America"
(\$ in billions)

	5-Year Total
Balanced Budget Amendment <i>Source: CBO estimate of a 5-year balanced budget schedule. Rep. Armev has proposed balancing the budget by the year 2000.</i>	\$743.0
Tax Incentives for Adoption <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	0.9
Dependent Care Tax Credit for Seniors <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	8.0
\$500/child Tax Credit <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	107.0
Modify the Marriage Penalty <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	10.0 (1)
Super IRA	0.0 (2)
Defense <i>Source: House Republican Alternative Budget, March 1994</i>	61.1 (3)
Raise Social Security Earnings Limit to \$30,000 <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	6.8
Phase-Out 85% Social Security Inclusion <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	17.0
Tax Incentives for Private Long-Term Care Insurance <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	1.3
Cut Capital Gains Rates/Index to Inflation <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	56.0
Neutral Cost Recovery	0.0 (2)
Small Business Expensing Provision <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	3.5
Raise Estate & Gift Tax Exclusion <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	6.5
Restore Tax Deduction for Home Office Expenses <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	0.6
Reduce Congressional Staff by One-Third <i>Source: House Republican Leadership Estimate</i>	0.1
TOTAL COST	\$1.0218 Trillion

- (1) Initial documents claimed the marriage penalty would be eliminated, as in the Istook proposal (HR 3851). JCT estimates this would cost \$72 billion. Apparently the "Contract" has been altered to only reduce the marriage penalty.
- (2) The IRA and Neutral Cost Recovery proposals are both listed as tax increases totalling \$24.2 billion. In fact, CRS analysis shows that the cost of the Super IRA would be \$8 billion per year. Likewise various JCT estimates of rollover, backloaded IRAs also show yearly costs of \$4-8 billion per year. The NCR proposal has been projected by the Senate Budget Committee as costing money within 5 years. In light of these differences, we have simply listed both proposals as cost neutral over the next 5 years.
- (3) The description in "Contract with America" repeatedly refers to "strengthening" the defense budget. The House Rep. alternative budget introduced by Rep. Kasich called for a \$61.1 billion increase in outlays and a \$73.7 billion increase in budget authority. However, in a cost estimate document released by the House Rep. leadership on Sept. 23, 1994, they claim that their defense proposal would have 'no costs.' If this reflects that the House Rep. leadership is in agreement with the Clinton defense budget, the total cost of their proposals would be \$61.1 billion less, or \$961 billion total.

Table 3
Savings Claimed by House Republican Leadership*
(\$ in billions)

		5-Year Total
Mandatory Spending		
Student Loan Cuts	-9.56	
Health Cuts	-53.16	
(Medicare, Medicaid, Retirees)		
Welfare Reform	-40.00	
Total, Mandatory Spending Cuts	-102.72	-102.72
Discretionary Spending		
Crime Prevention	-5.00	
International Discretionary	-16.20	
Agriculture and Rural Cuts	-3.27	
Job Training Cuts	-7.56	
Additional Discretionary Cuts Listed	-58.32	
Overhead Reduction	-28.00	
(No specifics given)		
Total, Discretionary Spending Cuts	-118.35	-118.35
TOTAL CUTS		-221.07
Savings Needed for House Republican "Contract with America"		+ 1,021.80
TOTAL SHORTFALL		\$800.73 BILLION

* All savings estimates included are taken as given by the House Republican leadership. The accuracy of these estimates is not necessarily endorsed.

ATTACHMENT 2:

Impact on Seniors Pie Chart

WHAT WOULD THE IMPACT ON SENIORS AND OTHERS BE?

The Republican House alternative budget requires close to a trillion dollars in savings over the next five years. Even assuming considerable savings in interest reductions, this would require a reduction of \$350 billion of outlays by the year 2002.

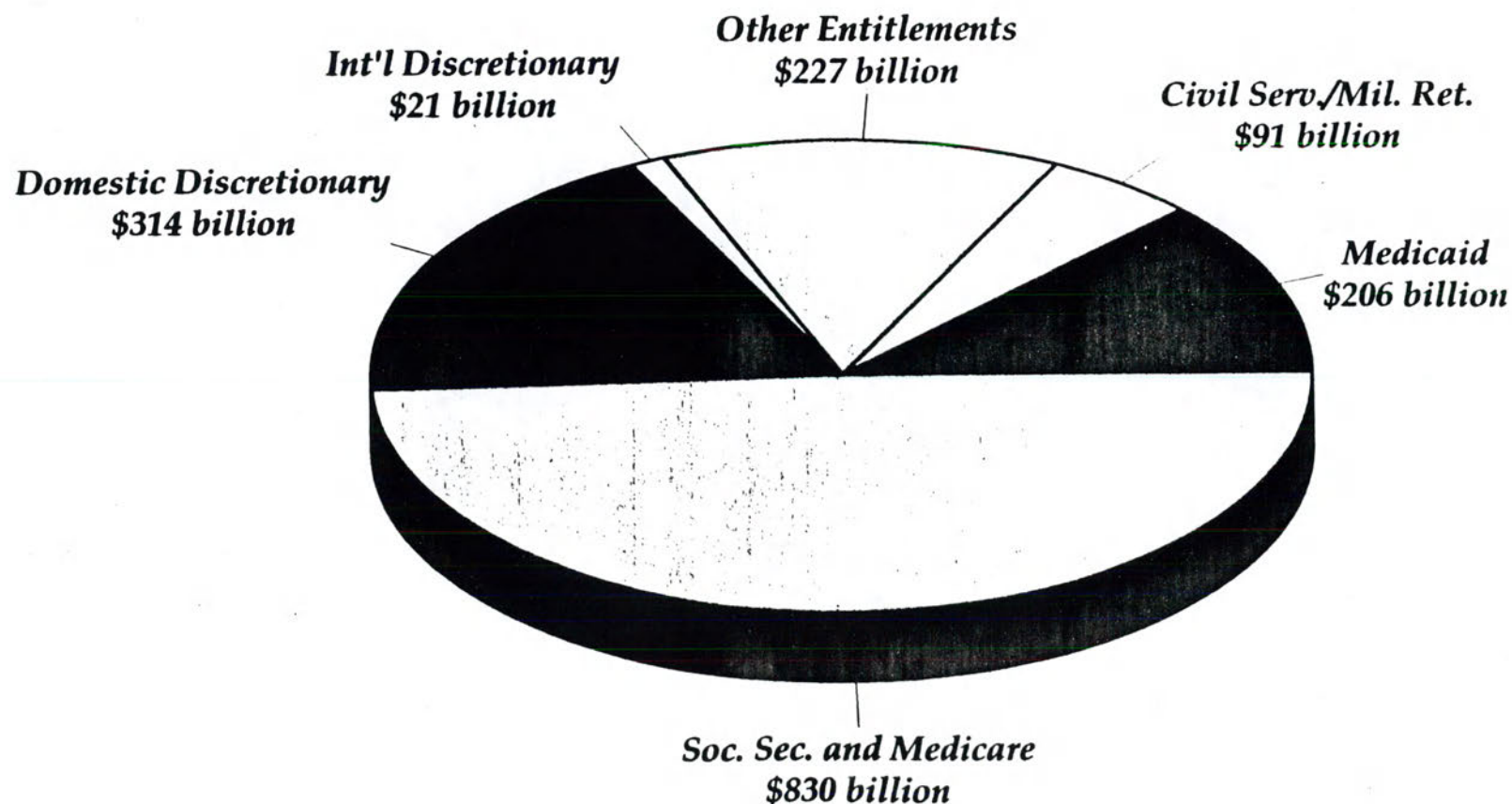
How would they do it?

As the House Republicans have given virtually no details on how they would find \$1 trillion in savings over five years (or over \$1.5 trillion over seven years) or how they would reduce spending by over \$350 billion in the year 2002 alone, one can only consider the across-the-board effect. *In this case, there would have to be a 20% across-the-board cut on all spending -- including Social Security and Medicare. If Social Security was to be excluded, there would have to be 30% across-the-board cuts.*

Yet, nearly 50% of the funds available to be cut would be from either Social Security or Medicare so that it is likely that both would have to be subject to dramatic cuts.
(See Attached Chart)

The House Republican's "Contract with America" will require \$350 billion in cuts in FY 2002. Where do you think the cuts will come from?

PROGRAMS AVAILABLE FOR SPENDING CUTS, EXCLUDING DEFENSE
(CBO FY 2002 Projections)



ATTACHMENT 3:

Concord Coalition Analysis



THE CONCORD COALITION

CITIZENS FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE

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Budget Update. Vol 2, Number 16

September 28, 1994

SANTA CLAUS FOR CONGRESS?

Overview:

In election years, legislators and politicians who know better often woo voters with promises that both they and their voters know cannot possibly be achieved. As is often the case, if it sounds too good to be true, and it looks too good to be true, it probably IS too good to be true.

The "Contract with America" released by House Republicans on September 27 and the "Agenda for the Republican Majority" released by Senate Republicans on September 21 follow this fine tradition. The Senate document seems to amount to little more than political theater. The House Republicans' "Contract with America" constitutes a set of serious policy recommendations, accompanied by 271 pages of draft legislation and a 41-page summary, that lay out the action agenda they intend to follow next year if they take control of Congress on election day.

Both Republican plans seem to reflect close attention to public opinion polls. Each is jam-packed with attractive proposals intended to draw support from a broad segment of Americans, ranging from middle-income tax breaks, to increased benefits and lower taxes for social security recipients, capital gains cuts, welfare cuts, and tough anti-crime measures.

For now, it is tempting to dismiss these proposals as typical campaign puffery and posturing. It would give cause for concern, however, if the new congress that begins in January actually tried to implement these proposals. Clearly, deficit reduction is not a priority in these plans. These documents are about getting votes, not about balancing the budget. It would also give cause for concern if the Administration, which has started working on next year's budget, tried to "one up" the Republican initiatives. A bidding war to see who can promise the most "goodies" would legitimize political backsliding on the deficit and, if not stopped, could make it virtually impossible to enact deficit reduction. Clearly the Concord Coalition has its work cut out.

Two years ago, presidential candidate Paul Tsongas told the American people that there was no Santa Claus. That's still true today. It's time for politicians to stop pretending to be St. Nick and begin telling voters what tough choices have to be made. Who is going to tell the politicians that there is no Santa Claus?

Analysis:

1. Balanced Budget Amendment:

Ironically, both packages call for amending the Constitution to require a balanced budget. However, a congress that tries to follow these plans will not be a congress that places a high priority on reducing the deficit.

Budget enforcement rules require off-setting deficit reductions to pay for entitlement increases and tax cuts recommended by the Republicans. If several hundred billion dollars of spending cuts are used to pay for the Republicans' agenda, these same policy changes will no longer be available to be used for deficit reduction.

Yet, balancing the budget over five or six years will require deficit reduction of somewhere between \$700 and \$800 billion over the same period. Concord's *Zero Deficit Plan*, for example, called for \$760 billion in deficit cuts from 1995 through 2000.¹ Where should Congress look for \$700+ billion in deficit cuts? What do the Republicans recommend? Both Republican plans are silent, except to say that they favor balancing the budget.

The version of the balanced budget amendment advocated by the House Republicans would required a three-fifths majority of the whole number of each House to increase revenues, run budget deficits, or increase the public debt. The balanced budget requirement could be waived by adoption of a joint resolution that the nation "faces an imminent and serious military threat to national security."

2. How to pay for the tax cuts and new priorities:

Both packages offer "ouchless" packages of goodies could lead people to think they could enjoy expanded benefits and tax relief without having to make tough choices. The choices that will have to be made, after election day, will be anything but painless.

The Senate package completely sidesteps hard choices by offering three black boxes of deficit cuts, described as 1) reforming non-social security entitlements, 2) freezing non-defense discretionary spending, and 3) appointing a spending commission to recommend \$100 billion of additional non-defense discretionary cuts. Added together, these three black boxes total \$432 billion — about the amount the Clinton 1993 program actually reduced the deficit. Anyone who thinks that \$432 billion in loose change can be painlessly shaken from the budget will find out differently when the time comes to open these black boxes.

¹ Our year by year deficit reduction recommendations totalled \$23 billion in 1995, \$53 billion in 1996, \$97 billion in 1997, \$143 billion in 1998, \$193 billion in 1999, and \$251 billion in 2000.

The House package provides a list of specific deficit reduction "possibilities." The items on this list are, for the most part, plausible and legitimate options that many House Republicans have voted for in fiscal year 1994 and 1995 budget resolutions.² However, the *Contract* does not pledge that these spending cuts will be part of the package. It says only that they are "examples of possible offsets."

In the meanwhile, House Republicans are continuing to struggle to define several hundred billion dollars of additional spending cuts that could be offered as part of their budget resolution next year. They should be encouraged in this effort; their task is daunting. Paying for their agenda AND balancing the budget without raising taxes will result in a historical down-sizing of the federal government. The amount of spending they want to cut cannot be produced by merely shaving various programs; it will require a fundamental rethinking and restructuring of the role of a markedly smaller federal government.

3. Deceptive accounting:

The budget projections for the Republican proposals cover 1995 through 1999, the conventional five-year time frame for such projections. However, several "back-loaded" policies contain "time bombs" that will set off large deficit increases in years after the five-year estimating period.

- o For example, the IRA-Plus program would reduce the deficit by \$4.7 billion (House version) to \$14 billion (Senate version) in the first five years because many people would roll over existing IRA accounts into the new IRA-Plus accounts. They would be required to pay back tax breaks they previously received from putting funds into the "old" IRAs, and this influx of revenues would reduce the deficit. However, in the future when retirees withdraw their interest earnings from these new IRAs, they would not be taxed on the interest and revenue to the Treasury would be substantially less under the "new" IRAs than under the "old."
- o Similarly, indexing that basis used to calculate capital gains taxes and reducing the tax rate on capital gains create illusionary deficit reductions. These provisions would apply only to investments made after the new law became effective. Therefore, many investors would sell their current holdings, pay the capital gains tax, and then make new investments to which the new law would apply. In a few years, the budget impact of these provisions would swing from mild deficit reduction to major deficit increase.

4. Health Care Reform:

For over a decade, fiscal analysts have realized that federal health care payments were a major contributor to federal budget deficits and that projected growth in these programs, principally medicare and medicaid, would have to be curbed in order to balance the budget.

Health care reform legislation has been pronounced officially dead in the 103rd Congress. But the debate in 1993 and 1994 made it clear that expanding benefits and coverage was far more attractive politically than controlling health care costs.

² Not ALL House Republicans were willing to support these cuts. In 1993, 41 Republicans voted no and in 1994, nine Republicans voted no on the Republican budget resolutions.

The Senate Republican's Agenda calls for phasing in "real" health care reform that will build on the current health system to expand access and control costs. They budget a deficit increase of \$100 billion over five years for this purpose. The House agenda does not call for health care reform. However, it advocates tax incentives for purchase of long-term health care insurance.

ATTACHMENT 4:

Sample of Nationwide News Analysis of House Republican "Contract"

1. "The G.O.P.'s Deceptive Contract," New York Times Editorial
2. "GOP's 'Let's Make a Deal' is Short on Real Rewards," by David Broder, Los Angeles Times
3. "Aw, C'Mon, Newt," by E. J. Dionne, Jr., Washington Post
4. "The Price of Pandering," by Gloria Borger, U. S. News and World Report
5. "GOP Robs Future to Write 'Contract with America,'" USA TODAY Editorial
6. "The Republicans Shoot an Air Ball," by Al Hunt, Wall Street Journal
7. "Newtspeak," Minneapolis Star-Tribune Editorial
8. "GOP Agenda Short on Specifics," Atlanta Constitution Editorial

The G.O.P.'s Deceptive Contract

Over 300 Republican candidates for the House of Representatives promised yesterday that, if elected, they will provide a positive new vision for their party and for the country. The body and soul of this vision is to be found in 10 bills they plan to offer in the next session of Congress.

It is a vision that looks backward. Reaganism in a rear-view mirror. What this self-styled "Contract With America" says to voters is that these Republicans do not speak candidly.

Tote up the promises. Led by the minority whip, Newt Gingrich, this group of Republicans would balance the budget while adding to defense spending and cutting taxes on capital gains and Social Security benefits for wealthier recipients. They would also ease the tax burden on non-poor families with children, corporate investment, retirement savings and the estates of wealthy families.

The Republicans, historically a deficit-conscious bunch until Ronald Reagan came along, estimate that their largesse would cost the Treasury about \$150 billion over five years. The White House estimates the cost to be about \$800 billion. Even the White House estimate may be low.

The Congressional Budget Office says that it would take more than \$700 billion in budget cuts over five years to balance the existing budget — before the Republicans start hiking defense spending and cutting taxes. The Republicans would keep costs in line by finding fat in Federal programs, though the contract does not say where. In the past John Kasich of Ohio has drawn up bold proposals, but even if Congress adopted every one — a politi-

cally preposterous prospect — the Republicans would be hundreds of billions shy of their promises.

The contract is not only reckless but deceptive. The tax cuts on capital gains income, corporate investment and retirement savings are structured to cost little money during the five-year period for which the Republicans do their accounting. But the proposals are certain to pry open gigantic holes in the budget beyond five years.

Nor does the contract reflect a sense of fair play. The cut in the capital gains tax would largely benefit high-income families and, because it would also apply to profits on old investments, is not targeted to stimulate new investment. The tax credit for children would yield nothing to families too poor to owe taxes. The Social Security tax cuts apply only to high-income families. Tax breaks for investment and savings, even if they favor the rich, can be defended. But they would have to be carefully designed to boost productivity and be part of an overall package that spreads tax burdens fairly. By this standard, Mr. Gingrich's compact flunks.

The other bills that make up this vision deal with issues ranging from welfare to crime to long-term health care. Some are good, some bad, but most are presented honestly. That is not true of the economic nostrums. The Republicans ought to admit that their programs would require cutting hundreds of billions out of about \$1.5 trillion in Federal spending — thus slicing 20 percent or more out of every program from Social Security to the F.B.I.. Mr. Gingrich promised a positive vision. What voters got instead was duplicitous propaganda.

GOP's 'Let's Make a Deal' Is Short on Real Rewards

■ **Congress:** Their 'contract' of bills is fine, but Republicans will have to sell it, not just run against Clinton.

By DAVID S. BRODER

There were two very good things about the ceremony on the Capitol steps that House Republicans staged Tuesday: a slew of other things undercut its virtues.

In case you missed it, more than 300 Republican candidates for the House of Representatives—incumbents and challengers alike—signed a "contract" with the American voters pledging to bring 10 bills to a vote in the first 100 days of the 1995 session if they win a majority in the November election. The measures include a balanced-budget amendment, a variety of tax cuts, welfare reform, tort reform and term limits—a set of measures that enjoys broad public support.

The first commendation goes for helping voters understand what is at stake in the midterm voting. The Democrats, clearly on the defensive, want to reduce the election to 435 individual contests devoid of national significance, hoping that their incumbents can fend for themselves even in a

'The House needs a good shot of perestroika. After 40 years in the majority, the Democrats have become too adept at bottling up bills in committee.'

hostile environment. But as House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), one of the organizers of Tuesday's event, said at a press briefing, "Our government operates on the party system. We are a team. And we're offering you a contract on what our team will do."

That is a sound proposition. People need to be reminded that Congress writes the laws in a partisan setting (except on a few international issues) in which the opposing parties divide, not just for spite, but on philosophy, program and principle.

House Republicans earned their second medal by promising that each of their priority measures will be brought to the floor "under an open rule (allowing consideration of all serious amendments and substitutes) for full and honest debate." As Dick Armey of Texas, the House Republican Conference chairman, said, "That does not guarantee all 10 of these measures will pass," but it does promise that measures with broad public support will have an airing and receive a vote.

The House needs a good shot of *perestroika*. After 40 years in the majority, the Democrats have become too adept at bottling up bills in committee (as they've done with tort reform and term limits) or bringing them to the floor under such

restrictive procedures (as they did last year with campaign-finance legislation) that consensus becomes impossible.

When Tuesday's ceremony was conceived months back, it seemed little more than a campaign gimmick. But now there appears to be at least an outside possibility that Republicans could gain the 40 seats needed for a majority. Their commitment to full and open debate on broadly supported measures is important.

Beyond that, however, the Republican exercise raises more questions than it answers. It's fine for them to talk about positive programs at Washington TV extravaganzas, but across the country, their candidates seem to be running, not for any policy, but against President Clinton. Their favorite tactic is a TV ad that electronically blends the opponent's face with Clinton's, as nice a piece of high-tech demagoguery as you can find. If they think their program is right, they can prove it by running on it.

But the program is full of holes—starting with more tax breaks for the wealthy and that balanced-budget amendment. At the White House last week, Chief of Staff Leon Panetta, a former chairman of the House Budget Committee, called the GOP on its "snake-oil approach," challenging Gingrich & Co. to spell out where they would find the \$743 billion in savings needed to balance the budget in the next five years, let alone finance the new tax-cut bonbons they propose to hand out.

Two days after Panetta's challenge, Gingrich and Armey brought Ohio Rep. John Kasich, the GOP's most credible budget strategist, to a briefing to answer Panetta, but he didn't do it. Kasich detailed about \$148 billion in claimed savings from the 100-day program, but then fell into the kind of generalizations that raise warning flags. "We're going to reinvent the operations of the federal government," he said, as if Al Gore did not hold the copyright on that cliché. "There are whole agencies that should be privatized, whole programs that should not exist."

Gingrich labeled the Panetta argument "outrageous . . . absurd," and with a real show of indignation, said it proved that Democrats could not grasp how "the dumbest large institution in America," which is his description of the federal government, "can be radically reformed." His example of such a reform would be to change the "informed consent" requirement in existing law so patients suffering a heart attack could be treated with a European-invented CPR device that he said works four times as fast as American manual techniques. "The total savings would be significant," he said.

It would be wonderful if we could balance the budget by improved CPR techniques, while cutting taxes at the same time. But it sounds suspiciously like the fairy-tale economics of the 1980s, which landed us in this budgetary mess.

Do Republicans really want a referendum on that?

David S. Broder is a syndicated columnist in Washington.

E. J. Dionne Jr.

Aw, C'mon, Newt

THE WASHINGTON POST TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1994

The GOP can do better than this exercise in election-year cynicism.

In this fall's elections, the Republicans could play a constructive role by asking voters to make some choices about what they want government to do and how much it should cost. Unfortunately, it looks like the Republicans won't be running that kind of campaign at all.

Instead, they will be talking in a lot of detail about tax cuts and improving our military and rather little about what other spending they might junk to pay for this program. If you think this seems suspiciously like a slightly grainy videotape replay of Republican campaign commercials from 1978 and 1980, you're right. "I'm willing to pit Reagan vs. Clinton," GOP House Whip Newt Gingrich told reporters last week. "You choose." Gingrich, who prides himself on looking forward rather than back, figures it's safer to try to win one more for the Gipper.

The shame of this is that Gingrich's idea of having Republican House candidates commit to a "contract with America" at a news conference today is daring and might have been useful. Some of the Republican ideas—on tax credits for families with kids, stricter enforcement of child support payments by absent fathers and welfare reform—are certainly worth debating.

But, yet again, this program seems to assume a cynical electorate that won't ask many questions about how the goodies in this package are to be paid for. The Republicans would cut taxes on families with kids, roll back the tax on higher-income Social Security recipients passed last year, modify the tax penalty on married people and cut the capital gains tax. They'd let people on Social Security earn more money without sacrificing benefits, further increasing government outlays. And they'd "strengthen defense."

Aw, would they, then, balance the budget? Why, by passing a constitutional amendment

requiring a balanced budget and giving the president the line-item veto. Nifty. Specifics on the tax cuts, gimmicks on the spending cuts. The Congressional Budget Office figures it would take about \$750 billion to get the budget balanced in five years. If the Republicans really support the balanced budget amendment, where will they get the money to balance the budget?

The Republicans have issued a list of "possible offsets"—note the "possible"—to pay for their program, some of them highly questionable, especially \$28 billion in "overhead reductions." But at best, these cuts cover only the near-term costs of the Republicans' tax promises; they don't even begin to close the budget deficit. Are the Republicans serious enough about even these cuts to add them to their "contract"?

It's no wonder that the Clinton administration has had a grand time briefing everyone in sight about the Republican program. President Clinton has his problems, but he's made difficult budget choices—to the point where he's constrained his ability to finance his own new programs.

The Republicans need to do better. At today's news conference, Gingrich and buddies could start by pledging to produce an honest list of spending cuts that would balance the budget by itself with their constitutional amendment—and to put it out well before Election Day. Please, guys, don't tell us that economic growth will solve all the budget problems. You tried that a few trillion dollars of deficits ago. And don't give us vague talk about "entitlements" and "welfare" and "waste." To paraphrase a famous Republican: What will you cut and when will you cut it?

The truth is that the Republican Party has three perfectly honorable ways to approach the electorate that would be entirely in keeping with the party's philosophical orientation. If Republi-

cans want to be the low-tax, small-government party they claim to be, they need to be candid about how much they'd have to cut Social Security, Medicare and other big, popular programs to get there. This would permit a genuine debate about the size of government—and force the country to come to terms with how much federal money goes to a rather small list of purposes.

Alternatively, Republicans could tone down their rhetoric and argue that their real purpose is not to slash and burn but simply to keep things pretty much as they are—no huge cuts, no big new programs. In Germany, the Christian Democrats ran for years on the slogan "No Experiments." That's a fairly good definition of prudent conservatism. It's not flashy, but it has the benefit of being true to what the Republicans actually do in office. Most Republicans don't seem to want to cut government programs for the elderly or for farmers or for veterans or for business or for middle-class school districts or for the military. Why don't they just say so and stop pretending that small government is just around the corner?

The third alternative, which could be combined easily with the second, is for Republicans to forgo as much of how government does things as on what it does. They could steal some of Clinton's New Democrat clothes by saying they recognize some of the same problems as Democrats do but have different approaches to solving them.

For example, the Heritage Foundation was willing to spend rather a lot of government money to give the uninsured vouchers to buy health insurance. That's quite different from building a big bureaucracy. A lot of Republicans talk about school vouchers to give more kids a chance to go to private schools. But how would



they do it and where would they raise the money—or are they just saying that states should try this if they want to? More generally, Republicans might ponder the suggestion of William A. Schambra, a senior program officer at the conservative Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, that many social problems would be better solved through families, neighborhood groups, churches and other institutions outside of government. That's an interesting idea. But how, exactly, could it be done?

Unfortunately, the Republicans aren't even close to grappling with such noble thoughts right now. They want to win by tossing around tax cuts and term limits and hope that Clinton does the rest. C'mon, Newt, you used to be a lot more interesting than that.

■ ON POLITICS

BY GLORIA BORGER

The price of pandering

Newt Gingrich and the gang long ago figured out that the media often mistake sound and fury for news. So to help fire up their conservative insurrection, they attacked Democratic Papa Bear Tip O'Neill, toppled House Speaker Jim Wright, openly shunned moderate Senate Republicans and pioneered the use of C-SPAN as their personal studio. Back in 1979, when master of ceremonies Newt was new, there were 158 Republicans in the House of Representatives. They mostly lived a quiet life, predictably opposing Democratic taxers and spenders. Now, there are 178 Republicans, and they sense a new opportunity: a real shot at winning effective control of Congress. They can hardly contain themselves.

Their latest production is a grandly orchestrated and carefully planned photo opportunity. The script calls for Republican House incumbents and wannabes to pose together on the Capitol steps this week and unveil a neatly packaged "Contract with America," a set of 10 promises that they pledge to vote on within 100 days if they win control of the House. The Capitol is an odd backdrop for candidates who are trying to pose as outsiders, but then their contract is a bit less revolutionary than it appears.

For one thing, the Republicans do not actually promise to pass anything that would smack of governing, which they eschew. "We are saying we know you don't like politicians, and we are drawing a distinction between us and them," says Republican pollster Frank Luntz. But in the best tradition of cynical modern politics, Luntz pretested the GOP's principles on selected focus groups before Gingrich unveiled them.

Golden oldies. The Republicans' message is Gingrich at his clever best: Dream up a Christmas list and paste it to the refrigerator. If we don't deliver, the House Republicans say, throw us out. "This is the first time a group of political candidates have gotten together to sign on the dotted line," says Luntz. The ploy would be a political coup, except for one problem: Gingrich's list is just a collection of GOP golden oldies that pander to the public's desire to get something for nothing—the balanced-budget amendment, a middle-class-tax cut, a capital-gains-tax cut, term limits, the repeal of some social security taxes along with the marriage penalty and tough welfare reform.

Gingrich promises to deliver all these goodies without cutting defense or Social Security. Republican cost esti-

mates have inched upward with every new inquiry, but the latest is a relatively modest \$140 billion over five years—an amount Republicans argue can be financed with digestible cuts in social spending and revenue gains. "We can pay for this, and we will do it," insists GOP budget entrepreneur John Kasich. In an internal document prepared to rebut the GOP, the Clinton administration reckons the cost at more than \$1 trillion. "Not only are they not close," claims one administration official, "they're not even close to close."

Just balancing the federal budget by the year 2000 would require about \$700 billion in new budget cuts or tax increases. And Republicans themselves concede that

raising the per-child income-tax credit to \$500 would cost \$100 billion, and a capital-gains-tax cut an additional \$56 billion. Another GOP idea, repealing the recent congressional decision to tax some benefits paid to the wealthiest 13 percent of all Social Security recipients, would add \$21 billion to the tab over the next five years.

Add a dose of hypocrisy to the questionable math: The same Republicans who rail about ending an "unfair" Social Security tax on the wealthy are proposing to do essentially the same thing with Medicare, reducing some benefits for those whose retirement income exceeds \$100,000 a year. Well-off seniors who think Gingrich & Co. are giving them a break ought to think twice: With a balanced budget and no defense cuts or tax in-

creases, the money has to come from somewhere.

Small wonder that Senate Republicans, who recognize that leadership occasionally requires taking responsibility, have decided to pass up this contract. "It's a reflection of people who have never governed," says one GOP moderate. "Our leadership wouldn't let serious people sign on to something like this." Even some House Republicans who hate term limits are fidgety. Still, they took the pledge because it merely promises a vote; they didn't have to say *how* they would vote. It is the sort of pre-election stunt that should make them cringe.

It probably won't. "This is designed to appeal to every American who believes in a strong family and creating jobs and who want a healthy and growing economy," says Gingrich. But even if the public buys his carefully aimed pitch in November, his fellow House Republicans may come to regret it. The voters, after all, might actually make them honor their contract.



Sound and fury. GOP leader Gingrich feeds the press.

Even if the public buys his pitch, Republicans may come to regret it.

GOP robs future to write 'Contract with America'

OUR VIEW

Another name for the Republican plan is 'fiscal irresponsibility.' Don't tell for it.

Republicans had a great idea Tuesday: Define specific goals, commit candidates to them, promise action within 100 days.

Voters might finally have had an honest choice between paying more or getting less.

Unfortunately, the GOP blew it, choosing instead to offer up yet another course of all politicians' favorite meat: free lunch.

More than 300 Republican House candidates, led by wannabe House speaker Newt Gingrich, signed a "Contract with America" on the steps of the Capitol.

Among the vows: to vote for term limits, a balanced budget amendment, a stronger defense and tax cuts, tax cuts, tax cuts — all to be acted upon if Republicans win the House in November. They need 40 more seats to gain control for the first time in 40 years, a stiff challenge.

But the big trouble with the contract isn't that the GOP might not have the votes; it's that the Republicans might win control and try to keep their promises, which to put it bluntly are a con.

What's wrong with a contract promising to cut taxes, strengthen defense and balance the budget?

Look at recent history.

In 1980, Ronald Reagan led a Republican victory by offering the same politically delectable menu. Republicans took control of the White House and Senate. They cut taxes. They hiked defense spending. They said — knowing full well it was baloney — that economic growth spurred by the tax cuts would pay the bill and balance the budget.

Voters signed on. Who doesn't like something for nothing?

The painful and by now well-known result: deficits soared — adding \$3 trillion to the national debt in 12 years, \$12,000 for every American.

Finally, Congress, with President Bush in 1990 and President Clinton last year, took steps to stem the flood of red ink. The latest action — a \$500 billion, five-year deficit reduction plan in 1993 — finally is pushing the deficit under \$200 billion.

But the relief is only temporary. Without further action, skyrocketing health care, Social Security and other entitlements will swell the deficit to almost \$400 billion in 2004. And by 2012, entitlements and interest on the national debt will eat up every dollar the government collects.

Then, if the government wants to buy a tank or pay a soldier, build a road or investigate cancer, keep tabs on our borders or put crooks behind bars, it will have to borrow money — \$700 billion a year just for the jobs most Americans expect their government to perform. Taxes will soar.

Budget outlook through 2004



By Sharon Gerecht, USA TODAY

Even as rich a nation as this one can't afford that massive a beaurocracy of debt.

Responsible Republican House candidates could have done voters a favor by proposing program cuts and/or tax increases that attacked the deficit today, before it starts climbing again.

Instead, Gingrich and Co. decided to replay 1980's fiscal games. As Reagan did in 1980, these opportunistic House candidates say they want a balanced budget amendment — but one that wouldn't take effect for eight long years.

Reagan kept right on saying he wanted the amendment through his eight years in office. But never once did he propose a balanced budget to Congress. The political costs of honesty were too high.

And what would likely happen in the next eight years under the Republican contract? Between 1996 and 2001, the tax cuts they've promised would strip \$200 billion from the treasury — swelling deficits already expected to total \$1.05 trillion.

Oh, these modern taxcutters promise to make up for the revenue losses. But their list of possible cuts total only \$240 billion over five years. And many are dubious.

They count on \$19.5 billion by selling the air traffic control system to airlines. Will they sell the Food and Drug Administration to drug makers next?

And they claim limiting welfare to two years will save \$40 billion over five. But what happens when many of those people, mostly women, can't get jobs? Orphanages to care for their kids won't come cheap.

Any way they slice it, the GOP's Contract with America has a trillion dollar hole in it. And budget tricks and promises of economic growth simply will not fill it in.

Gingrich is fond of saying the country needs a new paradigm for action. Maybe so. But what he offers is the same old fraud.

Like 1980's free lunch, this one promises a huge bellyache later.

► GOP program, 4A

9/22/94

The Republicans Shoot an Air Ball

In 1980 a freshman Republican convinced the senior leadership that all GOP congressional candidates should gather at the Capitol to embrace presidential nominee Ronald Reagan's agenda, whose centerpiece was an across-the-board tax cut.

It struck a responsive chord as voters, reeling from the inflation-ravaged '70s, were looking for radical change; the GOP tax cuts, coupled with promises to deregulate the economy and take on the Soviet Union, made for a serious agenda.

House Republican candidates will try to repeat this show next Tuesday when they take to the Capitol steps to rally behind a "Contract With America," an agenda the GOP pledges will be debated and voted on

but also some \$200 billion of tax cuts over the next five years and higher defense spending. How will we get there? Blue smoke and mirrors.

Republican legislators insist the tax cuts will be financed by spending cuts proposed by the GOP in the House Budget Committee last year. But they would need \$700 billion more in cuts to reach a balanced budget in five years, as advocated by Rep. Dick Armey, a leading force behind this "contract." This from politicians who say they aren't going to touch Social Security or raise taxes.

What's more, some of the most important measures are dubious tax and social policy. For political reasons the Republicans won't propose rolling back last year's tax hikes on wealthier Americans, conveniently forgetting all the horrible consequences they proclaimed would occur from the increase. Instead they try to camouflage goodies to upper-income taxpayers.

The biggest tax break would be a \$500 tax credit per child for all families making up to \$200,000 a year. Since it's not refundable, it wouldn't help low-income taxpayers. Thus, a couple with four kids making \$190,000 would subtract \$2,000 from their taxes, but a couple with four kids making \$19,000 would get nothing. The point of any children's allowance ought to be to help families cope with financial burdens; it's surely an upside-down social policy when it's not paid primarily to those with the greatest need. This initiative would cost \$25 billion a year.

The Republicans do vow to repeal the Clinton tax hikes on more affluent Social Security recipients. Under the 1993 budget measure an elderly couple making more than \$14,000 has 85% of all Social Security benefits taxed. That's up from 50% but still 15 percentage points below the way ordinary income is taxed. Now, there's no way to deal seriously with the long-term deficit threat without tackling entitlements. Yet

these politicians, who gutlessly want to give higher-income retirees a \$5 billion-a-year tax break, insist they're going to write a balanced budget into the Constitution.

There's sleight-of-hand, too, starting with a proposal to expand individual retirement accounts. If you make under \$10,000 a year, as two-thirds of taxpayers do, and don't participate in an employer-sponsored pension plan you now can take

The House Republican agenda for 1994 includes offering term limits of six years for House members and 12 years for senators. Here's the number of years that GOP leaders have themselves served:

HOUSE	
Newt Gingrich, Minority Whip	16 years
Robert Walker, Chief Deputy Whip	18 years
Dick Armey, Chairman, House Republican Conference	10 years
Bill McCollum, Vice Chairman, House Republican Conference	14 years
Henry Hyde, Chairman, Republican Policy Committee	20 years
SENATE	
Robert Dole, Minority Leader	26 years
Alan Simpson, Minority Whip	16 years
Thad Cochran, Chairman, Senate Republican Conference	16 years
Don Nickles, Chairman, Senate Republican Policy Committee	14 years

a \$2,000 IRA deduction. The GOP wants to restore IRAs to taxpayers making more than \$10,000, although the most reliable studies show that when IRAs were available to higher-income taxpayers they didn't increase net savings but merely shifted them around.

Moreover, the taxpayer, instead of getting a tax break when the money is deposited into the account, would get the interest tax-free on withdrawal. That avoids a short-term deficit, as revenue losses would come later. There would be a similar backloaded effect from more generous depreciation write-offs for businesses in

the GOP proposal. Add about \$10 billion to \$12 billion a year to what will be required to balance the budget.

The Republicans are equally disingenuous on congressional reform. Again, there are a few good ideas, including cutting the numbers of committees, and term limits for committee chairmen. But the essence of the Republican change is an ethical housecleaning. Well, the House already has passed legislation subjecting it to most federal laws, and, on ethics, House Democrats have toppled their own speaker and removed the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee after he was indicted; by contrast, Rep. Joe McDade is still the ranking Republican on the Appropriations Committee more than two years after he was indicted.

Then there's the promise to "allow consideration" of a six-year term limit for House members and 12 years for senators. Privately some leading House Republicans whisper the term limits drive will lose steam if the GOP becomes the majority. They better hope so, for it would wipe out the entire Republican leadership in both houses. Republican National Chairman Haley Barbour insists this is on the level: "Is it hypocritical for Democrats to attack soft money and PAC contributions and then take them? You bet it is, Haley, and the GOP term limits proposal is just as duplicitous."

The Senate GOP, led by Bob Dole, whose 26 years in the Senate followed eight in the House, offered a less specific agenda yesterday that omits term limits. But it does promise tax cuts, higher defense spending and a balanced budget amendment.

With these proposals the congressional Republicans will become the New York Knicks of 1994 politics: great on defense, when assailing President Clinton and the Democrats, but pathetically inept when they have the ball.

Politics & People

By Albert R. Hunt



in the first 100 days of the 105th Congress. The young freshman who conceived the rally 11 years ago, Newt Gingrich, could be the GOP speaker in that Congress.

But this time, despite the high blown rhetoric, the Republicans are offering more of the same: tax cuts for the affluent, budget promises that don't add up, and political reforms they don't mean—rather than any radical change. With this contract, voters ought to demand a money-or-representative-back guarantee.

There are some good ideas, such as a line item veto and placing limits on legal damages. But the political and policy centerpieces—economic and institutional reform—are frauds.

Although the full details aren't out, the White House and congressional Democrats are having a field day costing out the draft proposals; they don't begin to add up. The GOP contract will promise a balanced budget constitutional amendment,

Newtspeak

Will voters swallow Reagan redux?

With President Clinton's pitch to Minnesotans Saturday and Tuesday's unveiling by Newt Gingrich and Co. of "Contract With America," choices in this fall's congressional elections become well-defined. The choice is especially clear in the contest for the U.S. Senate. While Minnesotans will be choosing between Ann Wynia and Rod Grams, they'll also be choosing between Gingrich and Clinton.

Gingrich's "Contract With America" is a twin to Grams' fiscal program. The central themes boil down to tax cuts, increased defense spending and a balanced budget. That's the same "supply-side" program which got Ronald Reagan elected in 1980 and produced \$3 trillion in federal debt. It also led to what Business Week calls the "widest rich-poor gap since the Census Bureau began keeping track in 1947," a gap that is tearing hard at the American social fabric. The Grams-Gingrich plan would stretch that gap. A central proposal is a \$500 family tax credit for each child. But because the credit isn't refundable, a family with four children earning \$19,000 would get nothing while a similar family with 10 times the income — \$190,000 — would get \$2,000.

The bad effects don't stop there. The Republicans propose total tax cuts of \$200 billion over five years. They also propose up to \$60 billion in new defense spending. Add those to the balanced-budget pledge, and Republicans need between \$800 billion and \$1 trillion in spending cuts. They don't tell you where those cuts will come from — except that Social Security and other middle-class entitlements will be off-limits.

The Democrats, meanwhile, have their

own story to tell — one that belies the "tax and spend" label Republicans try to stick them with. Last week came a report that the current deficit has fallen substantially this fiscal year and may end up at about \$200 billion, \$35 billion below predictions. Economists credit economic growth and Clinton's 1993 deficit reduction program. As the president observed Saturday, this marks three straight years of deficit reduction for the first time since Harry Truman.

As Clinton also observed, the country now has the smallest federal bureaucracy since John Kennedy. Yet that pared-back bureaucracy managed to work with the congressional Democratic leadership to pass, in less than two years, the stalled Brady Bill, the stalled crime bill, the stalled Family and Medical Leave Law, the North American Free Trade Agreement, a fledgling national service program for young people, expanded Head Start eligibility, an aggressive immunization program, tax cuts for small business, \$255 billion in spending cuts and more. Unless Senate Republicans obstruct again, Clinton also soon will win passage of an important new free-trade agreement, the Uruguay Round GATT, that will further enhance the competitiveness of American business in the world market, where the United States this month once again was pronounced the world's most productive economy.

Those are the options this fall — a rerun of Reaganomics from House Republicans or Clinton's centrist, reasonably successful economic program. From here, the choice doesn't seem difficult. If the Republicans wish to be taken seriously, they'll need to do better.

A8 Monday, September 26, 1994

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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GOP agenda short on specifics

Congressional Republicans are offering an agenda of legislation they would enact if the GOP takes control of the House and Senate in the Nov. 8 elections. So far, the proposals look like Voodoo Economics, Part 2.

Senate Republicans weighed in last week with a seven-point plan that includes a constitutional amendment mandating a balanced budget and pledges to cut the capital gains tax, double the income tax exemption for children and repeal last year's tax hike on the wealthiest Social Security recipients. They would do all that while increasing defense spending.

House Republicans, led by Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, are expected to include similar pledges when they unveil their "Contract With America" Tuesday on the Capitol steps.

Of course, Gingrich's agenda for the first 100 days of a Republican Congress has already been tainted by the disclosure that he offered prospective contributors to his \$2 million, a-year political action committee the opportunity to have input in the legislative program.

But the main problem with the Republican plans is that they have offered no concrete proposal for paying for them. "We're going to pay for all of our tax cuts by cutting government

spending," Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas said in outlining the Senate plan. "We're for real on these issues."

To paraphrase Ronald Reagan's comment in a 1980 debate with Jimmy Carter: There they go again.

The Republicans are continuing a familiar pattern: They refuse to list specific spending cuts for fear of alienating a politically powerful constituency, and they claim that economic growth will ride to the rescue.

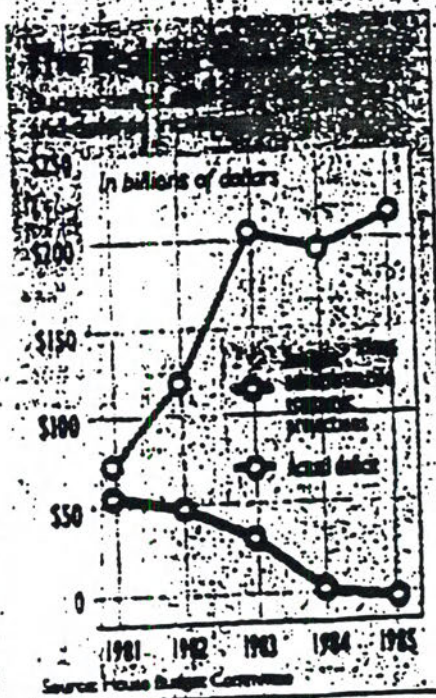
Reaganomics held out the promise that one could cut taxes, raise defense spending and lower the budget deficit all at the same time. Instead, the country was saddled with spiraling budget deficits that are only now being brought under control.

Due to continued economic recovery and disciplines imposed by the 1993 Clinton economic plan, the 1994 budget deficit could well dip to below \$200 billion. Government red ink seems

finally to be on a downward slope. But much more cutting needs to be done.

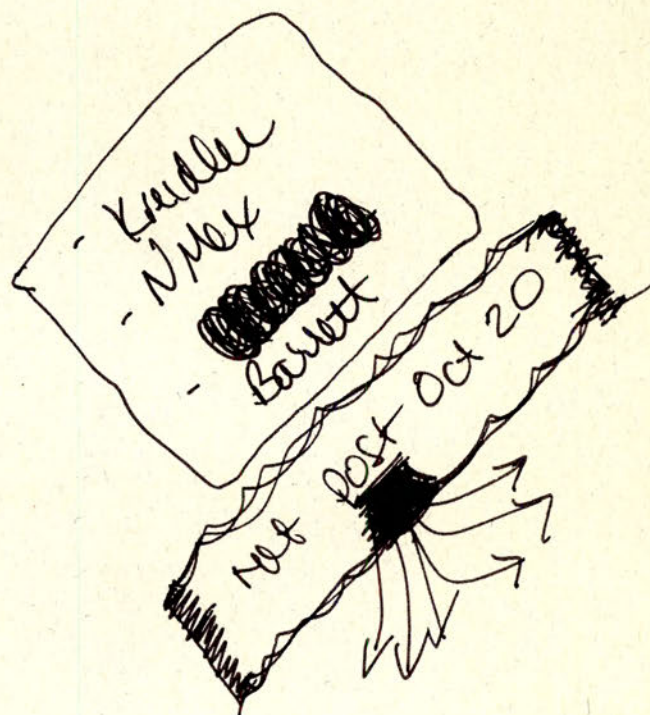
If the Republicans are serious, let them offer specific plans for drying up the remaining red ink.

To do that, they will have to name names of politically popular programs they would cut.



Western Priorities for Reno:

Kreidler, Farr, Hamburg, Furse, Feinstein



code
 22nd all day
 Kennedy

 26th Gov
 Richards
 27th San Diego
 - Duval Co turnout
 - Coleman
 - Fisher
 S. TX Latino
 event
 Nov 4 - Kantor's
 Kid event in CA

CO
 - Power
 - AZ
 - CA Latino
 communities
 Can we do
 Pullone in
 NJ?

THE WHITE HOUSE

canvass

Cisneros

0417

Say the on 6th -
not then

7th Las Cruces - Bing/Kr,

N. to Richardson. SF

Chicago - Jackson Bday
w/ IL Cong Rpt

IL - only priorities:

Stevens in Penna

Netch

Boston-Kennedy

CA 13-15
14-Oakland / SDiego
15-Finstein 14th

NY - WST ed bd

Dallas - ? departure

Mod ppls -
Crown/Cortisani
+ Cisneros
NY

yes - AZ on 15th
Coppersmith/Basha

Wash - Simms

OR - Webster (ch);

10/4/94

TO: Jennifer
FR: Jason
RE: Conf Call With Sec. JB / HI / BAGGETT

Call went very well.

- HI underscored message from President
- Asked for JB to free his schedule.
- Meeting last week with speechwriters.
- JB Help in North Carolina Race this week. Possability to pick up a Republican seat.

Requests: Craig Mathis (GA)
Clute (CA) -- running against Sonny Bono -- opportunity for pick up

Also, target base voters and influence African American turnout in general election.

JB has been disappointed in lack of effort on behalf of Administration in helping races. i.e. Mike Synar. Would have been helpful if we could have had someone help redefine him. Same situation with Senator Wofford -- does not seem to want to win. Need to personalize the races.

BAGGETT: We can help Wofford

JB: Give \$2 million to Baltimore. Include Sarbanes at event and Schmoke.

Robb doesn't seem like he wants to fight. JB can really help in African American GOTV and VA issues in Tidewater area.

\$700,000 going to Chicago. Do event with Senator -- but not very important.

Other GOTV

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 29, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT SENATOR KENNEDY FUNDRAISER DINNER

Kennedy Residence
McLean, Virginia

9:30 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much. Senator and Mrs. Kennedy, the Kennedy family. Senator Mitchell, and members of the Senate, Congressmen. Congressman-to-be Patrick Kennedy. (Applause.) And Marvin Rosen, and all those who made this night possible, I thank you so much for your help for our friend. Chevy Chase, thank you for making us laugh. (Applause.)

I'll tell you a story about Chevy Chase. I never told this story in public before. (Laughter.) Don't get that excited, it's not that good. (Laughter.) I had never met Chevy Chase in my entire life, except on a movie screen. And in 1988 or '89, I went up to Long Island in the summertime. Hillary and I were up there visiting our friend, Liz Robins, who's here tonight.

And every summertime there's a softball game to raise money between the artists and the writers. And they asked me if I would be an umpire in this game. And once I realized there were some members of the press there, and I'd be able to give them grades instead of the other way around, I eagerly accepted.

Now, at that time -- a lot of you won't remember this; I hope, at least, you won't remember it, and I hope you'll forget after I tell you tonight. (Laughter.) I had given a speech for Governor Dukakis at the Democratic Convention -- (laughter) -- which I intend to complete here this evening. (Laughter and applause.) Anyway -- can't believe I said that. (Laughter.) The announcer for the ball game was Jim Brady, the guy that does that Brady's Bits in Parade Magazine every Sunday, you know? He's a delightful man, but when he saw me out there on the mound about ready to call balls and strikes, he said -- he introduced me; he said, this is Governor Clinton from Arkansas; he's up here visiting, and if he takes as long to make the calls today as he did to speak in Atlanta, we'll never get out of here. (Laughter.)

I really appreciated that. (Laughter.) Anyway, so the game starts, and the next time the sides change, I look up in the stands and this tall guy stands up and walks down, comes out to the pitcher's mound, shakes my hand and says, "I'm Chevy Chase." And he said, "I may be the only person in America besides your mother who feels this way, but I liked that speech. Tell him to go to hell." (Laughter.)

That's verbatim what he said. (Applause.) You just applauded for the next ambassador to Great Britain. (Laughter.)

Ladies and gentlemen, you know we all do a lot of these events, and a lot of you are the backbone of our party. And sometimes we do them with great energy; sometimes we do them with interest; sometimes we do them because we know it's the right thing to do and we do them. I am here tonight because there is no place

MORE

else in America I would rather be tonight than here in this cause for this good man. (Applause.)

You know, before I got here I really didn't understand how things so often came across in the country so different than they are up here. I was another alienated American, even though I was the governor of my state. And I was terribly worried that this country was going in the wrong direction -- people that were running our country were just telling the voters what they wanted to hear and avoiding all the tough problems. We had had profound social problems building up for 30 years. We'd had serious economic problems building up for 20 years. And we had finally come to the end of the Cold War -- a time when we had an opportunity to take a fresh look at both the opportunities and the difficulties of this country at this time; and that we had a window here in which we could either secure the American Dream for our children and our grandchildren, and the strength of this country as we move into the 21st century, or we could walk away from the responsibilities of our generation.

When I talked to Hillary about running for president, I -- in a very personal way, I didn't want to do it. First of all, most of my friends thought it was a fool's errand because the incumbent president was at over 70 percent approval. Secondly, things were going pretty well for us at home, with our family, our friends and our work. But I did it because I thought that we all have an obligation to try to make a difference, and that we had to change the direction of the country.

Tonight we come here to honor someone who has always fought to keep us going forward, in the right direction; who has always fought for hope over fear, for reconciliation over division, to bring out the best in us instead of to bring out the worst in us. Well, when I came here I knew it wouldn't be easy, but I was determined to see that we work together to move this country forward, to address our problems, to get things done for ordinary Americans.

Well, it hasn't been easy. There have been some tough times and some really brutal fights. But, you know, we've made a good start. And now, as always happens in these midterm elections, with the issue hanging fire, the American people will have to decide whether we will continue this rigorous transition into tomorrow.

Every time we reach a point in history where we're going through big changes and the future is not clear, we fight a battle within ourselves. In that sense, our nation is very much like a person. If you think about your own life, whenever you did anything really different and took on a new challenge, it was always with a mixture of hope and fear. When you went to school the first day, or first went off to college, or had your first job, or first sought elective office, or married, or had your first child. No matter how good a thing is, if it is really big, it is also a little scary.

Countries are the same way. A delicate balance always has to be maintained between hope and fear. And every day we all get up and we see things that are happening that we don't like, or we're unsure what will happen to us. And it's almost as if we have a scale inside us, with blind justice holding it, and hope is one side and fear is on the other. And each day it may take a little different balance.

The job we have between now and election day is to make sure that when people wake up on election day, they vote their hopes instead of their fears; they vote for tomorrow instead of yesterday; they vote to keep going forward. And they vote for Senator Ted Kennedy for reelection in Massachusetts. (Applause.)

We still have a lot to do, but we've made a good start. And we've done some very important things by putting our economic

house in order, giving the American people their first serious attack on crime in a long time, and beginning to make this government work for ordinary citizens.

If you look at the last 20 months, this Congress -- I might add without one single, solitary vote from a member of the other party -- the Democrats who were so often attacked as being for big government and spending voted for a budget that cut \$255 billion in federal spending; that reduced the deficit by more than any plan ever adopted in the history of the country; that gave us three years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was president; that did it -- (applause.) I might add, they did it by raising tax rates on only the top 1.2 percent of Americans, including most of you in this room tonight. (Laughter.) And we thank you for staying with us. (Laughter.)

This administration -- and it's a great rebuke to those who think people only vote their own short-term self interests -- all of you are. And I honor you for your presence here tonight and for caring about your country and the long-term health and discipline and economic direction of what we're trying to do. (Applause.)

Our administration expanded trade by more than any in the comparable time period in the last 30 years. Exports are up, sales are up, and jobs are up in export-related areas.

And what has all this produced -- 4.3 million new jobs, 93 percent of them in the private sector, unlike the ratio in previous years when it's been mostly government jobs created to try to help people deal with the problems of economic fallout. We've had eight months of manufacturing job growth in a row for the first time in a decade. And just last week, at the annual vote of international economists, for the first time in nine years, it was the United States of America that was voted as having the most productive economy in the world. We've got a long way to go, but we've made a good beginning. (Applause.)

Senator Biden is here. And Senator Kennedy for years has been interested in this whole crime issue from his service on the Judiciary Committee. But Joe Biden will tell you they talked about crime around here for six years, but we finally passed the crime bill that is tough with punishment, tough in terms of putting 100,000 police on the street, but also smart in providing prevention and giving people a chance to turn away from lives of crime, and giving our young people a chance to have something to say yes to. Also, for the first time in my memory we put together back-to-back victories with the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban, in spite of the ferocious opposition of the NRA. That's a pretty good beginning. We've got a long way to go, but it's a pretty good beginning. (Applause.)

If you look at what was done to make government work for ordinary people -- in the economic plan; we reformed the college loan program -- the Secretary of Education is here tonight -- making 20 million Americans, including over 840,000 in the state of Massachusetts, eligible for low-interest loans at longer repayment terms, a stunning benefit for middle-class kids, not just poor kids, so that no one need ever walk away from the challenge of paying for a college education again. (Applause.) You can clap for that. Ted Kennedy was for it. (Applause.)

Two hundred thousand more children in Head Start. Hundreds of thousands of people in Massachusetts alone affected by the family leave law which says that if you've got a sick parent, or you're about to have a child, you can take a little time off without losing your job. We are going to have two million more children immunized by 1996, so that all the kids under two will be immunized,

and parents can go to work not worry
are going to be safe from prevention

Fifteen million workers
going to get income tax cuts be-
their kids, but they're hovering, ab-
do not want them to fall into the po-
go on welfare. This is a pro-work, pro-
this government work for ordinary citizens
start. (Applause.)

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Finally, let me say to our friends
sat out there in the heartland of America as the gov-
and years and years, and I heard them talk about how
federal government was, and how big and bloated it was.
Democrats, voted to reduce the size of the federal government.
272,000, to make it the smallest it's been since President Ken-
was in office. We have already done over 70,000 of those reductions.
And every last red cent of reduction in the federal government is
going to local government and to local communities to help them fight
crime. That is the record of the Democrats in the last two years.
(Applause.)

Now, if you compare that to what our opponents have done
and what they have said, it's a pretty big difference. In the name
of partisanship, they tried to stop the crime bill. They voted
entirely against the economic program, a program that gave college
loan breaks to millions of kids; a program that made 90 percent of
the small businesses in this country eligible for tax cuts and gave
tax reductions to 15 million working families. They have done
everything they could to keep us from addressing the health care
reform issue in a serious way.

You needn't take my word for it; only listen to them:
Congressman Brandy Grandy from Iowa saying that they had all been
ordered not to cooperate and compromise on health care. A Republican
senator quoted in one of our big newspapers the other day saying, "We
killed health care. Now if we can just not get our fingerprints on
it." Their political advisor, Mr. Kristal, telling them the one
thing they must not do is to cooperate to bring down health care
costs, make health insurance secure for those who have it, and cover
those who don't because that would be a political benefit for the
other party. That is their record.

Now we know what they wish to do if they get the
majority. They put out their contract with America. And you know
what they did -- it looks like a contract; it looks like they took
out a contract against the deficit, a contract against Medicare, a
contract against paying for the crime bill, a contract against all
the gains we have made for ordinary Americans in the last two years.
They want to go back to the way they did it before -- explode the
deficit, tell people what they want to hear, and stick it to ordinary
Americans.

We can do better than that. We have to go forward. We
have to reelect the people and elect the people who want to keep
going forward. (Applause.)

If you just look at the things that Senator Kennedy has
been involved in just since I have been president -- the Head Start
program, 200,000 more children; reforming the education loans;
working on changing the whole unemployment system to a reemployment
system; something we haven't finished yet; the Goals 2000 bill, which
for the first time in the history of America commits us as a nation
to world-class standards of educational excellence, and commits the
federal government not to have a bureaucracy, but to give help to
local grass-roots efforts at reform; the National Service Program,
which this year has 20,000 young Americans and two years from now

will have 100,000 young Americans earning their way to a higher education by serving their communities at the grass-roots level -- not in a bureaucracy, but in people power that can truly change the course of our country's future -- he led the way in all of those endeavors. And he deserves a lot of credit for it. (Applause.)

But elections are about the future. If we do a good job, it's just what we were hired to do. So why should he be reelected? Because if you ever want this country to be able to bring the deficit down without breaking the backs of our senior citizens; if you ever want to see a time when working people will be secure in their insurance, instead of the situation which exists today -- this is the only advanced country in the world where working families are losing ground in insurance coverage. There are five million Americans in working families today who had health insurance five years ago who do not have it today, even though we spend 40 percent more of our income than any other country on health care.

If you want to preserve the integrity of our great medical institutions of higher learning; if you want to see health insurance for all Americans and stability in our economy long-term, and in our federal budget long-term, we have got to address the health care issue. So what if we couldn't do it in a year. Look what's happened since I've been here. It took seven years to pass the Brady Bill, seven years to pass family leave, seven years to pass motor voter, six years to pass the crime bill. I signed a banking reform bill today that they've been working on longer than anybody can remember. We can do this. We will do this. The people of Massachusetts, I don't believe, want to send a signal to Washington, D.C. that they have abandoned health care. I think they want to tell us to keep at it until we get it right. And the only way to do that is to say, Senator Kennedy, stay on the job; keep doing it until we get it right. (Applause.)

My friends, you will see this election everywhere in America played out. Look at Patrick Kennedy's race in Rhode Island. He's running against someone who signed the contract -- a contract against health care reform, for cutting Medicare, for exploding the deficit, for putting the federal budget in a place where they won't even be able to fund the crime bill. The same old promises; tell them what they want to hear, bad-mouth government, bad-mouth the people who are the instruments of change and hope you don't get caught. I think the American people are smarter than that.

You know, Ted Kennedy said tonight that he was not the youngest man in the Senate race. He was once the youngest man in the Senate for quite a long time. Well, I was once the youngest governor in America by nine years. Time has a way of curing those problems. (Laughter.) And of changing your perspective.

But I would like to say something about Senator Kennedy and about the United States. He's made enemies in his life because he has fought for things. But the things he has fought for are things that would help people who are very different from him. Ninety-five percent of the people that would have been given the things that he was given in life never would have spent their life trying to get all that for everybody else in the country. Most of us, given the opportunities he had, would have enjoyed them in a very different way. They wouldn't have put themselves on the line day in and day out, year in and year out.

This country is also very old as a democracy, but it is forever young.

When people say they worry about whether we've still got it as a country, I say to them, why do you think the Israelis and the Arabs want to come here and have us work with them to end the decades of horrible fighting in the Middle East? Why do you think that after literally hundreds of years of fighting, the Catholics and the Protestants in Northern Ireland, and the British and the Irish wish

the Americans to be involved in the peace process? Why did Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk want the United States to spend a few million dollars of our tax money to help them develop and election that would really work?

Even in the 11th hour of our crisis in Haiti a little over a week ago, when the delegation was down there meeting with the military leaders and they realized finally that we meant business, one of them said, well, if the President is determined to do this, and the United Nations is determined to act, at least we want the United States -- we trust them; we know they can be trusted. We know what they represent.

Why? Because the right things, my fellow Americans, never get old.

And I was sitting here looking at Ted Kennedy give that speech tonight, and I saw it literally moving his entire being. And I said to myself, let the people who disagree with him disagree. Let the people who say he's wrong on the issues say that. But let no one doubt that he may be the youngest person running for the Senate in any state this year, because he believes in things that are forever young.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

9:54 P.M. EDT

DE: Oberly
IA: Campbell & Smith
MA: Kennedy - 27th

September 27, 1994

MI: Levin & Carr

MEMORANDUM TO KEVIN THURM

FROM: VIRGINIA COX

SUBJECT: POLITICAL TRAVEL

MN - Wynia - done fr already

Secretary Shalala's Upcoming Scheduled Political Travel

Dawn Clark Netch	IL	Fundraiser, Crime Event	9/23/94
Cong. Lynn Woolsey	CA	Town Hall, Fundraisers	9/24/94 ✓
Cong. Tony Beilenson	CA	Fundraisers	9/25/94 ✓
Cong. Nita Lowey	NY	Public Event	10/18/94

Possible Political Events

Gov. Mario Cuomo NY

will grant a waiver

Gov. Ann Richards TX

The Governor's office has asked us to do an immunization event with them on September 30, 1994. We are currently on hold.

→ to Maloney & Burstein
DES will be in Texas on 10/26 speaking to the American Academy of Pediatrics. We would like to tie this trip in with some races in the South or West.

Sen. Ted Kennedy MA

Has asked us to help out with some women's issues. We have tentatively talked about the end of October.

Kathleen Brown CA

She has requested the Secretary for a fundraiser in October.

NT: Burns & Pat Williams

poss: - Hamburg CA
- Fabr CA

(CT): Geydson
race - ~~Staurio~~
race - ~~Senator~~

Gub. Canal
Polus 15th

*State
by state
send it out*

*Shalala: only priority
= deal Smith*

*low
Cal
sched
+
Block
w form*

Jason
Goldberg

*Did Woolsey
Beilenson
K. Shepard
Boxer*

*NH -
Sweet*

Schalala - looks too hard

*Gary Frank's
disturb*

KT

Other poss:

OH: Shukland, Fugereh, Hgatt

PA - Wofford - if he wants

+ Sinjel

Briskin → lowest priority per Jean

M³

Holden

TX - Richards

↳ VP day ahead

Frost - less trouble

Cokemen } more trouble
Sarpolus }

Ken Bentzen for Mike Andrews sent to

Wash: Unsold - better shape, not ok b/c Rep of

Kreidler

Insler

Centwell

Potus doing Sims

WMex: King → they want her -

Potus 17^B - IACP

Basia in AZ (Gub)

C. Brown in CA

+ Karen English
at sometime

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO ALL EVENT-SPONSORING OFFICES

FROM: Ann Stock

RE: New Format for all Guest Lists

Beginning **September 23**, all guest lists submitted to the Social Office **must** meet the following specifications:

Lists will be submitted on a disk and named "EVENT.TXT". Each record will have 21 fields as listed below. Each record **must** be upper and lower case. **Do not** type in all caps or all lower case. Each **field** will be delimited by @. Each **record** will be delimited by % and a carriage return, line feed (which will begin each record on a new line). If a field between any two fields is blank, the @ must be used to indicate each blank field (see Helen Dickey example below).

1. Prefix (Mr./Ms.) Mandatory
2. First Name Mandatory
3. Last Name Mandatory
4. Title
5. Organization
6. Street
7. City
8. State
9. Zip
10. Home Phone
11. Work Phone
12. Date of Birth (in MM/DD/YY format)
13. Social Security Number (in 000-00-0000 format)
14. RSVP (A for accept, if attendance is known)
15. Spouse Prefix (Mr./Ms.)
16. Spouse First Name
17. Spouse Last Name
18. Spouse Date of Birth (in MM/DD/YY format)
19. Spouse Social Security Number (in 000-00-0000 format)
20. Spouse RSVP (A for accept, if attendance is known)
21. Country (if applicable)

Shana
Pls distribute
to everyone.
L.

Ten

Local
mayor
cops
news "how"

The AG is doing Crime Bill
Implementation Forums on the following schedule:

Am 9/9 Denver
Pm 9/9 L.A.
Am 9/10 Rural Ill/Iowa
Am 9/12 NYC

Also, WE ARE holding several
COP Swearing ins on Fri, 9/16 -

Which - if any - Cabinet
officers want to do the forums -
They are all invited - and who
wants to do Swearing - ins?

Swearing - Ins - 9/16

Phoenix - Reno

San Antonio - (40)

Sioux City -

Baltimore / PG -

New Castle Co. Del -

last year's police
supplement

CON

Milwaukee

Newport News - Hampton

VAB

- old go back -
can't do

SHALALA:

Tier 1:

Rep. Brown (CA) (requested by Brown on 9/19)

Basha (AZ) (recently requested by Basha to Wilhelm)

Fish (NY) -- Planned trip to Westchester should be for Fish, not Lowey (10/18)

Hyatt (OH)

Tier 2:

Schenk (CA)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR HAROLD ICKES
CHRISTINE VARNEY
JOAN BAGGETT

FROM: CABINET AFFAIRS
POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MATERIALS:
POLITICAL MEETING WITH SECRETARY SHALALA

You are scheduled to meet with Secretary Shalala on Tuesday, September 20, from 5:30 - 6:30 p.m. Chief of Staff Kevin Thurm, and Jerry Klepner will also attend.

The following schedule indicates events confirmed and pending. Attached, you will find a report of Cabinet activity for each of the Members listed below. A priority list for additional races accompanies this memo.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Confirmed</u>	<u>Tentative</u>
9/19	NY Cong. Karen Shepherd	
9/23	IL Dawn Clark Netch	
9/24	CA Cong. Woolsey	
9/25	CA Cong. Beilenson	
9/30		NY Gov. Cuomo
10/3	DC Kathleen Brown Fundraiser	
10/18	NY Cong. Lowey	
10/26		TX Gov Richards
10/26		TX Southern Races
10/26		TX Western Races
10/??		MA Sen. Kennedy

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITY REPORT



Last Update: 09/20/94

Chamber: House
Party: Democratic **State:** UT

D.C. Phone Number: (202) 225-3011

Events:

04-18-94	Bentsen, Lloyd	Salt Lake City, UT	Hlth Care Small Bus.
08-16-94	Shalala, Donna	Washington, DC	Karen Shepard Breakfast
08-30-94	Peña, Federico	Salt Lake City, UT	Event with Rep. Shepard
08-31-94	Peña, Federico	Salt Lake City, UT	Transportation Event
09-19-94	Shalala, Donna	New York, NY	Event w/Karen Shephard
10-07-94	Browner, Carol	Salt Lake City, UT	Event with Rep. Karen Shepard
11-17-93	Tyson, Laura	Washington, DC	Luncheon Meeting

Discussions:

08/02/94	Carol Browner	Health Care	#2 Contact
08/03/94	Bruce Babbitt	Gephardt Bill	#1 Contact. She supports the Administration.

Grants:

None Reported

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITY REPORT



Last Update: 09/20/94

Chamber: House

Party: Democratic

State: CA

D.C. Phone Number: (202) 225-5161

Events:

04-01-94	Shalala, Donna	San Francisco, CA	SF General Hospital Tour
04-06-94	Babbitt, Bruce	, CA	Event for Cong. Woolsey
06-21-94	Shalala, Donna	Washington, DC	Congressman Lynn Woolsey
09-24-94	Shalala, Donna	San Francisco, CA	Event with Cong. Lynn Woolsey
09-24-94	Shalala, Donna	San Francisco, CA	Health Care Town Hall Meeting

Discussions:

08-04-94	Laura Tyson	Health Care	
08/01/94	Bruce Babbitt	Gephardt Bill	Undecided. Hold firm on abortion coverage & single payor options for states.

Grants:

None Reported

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITY REPORT



ANTHONY C. BEILENSEN

Last Update: 09/20/94

Chamber: House
Party: Democratic **State:** CA

D.C. Phone Number: (202) 225-5911

Events:

06-05-94	Babbitt, Bruce	Los Angeles, CA	Event with Cong. Beilenson
09-25-94	Shalala, Donna	Los Angeles, CA	AIDS Walk Ceremony
09-25-94	Shalala, Donna	Los Angeles, CA	Event with Cong. Anthony Beilensen

Discussions:

None Reported

Grants:

None Reported

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITY REPORT



NITA M. LOWEY

Last Update: 09/20/94

Chamber: House
Party: Democratic **State:** NY

D.C. Phone Number: (202) 225-6506

Events:

09-26-94 Browner, Carol New York, NY Long Island Sound Signing Ceremony with Gov Cuomo, Sen Lieberman, Sen. Dodd, Rep Lowey, Rep. Shays (tent)
10-19-94 Shalala, Donna Westchester, NY Event for Cong. Lowey

Discussions:

08/02/94 Richard Riley Gephardt Bill Riley spoke with her AA, Scott Fleming who reported that the Congresswoman wants a bill and wants to support the President but has not reached any firm conclusions.

Grants:

None Reported

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITY REPORT



EDWARD M. KENNEDY

Last Update: 09/19/94

Chamber: Senate
Party: Democratic **State:** MA

D.C. Phone Number: (202) 224-4543

Events:

03-17-94	O'Leary, Hazel	Boston, MA	Event with Sen Kennedy
05-02-93	Reich, Robert	Boston, MA	Massachusetts Democratic Party Event
05-17-93	Reich, Robert	Charlestown, MA	Tour of Charlestown High School
06-17-94	Shalala, Donna	Boston, MA	Health care rally w/Sen Kennedy
06-19-93	Reich, Robert	Boston, MA	Event with Sen. Kennedy
09-12-94	Brown, Ron	Boston, MA	Massachusetts Democratic Party dinner
09-12-94	Brown, Ron	Boston, MA	Massachusetts Democratic Party dinner
09-12-94	Riley, Richard		AmeriCorps Launch Event

Discussions:

None Reported

Grants:

01-01-94	Labor	Unemployment Insurance Service	\$55,023,771
01-20-94	Labor	Trade Adjustment Assistance	\$568,841
01-25-94	Labor	EDWAA	\$1,200,000
03-01-93	Labor	Trade Adjustment Assistance	\$843,979
03-22-94	Labor	EDWAA	\$200,000
04-01-93	Labor	OSPPD	\$200,000
06-01-90	Labor	Demonstration	\$5,333,000
06-01-92	Labor	Demonstration	\$301,190
06-01-93	Labor	OWBL	\$348,647
06-10-94	Labor	NAFTA-TAA	\$69,000
06-15-94	Labor	Trade Adjustment Assistance	\$920,000
06-27-94	Labor	Administrative Services	\$1,065,000
06-29-94	Labor	EDWAA	\$2,138,585
07-01-92	Labor	Demonstration	\$1,000,000
07-01-94	Labor	Capacity Building Challenge	\$125,000
07-01-94	Labor	EDWAA	\$21,385,850
07-01-94	Labor	Title III Formula Allocation	\$27,663,877
07-15-94	Labor	School-to-Work	\$5,500,000
07-15-94	Education	School-to-Work	\$5,500,000
08-01-94	Labor	School-to-Work	\$750,000
08-01-94	Education	School-to-Work	\$750,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$110,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$115,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$150,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$164,508
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$165,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$177,500
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$1,086,200
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$25,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$25,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$25,000

08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$3,600,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$75,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$75,000
08-10-94	Natl Serv	AmeriCorps	\$85,000
08-17-94	HUD	HOPWA	\$461,590
08-18-94	Education	Star Schools Distance Education	\$1,775,365
09-03-94	HUD	Section 202, Elderly Housing	\$188,800
09-03-94	HUD	Section 202, Elderly Housing	\$1,362,400
09-03-94	HUD	Section 202, Elderly Housing	\$207,600
09-03-94	HUD	Section 202, Elderly Housing	\$2,890,800
09-03-94	HUD	Section 202, Elderly Housing	\$349,200
09-03-94	HUD	Section 202, Elderly Housing	\$353,900
09-03-94	HUD	Section 202, Elderly Housing	\$3,400,800
09-03-94	HUD	Section 202, Elderly Housing	\$5,934,600
09-03-94	HUD	Section 202, Elderly Housing	\$5,951,700
09-03-94	HUD	Section 202, Elderly Housing	\$89,700
10-01-93	Labor	VETS	\$200,000
11-01-93	Labor	Administrative Services	\$7,464,303
11-02-93	Labor	Defense Conversion	\$2,000,000
11-23-93	Labor	Defense Conversion	\$1,656,000
12-14-93	Labor	EDWAA	\$1,300,000



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Office of the Secretary
Scheduling Office

Washington, D.C. 20201

September 19, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO KEVIN THURM

FROM: VIRGINIA COX

SUBJECT: POLITICAL TRAVEL

*Sarah Cohen
Virginia
Kleppner
Monahan
Thurm
Sec's office*

Secretary Shalala's Upcoming Scheduled Political Travel

Dawn Clark Natch	IL	Fundraiser, Crime Event	9/23/94
Cong. Lynn Woolsey	CA	Town Hall, Fundraisers	9/24/94
Cong. Tony Beilenson	CA	Fundraisers	9/25/94
Kathleen Brown	DC	Fundraiser	10/3/94
Cong. Nita Lowey	NY	Public Event	10/18/94

going to IL, Fri

*less talking
request*

*through
relatives*

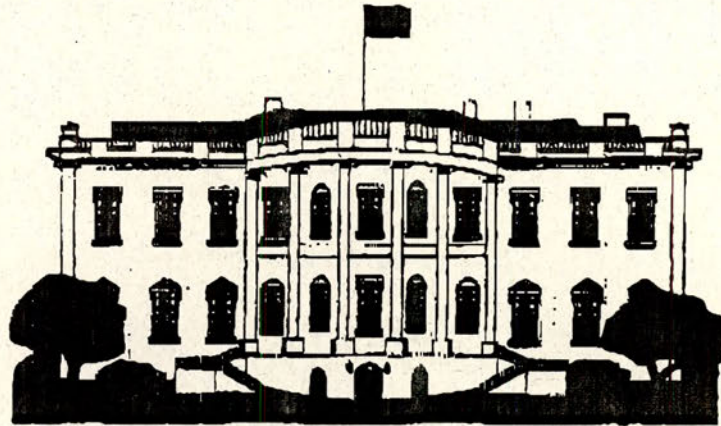
*longstdg
promise*

Possible Political Events

Gov. Mario Cuomo	NY	The Governor's office has asked us to do an immunization event with them on September 30, 1994. We are currently on hold.
Gov. Ann Richards	TX	DES will be in Texas on 10/26 speaking to the American Academy of Pediatrics. We would like to tie this trip in with some races in the South or West.
Sen. Ted Kennedy	MA	Has asked us to help out with some women's issues. We have tentatively talked about the end of October.



OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Washington, D.C. 20500



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Number of pages including cover: 4

Date: SEP 20 1994

To: Jennifer O'Connor

Fax Number: 62983

Office Number: 66290

Comments: per our conversation

From: Liane McMahon

Fax Number: 56708

Office Number: 56706

SEP 20 1994

Memorandum to Jennifer O'Connor

From:

Ricia McMahon *RM*

Subject:

Events Promised or Planned

During the calls made at the time of the Crime Bill a request was made by Craig Washington to visit a treatment program in Houston. The date is scheduled October 22, 1994 for the Vision of Hope event.

Another request was to participate in a town meeting with Edolphus Towns. We were open to considering a health care forum.

This week we had our Regional Conference to provide input for the National Drug Control Strategy. Congressman Jefferson participated in the event.

ONDCP will be holding two other regional events during October. One will be in Chicago and the other will be in Pasadena.

Events with local law enforcement personnel would be an ideal way to get coverage for the administration re Crime Bill or Customer Service i.e. Drugfire or Bulletproof.

Opportunities for events would be

Miami, Fl	September 29
New York	October 6
Chicago, Il	October 12
New Mexico	October 17 (IACP)
New Jersey	October 21 (NAACP)
Houston, Tx	October 22
Pasadena, Ca	October 31

September 1994

SUNDAY

MONDAY

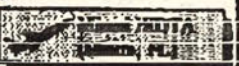
TUESDAY

WEDNESDAY

THURSDAY

FRIDAY

SATURDAY

				SATURDAY	
		1 Panama's Presidential Inauguration		2 10:00am Mig to discuss reauthorization 11:00am Marilyn Myers, Charge-Designate, Rangson, Burma	
4		5  Labor Day		6  Rosh Hashanah	
7		8 6:00pm Farewell Reception for Amb. Silva		9 10:00am Rich Yarnall... 11:00am Alice Rivkin, O... 1:00pm Tihana Dean (re... 2:00pm CNN Interview 3:00pm Amb. Gellard 7:30pm HOLD	
10  Group Bill Event (Springfield, IL)		HOLD		HOLD	
HOLD		ONDCP NORTHEASTERN REGIONAL CONF(BOST...		HOLD	
11 5:30pm CDF BK Community Crusade for Children's Summit, DC		12  11:00am-1:30pm Group Bill Event (Springfield, IL) 8:00pm Leon Panetta		13 9:00am Thailand Delega... 10:00am Signing of Crim... 12:00pm Rich Yarnall... 2:00pm Emergo Magazine... 3:00pm Judge Jeffrey Ta... 4:00pm Budget Review ... 6:30pm Interview w/Tom ...	
14 9:00am HOLD 10:00am Press Brfg: S.A... 12:00pm ABC Prime Ti... 2:00pm Fred Garcia 4:00pm AG Janet Reno ... 5:00pm Budget Meeting ... 7:00-10:00pm CBC:Rept... 7:00pm Dinner w/Amba...		15 Yom Kippur 1:00pm Glen Adams w/... 3:40pm HOLD 6:30-8:30pm CBC:Recepti... 6:30pm Reception IHO ... 7:30pm CBC:Chairman ... 8:00-11:00pm CBC:Gala ...		16 9:00am-12:00pm CBC "N... 10:30am CBC: Braintrust... 1:00pm Dr. Andrew Chi... 2:00pm Dr. Gray (CBS)... 3:45pm Depart for War... 7:00-9:00pm MAINTENANCE	
17 HOLD: CBC Dinner (DC) 3:00-5:00pm CBC:Reception IHO Rega Lewis, Bishop, McGowan(DC) 4:00-6:00pm CBC:King Cab's Reception (DC) 11:00pm-2:30am CBC:New Orleans Night		18 10:00am-2:00pm CBC:Crusade Brunch IHO Rep Payne (D.C.)		19	
20 President's Customer Svc... 10:40-10:15am Hispanic ... 11:30am Depart for Char... 2:00pm  Chairman's Office 6:30pm Arthur Ashe Fil...		21 8:30-9:30am Boyds Girls ... 10:30am Mura Tapp Sho... 11:30am Karen Dean & S... 1:00pm WDCU (UDC ... 2:30pm Say No Together... 3:00pm Amb. Gellard 4:15pm Adm. R. Kramack 5:15pm Fred Garcia		22 8:15am (T)Leon Panetta Staff Mtg 9:00am Harold Iches, Deputy COS 10:00am Staff Brfg for Hearing	
23 Autumn begins		24		HOLD	
25		26		27 10:00am St. of MD Weapons Violence Conf. (Baltimore) 12:00pm COS Luncheon w/ Cabinet Members 2:00pm Staff Brfg for Hearing	
28 10:00am Venezuelan Delegation 12:00pm Ann. of Inaug 6:00pm (T)S.C. Fest IHO James Clyburn (D.C.) 7:30-9:30pm Stop the Violence Benefit Dinner (Sarah Brady)		29 9:00-11:00am House Military Committee Hearing  Group Bill Event (Springfield, IL)		30  Group Bill Event (Springfield, IL)	
HOLD		HOLD		HOLD	

(T) = Tentative

9/19/1994

October 1994

SUNDAY

MONDAY

TUESDAY

WEDNESDAY

THURSDAY

FRIDAY

SATURDAY

						1
						HOLD
2	3	4  9:30-10:30am Senior Staff Meeting	5 11:00am White House Interns, Indian Try Run (Address) 12:30pm Public Affairs Officers Luncheon (8th Fl Conf Rm)	6  9:00am: Internal Narc Enforcement Offs Conf/Address(NY)	7 2:00pm George Hucker w/ Fred Garcia	8
HOLD						
9	10  Columbus Day (Observed)	11  9:30-10:30am Senior Staff Meeting	12	13	14 11:00am James Thompson, RAND Corp.	15
ONDCP MIDWESTERN REGIONAL CONE (CHICAGO, IL)						IACP CONVENTION
16	17  10:00-11:30am IACP 80th Anniv Conf (Address) Albuquerque, NM	18  9:30-10:30am Senior Staff Meeting	19 12:30-2:00pm Lunch w/ Caribbean Ambassadors	20 HOLD: PRIDE Announcement (DC area)	21 9:30am Cong. Youth Leadership Council (NYC)  7:00pm NACF/Long Branch (Chapel, Freedom Field, Bazaar(RT))	22  Vision of Hope Treasury Vets Fair Opening (Houston)
IACP CONVENTION						
23	24 2:00pm Barbara Cranglio w/G. Kozak	25 7:30am Interdiction Coordinating Conf (All day/D.C.)	26 9:30-10:30am SOUTHCOM Conf./R. McNeir	27 11:30am (T)CADCA Red Ribbon Event 2:00pm (T)CADCA Event 4:00-5:30pm SOUTHCOM Conf./R. McNeir	28 12:00pm CADCA Forum Luncheon	29 9:00pm Post-Retrol Evnt/ Ford's Gals IHO POTUS&FratLady
30 Daylight Savings— not back 1 hour 8:00pm Ford's Gals IHO POTUS & First Lady	31 Halloween					
ONDCP WESTERN REGIONAL CONF TUCASADENA						

(T)—Tentative

9/19/1994

Revo - 9/24 - Eva Claertm - why?

CISn - CA - - Farr
- Filner
- Hamberg
- Shenk
- Brown
- Bielsenor

Revo - CA 13th

Border stiff w/ Feinstein

J. Brown 14th - can he see
Gegensen - CT

10/16 - Bill Richardson -

Shalala in NY - do Ham Fish

Cabinet Affairs Event Calendar for September 14 - October 31, 1994

10-12-94 Wednesday

Brown, Lee

Chicago, IL TBD ONDCP Midwestern Regional Conference

Other

10-13-94 Thursday

Shalala, Donna

Washington, DC 12:00pm Enterprise Network remarks

Health Care

10-15-94 Saturday

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC TBD IACP Convention

Other

10-16-94 Sunday

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC TBD IACP Convention

Other

10-17-94 Monday

Brown, Lee

10:00 am Address IACP 101st Annual Conference

Other

10-18-94 Tuesday

Shalala, Donna

New York, NY TBD Travel New York

Travel

10-21-94 Friday

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC 9:30 am Address Congressional Youth Leadership Council

Other

New Jersey TBD NAACP/Long Beach Chapt. Freedom Fund Banquet

Other

10-24-94 Monday

Reich, Robert

Washington, DC 11:45am National Safety Council 94 Congress & Exposition Speech

Other

Cisneros
Finner
? Sweeney
? Feinstein
? Brown

10/14
J. Brown
Westchester
ribbon
cutting
Deland

20¹² Reno
Ithaca

Cisneros, Orlando
Savings + Community
Banking

19¹² Cisneros, Philly
Wm Penn
Foundation

10/22
Vision & Hope
Treatment
L. Brown
Houston, TX

→ 20¹² to 28¹² → Reno
on
vacation

Cabinet Affairs Event Calendar for September 14 - October 31, 1994

10-25-94 Tuesday

Bentsen, Lloyd

Washington, DC 6:00 pm United Nations Association Reception & Dinner

Other

10-28-94 Friday

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC TBD CADCA Forum Luncheon

Other

10-29-94 Saturday

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC 9:00pm Post-Rehrsl Evnt/Ford's Gala IHO. (tent)

Other

10-30-94 Sunday

Brown, Lee

Washington, DC TBD (T) Ford's Gala IHO

Other

10-31-94 Monday

Brown, Lee

Pasadena, CA TBD ONDCP Western Regional Conference

Other

26th
TX
Richards
(Shalala)

(Deno
on
vacation
last
week)

Last week
(24-31)
Cisneros in TX
w/ Coleman, fr, on 28th
+ Richards wants
swing

1994 Political Judgments

Revised Sept. 13, 1994

State Rank	State (E-votes)	Primary Date	Statewide Democratic Performance	Gubernatorial Race [BOLD = Incumbent] [* = Priority]	Judgment	Senate Race [BOLD = Incumbent] [* = Priority]	Judgment	Open House Seats [BOLD = Safe] [____ = Marginal] [Potentially Marginal]	Competitive House Races [* = Priority] [____ = Marginal] [Potentially Marginal]
1	CA (54)	6/7	52.4	Brown (D) vs. Wilson (R) *	Marginal/ Toss-up	Feinstein (D) vs. Huffington (R) *	Marginal/ Toss-up	Edwards (D - 16) Huffington (R - 22) McCandless (R - 44)	Hamburg (D - 1) * Doolittle (R - 4) Farr (D - 17) * Lehman (D - 19) * Beilenson (D - 24) * Moorhead (R - 27) Harman (D - 36) * Brown (D - 42) Calvert (R - 43) Schenk (D - 49) * Filner (D - 50) *
2	PA (23)	5/10	51.9	Open Seat - Singel (D) vs. Ridge (R) *	Lean D	Wofford (D) vs. Santorum (R) *	Toss-up	Santorum (R - 18) Murphy (D - 20) Ridge (R - 21)	Borski (D - 3) * Holden (D - 6) Mezvinsky (D - 13) * McHale (D - 15)
3	MI (18)	8/2	51.1	Wolpe (D) vs. Engler (R)	Marginal/ Leaning (R)	Open Dem. Seat - Carr (D) vs. Abraham (R) *	Toss-up	Carr (D - 8) Ford (D - 13)	Stupak (D - 1) * Kildee (D - 9) * Levin (D - 12) *
4	TX (32)	3/8	47.2	Richards (D) vs. Bush (R) *	Toss-up	Fisher (D) vs. Hutchison (R)	Leaning (R)	Andrews (D - 25) Pickle (D - 10)	Sarpalius (D - 13) Coleman (D - 16) * Bonilla (R - 23)
5	TN (11)	8/4	55.9	Open Seat - Bredesen (D) vs. Sundquist (R) *	Toss-up	A: Sasser (D) vs. Frist (R) B: Open Dem. Seat - Cooper (D) vs. Thompson *	A-Toss-up B- Toss-up	Lloyd (D - 3) Cooper (D - 4) Sundquist (R - 7)	Gordon (D - 6)
6	MN (10)	9/13	52.6	Marty (D) vs. Carlson (R)	Lean R	Open Rep. Seat- Wynia vs. Grams (R) *	Toss-up	Penny (D - 1) Grams (R - 6)	Minge (D - 2) Peterson (D - 7)
7	OK (8)	8/23	46.7	Open Seat - (D) Runoff vs. Keating (R) *	Toss-up	Open Dem. Seat - McCurdy (D) vs. Inhofe (R)	Marginal/ Toss-up	Inhofe (R - 1) McCurdy (D - 4)	Synar (D - 02)
8	FL (25)	9/6	46.4	Chiles (D) * vs. J.Bush (R)	Marginal/ Toss-up	Mack (R)	Safe (R)	Hutto (D - 1) Baccus (D - 15)	Brown (D - 3) Thurman (D - 5) * Gibbons (D - 11) Canady (R - 12)

State Rank	State (E-votes)	Primary Date	Statewide Democratic Performance	Gubernatorial Race [BOLD = Incumbent] [* = Priority]	Judgment	Senate Race [BOLD = Incumbent] [* = Priority]	Judgment	Open House Seats [BOLD = Safe] [____ = Marginal] [Potentially Marginal]	Competitive House Races [* = Priority] [____ = Marginal] [Potentially Marginal]
9	NY (33)	9/13	56.3	Cuomo (D) vs. Pataki (R)	Toss Up	Moynihan (D) vs. Castro (R)	Safe (D)	<u>Fish (R - 19)</u>	<u>Hochbrueckner (D - 1)*</u> <u>King (R - 3)</u> <u>Ackerman (D - 5)</u> <u>Maloney (D - 14)*</u> <u>Hinchey (D - 26)*</u> <u>Slaughter (D - 28)*</u>
10	AZ (8)	9/13	47.5	Symington (R)* vs. Basha (R)	Toss-up	Open Dem. Seat - Coopersmith/Mahoney(D) vs. Kyl (R)*	Toss Up	<u>Coppersmith (D - 1)</u> <u>Kyl (R-4)</u>	<u>English (D - 6)*</u>
11	OH (21)	5/3	51.3	Volnovich (R) vs. Burch (D)	Safe (R)	Open Dem. Seat - Hyatt (D) vs. DeWine (R)*	Lean R	<u>Applegate (D - 18)</u>	<u>Mann (D - 1)</u> <u>Strickland (D - 6)*</u> <u>Hoke (R - 10)</u> <u>Brown (D - 13)</u> <u>Sawyer (D - 14)</u> <u>Fingerhut (D - 19)*</u>
12	ME (4)	6/14	48.2	Open Seat - Brennan (D) vs. Collins (R) vs. King (I)	Marginal/ Toss-up	Open Dem. Seat - Andrews (D) vs. Snowe (R)*	Lean R	<u>Andrews (D - 1)</u> <u>Snowe (R - 2)</u>	
13	GA (13)	7/19	47.8	Miller (D) vs. Millner (R)	Toss Up			<u>Rowland (D - 8)</u>	<u>Deal (D-9)</u> <u>Collins (R - 3)</u> <u>Linder (R - 4)</u> <u>Darden (D - 7)*</u> <u>Johnson (D - 10)*</u>
14	MD (10)	9/13	58.8	Open Dem. Seat - Glendening (D) vs. Sauerbray (R)*	Marginal/ Toss-up	Sarbanes (D) vs. Brock (R)*	Marginal/ Leaning (D)	<u>Bentley (R - 2)</u>	Bartlett (R - 6)
15	WY (3)	8/16	42.7	Open Seat - Karpan (D) vs. Geriuger (R)*	Lean (D)	Open Rep. Seat - Sullivan (D) vs. Thomas (R)*	Lean R	<u>Thomas (R - AL)</u>	
16	IL (22)	3/15	53.7	Netsch (D) vs. Edgar (R)	Leaning (R)			<u>Sangmeister (D-11)</u> <u>Michel (R - 18)</u>	
17	VA (13)	6/14	45.9			Robb (D) vs. North (R) vs. Wilder (I) vs. Coleman (I)*	Marginal/ Toss-up		<u>L.F. Payne (D-5)</u> <u>Sisisky (D-4)</u> <u>Pickett (D - 2)</u> <u>Boucher (D - 9)</u> <u>Byrne (D - 11)*</u>
18	NJ (15)	6/7	49.9			Lautenberg (D) vs. Haytaian (R)*	Marginal/ Toss-up	<u>Hughes (D - 2)</u>	<u>Klein (D - 8)</u>
19	CT (5)	7/13	51.3	Open Dem. Seat - Gity (D) vs. Rowland (R)	Marginal/ Toss-up	Lautenberg (D) vs. Leahy (R)	Safe (D)		<u>Schumer (D - 4)</u> <u>Franks (R - 5)</u>

State Rank	State (E-votes)	Primary Date	Statewide Democratic Performance	Gubernatorial Race [BOLD = Incumbent] [* = Priority]	Judgment	Senate Race [BOLD = Incumbent] [* = Priority]	Judgment	Open House Seats [BOLD = Safe] [____ = Marginal] [Potentially Marginal]	Competitive House Races [* = Priority] [____ = Marginal] [Potentially Marginal]
20	WA (11)	9/20	50.6			Gorton (R) *	Leaning (R)	<u>Swift (D - 2)</u>	Cantwell (D - 1) <u>Unsoeld (D - 3) *</u> <u>Inslee (D - 4) *</u> Foley (D - 5) <u>Kreidler (D - 9) *</u>
21	NM (5)	6/7	52.1	King (D) vs. Johnson (R) vs. Mondragon (I) *	Marginal/ Toss-up	Bingaman (D) vs. McMillan (R)	Toss-up		Skeen (R - 2)
22	SC (8)	8/9	48.5	Open Seat - Theodore (D) vs. Beasley (R) *	Marginal/ Toss-up			Ravenel (R - 1) <u>Derrick (D - 3)</u>	Spratt (D - 5)
23	MO (11)	8/2	49.3			Open Rep. Seat - Wheat (D) vs. Ashcroft (R) *	Leaning (R)	Wheat (D - 5)	Danner (D - 6) <u>Volkmer (D - 9) *</u> Hancock (R - 7)
24	MA (12)	9/20	59.2	Weld (R)	Likely (R)	Kennedy (D)	Lean (D)		<u>Blute (R - 3)</u> <u>Torkildsen (R - 6)</u> Studds (D - 10)
25	CO (8)	8/9	48.9	Romer (D) vs. Benson (R)	Toss-up				Skaggs (D - 2) McInnis (R - 3)
26	MT (3)	6/7	52.8			Mudd (D) vs. Burns (R) *	Marginal/ Leaning (R)		<u>Williams (D - AL) *</u>
27	NV (4)	9/6	48.8	B. Miller (D)	Lean (D)	Bryan (D) vs.	Lean (D)		Bilbray (D - 1)
28	KS (6)	8/2	43.0	Open Seat - Slattery (D) vs. Graves (R) *	Lean R			<u>Slattery (D - 2)</u>	Meyers (R - 3) Glickman (D - 4)
29	AL (9)	6/7	48.7	Folsom (D) vs. James (R)	Marginal/ Leaning (D)				Cramer (D - 5)
30	RI (4)	9/13	54.5	(Now Open Dem. Seat) - York (D) vs. Almond (R)	Toss-up	Kushner (D) vs. Chafee (R)	Likely (R)	<u>Machtley (R - 1)</u>	
31	IN (12)	5/3	45.1			Jontz (D) vs. Lugar (R)	Safe (R)	<u>Sharp (D - 2)</u>	<u>Buyer (R - 5)</u> <u>Myers (R - 7)</u> <u>McCloskey (D - 8)</u> Long (D - 4)
32	DE (3)	9/10	48.6			Oberly vs. Roth (R) *	Toss-up		
33	IA (7)	6/7	53.2	Campbell (D) vs. Branstad (R) *	Marginal/			<u>Grandy (R - 5)</u>	<u>Smith (D - 4)</u>

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34	WI (11)	9/13	50.0	Chvala (D) vs. Thompson (R)	Safe (R)	Kohl (D) vs. Welch (R)	Likely (D)		Barca (D - 1) Gunderson (R - 3) Klecza (D - 4) Roth (R - 8)
35	AK (3)	8/23	42.4	Open Seat - Knowles (D) vs. Campbell (R) vs. Coghill (I)	Toss-up				Young (R - AL)
36	OR (7)	5/17	52.5	Open Seat - Kitzhaber (D) vs. Smith (R) *	Marginal/Leaning (D)			Smith (R - 2) Kopetski (D - 5)	Furse (D - 1)
37	ID (4)	5/24	43.0	Open Seat - Echohawk (D) vs. Batt (R) *	Marginal/Leaning (D)				LaRocco (D - 1)
38	NE (5)	5/10	47.6	Nelson (D) vs. Spence (R)	Likely (D)	Kerrey (D) vs. Stoney (R)	Lean (D)		Hoagland (D - 2) *
39	AR (6)	5/24	52.3	Tucker (D) vs. Nelson (R)	Marginal/Leaning (D)				Dickey (R - 4)
40	NC (14)	5/3	49.7					Valentine (D - 2) Neal (D - 5)	Lancaster (D - 3) Taylor (R - 11) Hefner (D - 8) Price (D - 4)
41	MS (7)	6/7	44.7			Harper (D) vs. Lott (R)	Safe (R)	Whitten (D - 1)	Thompson (D - 2) Montgomery (D - 3)
42	ND (3)	6/14	50.0			Conrad (D) vs. Clayburgh (R)	Safe (D)		Pomeroy (D - AL) *
43	HI (4)	9/17	55.2	Open Seat - Waihee (D) *	Marginal/Leaning (R)	Akaka (D)	Safe (D)		
44	SD (3)	6/7	47.6	Beddow (D) vs. Janklow (R) [Incumbent Miller defeated in primary]	Marginal/Leaning (R)				
45	KY (8)	5/24	52.2					Lewis (D - 2) Mazzoli (D - 3)	Barlow (D - 1)
46	LA (9)	10/1	49.2						Hayes (D - 7)
47	UT (5)	6/28	42.9			Shea (D) vs. Hatch (R)	Likely (R)		Hansen (R - 1) Shepherd (D - 2) *
48	NH (4)	9/13	48.4	King (D) vs. Merrill (R)	Safe (R)				Swett (D - 2)
49	WV (5)	5/10	57.9			Byrd (D) vs. Klos (R)	Safe (D)		

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50	VT (3)	9/13	50.4	Dean (D) vs. Kelley (R)	Safe (D)	Jeffords (R) vs. Backus (D)	Safe (R)		
51	DC (3)	9/13	90.0						

[illegible]

MEMBER	POTUS	VPOTUS	HRC	MEG	Babbitt	Bentsen	J. Brown	R. Brown	Browner	Cisneros	Espy	Kantor	O'Leary	Pena	Reich	Riley	Shalala	Other
Maloney (NY - 14)																		
Lowey (NY - 18)		4/25							9/26									
Hinchey (NY - 26)		9/23							Possible	7/1				Hi in NY	Pending			
Slaughter (NY - 28)		8/12	YES			10/13 #						5/31				Tent 9/23	7/11	Pending
English (AZ - 06)						5/31							5/94				1/3	Kantor McLarty
Mann (OH - 01)		3/13					9/19	YES OCT 1/2				3/30			IN OH			# Jane Ale
Strickland (OH - 06)										9/7						10/14		
Brown (OH - 13)				10/14														
Sawyer (OH - 14)	10/24							5/20									Tent 10/13	
Fingerhut (OH - 19)		3/11				6/18												Kunin in OH
Darden (GA - 07)		6/3						Lockheed Gover in GA									5/16 9/26	
Johnson (GA - 10)						7/18							8/27				10/8	
Pickett (VA - 02)	Cabinet Visit																	
Boucher (VA - 09)																		
Byrne (VA - 11)		5/17																
Pallone (NJ - 06)					Pending					Possible				PEND FOSS	Pending	9/15	5/15	
Klein (NJ - 08)		Pending				# in NJ		# in CT										
Gejdenson (CT - 02)		8/12 Pending	9/24				J. Brown	5/10 Pending				TBD			YES			
Cantwell (WA - 01)						Confirmed - Supt.	Pending	7/13				Pending		10/94				Panetta
Unsoeld (WA - 03)		9/24				Pending						Pending					8/25	
Inslee (WA - 04)													6/13					
Foley (WA - 05)	11/93							4/1										
Kreidler (WA - 09)			7/94			5/11						5/11						
Danner (MO - 06)										Pending	8/94			9/26				
Volkmer (MO - 09)											8/94							
Olver (MA - 01)																		
Meehan (MA - 05)			Level II Pend		1/24	Final II Pending											7/12	

Not Members
Gaul (OH)
Rep. Payne (VA)

9/26
10/14

9/30

MEMBER	POTUS	VPOTUS	HRC	MEG	Babbitt	Bentsen	J. Brown	R. Brown	Browner	Cisneros	Espy	Kantor	O'Leary	Pena	Reich	Riley	Shalala	Other
Skaggs (CO - 02)					6/6							6/11						
Williams (MT - AL)		9/28 9/24	9/6 DC 9/13													Test 10/17		
Bilbray (NV - 01)		4/9				Level II												Panetta
Glickman (KS - 04)		6/1				Pending - in KS							2/26				3/30	Reno
McCloskey (IN - 08)						Possible									Possible		3/12	
Barca (WI - 01)							7/3			3/94				7/29				
Furse (OR - 01)		9/24				Confirmed										3/31	3/31	
LaRocco (ID - 01)																		
Hoagland (NE - 02)	Possible?	4/7			Pending	\$ in DC						TBD						PRITY Tyson/Rubin
Lancaster (NC - 03)						Pending	7/30							YES		Test 10/21		
Thompson (MS - 02)		VP in MS					TBD		TBD								TBD	
Pomeroy (ND - AL)						YES							8/26			10/17		
Barlow (KY - 01)		7/23-25 KY																
Tauzin (LA - 03)																		
Fields (LA - 04)		6/3				4/20											4/5	
Shepherd (UT - 02)		6/2		8/11		4/18											9/19; 8/16	Tyson
Go say (UT)												Pending		8/30				

~~DeLoach~~
Ditrembe (ME)

Baldacci (ME)

Luther (MN)

Rep. Wheeler (MS)

Rep. Sands (NC)

Lauter (NC)

Kupillas (CR)

Hemody (RI-01)

Cabinet Travel in RI

Possible in ME

9/17, 27 → or 10/11

9/26
Pending

Pending

Pending

Pending

Pending

POSS.

10/21

Renew possible

CABINET ACTIVITY IN SUPPORT OF MIDTERM ELECTIONS

During the next two months, the Cabinet will actively support candidates in the priority election targets throughout the country. The Cabinet activity can be divided into post-session fundraising and pre-election GOTV. For both activities we in Cabinet Affairs need the critical targets. We propose the following campaign related activity:

1. **MESSAGE:** Develop a coordinated "election message" and pump into the entire Administration system;
2. **TRAVEL TO TARGETED DISTRICTS:** In the immediate post-session fundraising travel, Cabinet Secretaries can provide other campaign support as appropriate. Support could include editorial boards, rallies, and local media;
3. **REGIONAL MEDIA:** Secretaries and other Administration officials can use local radio, satellite, newspaper and op-eds to promote a Member's role in or opposition to Administration accomplishments as appropriate; and
4. **GRANTS:** Make available grant information to Members and maximize opportunities for grants before November.

Steps to implement the strategy:

1. Increased Secretarial Awareness.
Private one-on-ones with Secretaries?
2. Targets for post-session fundraising.
Make assignments now.
3. Broad distribution of accomplishments/election message.
Meeting with agency speechwriters.
4. Regular participation in Monday 2:00 p.m. Cabinet travel meetings.
5. Design Cabinet role in GOTV.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: September 12, 1994

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

To: The 1994 Political Team

MARKING INITIALS: M1 DATE: 9/27/94

From: Stan Greenberg

7024-0267-5

RE: 1994: STRATEGIC CONCEPTS

The Republicans have effectively defined our current political environment and are on the verge of defining the 1994 contests in their own terms. Those definitions are putting the Democrats at a strong disadvantage: minus 3 degrees on party thermometers (which has never been less than plus 3 degrees in an off-year election; minus 3 points on congressional generic vote (which stood at plus 8 points 2 years ago). The President's job approval is at 40 percent according to the public polls, which needs to rise to 50 percent to make possible an acceptable off-year result.

Democrats must become articulate about their definition of the current environment and what the 1994 elections are about. That requires a new assertiveness and confidence, rooted in a shared political understanding.

Presidential and National

1. A start.

The President has made a start on making America work for ordinary people, on making a better life for people.

Examples: 255 billion in spending cuts, 3 years-in-a-row of declining deficits (first time in 50 years), tax cuts for 15 million working families, 4 million new jobs, 3 strikes and you're out (law of the land), assault weapon ban and Brady bill; college loans extended to the middle class.

2. Adversary.

The *Republican leaders in Congress* who seem only to care about the privileged and wealthy.



3. The attack.

The Republican leaders in Congress proposed slashing Medicare, opposed health care reform, opposed an assault weapon ban, and opposed even a penny of new taxes on the wealthy; they stood with the insurance companies, the NRA, and the wealthiest against ordinary people.

4. Contrast.

The President is fighting to make America work for ordinary people.

The Republican leaders in Congress are working for the most privileged.

Our definition of 1994 is not progress versus gridlock. Instead, Republicans have tried to block every idea to help ordinary people; they've aligned with the special interests every time (the insurance industry, NRA, the wealthiest).

The Republicans have their own definition of the current political situation which parallels the presentation above:

- No progress. Democrats control both the White House and Congress and cannot govern.
- Adversary. Bill Clinton
- The attack. Biggest tax increase in history, government take-over of health care system.
- Contrast. Democrats are for big government and higher taxes.

Republicans are for less government and lower taxes.

As one can see in the attached chart, the Republicans have been making steady progress in imposing their definition on the election. But the Democratic message remains equally strong if only the administration and the Democrats would articulate it.



Incumbent Democratic Candidates

The message of the incumbent Democratic candidates should be consistent with the national message but not formally linked.

1. Taking Personal Ownership.

The individual Democratic Senators and House members should take personal ownership of what they have fought for and what they have accomplished. There is no reason to be defensive; indeed, they should confidently contest any challenge to their votes on the budget and other issues. These members fought these personal battles for the people at home: 255 billion in spending cuts, tax cuts for 15 million working families (30,000 in the district), tax relief for 90 percent of small businesses, 3 years in-a-row of deficit reduction, 3 strikes and you're out, the assault weapon ban and Brady bill, college loans to the middle class.

2. Outsider, non-national.

Our candidates are fighting these battles for the people at home – not for Clinton, Congress or the Democratic Party. (Clinton is trying and they hope he succeeds). Let the Republican candidates try to make this election about Clinton and national issues.

3. Middle-class reformers.

The Democratic candidates should advance a middle class, reform agenda. The messages below tested well in swing districts:

Middle class message: (John Smith) has fought for change that would help people. He agreed with higher taxes for the top 1 percent, but also fought successfully for tax relief for small business and 30,000 families of moderate income in our area. He voted to extend college loans to the middle class and expanded job training for the non-college bound.



Reformist message: (John Smith) is fighting to clean up the mess in Washington. He voted for severe restrictions on lobbyists and limits on campaign spending. He voted for 255 billion dollars in spending cuts and the biggest deficit reduction in history.

Challenge and Open Seat Democrats

Like the incumbents, the Democratic candidates in open seats or those challenging Republicans should be fighting for the people at home and for a middle class agenda (job training and college loans); they should be establishing their credibility as outsiders who want to change government. They should attack their opponent for standing with the Republican leaders in Congress and for their opposition to pro-people policies.

1. Middle class reformers.

The effective Democratic candidate is somebody who *fights for people*, as presented in the message statement below:

(John Smith) believes that government should work for people who play by the rules. He favors tough measures to reduce the deficit. Smith is a strong supporter of expanded job training for the non-college bound and displaced workers and extending college loans to the middle class. He is very critical of (Brown) who opposed even a penny of tax increases on the wealthy and voted to slash Medicare, job training and college loans.

Candidates may want to add health care, as voters are strongly inclined to support a Democrat who wants to continue to achieve universal coverage and health care reform.

While Republicans are anti-government, our candidates must be *crusaders to change government*.



(John Smith) wants to radically change government. He wants tough measures to cut the deficit, root out waste and perks for elected officials and bureaucrats. His main goal is to make government work efficiently and with respect for the taxpayer who pays the bills. That means eliminating red tape and bureaucracy, allowing more competition and giving citizens more choices.

2. Adversary.

The Republican leaders in Congress. Our candidates must attempt to associate their Republican opponents with the Republican leaders in Congress. When successful, that strategy produces a dramatic shift in favor of the Democrats. It makes the Republican part of Congress, politics and the mess in Washington.

3. Attack.

Our candidates must attack the Republican record and the agenda of the Republican leaders in Congress:

for big cuts in Medicare
against the Brady Bill and assault weapon ban
against a tax increase for the top 1 percent

Target Groups

There are a range of groups that form part of the Democratic base that need to be targeted and mobilized during this phase of the 1994 effort, as set out below:

seniors
union households
African-Americans
Latinos (Southwest)
Irish Catholics

Older, non-college women are the most volatile swing group in the electorate where Democrats can make their most important gains.



Validation

While the political effort is attempting to put our definition on the current environment, it is important that the progress message receive independent, non-political validation in a number of areas:

- **Economic gains** Spending cuts, deficit reduction, job creation, expanded trade, new investments.
- **Foreign policy** On balance, important successes: Cuba, North Korea, Middle East, Russia and Eastern Europe, Northern Ireland.
- **Congress** Dramatic successes: economic program and deficit reduction, taxes on top 1 percent, crime bill, assault weapon ban and Brady Bill, NAFTA and GATT, college loans and National Service, Family and Medical Leave, lobby and campaign finance reform, 255 billion in spending cuts and 250,000 fewer bureaucrats.

It is important to bring Congress to a close as soon as possible to allow time for a reassessment of what Clinton has truly done.

Burst Out

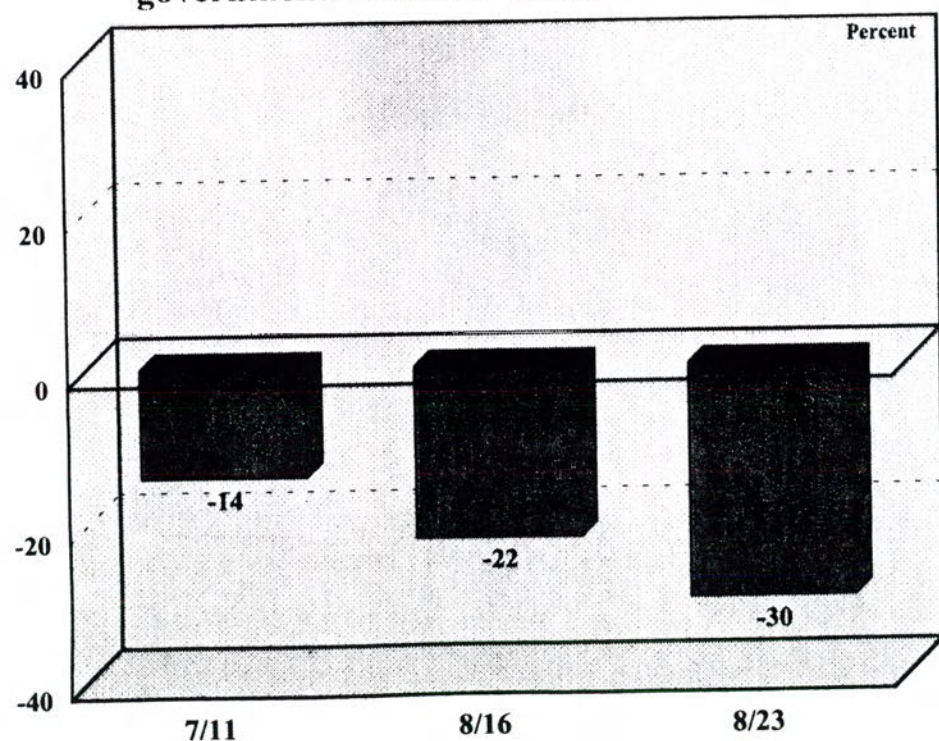
It is important to work with the Congress, candidates and the administration officials now so they can begin to communicate our definition. In addition, the President should begin to introduce these themes into his campaign/fundraising speeches. But the main effort -- including presidential campaigning and generic media -- will be reserved for the moment of adjournment. At that point, we will burst out with a renewed fighting spirit and sharp contrast that can shift the mood of the country.

Definition Of 1994 Race

By: More Likely To Vote For Democrats minus More Likely To Vote For Republicans

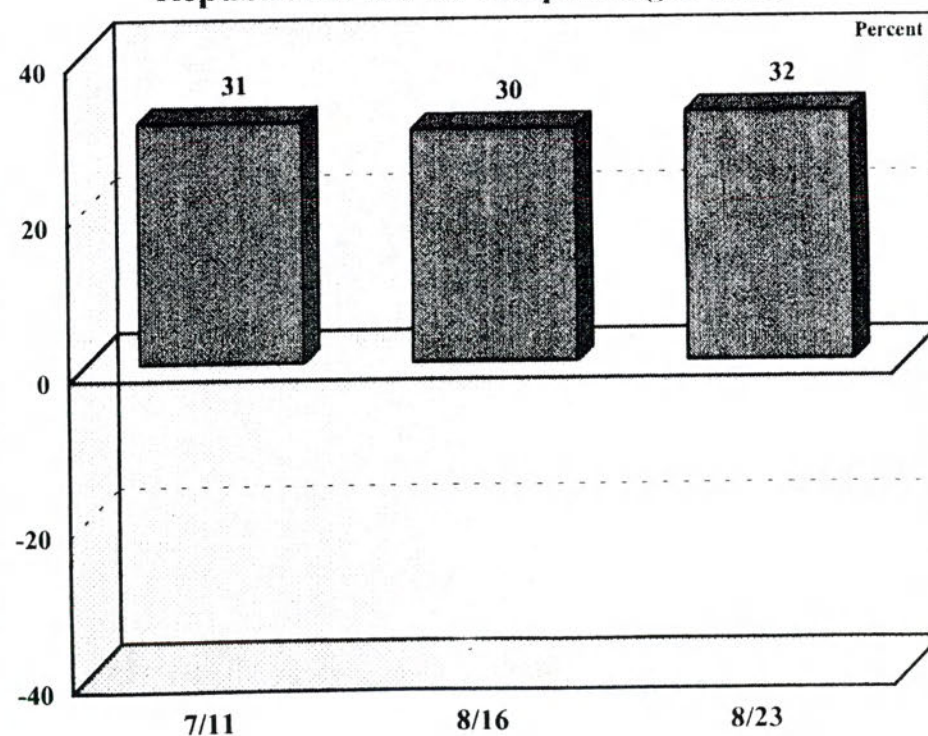
Republican:

The Democrats support big government and higher taxes and the Republicans want small government and lower taxes.



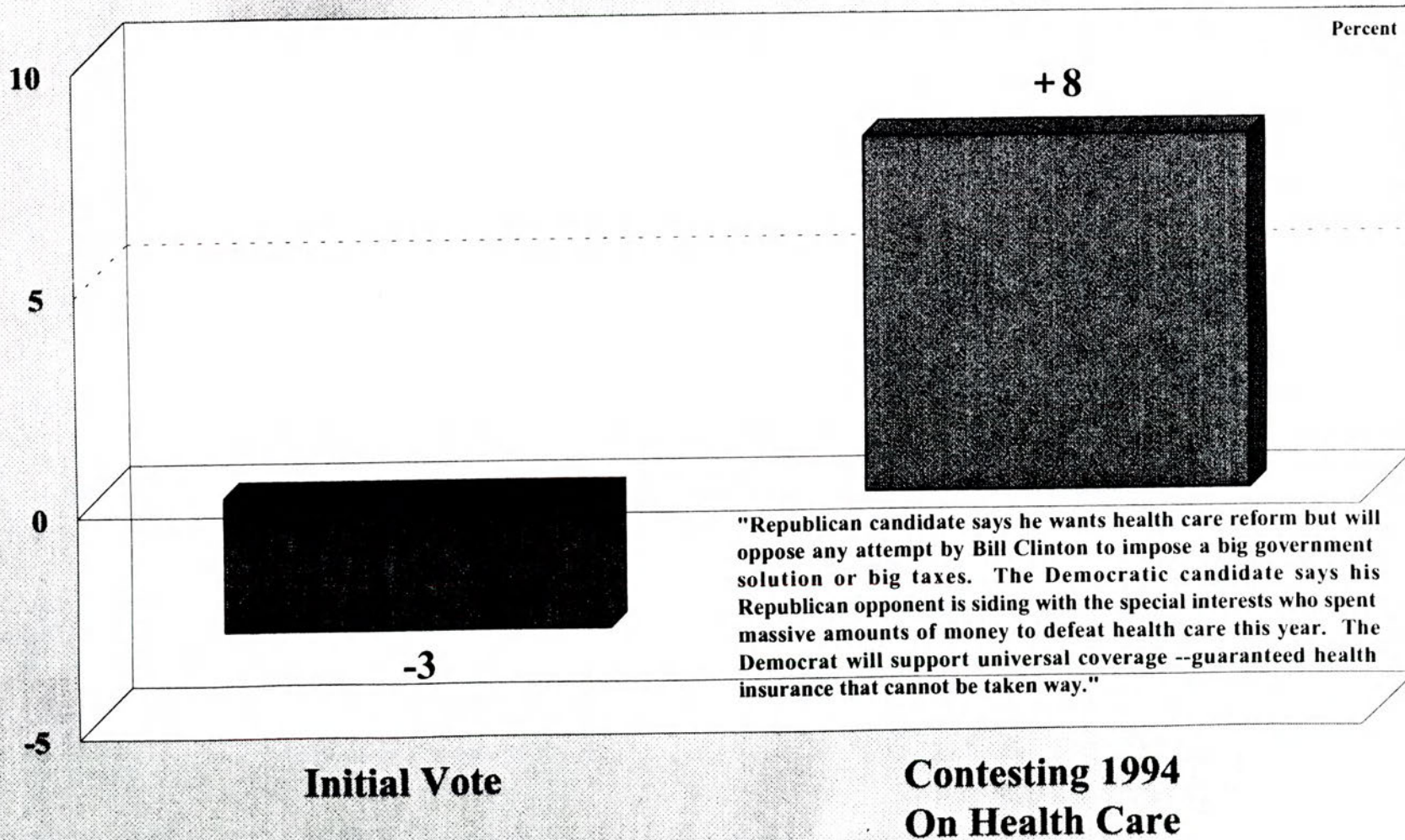
Democratic:

The Democrats are for making America work for ordinary people again. The Republicans are for the privileged few.



Congressional Vote

Democratic Margin



1994 DNC/White House Presidential Media Market Scheduling Targets
 Prepared by NCEC Services, Inc. for the DNC
 1994 Marginal Race Share Only

07/21/94

Year	Member/Target	District/Status/Judgement		Target Points	
New York		Schedule Share = 12.99%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 25.7%	
1994	Rosa DeLauro	(CT-3)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.028 of 0.3
1994	Gary Franks	(CT-5)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	0.415 of 1.0
1994	Christopher H. Smith	(NJ-4)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.155 of 0.3
1994	Frank Pallone Jr.	(NJ-6)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of 0.7
1994	Robert D. Franks	(NJ-7)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.300 of 0.3
1994	Herbert C. Klein	(NJ-8)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	1.000 of 1.0
1994	Robert G. Torricelli	(NJ-9)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.300 of 0.3
1994	George A. Hochbrueckner	(NY-1)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	1.000 of 1.0
1994	Rick A. Lazio	(NY-2)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.300 of 0.3
1994	Peter T. King	(NY-3)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.700 of 0.7
1994	David A. Levy	(NY-4)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.700 of 0.7
1994	Gary L. Ackerman	(NY-5)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of 0.7
1994	Thomas J. Manton	(NY-7)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.300 of 0.3
1994	Carolyn B. Maloney	(NY-14)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of 0.7
1994	Nita M. Lowey	(NY-18)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of 0.7
1994	Hamilton Fish Jr.	(NY-19)	Republican Open	Close Republican	0.700 of 0.7
1994	Maurice D. Hinchey	(NY-26)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.328 of 0.7
1994	Joseph M. McDade	(PA-10)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.034 of 0.7
1994	Lautenberg	(NJ-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	7.534 of 10.0
1994	Wofford	(PA-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.025 of 10.0
1994	Weicker (open)	(CT-GOV)		Toss Up	2.441 of 10.0
1994	Cuomo	(NY-GOV)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	5.465 of 10.5
1994	Casey (open)	(PA-GOV)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.038 of 15.0
Minneapolis-St. Paul		Schedule Share = 7.10%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 22.9%	
1994	Timothy J. Penny	(MN-1)	Democratic Open	Close Republican	0.247 of 0.7
1994	David Minge	(MN-2)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.894 of 1.0
1994	Rodney D. Grams	(MN-6)	Republican Open	Close Democratic	0.700 of 0.7
1994	Collin C. Peterson	(MN-7)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.552 of 1.0
1994	Steve Gunderson	(WI-3)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.233 of 0.7
1994	Durenberger (open)	(MN-SEN)	Republican Open	Toss Up	8.047 of 10.0
1994	Kohl	(WI-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.091 of 3.0
1994	Carlson	(MN-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	8.047 of 10.0
Portland-Poland Spring		Schedule Share = 5.91%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 20.7%	
1994	Thomas H. Andrews	(ME-1)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.981 of 1.0
1994	Olympia J. Snowe	(ME-2)	Republican Open	Toss Up	0.314 of 1.0
1994	Bill Zeliff	(NH-1)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.019 of 0.3
1994	Dick Swett	(NH-2)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.142 of 0.7
1994	Mitchell (open)	(ME-SEN)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	6.474 of 10.0
1994	Mckernan (open)	(ME-GOV)	Republican Open	Toss Up	3.237 of 5.0
Hartford-New Haven		Schedule Share = 4.98%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 24.8%	
1994	Sam Gejdenson	(CT-2)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	1.000 of 1.0
1994	Rosa DeLauro	(CT-3)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.272 of 0.3
1994	Gary Franks	(CT-5)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	0.585 of 1.0
1994	Weicker (open)	(CT-GOV)		Toss Up	7.559 of 10.0
Los Angeles		Schedule Share = 4.63%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 22.0%	
1994	Elton Gallegly	(CA-23)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.292 of 0.3
1994	Anthony C. Beilenson	(CA-24)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of 0.7

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 1994 Marginal Race Share Only

07/21/94

Year Member/Target	District/Status/Judgement			Target Points	
1994 Carlos J. Moorhead	(CA-27)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.700 of	0.7
1994 Jane Frank Harman	(CA-36)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of	0.7
1994 Steve Horn	(CA-38)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.700 of	0.7
1994 Jay C. Kim	(CA-41)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.300 of	0.3
1994 George E. Brown Jr.	(CA-42)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of	0.7
1994 Ken Calvert	(CA-43)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	1.000 of	1.0
1994 Alfred A. (Al) McCandless	(CA-44)	Republican Open	Close Republican	0.700 of	0.7
1994 Robert K. Dornan	(CA-46)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.300 of	0.3
1994 Feinstein	(CA-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	2.938 of	7.0
1994 Wilson	(CA-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	6.296 of	15.0
Boston					
	Schedule Share = 4.59%			Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 28.6%	
1994 John W. Olver	(MA-1)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.089 of	0.3
1994 Peter I. Blute	(MA-3)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	0.661 of	1.0
1994 Martin T. Meehan	(MA-5)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.300 of	0.3
1994 Peter J. Torkildsen	(MA-6)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	1.000 of	1.0
1994 Bill Zeliff	(NH-1)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.281 of	0.3
1994 Dick Swett	(NH-2)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.558 of	0.7
1994 Kennedy	(MA-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	2.356 of	3.0
1994 Weld	(MA-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	2.356 of	3.0
Chicago					
	Schedule Share = 4.12%			Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 23.2%	
1994 William O. Lipinski	(IL-3)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.300 of	0.3
1994 Dan Rostenkowski	(IL-5)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of	0.7
1994 Philip M. Crane	(IL-8)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.300 of	0.3
1994 George E. Sangmeister	(IL-11)	Democratic Open	Close Republican	0.700 of	0.7
1994 Thomas W. Ewing	(IL-15)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.017 of	0.3
1994 Donald Manzullo	(IL-16)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.094 of	0.3
1994 Tim Roemer	(IN-3)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.059 of	0.3
1994 Stephen E. Buyer	(IN-5)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.109 of	0.7
1994 Lugar	(IN-SEN)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.352 of	3.0
1994 Edgar	(IL-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	6.467 of	10.5
Seattle-Tacoma					
	Schedule Share = 3.82%			Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 24.8%	
1994 Maria E. Cantwell	(WA-1)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of	0.7
1994 Al Swift	(WA-2)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	1.000 of	1.0
1994 Jolene Unsoeld	(WA-3)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.377 of	1.0
1994 Jay R. Inslee	(WA-4)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.150 of	1.0
1994 Mike Kreidler	(WA-9)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of	0.7
1994 Gorton	(WA-SEN)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	5.502 of	7.0
Detroit					
	Schedule Share = 3.77%			Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 19.0%	
1994 James A. Barcia	(MI-5)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.038 of	0.7
1994 Bob Carr	(MI-8)	Democratic Open	Close Republican	0.211 of	0.7
1994 Dale E. Kildee	(MI-9)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.446 of	0.7
1994 David E. Bonior	(MI-10)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.300 of	0.3
1994 Sander M. Levin	(MI-12)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of	0.7
1994 William D. Ford	(MI-13)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	1.000 of	1.0
1994 Riegle (open)	(MI-SEN)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	4.621 of	10.0
1994 Engler	(MI-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	6.931 of	15.0
Denver					
	Schedule Share = 3.76%			Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 28.8%	

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Year	Member/Target	District/Status/Judgement			Target Points	
1994	David E. Skaggs	(CO-2)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of	0.7
1994	Scott McInnis	(CO-3)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.092 of	0.3
1994	Wayne Allard	(CO-4)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.269 of	0.3
1994	Craig Thomas	(WY-1)	Republican Open	Close Republican	0.167 of	0.7
1994	Kerrey	(NE-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.038 of	3.0
1994	Wallop (open)	(WY-SEN)	Republican Open	Toss Up	2.001 of	10.0
1994	Romer	(CO-GOV)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	5.963 of	7.0
1994	Nelson	(NE-GOV)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.019 of	1.5
1994	Sullivan	(WY-GOV)	Democratic Open	Close Democratic	0.700 of	3.5
Providence-New Bedford		Schedule Share = 3.64% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 19.6%				
1994	Peter I. Blute	(MA-3)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	0.339 of	1.0
1994	Ron Machtley	(RI-1)	Republican Open	Close Democratic	0.700 of	0.7
1994	Kennedy	(MA-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.248 of	3.0
1994	Chaffee	(RI-SEN)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	3.000 of	3.0
1994	Weld	(MA-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.248 of	3.0
1994	Sundlun	(RI-GOV)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Republican	3.500 of	3.5
Albuquerque		Schedule Share = 3.08% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 20.2%				
1994	Karan English	(AZ-6)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.085 of	1.0
1994	Scott McInnis	(CO-3)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.031 of	0.3
1994	Steve Schiff	(NM-1)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.300 of	0.3
1994	Joe Skeen	(NM-2)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.486 of	0.7
1994	Deconcini (open)	(AZ-SEN)	Democratic Open	Close Republican	0.053 of	7.0
1994	Bingaman	(NM-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	6.041 of	7.0
1994	Symington	(AZ-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	0.076 of	10.0
1994	Romer	(CO-GOV)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.086 of	7.0
1994	King	(NM-GOV)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	3.021 of	3.5
Portland, OR		Schedule Share = 2.29% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 20.8%				
1994	Elizabeth Furse	(OR-1)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of	0.7
1994	Robert F. Smith	(OR-2)	Republican Open	Close Republican	0.142 of	0.7
1994	Mike Kopetski	(OR-5)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.894 of	1.0
1994	Jolene Unsoeld	(WA-3)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.623 of	1.0
1994	Jay R. Inslee	(WA-4)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.015 of	1.0
1994	Gorton	(WA-SEN)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.342 of	7.0
1994	Roberts (open)	(OR-GOV)	Democratic Open	Close Democratic	2.344 of	3.5
Bangor		Schedule Share = 2.14% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 16.2%				
1994	Thomas H. Andrews	(ME-1)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.019 of	1.0
1994	Olympia J. Snowe	(ME-2)	Republican Open	Toss Up	0.539 of	1.0
1994	Mitchell (open)	(ME-SEN)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	2.778 of	10.0
1994	Mckernan (open)	(ME-GOV)	Republican Open	Toss Up	1.389 of	5.0
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose		Schedule Share = 1.98% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 31.2%				
1994	Dan Hamburg	(CA-1)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.358 of	0.7
1994	William P. Baker	(CA-10)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.300 of	0.3
1994	Anna G. Eshoo	(CA-14)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.300 of	0.3
1994	Feinstein	(CA-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	1.366 of	7.0
1994	Wilson	(CA-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	2.928 of	15.0
Cleveland		Schedule Share = 1.61% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 17.2%				

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07/21/94

Year Member/Target	District/Status/Judgement		Target Points	
1994 Martin R. Hoke	(OH-10)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	1.000 of 1.0
1994 Sherrod Brown	(OH-13)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.666 of 0.7
1994 Thomas C. Sawyer	(OH-14)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.700 of 0.7
1994 Ralph Regula	(OH-16)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.286 of 0.3
1994 Douglas Applegate	(OH-18)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.193 of 1.0
1994 Eric D. Fingerhut	(OH-19)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	1.000 of 1.0
1994 Metzenbaum (open)	(OH-SEN)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	3.261 of 10.0
Kansas City				
Schedule Share = 1.52% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 22.1%				
1994 Jim Slattery	(KS-2)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.226 of 1.0
1994 Jan Meyers	(KS-3)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.700 of 0.7
1994 Ike Skelton	(MO-4)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.134 of 0.3
1994 Alan Wheat	(MO-5)	Democratic Open	Likely Democratic	0.300 of 0.3
1994 Pat Danner	(MO-6)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.463 of 0.7
1994 Danforth (open)	(MO-SEN)	Republican Open	Close Republican	1.725 of 7.0
1994 Finney (open)	(KS-GOV)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	1.479 of 5.0
San Diego				
Schedule Share = 1.50% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 25.3%				
1994 Lynn Schenk	(CA-49)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	1.000 of 1.0
1994 Robert Filner	(CA-50)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.300 of 0.3
1994 Duncan L. Hunter	(CA-52)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.248 of 0.3
1994 Feinstein	(CA-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.769 of 7.0
1994 Wilson	(CA-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	1.648 of 15.0
Buffalo				
Schedule Share = 1.33% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 17.2%				
1994 John J. Lafalce	(NY-29)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.596 of 0.7
1994 Jack Quinn	(NY-30)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.700 of 0.7
1994 Wofford	(PA-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.041 of 10.0
1994 Cuomo	(NY-GOV)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	1.544 of 10.5
1994 Casey (open)	(PA-GOV)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.062 of 15.0
Honolulu				
Schedule Share = 1.32% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 22.9%				
1994 Waihee III (open)	(HI-GOV)	Democratic Open	Close Republican	3.500 of 3.5
Sacramento-Stockton				
Schedule Share = 1.31% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 19.2%				
1994 Dan Hamburg	(CA-1)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.167 of 0.7
1994 Vic Fazio	(CA-3)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.599 of 0.7
1994 John Doolittle	(CA-4)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.686 of 0.7
1994 Richard W. Pombo	(CA-11)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.700 of 0.7
1994 Feinstein	(CA-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.896 of 7.0
1994 Wilson	(CA-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	1.920 of 15.0
Spokane				
Schedule Share = 1.14% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 18.3%				
1994 Larry LaRocco	(ID-1)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.311 of 0.7
1994 Pat Williams	(MT-1)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.032 of 1.0
1994 Robert F. Smith	(OR-2)	Republican Open	Close Republican	0.008 of 0.7
1994 Jay R. Inslee	(WA-4)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.162 of 1.0
1994 Thomas S. Foley	(WA-5)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.636 of 0.7
1994 Burns	(MT-SEN)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.234 of 7.0
1994 Gorton	(WA-SEN)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	0.718 of 7.0
1994 Andrus (open)	(ID-GOV)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.898 of 5.0
1994 Roberts (open)	(OR-GOV)	Democratic Open	Close Democratic	0.012 of 3.5

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Year Member/Target	District/Status/Judgement	Target Points
Flint-Saginaw-Bay City		
	Schedule Share = 1.11% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 12.7%	
1994 James A. Barcia	(MI-5) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.648 of 0.7
1994 Bob Carr	(MI-8) Democratic Open Close Republican	0.142 of 0.7
1994 Dale E. Kildee	(MI-9) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.254 of 0.7
1994 Riegle (open)	(MI-SEN) Democratic Open Toss Up	1.545 of 10.0
1994 Engler	(MI-GOV) Republican Incumbent Toss Up	2.318 of 15.0
St. Louis		
	Schedule Share = 1.00% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 18.7%	
1994 James M. Talent	(MO-2) Republican Incumbent Likely Republican	0.300 of 0.3
1994 Bill Emerson	(MO-8) Republican Incumbent Likely Republican	0.067 of 0.3
1994 Harold L. Volkmer	(MO-9) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up	0.433 of 1.0
1994 Danforth (open)	(MO-SEN) Republican Open Close Republican	2.826 of 7.0
1994 Edgar	(IL-GOV) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	0.795 of 10.5
McAllen-Brownsville: Lrgv		
	Schedule Share = 1.00% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 11.3%	
1994 Solomon P. Ortiz	(TX-27) Democratic Incumbent Likely Democratic	0.134 of 0.3
1994 Hutchison	(TX-SEN) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	0.106 of 7.0
1994 Richards	(TX-GOV) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up	0.228 of 15.0
Laredo		
	Schedule Share = 1.00% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 10.8%	
1994 Henry Bonilla	(TX-23) Republican Incumbent Toss Up	0.225 of 1.0
1994 Hutchison	(TX-SEN) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	0.020 of 7.0
1994 Richards	(TX-GOV) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up	0.042 of 15.0
El Paso		
	Schedule Share = 1.00% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 16.3%	
1994 Joe Skeen	(NM-2) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	0.214 of 0.7
1994 Ronald Coleman	(TX-16) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up	1.000 of 1.0
1994 Henry Bonilla	(TX-23) Republican Incumbent Toss Up	0.047 of 1.0
1994 Bingaman	(NM-SEN) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.691 of 7.0
1994 Hutchison	(TX-SEN) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	0.129 of 7.0
1994 King	(NM-GOV) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.346 of 3.5
1994 Richards	(TX-GOV) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up	0.276 of 15.0
Omaha		
	Schedule Share = 0.99% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 19.1%	
1994 Jim Lightfoot	(IA-3) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	0.036 of 0.7
1994 Neal Smith	(IA-4) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.198 of 0.7
1994 Fred Grandy	(IA-5) Republican Open Toss Up	0.030 of 1.0
1994 Pat Danner	(MO-6) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.010 of 0.7
1994 Peter Hoagland	(NE-2) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up	1.000 of 1.0
1994 Danforth (open)	(MO-SEN) Republican Open Close Republican	0.010 of 7.0
1994 Kerrey	(NE-SEN) Democratic Incumbent Likely Democratic	1.466 of 3.0
1994 Branstad	(IA-GOV) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	0.253 of 3.5
1994 Nelson	(NE-GOV) Democratic Incumbent Likely Democratic	0.733 of 1.5
Rochester, NY		
	Schedule Share = 0.83% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 24.0%	
1994 Louise M. Slaughter	(NY-28) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.700 of 0.7
1994 John J. Lafalce	(NY-29) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.104 of 0.7
1994 Cuomo	(NY-GOV) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.763 of 10.5
Billings-Hardin		
	Schedule Share = 0.81% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 19.0%	
1994 Pat Williams	(MT-1) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up	0.240 of 1.0

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1994 Craig Thomas	(WY-1)	Republican Open	Close Republican	0.053 of 0.7
1994 Burns	(MT-SEN)	Republican Incumbent	Close Republican	1.619 of 7.0
1994 Wallop (open)	(WY-SEN)	Republican Open	Toss Up	0.843 of 10.0
1994 Sullivan	(WY-GOV)	Democratic Open	Close Democratic	0.295 of 3.5
Columbus, OH				
	Schedule Share = 0.73%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 19.6%	
1994 Ted Strickland	(OH-6)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.159 of 1.0
1994 John R. Kasich	(OH-12)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.300 of 0.3
1994 Deborah Pryce	(OH-15)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.300 of 0.3
1994 Ralph Regula	(OH-16)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.014 of 0.3
1994 Douglas Applegate	(OH-18)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.246 of 1.0
1994 Metzenbaum (open)	(OH-SEN)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	1.754 of 10.0
Lansing				
	Schedule Share = 0.66%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 20.7%	
1994 Bob Carr	(MI-8)	Democratic Open	Close Republican	0.346 of 0.7
1994 Riegle (open)	(MI-SEN)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.738 of 10.0
1994 Engler	(MI-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	1.107 of 15.0
West Palm Beach-Ft. Pierce-Vero Beach				
	Schedule Share = 0.65%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 20.4%	
1994 Jim Bacchus	(FL-15)	Democratic Open	Toss Up	0.165 of 1.0
1994 Tom Lewis	(FL-16)	Republican Open	Likely Republican	0.257 of 0.3
1994 Harry A. Johnston	(FL-19)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.156 of 0.3
1994 E. Clay Shaw Jr.	(FL-22)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.069 of 0.3
1994 Chiles	(FL-GOV)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	1.490 of 15.0
Syracuse				
	Schedule Share = 0.64%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 22.0%	
1994 Sherwood L. Boehlert	(NY-23)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.036 of 0.3
1994 James T. Walsh	(NY-25)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.292 of 0.3
1994 Maurice D. Hinchey	(NY-26)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.091 of 0.7
1994 Cuomo	(NY-GOV)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.796 of 10.5
Richmond				
	Schedule Share = 0.64%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 20.7%	
1994 Norman Sisisky	(VA-4)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.129 of 0.3
1994 L.F. Payne Jr.	(VA-5)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.076 of 0.7
1994 Robert W. Goodlatte	(VA-6)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.023 of 0.3
1994 Robb	(VA-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	1.896 of 10.0
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-San Luis Obispo				
	Schedule Share = 0.62%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 25.2%	
1994 Michael Huffington	(CA-22)	Republican Open	Toss Up	1.000 of 1.0
1994 Elton Gallegly	(CA-23)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.008 of 0.3
1994 Feinstein	(CA-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic	0.199 of 7.0
1994 Wilson	(CA-GOV)	Republican Incumbent	Toss Up	0.427 of 15.0
Milwaukee				
	Schedule Share = 0.60%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 19.2%	
1994 Peter Barca	(WI-1)	Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up	0.723 of 1.0
1994 Scott Klug	(WI-2)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.007 of 0.3
1994 Thomas E. Petri	(WI-6)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.013 of 0.3
1994 Kohl	(WI-SEN)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	1.507 of 3.0
Albany-Schenectady-Troy				
	Schedule Share = 0.60%		Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 21.5%	
1994 John W. Olver	(MA-1)	Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic	0.071 of 0.3
1994 Sherwood L. Boehlert	(NY-23)	Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican	0.015 of 0.3

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1994 Kennedy	(MA-SEN) Democratic Incumbent Likely Democratic	0.068 of 3.0
1994 Weld	(MA-GOV) Republican Incumbent Likely Republican	0.068 of 3.0
1994 Cuomo	(NY-GOV) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.909 of 10.5
Missoula	Schedule Share = 0.58% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 21.3%	
1994 Pat Williams	(MT-1) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up	0.239 of 1.0
1994 Burns	(MT-SEN) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	1.681 of 7.0
Presque Isle	Schedule Share = 0.58% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 12.5%	
1994 Olympia J. Snowe	(ME-2) Republican Open Toss Up	0.147 of 1.0
1994 Mitchell (open)	(ME-SEN) Democratic Open Toss Up	0.747 of 10.0
1994 Mckernan (open)	(ME-GOV) Republican Open Toss Up	0.374 of 5.0
Springfield-Decatur-Champaign	Schedule Share = 0.57% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 18.7%	
1994 Thomas W. Ewing	(IL-15) Republican Incumbent Likely Republican	0.188 of 0.3
1994 Robert H. Michel	(IL-18) Republican Open Close Republican	0.207 of 0.7
1994 Edgar	(IL-GOV) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	1.102 of 10.5
Des Moines	Schedule Share = 0.56% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 18.2%	
1994 Jim Lightfoot	(IA-3) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	0.460 of 0.7
1994 Neal Smith	(IA-4) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.502 of 0.7
1994 Fred Grandy	(IA-5) Republican Open Toss Up	0.347 of 1.0
1994 Pat Danner	(MO-6) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.005 of 0.7
1994 Danforth (open)	(MO-SEN) Republican Open Close Republican	0.005 of 7.0
1994 Branstad	(IA-GOV) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	1.166 of 3.5
Yakima-Pasco-Richland-Kennewick	Schedule Share = 0.50% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 16.8%	
1994 Robert F. Smith	(OR-2) Republican Open Close Republican	0.080 of 0.7
1994 Jay R. Inslee	(WA-4) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up	0.673 of 1.0
1994 Thomas S. Foley	(WA-5) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.064 of 0.7
1994 Gorton	(WA-SEN) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	0.439 of 7.0
1994 Roberts (open)	(OR-GOV) Democratic Open Close Democratic	0.078 of 3.5
Butte	Schedule Share = 0.49% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 23.4%	
1994 Pat Williams	(MT-1) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up	0.165 of 1.0
1994 Burns	(MT-SEN) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	1.140 of 7.0
Springfield, MA	Schedule Share = 0.48% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 21.2%	
1994 John W. Olver	(MA-1) Democratic Incumbent Likely Democratic	0.141 of 0.3
1994 Kennedy	(MA-SEN) Democratic Incumbent Likely Democratic	0.328 of 3.0
1994 Weld	(MA-GOV) Republican Incumbent Likely Republican	0.328 of 3.0
Peoria-Bloomington	Schedule Share = 0.45% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 17.7%	
1994 Thomas W. Ewing	(IL-15) Republican Incumbent Likely Republican	0.084 of 0.3
1994 Lane Evans	(IL-17) Democratic Incumbent Likely Democratic	0.020 of 0.3
1994 Robert H. Michel	(IL-18) Republican Open Close Republican	0.476 of 0.7
1994 Edgar	(IL-GOV) Republican Incumbent Close Republican	0.620 of 10.5
Salinas-Monterey	Schedule Share = 0.45% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 24.3%	
1994 Sam Farr	(CA-17) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.700 of 0.7
1994 Feinstein	(CA-SEN) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic	0.154 of 7.0
1994 Wilson	(CA-GOV) Republican Incumbent Toss Up	0.329 of 15.0

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Year Member/Target	District/Status/Judgement	Target Points
Cedar Rapids-Waterloo-Dubuque		
	Schedule Share = 0.44%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 18.7%
1994 Jim Nussle	(IA-2) Republican Incumbent	Toss Up 0.796 of 1.0
1994 Jim Lightfoot	(IA-3) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.038 of 0.7
1994 Steve Gunderson	(WI-3) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.063 of 0.7
1994 Kohl	(WI-SEN) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.016 of 3.0
1994 Branstad	(IA-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 1.034 of 3.5
Davenport-Rock Island-Moline: Quad City		
	Schedule Share = 0.43%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 14.4%
1994 Donald Manzullo	(IL-16) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.012 of 0.3
1994 Lane Evans	(IL-17) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.215 of 0.3
1994 Jim Nussle	(IA-2) Republican Incumbent	Toss Up 0.035 of 1.0
1994 Jim Lightfoot	(IA-3) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.077 of 0.7
1994 Edgar	(IL-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.403 of 10.5
1994 Branstad	(IA-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.396 of 3.5
Topeka		
	Schedule Share = 0.43%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 20.3%
1994 Jim Slattery	(KS-2) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.544 of 1.0
1994 Finney (open)	(KS-GOV) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.863 of 5.0
Rochester-Mason City-Austin		
	Schedule Share = 0.38%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 17.5%
1994 Jim Nussle	(IA-2) Republican Incumbent	Toss Up 0.169 of 1.0
1994 Fred Grandy	(IA-5) Republican Open	Toss Up 0.078 of 1.0
1994 Timothy J. Penny	(MN-1) Democratic Open	Close Republican 0.272 of 0.7
1994 Durenberger (open)	(MN-SEN) Republican Open	Toss Up 0.476 of 10.0
1994 Branstad	(IA-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.196 of 3.5
1994 Carlson	(MN-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Toss Up 0.476 of 10.0
Binghamton		
	Schedule Share = 0.37%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 17.4%
1994 Sherwood L. Boehlert	(NY-23) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.057 of 0.3
1994 James T. Walsh	(NY-25) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.008 of 0.3
1994 Maurice D. Hinchey	(NY-26) Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic 0.281 of 0.7
1994 Joseph M. McDade	(PA-10) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.073 of 0.7
1994 Wofford	(PA-SEN) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.042 of 10.0
1994 Cuomo	(NY-GOV) Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic 0.283 of 10.5
1994 Casey (open)	(PA-GOV) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.063 of 15.0
Tallahassee-Thomasville		
	Schedule Share = 0.36%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 20.5%
1994 Pete Peterson	(FL-2) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.180 of 0.3
1994 Sanford D. Bishop Jr.	(GA-2) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.072 of 0.3
1994 J. Roy Rowland	(GA-8) Democratic Open	Close Republican 0.065 of 0.7
1994 Chiles	(FL-GOV) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.522 of 15.0
1994 Miller	(GA-GOV) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.334 of 10.0
Madison		
	Schedule Share = 0.33%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 23.7%
1994 Peter Barca	(WI-1) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.277 of 1.0
1994 Scott Klug	(WI-2) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.293 of 0.3
1994 Thomas E. Petri	(WI-6) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.007 of 0.3
1994 Kohl	(WI-SEN) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.285 of 3.0
Eugene		
	Schedule Share = 0.31%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 21.3%
1994 Mike Kopetski	(OR-5) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.106 of 1.0

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1994 Roberts (open)	(OR-GOV) Democratic Open	Close Democratic 0.583 of 3.5
Medford	Schedule Share = 0.28%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 14.8%
1994 Robert F. Smith	(OR-2) Republican Open	Close Republican 0.336 of 0.7
1994 Feinstein	(CA-SEN) Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic 0.021 of 7.0
1994 Wilson	(CA-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Toss Up 0.045 of 15.0
1994 Roberts (open)	(OR-GOV) Democratic Open	Close Democratic 0.350 of 3.5
Duluth-Superior	Schedule Share = 0.28%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 14.9%
1994 Bart Stupak	(MI-1) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.032 of 1.0
1994 Riegle (open)	(MI-SEN) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.021 of 10.0
1994 Durenberger (open)	(MN-SEN) Republican Open	Toss Up 0.533 of 10.0
1994 Kohl	(WI-SEN) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.099 of 3.0
1994 Engler	(MI-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Toss Up 0.031 of 15.0
1994 Carlson	(MN-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Toss Up 0.533 of 10.0
Columbia-Jefferson City	Schedule Share = 0.27%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 20.0%
1994 Ike Skelton	(MO-4) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.070 of 0.3
1994 Pat Danner	(MO-6) Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic 0.042 of 0.7
1994 Harold L. Volkmer	(MO-9) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.352 of 1.0
1994 Danforth (open)	(MO-SEN) Republican Open	Close Republican 0.571 of 7.0
Youngstown	Schedule Share = 0.24%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 12.3%
1994 Sherrod Brown	(OH-13) Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic 0.034 of 0.7
1994 Douglas Applegate	(OH-18) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.003 of 1.0
1994 Thomas J. Ridge	(PA-21) Republican Open	Toss Up 0.218 of 1.0
1994 Metzenbaum (open)	(OH-SEN) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.583 of 10.0
1994 Wofford	(PA-SEN) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.080 of 10.0
1994 Casey (open)	(PA-GOV) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.119 of 15.0
Rockford	Schedule Share = 0.23%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 15.1%
1994 Donald Manzullo	(IL-16) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.195 of 0.3
1994 Lane Evans	(IL-17) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.006 of 0.3
1994 Edgar	(IL-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.412 of 10.5
Utica	Schedule Share = 0.22%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 16.5%
1994 Sherwood L. Boehlert	(NY-23) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.193 of 0.3
1994 Cuomo	(NY-GOV) Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic 0.304 of 10.5
Colorado Springs-Pueblo	Schedule Share = 0.22%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 21.1%
1994 Scott McInnis	(CO-3) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.079 of 0.3
1994 Wayne Allard	(CO-4) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.031 of 0.3
1994 Romer	(CO-GOV) Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic 0.623 of 7.0
Gainesville	Schedule Share = 0.22%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 28.4%
1994 Karen Thurman	(FL-5) Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic 0.225 of 0.7
1994 Chiles	(FL-GOV) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.357 of 15.0
La Crosse-Eau Claire	Schedule Share = 0.22%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 15.4%
1994 Timothy J. Penny	(MN-1) Democratic Open	Close Republican 0.086 of 0.7
1994 Steve Gunderson	(WI-3) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.382 of 0.7
1994 Thomas E. Petri	(WI-6) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.024 of 0.3

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1994 Durenberger (open)	(MN-SEN) Republican Open	Toss Up 0.144 of 10.0
1994 Kohl	(WI-SEN) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.183 of 3.0
1994 Carlson	(MN-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Toss Up 0.144 of 10.0
Helena	Schedule Share = 0.19%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 27.9%
1994 Pat Williams	(MT-1) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.060 of 1.0
1994 Burns	(MT-SEN) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.452 of 7.0
Quincy-Hannibal	Schedule Share = 0.19%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 12.5%
1994 Lane Evans	(IL-17) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.059 of 0.3
1994 Robert H. Michel	(IL-18) Republican Open	Close Republican 0.017 of 0.7
1994 Jim Lightfoot	(IA-3) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.048 of 0.7
1994 Harold L. Volkmer	(MO-9) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.140 of 1.0
1994 Danforth (open)	(MO-SEN) Republican Open	Close Republican 0.110 of 7.0
1994 Edgar	(IL-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.207 of 10.5
1994 Branstad	(IA-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.034 of 3.5
Marquette	Schedule Share = 0.16%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 16.3%
1994 Bart Stupak	(MI-1) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.257 of 1.0
1994 Toby Roth	(WI-8) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.006 of 0.7
1994 Riegle (open)	(MI-SEN) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.174 of 10.0
1994 Kohl	(WI-SEN) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.003 of 3.0
1994 Engler	(MI-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Toss Up 0.261 of 15.0
Sarasota	Schedule Share = 0.16%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 21.9%
1994 Chiles	(FL-GOV) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.511 of 15.0
Wheeling-Steubenville	Schedule Share = 0.14%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 10.4%
1994 Douglas Applegate	(OH-18) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.417 of 1.0
1994 Metzenbaum (open)	(OH-SEN) Democratic Open	Toss Up 0.209 of 10.0
Grand Junction-Durango	Schedule Share = 0.11%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 19.1%
1994 Scott McInnis	(CO-3) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.097 of 0.3
1994 Romer	(CO-GOV) Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic 0.324 of 7.0
Mankato	Schedule Share = 0.10%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 18.3%
1994 Fred Grandy	(IA-5) Republican Open	Toss Up 0.021 of 1.0
1994 Timothy J. Penny	(MN-1) Democratic Open	Close Republican 0.095 of 0.7
1994 Durenberger (open)	(MN-SEN) Republican Open	Toss Up 0.158 of 10.0
1994 Branstad	(IA-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.015 of 3.5
1994 Carlson	(MN-GOV) Republican Incumbent	Toss Up 0.158 of 10.0
Wausau-Rhineland	Schedule Share = 0.09%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 13.0%
1994 Steve Gunderson	(WI-3) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.022 of 0.7
1994 Thomas E. Petri	(WI-6) Republican Incumbent	Likely Republican 0.009 of 0.3
1994 Toby Roth	(WI-8) Republican Incumbent	Close Republican 0.086 of 0.7
1994 Kohl	(WI-SEN) Democratic Incumbent	Likely Democratic 0.282 of 3.0
Charlottesville	Schedule Share = 0.09%	Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 37.5%
1994 L.F. Payne Jr.	(VA-5) Democratic Incumbent	Close Democratic 0.093 of 0.7
1994 Robb	(VA-SEN) Democratic Incumbent	Toss Up 0.145 of 10.0

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Watertown-Carthage 1994 Cuomo	Schedule Share = 0.09% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 13.9% (NY-GOV) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic 0.191 of 10.5	
Elmira 1994 Wofford	Schedule Share = 0.09% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 14.6% (PA-SEN) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up 0.024 of 10.0	
1994 Cuomo	(NY-GOV) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic 0.126 of 10.5	
1994 Casey (open)	(PA-GOV) Democratic Open Toss Up 0.036 of 15.0	
St. Joseph 1994 Pat Danner	Schedule Share = 0.08% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 13.4% (MO-6) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic 0.160 of 0.7	
1994 Danforth (open)	(MO-SEN) Republican Open Close Republican 0.191 of 7.0	
Eureka 1994 Dan Hamburg	Schedule Share = 0.08% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 18.3% (CA-1) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic 0.175 of 0.7	
1994 Feinstein	(CA-SEN) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic 0.053 of 7.0	
1994 Wilson	(CA-GOV) Republican Incumbent Toss Up 0.113 of 15.0	
Bend 1994 Robert F. Smith	Schedule Share = 0.07% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 18.8% (OR-2) Republican Open Close Republican 0.093 of 0.7	
1994 Roberts (open)	(OR-GOV) Democratic Open Close Democratic 0.089 of 3.5	
Burlington-Plattsburgh 1994 Cuomo	Schedule Share = 0.06% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 21.9% (NY-GOV) Democratic Incumbent Close Democratic 0.119 of 10.5	
Bluefield-Beckley-Oak Hill 1994 Frederick C. Boucher	Schedule Share = 0.01% Graduate/Bachelor Education % = 9.3% (VA-9) Democratic Incumbent Likely Democratic 0.027 of 0.3	
1994 Robb	(VA-SEN) Democratic Incumbent Toss Up 0.030 of 10.0	

POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OVERVIEW
Wednesday, September 14, 1994

Draft

PRESIDENTIAL PARTICIPATION IN FALL ELECTIONS

- Between now and election day, the President and his top Administration officials including the Vice President, First Lady and Cabinet Secretaries will campaign aggressively on behalf of Democratic candidates.
- By the time election day rolls around, the President will have traveled to all regions of the country to help get Democrats elected. With any political schedule, the President's travel schedule for the next two months is fluid. As the races become more defined, the President's political schedule will firm up.
- Democrats have a solid record of accomplishments and candidates are campaigning on that record. We believe that's a plus for candidates across the board. Voters are making decisions based on what their Representative, Senator or Governor has delivered. Have they worked to cut the deficit, create jobs, reduce crime, protect Medicare? Have they stood with ordinary people or fought for the privileged few? Have they taken on the special interests or wilted under special interest pressure? That's what voters want to know.

TUESDAY'S PRIMARIES

- Yesterday's primaries in nine states and the District of Columbia, while not the last of the season, certainly puts us well down the road to the general election. And Democrats across the country had a very good day.
- Democrats nominated excellent candidates for the U.S. Senate and for governor in Minnesota, Maryland and Arizona. In both Arizona and Minnesota, Democrats have a good chance of picking up seats. And in Minnesota, Democrats are on a path to taking Republican Senator Dave Durenberger's seat.
- In Minnesota, Republican Governor Arne Carlson emerged from a bruising primary battle that tore the Republican Party apart. Radical Right voters who backed Carlson's extremist opponent, Alan Quist, have made it clear they won't vote for Carlson in the general and will probably stay home in November. With one more week to go before all the primaries are over, we're heading into the general election with strong candidates committed to getting things done and we are optimistic about November.

Political Talking Points, P 2

Q. Is the President going to back Marion Barry who, in addition to being the Democratic nominee, is a convicted drug user who spent six months in prison?

A. Yes. The President supports Democratic nominees across the country. As you know, the President does not involve himself nor does the Democratic National Committee get involved in primary elections. That was the case in yesterday's DC primary. But now, the voters in Washington expressed their preference, made their voices heard and the President respects the will of the voters. As citizens of this city, it is important that we all work to help District officials to make the city's streets, neighborhoods and schools safe.

Q. Will the President campaign for Marion Barry?

A. With the primary season nearing an end, we are looking at all possible options for the use of the President's time in connection with candidates and campaigns across the country. Clearly, the President has limited time that he can devote to political activities and we want to make sure that we maximize the impact of his efforts. We have received far more requests for the President's time and campaign support than we could ever honor. [In fact, the President has already campaigned aggressively for Democratic candidates in Ohio, Michigan, New York, California and other states across the country.]

Q. Does Marion Barry's win end any chance for DC Statehood?

A. We hope not nor do we think so. Statehood is about the people of this city, full representation and voting rights in the House and Senate. The President continues to fully support statehood for the District and the Administration will continue to work toward getting statehood passed.

Q. Can you quantify how much the President hurts Democrats in the fall elections?

A. We have a solid record of accomplishments; Democrats are campaigning on that record. We believe that's a plus for candidates across the board. Voters are making decisions based on what their Congressmen, Senator or Governor has delivered. Have they worked to cut the deficit, create jobs, reduce crime, protect Medicare? Have they stood with ordinary people or fought for the privileged few? Have they taken on the special interests or wilted under special interest pressure? That's what voters want to know. [Voters aren't voting for or against Bill Clinton this election day.]

Political Talking Points, P 3

Q. Where is the President traveling?

By election day, he will have traveled to every region of the country for Democratic candidates. We have several trips coming up in the next week and a half -- and many more trips have been requested by campaigns that we are considering. As the general election campaign moves into high gear, the President's schedule will remain flexible so we'll have the flexibility to put him in key states during the final weeks.

Q. Will the President campaign in the South?

Yes. He's already been in the South and he will go there again before election day. The Democratic Party is not writing off any region of the country. Additionally, the Vice President and cabinet secretaries will campaign throughout the South and all over the country.

Q. How often will the President be on the road?

Still undetermined. A lot will depend on what's happening foreign policy-wise and legislative-wise. But between now and election day, you can expect a good deal of travel and aggressive campaigning by the President, the First Lady, the Vice President, and Mrs. Gore and cabinet members.

Q. Leading Republicans and some independent political analysts are predicting that Republicans will take control of the Senate and make substantial gains in the House in the fall's elections. How many seats are Democrats going to lose?

A. Our work is cut out for us, but we won't lose control of either the House or the Senate. The same pundits claiming catastrophic Democratic losses this election day, also claimed that NAFTA meant a loss of jobs, the economic package would cause the deficit to skyrocket, and the Brady Bill wouldn't take guns off the streets.

We expect to beat the average midterm loss for the Party that occupies the White House of 3-4 Senate seats and 22 House seats. Remember, it's normal for the Party that controls the White House to lose seats in a mid-term election. And Democrats have more seats up this year than Republicans (22 of 35 in the Senate, 21 of 36 governors, and 256 of 435 in the House -- 6 of the 9 open seats in the Senate are held by Democrats and 30 of the 49 open House seats are now represented by Democrats. Tony Coelho estimates that we will lose 3-4 Senate seats and 18-22 seats in the House.)

Political Talking Points, P 4

It's also important to remember that voters don't begin to focus on campaigns until after Labor Day. Now that the general election campaign season is starting in earnest, voters will become more focused on what the candidates are saying and what they have done. The next 60 days are an opportunity for Democratic candidates. Democrats will take their record of historic deficit reduction, more than four million new jobs, a crime bill for the first time in six years, and protection of Medicare to the voters and contrast it to Republicans who have voted to slash Medicare, who caved in to the NRA and voted against taking deadly assault weapons off our streets and who voted against higher taxes for the wealthiest 1% of Americans. We'll have that debate anytime.

Q. Specifically, where can Democrats pick up seats now held by Republicans?

A. That's a question better asked of the DNC, DSCC, DCCC, and DGA. But let's take a look at the U.S. Senate. As I mentioned, the Senate seat vacated by Dave Durenberger of Minnesota is a good opportunity. In Delaware, Democrats have a very strong candidate in Attorney General Charlie Oberly who is waging a fierce campaign against Senator William Roth. We have an excellent candidate in Wyoming with Governor Sullivan who is battling Republican Craig Thomas to fill the open seat in that state. In Missouri and Montana, Alan Wheat and Jack Mudd are dynamic Democratic candidates. There is no shortage of opportunities for Democrats.

THE COOK POLITICAL REPORT

1994 SENATE RACE RATINGS

SOLID DEM	LIKELY DEM	LEAN DEM	TOSS UP	LEAN REP	LIKELY REP	SOLID REP
22 DEMOCRATIC-HELD SEATS						
(5) Akaka (HI) Byrd (WV) Conrad (ND) Lieberman (CT) Moynihan (NY)	(3) Bryan (NV) Kohl (WI) Sasser (TN)	(5) Bingaman (NM) Kennedy (MA) >Kerrey (NE) Sarbanes (MD) TN (Mathews)	(9) >Feinstein (CA) Lautenberg (NJ) Robb (VA) Wofford (PA) AZ (DeConcini) ME (Mitchell) MI (Riegle) OH (Metzenbaum) OK (Boren) [†]			
13 REPUBLICAN-HELD SEATS						
			(3) Burns (MT) MN (Durenberger) WY (Wallop)	(4) Gorton (WA) Hutchison (TX) Roth (DE) MO (Danforth)	(1) Chafee (RI)	(5) >Hatch (UT) Jeffords (VT) >Lott (MS) Lugar (IN) Mack (FL)

Current Senate Lineup: 56 Democrats, 44 Republicans. Senators whose ratings have changed since our last issue are marked with a (<) or (>). Senators with names in parentheses are retiring.

[†] A special election to replace resigning Sen. David Boren (D) will also be held on Nov. 8, 1994.

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NATIONAL OVERVIEW

President Clinton's job approval ratings are continuing their precipitous slide, moving Democrats to their highest level of anxiety so far this election cycle. Republicans now look likely to gain 20 to 25 seats in the House, pick up four or five seats in the Senate, and gain control of three to six more governor's mansions.

With fewer than 90 days to go before the 1994 midterm elections, no one doubts that this will be a bad year for Democrats. The question is whether Democrats are going to take a hit, take a big hit, or take the Big Hit, i.e. lose control of one or both chambers.

Republicans are playing, though, and so far winning, a very risky game. In the new CBS News poll taken the week of August 15, when asked what the most important problem facing

Continued next page

the country, 28 percent said crime, up nine points from 19 percent in mid-July, and 21 percent said health care, up from 19 percent last month. On the crime issue, 40 percent of Americans approve of President Clinton's performance, while 48 disapprove. In the same poll however, when asked who cares more about reducing crime, 43 percent said the president, while only 26 percent said Republicans in Congress. On health care, only 40 percent approve of the President's handling on health care (probably the same 40 percent!), with 50 percent disapproving. But when asked which party is more likely to improve the health care system, 45 percent said Democrats and 27 percent said Republicans.

Two points are important. First, to the extent that Republicans seem on the verge of truly historic gains in the upcoming midterm elections, they will win because of who they're not, not because of who they are or what they stand for. They are not of President Clinton's party, and they are not in control of Congress — therefore, they will probably do well. Republicans should not mistake their coming good fortunes as a sign that Americans actually prefer their agenda to the Democrats'. Though the president and Democratic congressional leaders have made some very serious misjudgments in recent months, they have not been alone. The public does not see Republicans as on the right side of many of the day's hot issues, only they are the only alternative to the other party, which they view as ineffectual.

Second, to the extent that some Republicans see this election as something of an ideological referendum, they are sadly mistaken, as the above numbers suggest. Countless GOP challengers and open-seat candidates continue to run steadfastly ideological campaigns in an election that is anything but ideological. No doubt, the presence of Bill Clinton in the White House has fundamentally changed the landscape, with Republican candidates quickly attacking him and trying to tie their Democratic opponents to him and Democrats forced to choose between embracing him and distancing themselves. In that sense, both parties candidates are being thrown "off message" from what they should be talking about. Voters are rejecting failure, ineptitude, and unresponsiveness and are demonstrating impatience with a lack of progress after having sent a record number of fresh faces to Washington last year. Few polls (if any) are indicating an ideological turn to the right. We believe that many Republican candidates are selling themselves short by running such ideological campaigns and that whatever gains the GOP ultimately achieves would have been greater if more were running the pure, outsider/reform campaigns that both Democrats and Republicans did in 1992.

It is very clear that Democrats have not been getting or, for that matter, earning accolades for their handling of the crime and health care issues. These data suggest however, that Republicans have been flying very close to the flame and getting away with it. But they do run the very real risk of getting burned. Voters are not siding with Republicans on these issues; they are just showing their disappointment or disdain with how Democrats, on Capitol Hill and in the Administration, have handled them so far. Though there are no signs yet that the public is preparing to turn on Republicans for gridlocking such measures, these numbers suggest at least the possibility of that happening if Republicans overplay their hand.

PREDICTING NET TURNOVER

A variety of factors must be taken into account in predicting the levels of net party turnover. Among them:

- The number and character of the open seats each party is defending.
- The results of the previous cycle's elections. Did a lot of freshman ride in on presidential coattails? Did one side win an unusually high number of fluke elections? Is one side nursing a disproportionate number of "walking wounded" incumbents who have not solidified their holds on their states or districts?
- The continuing impact of redistricting.
- Which party holds the White House. The party that captures the White House almost always picks up seats, whether that president is winning election to his first or second term. But in first-term/midterm elections, i.e. elections occurring midway through a president's first term, the party holding the White House usually loses 10-15 House seats and breaks even in the Senate; in second-term/midterm elections, the president's party tends to get hammered in both chambers, with House losses averaging about 37 seats and Senate losses averaging seven or eight.

In years when the political climate is relatively calm, meaning that the political playing field is fairly level, the factors that determine who will lose seats also dictate the extent of those losses. But in other elections, larger forces come into play that can turn modest losses into huge ones, tipping the playing field so steeply that reasonably safe incumbents become endangered, marginal incumbents find themselves in near-hopeless situations, and open-seat candidates have to fight against

strong partisan tides. Such consequences usually stem from looming external factors rather than technical ones: unusually low presidential popularity, a poor economy, or dramatic foreign policy developments.

With Labor Day nearing, most analysts of congressional races are predicting a likely Republican gain of between 18 and 26 seats in the House and three to five seats in the Senate. Michael Barone of U.S. *News and World Report* and the *Almanac of American Politics* is the outlier, anticipating Democratic losses of 30 to 35 seats in the House and four to six in the Senate. Please refer to the end of the overview section for a compilation of predictions from some reporters and analysts who actually follow races day-to-day.

We strongly believe that the net turnover will be in the range of our panel's Senate estimates of 3 to 6 and House predictions of 18 to 26 (save Barone) — unless a nationalization of the election takes place, which hasn't yet happened but still could. Our guess is that Barone is already factoring in an element of Democratic meltdown in his projection. If that metamorphosis does in fact occur, the fundamentals of evaluating seats on an individual basis become overwhelmed by a national tide, and all bets are off.

What signs would point to a nationalization of the 1994 campaign? On a non-quantifiable level, watch the scheduled September 27 Republican gathering on the Capitol steps, when under the direction of Republican House Leader-to-be Newt Gingrich, GOP House candidates from around the country will join to unveil and pledge allegiance to a congressional reform agenda that they hope will convince voters that "change" in Washington and in Congress requires a partisan change in Congress. Though nationalizing an election is extremely difficult if not impossible in most elections, it can indeed happen, as it did in 1974, 1980, and 1982. Republicans want voters to think something like this: "I still like my (Democratic) congressman, but after 40 years (of Democratic House control), the only way to get real change in Washington is by putting Republicans in charge."

On a quantifiable level, watch closely the national polls between Labor Day and the election for four indicators. First, the generic congressional vote ("do you plan to vote for the Democratic or Republican candidate for Congress"). Democrats usually have a mid-single digit lead over Republicans on this question, but recent national polls have ranged from Republicans up by a point to a Democratic edge of 4 points. In a new Gallup poll (August 15-16), Republicans had a 2-point advantage, 46 percent to 44 percent. Since early August 1980, Gallup has asked this question 19 times, and this marks the first time that Republicans have shown a 2-point lead. Twice, the GOP held one-point edges on this

question, both times earlier this year, in February and again last month. Should Republicans begin showing a consistent edge of more than 2 or 3 points on this question, that would be a sign that they might be pushing the 30-seat point on the House, and a 4- or 5-point GOP lead could indicate that their gains might reach into the 30- to 40-seat range, or possibly even higher.

A second poll number to watch is the "right direction/wrong track" figure. Sometimes called the "Dow Jones indicator of American politics," this question serves as the electorate's thermometer, with high "wrong track" numbers and low "right direction" numbers bad for incumbents in general and the party in power in particular. Last month's NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll put the "right direction" percentage at 28 percent, a level of extreme danger, with "wrong track" at 53 percent. We very rarely have seen such a low "right direction" number, though the "wrong track" figure sometimes climbs well into the 60s and actually has cracked 70 percent in recent years. With the "right direction" numbers already in the danger zone, if the "wrong track" figure gets much higher, a 30+ seat GOP gain in the House becomes a possibility. A related-measurement is consumer confidence. Both the University of Michigan and the Conference Board's national consumer confidence numbers dropped in July, making their August and September results important to watch for some kind of trend.

A third factor to track is the president's job approval. President Clinton's approval numbers have been in the 40s for some time, mostly in the low to mid-40s. In this week's new Gallup poll for CNN and USA Today, however, the president's approval dropped to 39 percent, the lowest since June of last year, and his disapproval hit 52 percent, the highest Gallup disapproval rating of this presidency. A new ABC News poll taken at about the same time put his approval at 44 percent, down 3 points from their previous survey earlier this month. Likewise, another just-released national survey, conducted by CBS News from August 16-17, pegs the president's job approval rating at 40 percent, down from 42 percent in mid-July, and his disapproval rating at 47 percent, unchanged from last month. If we begin seeing a consistent presidential job approval figure of under 40 percent, that could point to a Democratic meltdown as well. The real irony here is that Democrats would be suffering their first major midterm election loss since 1966 (when they lost 47 seats in the House and four in the Senate) at a time when the economy is humming along quite well.

Another important factor to keep in mind is that for Democrats, disillusionment among their rank-and-file voters equals lower turnout, and turnout is likely to

increase proportionately among the considerable crowd of Clinton-bashers. Activity among right-of-center interest groups such as gun control opponents, right-to-lifers, and term limits advocates portend a November 8 electorate considerably more conservative than it was two years ago. In short, we could see disenchanted Democratic voters staying home and energized Republicans and conservatives voting in numbers that are unusually high for midterm elections.

Obviously, with 11 weeks to go before the balloting, a lot of unknowns remain in the mix. The crime bill, health care reform, an invasion of Haiti or some other international incident, or a sudden economic calamity — any of these could alter the national playing field in some major way, with some potentially cutting two ways at once. For example, on the crime bill, while Democratic incumbents undoubtedly were hurt by the rule's failure, which just made the Democratic-controlled Congress appear dysfunctional, many Democratic challengers simultaneously scored points against GOP incumbents by charging them with being obstructionist in general and in some cases, among moderate suburbanites, for opposing the ban on assault rifles. Many of these anti-incumbent related issues seem double-edged, though the edge cuts a bit sharper against Democrats, given their control of Congress. In sum: take some of these predictions of GOP gains of 35+ seats in the House and 7+ seats in the Senate with a grain of salt — they could happen, but those forecasts are predicated on events or developments that haven't yet occurred and, realistically, can't be predicted.

HOUSE RACES

As outlined above, most who are actually looking at individual House races estimate Republican gains of 18 to 26 seats. Few seriously believe there's much chance of Democratic losses being limited to 15 seats or less. One important reason why our estimates are lower than many predictions being bandied about these days is that we realize that many of the GOP challengers who have reaped such success up to this point by bashing their opponents are just beginning to get bashed themselves. As the fruits of Democratic opposition research is translated into 30-second ads or leaked to the press, some of those shiny new GOP faces will begin to sport black eyes (just ask Jon Christensen in Nebraska or Helen Chenoweth in Idaho). Challengers won't be enjoying the fairly free rides they have received so far, and there's a real possibility that Republican hopes may have peaked in July.

A second factor is that upon examination of the June 30 FEC reports, many highly touted challengers have disappointing contribution and particularly cash-

on-hand figures. Indeed there is a large gap between the political potential and the financial reality for many challengers. One important thing to watch is whether, above and beyond the NRCC and RNC funding, there is any bundling going on in GOP circles to make up for funding disparities between Democratic incumbents and Republican challengers.

SENATE RACES

We are holding to our estimate of a GOP gain of four or five seats, though as the chart above indicates, that prediction is a bit higher than many other estimates. Though we're vastly oversimplifying the situation, our arithmetic works something like this. Democrats are likelier to lose than win the open seats in Arizona, Maine and Ohio and realistically could lose two or three among these races: the open seats in Michigan and Oklahoma, and the contests involving incumbents Dianne Feinstein (Calif.), Frank Lautenberg (N.J.), Chuck Robb (Va.) and Harris Wofford (Penn.). This would translate into Democrats losing five or six of their own seats. Then, between the GOP's two open seats in Minnesota and Wyoming and the seat of Montana's Conrad Burns, the most endangered Republican incumbent, we see Democrats likely to pick off one, probably the Minnesota open seat, for an overall net GOP gain of four or five seats. Of course, both of these scenarios are confined to the 12 states we view as toss-ups today, and any of the five Democratic-held seats or four GOP-held seats in the "Lean" columns could come into play as well.

HOUSE SUMMARY PAGE

CURRENT HOUSE LINEUP

Democrats	256 (58.9%)
Republicans	178 (40.9%)
Independents	1
Vacancies	0

49 OPEN HOUSE SEATS FOR 1994

30 DEMOCRATIC SEATS

✓AZ-01	Sam Coppersmith	Running for Senate
✓CA-16	Don Edwards	Retiring
✓FL-01	Earl Hutto	Retiring
✓FL-15	Jim Bacchus	Retiring
✓GA-08	Roy Rowland	Retiring
✓IL-11	George Sangmeister	Retiring
✓IN-02	Phil Sharp	Retiring
✓KS-02	Jim Slattery	Running for Governor
✓KY-03	Romano Mazzoli	Retiring
✓ME-01	Tom Andrews	Running for Senate
✓MI-08	Bob Carr	Running for Senate
✓MI-13	Bill Ford	Retiring
✓MN-01	Tim Penny	Retiring
✓MS-01	Jamie Whitten	Retiring
✓MO-05	Alan Wheat	Running for Senate
✓NJ-02	Bill Hughes	Retiring
✓NC-02	Tim Valentine	Retiring
✓NC-05	Steve Neal	Retiring
✓OH-18	Doug Applegate	Retiring
✓OK-04	Dave McCurdy	Running for Senate
✓OR-05	Mike Kopetski	Retiring
— PA-02	Lucien Blackwell	Lost in Primary
✓PA-20	Austin Murphy	Retiring
✓SC-03	Butler Derrick	Retiring
✓TN-03	Marilyn Lloyd	Retiring
✓TN-04	Jim Cooper	Running for Senate
✓TX-10	Jake Pickle	Retiring
— TX-18	Craig Washington	Lost in Primary
✓TX-25	Mike Andrews	Ran for Senate
✓WA-02	Al Swift	Retiring
RETIRING: 20		
RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR: 1		
RUNNING FOR SENATE: 7		
LOST IN PRIMARY: 2		

19 REPUBLICAN SEATS

✓AZ-04	Jon Kyl	Running for Senate
✓CA-22	Michael Huffington	Running for Senate
✓CA-44	Al McCandless	Retiring
✓FL-16	Tom Lewis	Retiring
✓IL-18	Bob Michel	Retiring
✓IA-05	Fred Grandy	Running for Governor
✓MD-02	Helen Bentley	Running for Governor
✓ME-02	Olympia Snowe	Running for Senate
✓MN-06	Rod Grams	Running for Senate
✓NY-19	Hamilton Fish	Retiring
✓NC-09	Alex McMillan	Retiring
✓OK-01	Jim Inhofe	Running for Senate
✓OR-02	Bob Smith	Retiring
✓PA-18	Rick Santorum	Running for Senate
✓PA-21	Tom Ridge	Running for Governor
✓RI-01	Ron Machtley	Running for Governor
✓SC-01	Arthur Ravenel	Running for Governor
✓TN-07	Don Sundquist	Running for Governor
✓WY-AL	Craig Thomas	Running for Senate

RETIRING: 6
RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR: 6
RUNNING FOR SENATE: 7
LOST IN PRIMARY: 0

1994 HOUSE RACES AT A GLANCE

This list of candidates, actual and potential, was compiled with information from the candidates themselves, national and state party committees, local and national press accounts, as well as the "word on the street." Asterisks denote freshman members; "\$" denotes special election winners. No inferences should be drawn from the order candidates are listed. Vote percentages are based on official FEC results. A (P) under a rating indicates an incumbent with a serious or potentially serious primary challenge; ratings refer only to general election contests. The numbers in parentheses refer to the following ratings of likelihood to run:

- 1 — Announced candidacy or certain to run
- 2 — Likely to run
- 3 — Maybe
- 4 — Mentioned but unlikely

State	Democratic Candidates	Republican Candidates	Last %	Ratings
ALABAMA (Filing deadline April 8; primary June 7; run-off June 28)				
AL-01	Don Womack (1)	SONNY CALLAHAN	60%	Solid Rep
AL-02	Brian Dowling (1)	TERRY EVERETT*	49%	Likely Rep
AL-03	GLEN BROWDER	Ben Hand (1)	60%	Solid Dem
AL-04	TOM BEVILL		69%	Solid Dem
AL-05	BUD CRAMER	Wayne Parker, Banker, Rep. Bill Archer's Son in Law (1)	66%	Likely Dem
AL-06	Larry Fortenberry (1)	SPENCER BACHUS*	52%	Solid Rep
AL-07	EARL HILLIARD*	Alfred Middleton Sr. (1)	69%	Solid Dem
ALASKA (Filing deadline June 1; primary August 23)				
AK-AL	Tony Smith, Frmr. State Commerce Commiss., '92 Sen. Candidate (1)	DON YOUNG	47%	Toss Up
ARIZONA (Filing deadline June 30; primary September 13)				
AZ-01	OPEN: Coppersmith running for Sen. Linda Rawles, Atty. (1) Chuck Blanchard, St. Sen. (1)	Matt Salmon, St. Sen. (1) Bev Hermon, St. Sen. (1) Bert Tollefson, Realtor (1) Susan Bitter Smith, Frmr. Scottsdale City Council, Cable TV Lobbyist (1)	51%	Lean Rep
AZ-02	ED PASTOR Robert Molina (1)	James Vernon Crews (1) Robert McDonald (1)	66%	Solid Dem
AZ-03	Howard Sprague, Ins. Agent, '92 Presidential Candidate (1)	BOB STUMP	61%	Likely Rep

AZ-04	Carol Cure, Atty. (1)	OPEN: Kyl running for Senate Jim Bruner, Maricopa Co. Supervisor (1) John Shadegg, Frmr. AZ Asst. Atty. Gen. (1) Trent Franks, Frmr. Mecham aide, Pro-life Activist Fmr. St. Rep. (1) Joan Jugloff (1)	59%	Likely Rep
AZ-05	Gary Auerbach, Chiropractor (1)	JIM KOLBE Joe Sweeney (1)	67%	Likely Rep
AZ-06	KARAN ENGLISH*	J.D. Hayworth, Frmr. TV Sportscaster (1) Dave Schweikert, St. Rep., Maj. Whip (1) Gary Husk, Chief Counsel for Drug Enforcement in AG's Office (1) Ramona Ortega-Liston, Frmr. McCain Aide (1) David Smith, Atty., Frmr. Judge (1)	53%	Toss Up

ARKANSAS (Filing deadline March 29; primary May 24; run-off June 14)

AR-01	BLANCHE LAMBERT*	Warren Dupwe (1)	70%	Solid Dem
AR-02	RAY THORNTON	Bill Powell (1)	74%	Solid Dem
AR-03	Berta Seitz, Printer (1)	TIM HUTCHINSON*	50%	Likely Rep
AR-04	Jay Bradford, St. Sen. (1)	JAY DICKEY*	52%	Toss Up

CALIFORNIA (Filing deadline March 11; primary June 7)

CA-01	DAN HAMBURG*	Frank Riggs, Frmr. U.S. Rep. (1)	48%	Toss Up
CA-02	Mary Florence Jacobs, Bwoman (1)	WALLY HERGER	65%	Likely Rep
CA-03	VIC FAZIO	Tim Lefever, Atty., Real Estate Broker (1)	51%	Likely Dem
CA-04	Kathleen Himing, Software Exec. (1)	JOHN DOOLITTLE	50%	Likely Rep
CA-05	ROBERT MATSUI	Robert Dinsmore (1)	69%	Solid Dem
CA-06	LYNN WOOLSEY*	Michael Nugent (1)	65%	Likely Dem
CA-07	GEORGE MILLER	Charles Hughes (1)	70%	Solid Dem
CA-08	NANCY PELOSI	Elsa Cheung (1)	82%	Solid Dem
CA-09	RONALD DELLUMS	Deborah Wright (1)	72%	Solid Dem
CA-10	Ellen Schwartz, Bwoman (1)	BILL BAKER*	52%	Likely Rep
CA-11	Randy Perry, Police Lobbyist (1)	RICHARD POMBO*	48%	Likely Rep
CA-12	TOM LANTOS	Deborah Wilder, Atty. (1)	69%	Solid Dem
CA-13	PETE STARK	Larry Molton (1)	60%	Solid Dem
CA-14	ANNA ESHOO*	Ben Brink, Bman (1)	57%	Likely Dem
CA-15	NORMAN MINETA	Robert Wick (1)	64%	Solid Dem

CA-16	OPEN: Edwards is retiring Zoe Lofgren, Santa Clara Co. Cup. (1)	Lyle Smith, Financial Consultant (1)	62%	Solid Dem
CA-17	SAM FARR*	Bill McCambell, Lobbyist, '93 Cand. (1)	52%	Likely Dem
CA-18	GARY CONDIT		85%	Solid Dem
CA-19	RICHARD LEHMAN	George Radanovich, '92 Primary Cand., Mariposa County Supervisor (1)	47%	Toss Up
CA-20	CALVIN DOOLEY	Paul Young (1)	65%	Solid Dem
CA-21	John Evans (1)	BILL THOMAS	65%	Solid Rep
CA-22	Walter Capps, UCSB Professor (1)	Open: Huffington running for Senate Andrea Seastrand, St. Rep. (1)	53%	Toss Up
CA-23	Kevin Ready (1)	ELTON GALLEGLY	54%	Solid Rep
CA-24	TONY BEILENSON	Richard Sybert, Frmr. Wilson Planning Director, Atty. (1)	56%	Toss Up
CA-25	James Gilmartin (1)	BUCK McKEON*	52%	Solid Rep
CA-26	HOWARD BERMAN	Gary Forsch (1)	61%	Solid Dem
CA-27	Doug Kahn, Bman, '92 Candidate (1)	CARLOS MOORHEAD	50%	Lean Rep
CA-28	Tommy Randle (1)	DAVID DREIER	58%	Solid Rep
CA-29	HENRY WAXMAN	Paul Stepanek, Businessman (1)	61%	Solid Dem
CA-30	XAVIER BECERRA*	David Ramirez (1)	58%	Solid Dem
CA-31	MATTHEW MARTINEZ	John Flores (1)	63%	Solid Dem
CA-32	JULIAN DIXON	Ernie Farhat (1)	87%	Solid Dem
CA-33	LUCILLE ROYBAL-ALLARD*	Reuben Murillo (1)	63%	Solid Dem
CA-34	ESTEBAN TORRES	Albert Nunez (1)	61%	Solid Dem
CA-35	MAXINE WATERS	Nate Truman (1)	83%	Solid Dem
CA-36	JANE HARMAN*	Susan Brooks, Rancho Palos Verdes Mayor (1)	48%	Lean Dem
CA-37	WALTER TUCKER*		86%	Solid Dem
CA-38	Peter Matthews, Professor (1)	STEVE HORN*	49%	Likely Rep
CA-39	Bob Davis (1)	ED ROYCE*	57%	Solid Rep
CA-40	Donald Rusk (1)	JERRY LEWIS	63%	Solid Rep
CA-41	Ed Tessier, Bman (1)	JAY KIM*	60%	Likely Rep
CA-42	GEORGE BROWN, Jr.	Robert Guzman, Education Consultant, '92 Cand. vs. Lucille Roybal Allard (1)	51%	Likely Dem

CA-43	Mark Takano, '92 Cand., Teacher (1)	KEN CALVERT* INDEPENDENT: Bob Lynn, Frmr. Moreno Valley Council, 1992 Primary Candidate (1)	47%	Toss Up
CA-44	Steve Clute, Frmr. St. Rep. (1)	OPEN: McCandless is retiring Sonny Bono, Frmr. Palm Springs Mayor (1)	54%	Lean Rep
CA-45	Brett Williamson, Atty. (1)	DANA ROHRABACHER	55%	Solid Rep
CA-46	Mike Farber, Frmr. CA Concord Coalition Director, '92 Cand. vs. Ron Packard (1)	ROBERT DORNAN	50%	Likely Rep
— CA-47	Gary Kingsbury (1)	CHRIS COX	65%	Solid Rep
CA-48	Andrei Leschick, Bman (1)	RON PACKARD	61%	Solid Rep
CA-49	LYNN SCHENK*	Brian Bilbray, SD County Sup., Cousin of NV Rep. (1)	51%	Toss Up
CA-50	BOB FILNER*	Mary Alice Acevedo, Bwoman (1)	57%	Likely Dem
CA-51	Rita Tamerius, Med. Professional (1)	RANDY "DUKE" CUNNINGHAM	56%	Likely Rep
CA-52	Janet Gastil, Teacher, '92 Cand. (1)	DUNCAN HUNTER	53%	Likely Rep

COLORADO (Filing deadline June 3; primary August 9)

CO-01	PAT SCHROEDER	Joe Chavez, Party Activist (1) William Eggert (1)	69%	Solid Dem
CO-02	DAVID SKAGGS	Pat Miller, Frmr. St. Rep. (1)	61%	Likely Dem
CO-03	Linda Powers, St. Sen. (1)	SCOTT McINNIS*	55%	Likely Rep
CO-04	Cathy Kipp, Computer Programmer (1)	WAYNE ALLARD	58%	Solid Rep
CO-05		JOEL HEFLEY	71%	Solid Rep
CO-06	John Hallen, Mgt. Consultant (1)	DAN SCHAEFER	61%	Solid Rep

CONNECTICUT (Filing deadline 14 days after convention if no candidate gets 20 percent; primary September 13)

NOTE: "ACP" designates the endorsed candidate of the A Connecticut Party.

CT-01	BARBARA KENNELLY (ACP)	Douglas Putnam (1)	67%	Solid Dem
CT-02	SAM GEJDENSON THIRD PARTY: David Bingham (ACP) (1)	Edward Munster, Frmr. St. Sen., '92 Candidate (1)	51%	Toss Up
CT-03	ROSA DeLAURO	Susan Johnson (ACP) (1)	66%	Likely Dem
CT-04	Jonathan Kantrowitz (1)	CHRISTOPHER SHAYS	67%	Solid Rep

CT-05	Jim Maloney, St. Sen. (1) Tom Luby, St. Rep., Maj. Ldr. (ACP) (1)	GARY FRANKS	44%	Lean Rep
CT-06	Charlotte Koskoff, Atty., Prof. (1)	NANCY JOHNSON	70%	Solid Rep

DELAWARE (Filing deadline July 29; primary September 10)

DE-AL	Carol Ann DeSantis, Hospital Exec. (1)	MICHAEL CASTLE*	55%	Solid Rep
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FLORIDA (Filing deadline May 13; primary September 6, run-off October 4)

FL-01	OPEN: Hutto is retiring Jim Barnett, Gun Dealer (1) Vince Whibbs, Atty., Son of Frmr. Pensacola Mayor (1)	Joe Scarborough, Atty. (1) Jim Paul, Teacher, Frmr. Reagan Appointee (1) Buck Lee, Escambia County Commissioner, Car Dealer (1) Lois Benson, St. Rep. (1) Basil Bethea, Realtor (1)	52%	Lean Rep
FL-02	PETE PETERSON	Carole Griffin (1)	73%	Solid Dem
FL-03	CORRINE BROWN* Alvin Brown, Frmr. Clinton WH Official (1)	Marc Little, TV Talk Show Host (1) Gwen Chandler Thompson, FL Comm. Coll. Library Dep't. Chair (1)	59%	Likely Dem (P)
FL-04		TILLIE FOWLER*	57%	Solid Rep
FL-05	KAREN THURMAN*	Gary Graham, Frmr. Judge (1) "Big Daddy" Don Garlits, Drag Racer (1)	49%	Lean Dem
FL-06		CLIFF STEARNS	65%	Solid Rep
FL-07	Ed Goddard, Stockbroker (1)	JOHN MICA*	56%	Solid Rep
FL-08		BILL McCOLLUM	69%	Solid Rep
FL-09		MICHAEL BILIRAKIS	59%	Solid Rep
FL-10		C.W. BILL YOUNG	57%	Solid Rep
FL-11	SAM GIBBONS	Mark Sharpe, Frmr. Navy Intelligence Officer, 1992 Candidate (1)	53%	Likely Dem
FL-12	Robert Connors, Polk Co. Comm. (1) Cheryl Davis Knapp, '90, '92 Cand. vs. Mike Bilirakis (1)	CHARLES CANADY*	52%	Lean Rep
FL-13		DAN MILLER* Jeffrey Assman (1)	58%	Solid Rep
FL-14		PORTER GOSS	82%	Solid Rep
FL-15	OPEN: Bacchus is retiring Sue Munsey, Cocoa Beach Chamber of Commerce President, Frmr. Republican (1)	Carole Jean Jordan, Frmr. Tolley Campaign Manager (1) Michael Shukdinas, Engineer (1) Kevin McKeown, Frmr. St. Rep. Cand., Engineer (1) Gary Smith, Vietnam Veteran (1) Ed Stillie, Investment Advisor, Ret. AF (1) Dave Weldon, Physician (1) Bill Wolfe (1)	51%	Lean Rep

FL-16	John Comerford, '92 Cand. (1) Jim Stuber, Atty. (1) Ron Howard, Frmr. Palm Beach Co. Comm., Frmr. GOP (1)	OPEN: Lewis is Retiring Mark Foley, St. Sen. (1) John Anastasio, '92 Prim. Cand. (1) Audrey Vickers, Highlands Co. Comm. (1)	61%	Likely Rep
FL-17	CARRIE MEEK*		100%	Solid Dem
FL-18		ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN	67%	Solid Rep
FL-19	HARRY JOHNSTON	Peter Tsakanikas, Bman, '70 Cand. for Gov. in MD (1) Binh Ly, Bman, Ron Brown Accuser (1)	63%	Solid Dem
FL-20	PETER DEUTSCH*	Beverly Kennedy, Businesswoman, '92 Candidate (1)	55%	Solid Dem
FL-21		LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART*	Unopp.	Solid Rep
FL-22	Hermine Weiner, Palm Beach City Council, Frmr. Republican (1)	CLAY SHAW John Stahl (1)	52%	Lean Rep
FL-23	ALCEE HASTINGS*		59%	Solid Dem

GEORGIA (Filing deadline April 29; primary July 19; run-off September 9)

GA-01	Raymond Beckworth (1)	JACK KINGSTON*	58%	Solid Rep
GA-02	SANFORD BISHOP*	John Clayton (1)	64%	Solid Dem
GA-03	Fred Overby, Atty. (1)	MAC COLLINS*	55%	Lean Rep
GA-04	Comer Yates, Atty. (1)	JOHN LINDER*	51%	Lean Rep
GA-05	JOHN LEWIS	Dale Dixon (1)	72%	Solid Dem
GA-06	Ben Jones, Frmr. Rep. (1)	NEWT GINGRICH	58%	Likely Rep
GA-07	BUDDY DARDEN	Bob Barr, Frmr. U.S. Attorney, '92 Sen. Primary Candidate (1)	57%	Toss Up
GA-08	OPEN: Rowland is retiring Craig Mathis, Atty., Son of Frmr. Rep. (1)	Saxby Chambliss, '92 Primary Cand. (1)	56%	Lean Rep
GA-09	NATHAN DEAL*	Bob Costello, Bman (1)	59%	Likely Dem
GA-10	DON JOHNSON*	Charlie Norwood, Frmr. Pres., GA Dental Association (1)	54%	Toss Up
GA-11	CYNTHIA MCKINNEY*	Woodrow Lovett (1)	73%	Solid Dem

HAWAII (Filing deadline July 19; primary September 17)

HI-01	NEIL ABERCROMBIE Dennis Nakasato, St. Sen. (1)	Orson Swindle, Frmr. Perot Advisor (1) Yvonne Pieper Perry (1)	73%	Likely Dem
HI-02	PATSY MINK David Bourgoin, '92 Prim. Cand. (1)	Robert Garner (1) Stanley Monsef (1) William Fenton Sink (1)	73%	Solid Dem

IDAHO (Filing deadline April 1; primary May 24)

ID-01	LARRY LaROCCO	Helen Chenoweth, Natural Resource Consultant (1)	58%	Lean Dem
ID-02	Penny Fletcher, US West Customer Service Rep. (1)	MIKE CRAPO*	61%	Solid Rep

ILLINOIS (Filing deadline December 13; primary March 15)

IL-01	BOBBY RUSH*	William Kelley, Frmr. Seminarian (1)	83%	Solid Dem
IL-02	MEL REYNOLDS*		78%	Solid Dem
IL-03	WILLIAM LIPINSKI	Jim Nalepa, Bman (1)	64%	Likely Dem
IL-04	LUIS GUTIERREZ*	Steven Valtierra, Frmr. Policeman (1)	78%	Solid Dem
IL-05	DAN ROSTENKOWSKI	Michael Flanigan, Atty. (1)	57%	Likely Dem
IL-06	Tom Berry, Transit Union Official (1)	HENRY HYDE	66%	Solid Rep
IL-07	CARDISS COLLINS	Charles Mobley, Contractor (1)	81%	Solid Dem
IL-08	Robert Walberg, Stock Analyst (1)	PHILIP CRANE	56%	Likely Rep
IL-09	SIDNEY YATES	George Lamey, Labor Mediator (1)	68%	Solid Dem
IL-10		JOHN PORTER	65%	Solid Rep
IL-11	OPEN: Sangmeister Retiring Frank Giglio, St. Rep. (1)	Jerry Weller, St. Rep. (1)	56%	Lean Rep
IL-12	JERRY COSTELLO	Jan Morris, Attorney, Farmer (1)	71%	Solid Dem
IL-13	William Riley, Bman (1)	HARRIS FAWELL	68%	Solid Rep
IL-14	Steve Denari, Consultant (1)	J. DENNIS HASTERT	67%	Likely Rep
IL-15	Paul Alexander, Sangmeister Aide (1)	THOMAS EWING	59%	Likely Rep
IL-16	Peter Sullivan, Atty. (1)	DON MANZULLO*	56%	Likely Rep
IL-17	LANE EVANS	Jim Anderson, Feed Store Owner (1)	60%	Solid Dem
IL-18	G. Douglas Stephens, '82, '88 Michel Opponent, Atty. (1)	OPEN: Michel is retiring Ray LaHood, Michel's Chief of Staff (1)	58%	Toss Up
IL-19	GLENN POSHARD	Brent Winters (1)	69%	Solid Dem
IL-20	RICHARD DURBIN	Bill Owens, Construction Worker (1)	57%	Solid Dem

INDIANA (Filing deadline February 18; primary May 3)

IN-01	PETER VISCLOSKY	John Larson, Bman (1)	69%	Solid Dem
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IN-02	OPEN: Sharp is retiring Joe Hogsett, Sec. of State, '92 Sen. Cand. (1)	David McIntosh, Frmr. E.D., Council on Competitiveness (1)	57%	Toss Up
IN-03	TIM ROEMER	Rich Burkett, Bman (1)	57%	Solid Dem
IN-04	JILL LONG	Mark Souder, Bman, Frmr. Dan Coats Staffer (1)	62%	Likely Dem
IN-05	J.D. Beatty, Howard Co. Sheriff (1)	STEVE BUYER*	51%	Lean Rep
IN-06	Natalie Bruner (1)	DAN BURTON	72%	Solid Rep
IN-07	Mike Harmless, Greencastle Mayor (1)	JOHN MYERS	59%	Lean Rep
IN-08	FRANK McCLOSKEY	John Hostettler, Engineer (1)	53%	Likely Dem
IN-09	LEE HAMILTON	Jean Leising, St. Sen. (1)	70%	Likely Dem
IN-10	ANDREW JACOBS, Jr.	Marvin Scott, Professor (1)	64%	Solid Dem

IOWA (Filing deadline March 18; primary June 7)

IA-01	Glen Winekauf, Frmr Harkin Aide (1)	JIM LEACH	68%	Solid Rep
IA-02	Dave Nagle, Frmr. Rep., '92 Cand. (1)	JIM NUSSLE	50%	Toss Up
IA-03	Elaine Baxter, Secretary of State, '92 Candidate (1)	JIM ROSS LIGHTFOOT	49%	Toss Up
IA-04	NEAL SMITH	Greg Ganske, Surgeon (1)	62%	Toss Up
IA-05	Sheila McGuire, Dentist, Epidemiologist, Health Care Consultant (1)	OPEN: Grandy Running for Governor Tom Latham, Bman (1)	99%	Toss Up

KANSAS (Filing deadline June 10; primary August 2)

KS-01	Terry Nichols (1)	PAT ROBERTS	68%	Solid Rep
KS-02	OPEN: Slaterry Running for Gov. John Carlin, Frmr. Gov., Bman (1)	Sam Brownback, Frmr. St. Ag. Sec. (1)	56%	Lean Rep
KS-03	Judith Hancock, Atty. (1)	JAN MEYERS	58%	Likely Rep
KS-04	DAN GLICKMAN	Todd Tiahrt, St. Sen. (1)	52%	Likely Dem

KENTUCKY (Filing deadline January 25; primary May 24)

KY-01	TOM BARLOW*	Ed Whitfield, Frmr. St. Rep. (1)	61%	Lean Dem
KY-02	David Adkisson, Owensboro Mayor (1)	RON LEWIS*§	55%	Toss Up

KY-03	OPEN: Mazzoli is retiring Mike Ward., Bman. Frmr. St. Rep. (1)	Susan Stokes, Frmr. St. Rep., '92 Candidate (1)	53%	Lean Dem
		TAXPAYERS PARTY: Richard Lewis (1)		
KY-04	Sally Skaggs (1)	JIM BUNNING	62%	Solid Rep
KY-05	Walter Blevins, St. Sen., Dentist (1)	HAL ROGERS	55%	Likely Rep
KY-06	SCOTTY BAESLER*	Matthew Wills (1)	61%	Solid Dem

LOUISIANA (Filing deadline July 29; primary October 1)

NOTE: "0" denotes a candidate having garnered more than 50% in the 1992 primary and therefore, under Louisiana law, not being required to compete in the general election.

LA-01	Forest McNeir (1)	BOB LIVINGSTON0	73%	Solid Rep
LA-02	WILLIAM JEFFERSON0 Julius "Uncle Chip" Leahman (1)		74%	Solid Dem
LA-03	BILLY TAUZIN0	Nick Accardo, Physician, '90, '92 U.S. Senate Candidate (1)	82%	Solid Dem
LA-04	CLEO FIELDS*	Patricia Slocum (1)	74%	Solid Dem
LA-05	Paul Henry Kidd (1)	JIM McCRERY	63%	Solid Rep
LA-06	Darryl Paul Ward (1)	RICHARD BAKER	51%	Solid Rep
LA-07	JIMMY HAYES0	Clyde Holloway, Frmr. Rep. (1)	73%	Likely Dem

MAINE (Filing deadline April 1; primary June 14)

ME-01	OPEN: Andrews running for Senate Dennis Dutremble, St. Sen. Pres. (1)	James Longley, Son of Frmr. Gov. (1)	65%	Toss Up
ME-02	John Baldacci, St. Sen. (1)	OPEN: Snowe running for Senate Richard Bennett, St. Rep. (1)	49%	Toss Up

MARYLAND (Filing deadline July 5; primary September 13)

MD-01	Steve Eastaugh, G.W. Professor (1) Ralph Gies (1) James Brown (1)	WAYNE GILCHREST Scott Meredith (1) George Williams (1) Bradlyn McClanahan (1)	51%	Likely Rep
MD-02	Gerry Brewster, St. Rep. (1) Connie Galiazzo DeJuliis, St. Rep. (1) Kauko Kokkonen, Bus Driver (1) Joseph Bish Jr. (1) James DeLoach (1) Hunter Epperson (1)	OPEN: Bentley Running for Governor Bob Ehrlich, St. Rep. (1) Bill Frank, Banker (1) John Fleig (1)	65%	Toss Up

MD-03	BENJAMIN CARDIN Dan Hiegei (1)	Bob Tousey, Atty. (1)	74%	Solid Dem
MD-04	ALBERT WYNN* Robert Bates (1)	Michele Dyson, '92 Cand., Bwoman (1)	75%	Solid Dem
MD-05	STENY HOYER Harold Dial (1) Ricardo Johnson (1) Lawrence Keбал (1)	John Smathers, Atty., Frmr Prosecutor (1) Harold Moroz (1) Don Devine, Frmr. Reagan OPM Head (1)	53%	Likely Dem
MD-06	Neil Dhillon, Frmr. Dep. Asst. Sec. of Transportation (1) Galen Clagett, Bman, Frmr. Frederick Co. Comm. (1) Don DeArmon, Aide to NC Rep. Price (1) Paul Muldowney, Bman, Frmr. St. Rep. (1) Steven Crawford, Prof. (1) Clifford Snyder Jr. (1) Anthony Puca (1)	ROSCOE BARTLETT* David Yurus (1) Frederick Parker (1)	54%	Likely Rep
MD-07	KWEISI MFUME	Kenneth Kondner, Dental Technician. '92 Candidate (1)	85%	Solid Dem
MD-08	Jonathan Leeds (1) James Yeganeh (1) Steven Van Grack, Frmr. Rockville Mayor (1) James Walker, '90 Cand. (1) Ralph Shur (1) George Benms (1) Don Deihman (1)	CONNIE MORELLA Arnold Anderjaska (1)	73%	Solid Rep

MASSACHUSETTS (Filing deadline June 7; primary September 20)

MA-01	JOHN OLVER		52%	Solid Dem
MA-02	RICHARD NEAL	John Briare, Business Consultant (1)	53%	Likely Dem
MA-03	Jim McGovern, Moakley Press Sec. (1) Kevin O'Sullivan, St. Rep. (1) John Walsh, '92 Candidate, Med. School Prof. (1) James Arena DeRosa, Oxfam Employee (1) Patrick Raymond (1)	PETER BLUTE*	50%	Toss Up
MA-04	BARNEY FRANK Denise Ham (1)		68%	Solid Dem
MA-05	MARTY MEEHAN* Thomas Quinn, Restaurant Owner (1)	David Coleman (1)	52%	Solid Dem
MA-06	Jeff Hayward, St. Rep. (1) John Tierney, Atty. (1) Nicholas Costello, Frmr. St. Sen (1) John Monahan, Frmr. Mayor, Frmr. St. Rep. (1)	PETER TORKILDSEN*	55%	Toss Up
MA-07	EDWARD MARKEY	Brad Bailey, Frmr. U.S. Atty. (1) Patricia Long, Frmr. MA Asst. Sec. of Trans (1)	62%	Likely Dem

MA-08	JOSEPH KENNEDY II		83%	Solid Dem
MA-09	JOE MOAKLEY Dennis Ingalls (1)	Michael Murphy, MBTA official. Fmr. Member Governor's Council (1) Bob Hall, Norfolk Co. Treasurer (1)	69%	Solid Dem
MA-10	GERRY STUDDS Roger Ham (1)	Keith Hemeon (1)	61%	Solid Dem

MICHIGAN (Filing deadline May 10; primary August 2)

MI-01	BART STUPAK*	Gil Ziegler, Bman (1)	54%	Toss Up
MI-02	Marcus Hoover (1)	PETER HOEKSTRA*	63%	Solid Rep
MI-03	Betsy Flory (1)	VERN EHLERS*§	67%	Solid Rep
MI-04	Damion Frasier, Atty. (1)	DAVE CAMP	63%	Solid Rep
MI-05	JAMES BARCIA*	William Anderson (1)	60%	Solid Dem
MI-06	David Taylor (1)	FRED UPTON	62%	Solid Rep
MI-07	Kim McCaughtrey (1)	NICK SMITH*	88%	Solid Rep
MI-08	OPEN: Carr is running for Senate Bob Mitchell, Fmr. Blanchard Cabinet Officer (1)	Dick Chrysler, Car Customizer, '92 Candidate (1)	48%	Toss Up
MI-09	DALE KILDEE	Megan O'Neill, '92 Cand., Bush/Quayle Advance Staffer (1)	54%	Lean Dem
MI-10	DAVID BONIOR	Donald Lobsinger (1)	53%	Solid Dem
MI-11	Mike Breshgold (1)	JOSEPH KNOLLENBERG*	58%	Solid Rep
MI-12	SANDER LEVIN	John Pappageorge, '92 Candidate (1)	53%	Toss Up
MI-13	OPEN: Ford is retiring Lynn Rivers, St. Rep. (1)	John Schall, Fmr. Labor Dep't. CoS (1)	52%	Lean Dem
MI-14	JOHN CONYERS, Jr.	Richard Fornier (1)	82%	Solid Dem
MI-15	BARBARA-ROSE COLLINS	John Savage (1)	81%	Solid Dem
MI-16	JOHN DINGELL	Ken Larkin (1)	65%	Solid Dem

MINNESOTA (Filing deadline July 19; primary September 13)

MN-01	OPEN: Penny is Retiring John Hottinger, St. Sen. (1)	Gil Gutknecht, St. Rep., '88 Kemp Campaign Chair (1) Doug Anderson (1)	74%	Toss Up
MN-02	DAVID MINGE*	Gary Revier, Redwood Falls Mayor (1)	48%	Lean Dem
MN-03	Bob Olson (1)	JIM RAMSTAD	64%	Solid Rep

MN-04	BRUCE VENTO	Dennis Newinski, Frmr. St. Rep. (1)	58%	Solid Dem
MN-05	MARTIN OLAV SABO	Dorothy LeGrand, Businesswoman (1)	63%	Solid Dem
MN-06	Bill Luther, St. Sen. (1) Jennings Campbell (1) Dan McCarthy (1)	OPEN: Grams is running for Senate Tad Jude, '92 Dem Prim. Cand. vs. Sikorski, Fmr. St. Rep., Fmr. St. Sen., Fmr. Hennepin Co. Comm. (1) Natalie Haas Steffen, Frmr. St. Human Resources Comm. (1) Beatrice Mooney (1)	44%	Toss Up
MN-07	COLLIN PETERSON	Bernie Omann, Frmr. St. Rep, 1992 Candidate (1)	50%	Toss Up
MN-08	JAMES OBERSTAR	Phil Herwig, Farmer, 1992 Cand. (1)	59%	Solid Dem

MISSISSIPPI (Filing deadline April 8; primary June 7)

MS-01	OPEN: Whitten is retiring Bill Wheeler, St. Rep. (1)	Roger Wicker, St. Sen. (1)	59%	Toss Up
MS-02	BENNIE THOMPSON*§	Bill Jordan, Atty., 1993 Cand. (1)	55%	Likely Dem
MS-03	SONNY MONTGOMERY	Dutch Dabbs, Accountant (1)	81%	Likely Dem
MS-04	MIKE PARKER	Mike Wood, Geologist (1)	67%	Likely Dem
MS-05	GENE TAYLOR	George Barlos, Atty. (1)	63%	Solid Dem

MISSOURI (Filing deadline March 29; primary August 2)

MO-01	BILL CLAY	Donald Counts (1)	68%	Solid Dem
MO-02	Pat Kelly (1)	JAMES TALENT*	50%	Likely Rep
MO-03	RICHARD GEPHARDT	Gary Gill (1)	64%	Solid Dem
MO-04	IKE SKELTON	James Noland Jr. (1)	70%	Solid Dem
MO-05	OPEN: Wheat running for Senate Karen McCarthy, St. Rep (1)	Ron Freeman, Atty., '92 Prim. Cand. (1)	59%	Likely Dem
MO-06	PATRICIA DANNER*	Tina Tucker, Frmr. Tom Coleman, Kit Bond Aide (1)	55%	Likely Dem
MO-07	James Fossard, Atty. (1)	MEL HANCOCK	62%	Likely Rep
MO-08	James Thompson (1)	BILL EMERSON	63%	Solid Rep
MO-09	HAROLD VOLKMER Anthony DeFranco (1)	Rick Hardy, U. Missouri Prof., '92 Candidate (4) Kenny Hulshof, Prosecutor (1)	48%	Lean Dem

NOTE: Citing depression, Rick Hardy dropped out of the race June 6. The 9th CD GOP Committee chose Hulshof as their replacement nominee.

MONTANA (Filing deadline March 24; primary June 7)

MT-AL	PAT WILLIAMS	Cy Jamison, Frmr. BLM Director (1)	50%	Toss Up
	INDEPENDENT: Steve Kelley, Environmental Activist (1)			

NEBRASKA (Filing deadline February 24 for incumbents, March 11 for challengers; primary May 10)

NE-01	Pat Combs, Car Dealer (1)	DOUG BEREUTER	60%	Solid Rep
NE-02	PETER HOAGLAND	Jon Christensen, Insurance Exec. (1)	51%	Toss Up
NE-03	Gil Chapin, Bman (1)	BILL BARRETT	72%	Solid Rep

NEVADA (Filing deadline June 7; primary September 6)

NV-01	JAMES BILBRAY Norman Hollingsworth (1)	John Ensign, Casino Manager. Veterinarian (1) Kish Marler (1) Rex Weeks (1) William Schantz (1)	58%	Likely Dem
NV-02	Patrick Clary, Atty. (1) Jim Roberts, Retired Professor (1) Janet Gresson (1)	BARBARA VUCANOVICH	48%	Lean Rep

NEW HAMPSHIRE (Filing deadline June 10; primary September 13)

NH-01	Bill Verge, '92 Prim. Cand, Bman (1) Douglas Lachance, Frmr. St. Rep., Barrington Selectman (1)	BILL ZELIFF	53%	Likely Rep
NH-02	DICK SWETT	Mike Hammond, Frmr. Staffer to U.S. Sen. Bob Smith (1) Charles Bass, Frmr. St. Sen. (1) Brenda Elias, Frmr. Franklin Mayor (1) James Bassett, Atty. (1) Ward Scott, Grafton Co. Atty. (1) Mike Goretsky (1) Homer Sawtelle (1) Livius Fisteag (1) Joseph Haas (1)	62%	Likely Dem

NEW JERSEY (Filing deadline April 14; primary June 7)

NJ-01	ROB ANDREWS	James Hogan, Gloucester Co. Sheriff (1)	67%	Likely Dem
NJ-02	OPEN: Hughes is retiring Louis Magazzu, Atty. (1)	Frank LoBiondo, St. Rep., '92 Cand. (1)	56%	Lean Rep
NJ-03	Jay Williams (1)	JAMES SAXTON	59%	Solid Rep
NJ-04	Ralph Walsh (1)	CHRISTOPHER SMITH	62%	Solid Rep
NJ-05	Bill Auer (1)	MARGE ROUKEMA	72%	Solid Rep

NJ-06	FRANK PALLONE	Michael Herson, Health Care Exec., Fmr. DoD Official (1)	52%	Lean Dem
NJ-07	Karen Carroll (1)	BOB FRANKS*	53%	Solid Rep
NJ-08	HERBERT KLEIN*	Bill Martini, Passaic Cnty. Freeholder (1)	47%	Lean Dem
NJ-09	ROBERT TORRICELLI	Peter Russo (1)	58%	Solid Dem
NJ-10	DONALD PAYNE	Jim Ford (1)	78%	Solid Dem
NJ-11	Frank Herbert, Fmr. St. Sen. (1)	DEAN GALLO	70%	Solid Rep
NJ-12	Joseph Youssouf (1)	DICK ZIMMER	64%	Solid Rep
NJ-13	ROBERT MENENDEZ*	Fernando Alonso (1)	64%	Solid Dem

NEW MEXICO (Filing deadline 10 Days after conventions; primary June 7)

NM-01	Peter Zollinger (1)	STEVEN SCHIFF	63%	Solid Rep
NM-02	Ben Chavez, Court of Appeals Judge (1)	JOE SKEEN	56%	Likely Rep
NM-03	BILL RICHARDSON	Gregg Bemis, '92 Cand., Atty. (1)	67%	Solid Dem

NEW YORK (Filing deadline July 14; primary September 13; subject to change)

NY-01	GEORGE HOCHBRUECKNER	Michael Forbes, Fmr. SBA Official., U.S. Chamber of Commerce Official (1) Michael Strong (1) John Scott Prudenti (1)	52%	Toss Up
NY-02	James Manfre, Atty. (1)	RICK LAZIO*	53%	Likely Rep
NY-03	Norma Grill, Atty. (1)	PETER KING* Robert Previdi (1)	50%	Lean Rep
NY-04	Ferne Steckler (1)	DAVID LEVY* Daniel Frisa (1)	50%	Likely Rep
NY-05	GARY ACKERMAN	Allan Binder, '92 Cand. (1) Edward Elkowitz, Physician, '92 Primary Candidate (1) Grant Lally (1)	52%	Likely Dem
NY-06	FLOYD FLAKE	Denny Bhagwandin (1)	81%	Solid Dem
NY-07	THOMAS MANTON		57%	Solid Dem
NY-08	JERROLD NADLER* Tom Duane, NY City Council (1)	David Askren (1)	81%	Solid Dem (P)
NY-09	CHUCK SCHUMER	James McCall (1)	89%	Solid Dem
NY-10	ED TOWNS Robert Law (1)	Amelia Smith Parker (1)	96%	Solid Dem

NY-11	MAJOR OWENS Eric Adams, Head of Black Police Assn. (1)	Gary Popkin (1)	94%	Solid Dem
NY-12	NYDIA VELAZQUEZ* Pedro Velasquez (1)		77%	Solid Dem
NY-13	Tyrone Butler (1)	SUSAN MOLINARI	56%	Solid Rep
NY-14	CAROLYN MALONEY* Rob Rosenthal (1)	Charles Millard, NY City Council (1)	50%	Lean Dem
NY-15	CHARLES RANGEL Adam Clayton Powell IV, N.Y. City Councilman (1) Albert Davis (1)		95%	Solid Dem (P)
NY-16	JOSE SERRANO		91%	Solid Dem
NY-17	ELIOT ENGEL Willie Colon, Salsa Singer (1) Dennis Coleman (1)	Edward Marshall (1)	80%	Solid Dem
NY-18	NITA LOWEY	Andrew Hartzell, Atty. (1)	56%	Likely Dem
NY-19	Dennis Mehiel, Bman, '88 Prim. Cand. in NY-18 (1) Neil McCarthy, Atty. '92 Cand. (1) Hamilton Fish III, Son of Rep., '88 Prim. Cand. in NY-18 (1)	OPEN: Fish is retiring Guy Parisi, Atty. (1) Glenn Warren, St. Rep. (1) John Flanigan, Retired General (1) Paul Bucha, Atty., Cong. Medal of Honor Winner (1) Joe DioGuardi, Frmr. Rep. (1) Sue Kelley, Bwoman (1) Joe Corrigan, Sprint Employee (1)	60%	Lean Rep
NY-20	Gregory Julian (1)	BENJAMIN GILMAN	66%	Solid Rep
NY-21	MICHAEL McNULTY	Joseph Gomez (1)	63%	Solid Dem
NY-22	L. Robert Lawrence (1)	GERALD SOLOMON	65%	Solid Rep
NY-23	Charles Skeele (1)	SHERWOOD BOEHLERT	64%	Solid Rep
NY-24	Danny Francis (1)	JOHN McHUGH*	61%	Solid Rep
NY-25	Rhea Jezer, '92 Cand. (1)	JAMES WALSH Nellie Coffinas (1)	56%	Likely Rep
NY-26	MAURICE HINCHEY*	Bob Moppert, '92 Cand., Frmr. Broome County Legislator (1) David Zwibel (1)	50%	Likely Dem
NY-27	Bill Long, Atty. (1)	BILL PAXON	64%	Solid Rep
NY-28	LOUISE SLAUGHTER	Renee Davison, Monroe Co. Leg. (1)	55%	Lean Dem
NY-29	JOHN LaFALCE John Basar (1)	Bill Miller, '92 Candidate (1)	55%	Likely Dem

NY-30	Dave Franczyk, Buffalo City Council (1) Ellen Kennedy, Community Activist, Professor (1) Kevin Gaughan, Atty., '90 Cand. vs. Paxon (1)	JACK QUINN*	52%	Toss Up
NY-31		AMO HOUGHTON	71%	Solid Rep

NORTH CAROLINA (Filing deadline February 7; primary May 3; run-off May 31)

NC-01	EVA CLAYTON*	Ted Tyler, '92 Cand. (1)	67%	Solid Dem
NC-02	OPEN: Valentine is retiring Richard Moore, St. Rep. (1)	David Funderburk, '86 Sen. Prim. Cand., Fmr. Amb. to Romania (1)	54%	Toss Up
NC-03	H. MARTIN LANCASTER	Walter Jones Jr., Son of Fmr. Rep., Bman, '92 Dem. Cand. vs. Eva Clayton, Fmr. St. Rep. (1)	54%	Toss Up
NC-04	DAVID PRICE	Fred Heineman, Raleigh Police Chief (1)	65%	Solid Dem
NC-05	OPEN: Neal is retiring Sandy Sands, St. Sen. (1)	Richard Burr, '92 Candidate, Bman (1)	53%	Toss Up
NC-06		J. HOWARD COBLE	71%	Solid Rep
NC-07	CHARLIE ROSE	Robert Anderson, '92 Cand., Retired Army Officer (1)	57%	Solid Dem
NC-08	BILL HEFNER	Sherill Morgan (1)	58%	Likely Dem
NC-09	Rory Blake, Pharmacist, '92 Candidate (1)	OPEN: McMillan is retiring Sue Myrick, Fmr. Charlotte Mayor (1)	67%	Likely Rep
NC-10	Robert Wayne Avery (1)	CASS BALLENGER	63%	Solid Rep
NC-11	Maggie Lauterer, TV Reporter (1)	CHARLES TAYLOR	55%	Toss Up
NC-12	MELVIN WATT*	Daren Trudo, Author (1)	70%	Solid Dem

NORTH DAKOTA (Filing deadline April 15; primary June 14)

ND-AL	EARL POMEROY*	Gary Porter, St. Rep. (1)	57%	Likely Dem
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OHIO (Filing deadline February 17; primary May 3)

OH-01	DAVID MANN*	Steve Chabot, Fmr. Cincinnati City Council, '88 Cand. (1)	51%	Toss Up
OH-02	Les Mann (1)	ROB PORTMAN*§	70%	Solid Rep
OH-03	TONY HALL	David Westbrook, Physician (1)	60%	Likely Dem
OH-04		MICHAEL OXLEY	61%	Solid Rep
OH-05	G.R. Jarrod Tudor (1)	PAUL GILLMOR	100%	Solid Rep

OH-06	TED STRICKLAND*	Frank Creamens, Bman (1)	51%	Toss Up
OH-07		DAVID HOBSON	71%	Solid Rep
OH-08		JOHN BOEHNER	74%	Solid Rep
OH-09	MARCY KAPTUR	Randy Whitman (1)	74%	Solid Dem
OH-10	Frank Gaul, Cuyahoga Co. Treas. (1)	MARTIN HOKE*	57%	Toss Up
OH-11	LOUIS STOKES	James Sykora (1)	69%	Solid Dem
OH-12	Cynthia Ruccia, Businesswoman (1)	JOHN KASICH	71%	Likely Rep
OH-13	SHERROD BROWN*	Greg White, Lorain Co. DA (1)	60%	Lean Dem
OH-14	THOMAS SAWYER	Lynn Slaby, Summit Co. D.A., '86 Candidate (1)	68%	Lean Dem
OH-15	Bill Buckel, Perot Activist (1)	DEBORAH PRYCE*	44%	Solid Rep
OH-16	J. Michael Finn (1)	RALPH REGULA	64%	Likely Rep
OH-17	JAMES TRAFICANT	Mike Meister (1)	84%	Solid Dem
OH-18	OPEN: Applegate is retiring Greg DiDonato, St. Rep. (1)	Bob Ney, St. Sen. (1)	68%	Toss Up
OH-19	ERIC FINGERHUT*	Steve LaTourette, Lake Co. Prosecutor (1)	53%	Toss Up

OKLAHOMA (Filing deadline July 13; primary August 23; run-off September 20)

OK-01	Stuart Price, Bman (1)	OPEN: Inhofe Running for Senate Steve Largent, Frmr. Seahawks Wide Receiver (1) Rob Johnson, St. Rep. (1) Joan Hastings, Tulsa Co. Clerk (1) Richard Bunn, Atty. (1) Dick Crawford, Frmr. Tulsa Mayor (1) Paula Unruh, Frmr. GOP St. Chair (1)	53%	Lean Rep
OK-02	MIKE SYNAR Bill Vardeman, Rancher (1) Jimmie Rogers (1) Virgil Cooper (1)	Jerry Hill, '92 Cand. (1) Tom Coburn, Doctor, Bman (1) T.J. Tipton (1)	56%	Likely Dem
OK-03	BILL BREWSTER Mike Newport (1)	Darrel Dewayne Tallant (1)	75%	Solid Dem
OK-04	OPEN: McCurdy running for Senate Wayne Krug, Atty. (1) David Perryman, Atty. (1) Tully McCoy, Cleveland, McClain, Garvin Co. D.A. (1) J.W. Chandler (1) John Clark, Retired AF, Frmr. Commander, Tinker AF Base (1)	Mike Warkentin, CPA, Tax Atty. (1) J.C. Watts, St. Corporation Comm. (1) Ed Apple, St. Rep. (1) Howard Bell, Insurance Exec. (1) Peter Saker, Retired Military (1)	71%	Toss Up
OK-05		ERNEST ISTOOK*	53%	Solid Rep

OK-06	Jeffrey Tollett, Minister (1) Lige Stewart (1) Dave Mui (1)	FRANK LUCAS*	68%	Solid Rep
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OREGON (Filing deadline March 8; primary May 17)

OR-01	ELIZABETH FURSE*	Bill Witt, Businessman (1)	52%	Lean Dem
OR-02	Sue Kupillas, Jackson Co. Comm. (1)	OPEN: Smith is retiring Wes Cooley, St. Sen. (1)	67%	Lean Rep
OR-03	RON WYDEN	Everett Hall, Bman (1)	77%	Solid Dem
OR-04	PETER DeFAZIO	John Newkirk, '92 Primary Cand. (1)	71%	Solid Dem
OR-05	OPEN: Kopetski is Retiring Catherine Webber, St. Sen. (1)	Jim Bunn, St. Sen. (1)	64%	Lean Dem

PENNSYLVANIA (Filing deadline March 1; primary May 10)

PA-01	THOMAS FOGLIETTA	Roger Gordon (1)	81%	Solid Dem
PA-02	OPEN: Blackwell lost primary Chaka Fattah, St. Sen., '91 Special Election Candidate (1)	Lawrence Watson (1)	77%	Solid Dem
PA-03	ROBERT BORSKI	Jim Hasher, Realtor (1)	59%	Solid Dem
PA-04	RON KLINK*	Ed Peglow (1)	78%	Solid Dem
PA-05		BILL CLINGER, Jr.	Unopp.	Solid Rep
PA-06	TIM HOLDEN*	Fred Levering, Real Estate Exec. (1)	52%	Likely Dem
PA-07	Sarah Nichols, Atty. (1)	CURT WELDON	66%	Solid Rep
PA-08	John Murray (1)	JIM GREENWOOD*	52%	Solid Rep
PA-09		BUD SHUSTER	Unopp.	Solid Rep
PA-10	Daniel Schreffler (1)	JOSEPH McDADE	90%	Solid Rep
PA-11	PAUL KANJORSKI	Andrew Padolak (1)	67%	Solid Dem
PA-12	JOHN MURTHA	Bill Choby, Dentist, '90 Cand. (1)	Unopp.	Solid Dem
PA-13	MARJORIE M. MEZVINSKY*	Jon Fox, Montgomery County Comm., '92 Cand. (1)	50%	Toss Up
PA-14	WILLIAM COYNE	John Clark (1)	72%	Solid Dem
PA-15	PAUL McHALE*	Jim Yeager, Bman (1)	52%	Lean Dem
PA-16	Bill Chertok (1)	BOB WALKER	65%	Solid Rep
PA-17		GEORGE GEKAS	70%	Solid Rep
PA-18	Mike Doyle, Fmr. Pecora CoS (1)	OPEN: Santorum running for Senate John McCarty, Fmr. John Heinz CoS (1)	61%	Lean Dem

PA-19		WILLIAM GOODLING	45%	Solid Rep
PA-20	OPEN: Murphy is retiring Frank Mascara, '92 Prim. Cand., Washington County Comm. (1)	Mike McCormick, Investment Banker (1)	51%	Likely Dem
PA-21	Bill Leavens, Exec. Dir., Chamber of Comm. (1)	OPEN: Ridge running for Gov. Phil English, Fmr. Erie Co. Controller (1)	68%	Toss Up

RHODE ISLAND (Filing deadline June 29; primary September 13)

RI-01	Patrick Kennedy, St. Rep. (1) Norman Jacques (1) John McPoland (1)	OPEN: Machtley running for Governor Kevin Vigilante, Physician (1) Valerie Southern, MA Dep. Trans. Sec. (1) Paul Greene, Atty., St. House GOP Counsel (1)	70%	Lean Dem
RI-02	JACK REED Dirk Hennessey (1)	John Elliott, Physician (1)	71%	Solid Dem

SOUTH CAROLINA (Filing deadline June 15; primary August 9; run-off August 23)

NOTE: Following minor tinkering with the congressional district lines, the filing, primary and run-off dates have been moved back to the dates shown above.

SC-01	Robert Barber, St. Rep. (1)	OPEN: Ravenel running for Gov. Van Hipp, Fmr. SC GOP Chair, Fmr. Asst. Army Sec., Fmr. Navy Gen. Counsel (1) Mendel Rivers Jr., Fmr. Family Court Judge, Fmr. St. Rep., Son of Fmr. Rep. (1) Bob Harrell, Hwy. Commissioner (1) Mike Rose, St. Sen. (1) Sarah Lee Kiung (1) John Henry Whitmire (1) Marshall Sanford, Bman (1)	66%	Likely Rep
SC-02		FLOYD SPENCE	88%	Solid Rep
SC-03	OPEN: Derrick is Retiring Tommy Moore, St. Sen. (1) Jim Bryan, St. Sen. (1)	Lindsey Graham, St. Rep. (1)	61%	Lean Rep
SC-04	Jerry Fowler (1)	BOB INGLIS*	50%	Solid Rep
SC-05	JOHN SPRATT, Jr.	Larry Bigham, Bman (1)	61%	Solid Dem
SC-06	JIM CLYBURN*	Gary McLeod (1)	65%	Solid Dem

SOUTH DAKOTA (Filing deadline April 5; primary June 7; run-off June 21)

SD-AL	TIM JOHNSON	Jan Berkhout, Industrial Psychologist (1)	69%	Solid Dem
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TENNESSEE (Filing deadline May 19; primary August 4)

TN-01	Jack Christian (1)	JAMES QUILLEN	67%	Solid Rep
TN-02		JOHN DUNCAN, Jr.	72%	Solid Rep
TN-03	OPEN: Lloyd is retiring Randy Button, Roane Co. Property Assessor (1)	Zach Wamp, Developer, '92 Candidate (1)	49%	Lean Rep
TN-04	OPEN: Cooper running for Senate Jeff Whorley, Frmr. AA to Rep. Bart Gordon (1)	Van Hilleary, Atty. (1)	64%	Lean Dem
TN-05	BOB CLEMENT	John Osborne (1)	67%	Solid Dem
TN-06	BART GORDON	Steve Gill, Atty. (1)	57%	Lean Dem
TN-07	Harold Byrd, Bman. Frmr. St. Rep. (1)	OPEN: Sundquist running for Gov. Ed Bryant, Frmr. U.S. Atty. (1)	62%	Toss Up
TN-08	JOHN TANNER	Neal Morris (1)	84%	Solid Dem
TN-09	HAROLD FORD	Rod Deberry, 1992 Prim. Cand. (1)	58%	Solid Dem

TEXAS (Filing deadline January 3; primary March 8; run-off April 12)

TX-01	JIM CHAPMAN	Mike Blankenship, Physician (1)	Unopp.	Solid Dem
TX-02	CHARLES WILSON	Donna Peterson, '92 Cand. (1)	56%	Likely Dem
TX-03		SAM JOHNSON	86%	Solid Rep
TX-04	RALPH HALL	David Bridges (1)	58%	Solid Dem
TX-05	JOHN BRYANT	Pete Sessions, '92 Cand. in 3rd CD (1)	59%	Likely Dem
TX-06	Terry Jesmore, Administrator (1)	JOE BARTON	72%	Solid Rep
TX-07	Mike Casas (1)	BILL ARCHER	Unopp.	Solid Rep
TX-08		JACK FIELDS	77%	Solid Rep
TX-09	JACK BROOKS	Steve Stockman, Acct., '92 Cand. (1)	54%	Likely Dem
TX-10	OPEN: Pickle is retiring Lloyd Doggett, State Sup. Ct. Justice. '84 Sen. Cand. vs. Phil Gramm (1)	Jo Baylor, Real Estate Consult. (1)	68%	Likely Dem
TX-11	CHET EDWARDS	Jim Broyles, Dallas Fireman (1)	67%	Solid Dem
TX-12	PETE GEREN	Ernie Anderson, Pilot (1)	63%	Likely Dem
TX-13	BILL SARPALIUS	Mac Thornberry, Atty., Frmr. Combest A.A. (1)	60%	Lean Dem
TX-14	GREG LAUGHLIN	Jim Deats, Rancher (1)	68%	Likely Dem

TX-15	KIKA de la GARZA	Tom Haughey, Religious Broadcaster. '92 Cand. (1)	60%	Solid Dem
TX-16	RONALD COLEMAN	Bobby Ortiz, Bman (1)	52%	Toss Up
TX-17	CHARLES STENHOLM	Phil Boone (1)	66%	Solid Dem
TX-18	OPEN: Washington lost in primary Sheila Jackson Lee, Houston City Council (1)	Jerry Burley, Teacher (1)	65%	Solid Dem
TX-19		LARRY COMBEST	77%	Solid Rep
TX-20	HENRY GONZALEZ	Bill Colyer, Insurance(1)	Unopp.	Solid Dem
TX-21		LAMAR SMITH	72%	Solid Rep
TX-22	Scott Cunningham, Atty. (1)	TOM DeLAY	69%	Solid Rep
TX-23	Rolando Rios, Atty. (1)	HENRY BONILLA*	59%	Lean Rep
TX-24	MARTIN FROST	Ed Harrison, Homebuilder (1)	60%	Likely Dem
TX-25	OPEN: Andrews ran for Senate Ken Bentsen, Investment Banker, Lloyd's Nephew (1)	Eugene Fontenot, Physician, Lawyer (1)	56%	Lean Dem
TX-26	LeEarl Ann Bryant, Engineer (1)	DICK ARMEY	73%	Solid Rep
TX-27	SOLOMON ORTIZ	Erol Stone (1)	55%	Solid Dem
TX-28	FRANK TEJEDA*	David Slatter (1)	87%	Solid Dem
TX-29	GENE GREEN*		65%	Solid Dem
TX-30	EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON*	Lucy Cain (1)	72%	Solid Dem

UTAH

(Filing deadline March 15; primary June 28)

UT-01	Bobbie Coray, Cache County Economic Dev. Dir. (1)	JAMES HANSEN	65%	Likely Rep
UT-02	KAREN SHEPHERD*	Enid Greene Waldholtz, Attorney, '92 Candidate, (1)	53%	Toss Up
		INDEPENDENT: Merrill Cook, Bman, '88, '92 Gov. Cand. (1)		
UT-03	BILL ORTON	Dixie Thompson, Emery Co. Comm. (1)	59%	Likely Dem

VERMONT (Filing deadline July 18; primary September 13)

VT-AL		John Carroll, St. Sen. Maj. Ldr. (1) Independent / Socialist: BERNIE SANDERS	58%	Likely Ind
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VIRGINIA (Filing deadline April 15; primary June 14)

VA-01	Mary Sinclair (1)	HERBERT BATEMAN	58%	Solid Rep
VA-02	OWEN PICKETT	Jim Chapman, Atty., '92 Cand. (1)	56%	Likely Dem
VA-03	BOBBY SCOTT*	Tom Ward (1)	79%	Solid Dem
VA-04	NORMAN SISISKY	George Sweet, Minister (1)	68%	Likely Dem
VA-05	LEWIS PAYNE	George Landrith, Atty., Albemarle Co. School Board (1)	69%	Likely Dem
VA-06		BOB GOODLATTE*	60%	Solid Rep
VA-07		THOMAS BLILEY, Jr.	83%	Solid Rep
VA-08	JIM MORAN	Kyle Mc Slarrow, Atty., '92 Cand. (1)	56%	Likely Dem
VA-09	RICK BOUCHER	Steve Fast, College Professor (1)	63%	Likely Dem
VA-10		FRANK WOLF	64%	Solid Rep
VA-11	LESLIE BYRNE*	Tom Davis, Chair, Fairfax Co. Sup. (1)	50%	Toss Up

WASHINGTON (Filing deadline July 29; primary September 20)

WA-01	MARIA CANTWELL*	Rick White, Atty. (1) Anthony Lowe, Prosecutor (1) Bill Tinsley (1)	55%	Lean Dem
WA-02	OPEN: Swift is retiring Harriet Spaul, St. Sen. (1) John Sandifer, TV Reporter (1) Gabrielle Gallegos, Frmr. Hill Staffer, Atty. (1) Paul Shin, St. Rep., Professor, Bman (1)	Tim Erwin, St. Sen., '92 Prim. Cand. (1) Jack Metcalf, Frmr. St. Sen., '92 Cand. (1) David Montgomery, Engineer, '92 Prim. Cand. (1) Jim Andrews, Bman (1)	52%	Toss Up
WA-03	JOLENE UNSOELD	Tim Moyer, Bman (1) Paul Phillips, Chiropractor (1)	56%	Toss Up
WA-04	JAY INSLEE* Craig Williams (1)	Richard "Doc" Hastings, Frmr. St. Rep. (1)	51%	Toss Up

WA-05	TOM FOLEY	George Nethercutt, Atty., Spokane Co. GOP Chair, Frmr. Ted Stevens CoS (1) Duane Alton, Bman. '76, '78 Cand. (1) John Sonneland, Bman. '92 Cand. (1) Edward L:arish (1)	55%	Lean Dem
WA-06	NORMAN DICKS	Benjamin Gregg (1)	64%	Soud Dem
WA-07	JIM McDERMOTT Paul Glumaz (1)	Keith Harris (1)	78%	Solid Dem
WA-08	Jim Wyrick (1)	JENNIFER DUNN*	60%	Solid Rep
WA-09	MIKE KREIDLER*	Randy Tate, St. Rep. (1)	52%	Toss Up

WEST VIRGINIA (Filing deadline February 5; primary May 10)

WV-01	ALAN MOLLOHAN	Sally Rossy Riley, Frmr. Chester Mayor (1)	Unopp.	Solid Dem
WV-02	BOB WISE	Sam Cravotta, Architect (1)	71%	Solid Dem
WV-03	NICK RAHALL II	Ben Waldman, Frmr. WH Staffer (1)	66%	Solid Dem

WISCONSIN (Filing deadline July 12; primary September 13)

WI-01	PETER BARCA*§	Mark Neumann, Bman. '92, '93 Cand. (1)	50%	Toss Up
WI-02	Tom Hecht, Asst. Sec. of State (1)	SCOTT KLUG	63%	Likely Rep
WI-03	Peter Bear, Frmr. St. Sen., Frmr. St. Rep., 3M Exec. (1) Harvey Stower, St. Rep. (1) Karl Kruger, '88 Canddiate (1) Lee Rasch, Pres., Western WI Tech. College (1)	STEVE GUNDERSON Donald Brill, Retired Educator (1)	56%	Lean Rep
WI-04	GERALD KLECZKA	Tom Reynolds (1)	66%	Solid Dem
WI-05	TOM BARRETT*	Stephen Hollingshead (1) Paul Melotik (1)	69%	Solid Dem
WI-06		THOMAS PETRI	53%	Solid Rep
WI-07	DAVID OBEY	Dale Vannes, Ins. Agt., '92 Cand. (1) Chuck Wenzel (1) Scott West, Univ. Admin. (1)	64%	Solid Dem
WI-08	Stan Gruszynski, St. Rep. (1)	TOBY ROTH Nancy Nusbaum, DePere Mayor (1)	70%	Likely Rep (P)
WI-09		JIM SENSENBRENNER, Jr.	70%	Solid Rep

WYOMING *(Filing deadline June 3; primary August 16)*

WY-AL

Bob Schuster, Atty., Democratic
National Committeeman (1)

OPEN: Thomas running for Senate
Barbara Cubin, St. Sen. (1)

58%

Lean Rep

COMPETITIVE HOUSE RACES

LEAN DEMOCRAT

TOSS UP

LEAN REPUBLICAN

70 DEMOCRATIC-HELD SEATS

CA-36	Jane Harman	AZ-06	Karan English	AZ-01	OPEN (Coppersmith)
FL-05	Karen Thurman	CA-01	Dan Hamburg	FL-01	OPEN (Hutto)
ID-01	Larry LaRocco	CA-19	Richard Lehman	FL-15	OPEN (Bacchus)
KY-01	Tom Barlow	CA-24	Tony Beilenson	GA-08	OPEN (Rowland)
KY-03	OPEN (Mazzoli)	CA-49	Lynn Schenk	IL-11	OPEN (Sangmeister)
MI-09	Dale Kildee	CT-02	Sam Gejdenson	KS-02	OPEN (Slattery)
MI-13	OPEN (Ford)	GA-07	Buddy Darden	NJ-02	OPEN (Hughes)
MN-02	David Minge	GA-10	Don Johnson	SC-03	OPEN (Derrick)
MO-09	Harold Volkmer	IN-02	OPEN (Sharp)	TN-03	OPEN (Lloyd)
NJ-06	Frank Pallone	IA-04	Neal Smith		
NY-14	Carolyn Maloney	ME-01	OPEN (Andrews)		
NY-28	Louise Slaughter	MI-01	Bart Stupak		
OH-13	Sherrod Brown	MI-08	OPEN (Carr)		
OH-14	Tom Sawyer	MI-12	Sander Levin		
OR-01	Elizabeth Furse	MN-01	OPEN (Penny)		
OR-05	OPEN (Kopetski)	MN-07	Collin Peterson		
PA-15	Paul McHale	MS-01	OPEN (Whitten)		
TN-04	OPEN (Cooper)	MT-AL	Pat Williams		
TN-06	Bart Gordon	NE-02	Peter Hoagland		
TX-13	Bill Sarpalius	NJ-08	Herb Klein		
TX-25	OPEN (Andrews)	NY-01	George Hochbrueckner		
WA-01	Maria Cantwell	NC-02	OPEN (Valentine)		
WA-05	Tom Foley	NC-03	Martin Lancaster		
		NC-05	OPEN (Neal)		
		OH-01	David Mann		
		OH-06	Ted Strickland		
		OH-18	OPEN (Applegate)		
		OH-19	Eric Fingerhut		
		OK-04	OPEN (McCurdy)		
		PA-13	Margolies-Mezvinsky		
		TX-16	Ron Coleman		
		UT-02	Karen Shepherd		
		VA-11	Leslie Byrne		
		WA-02	OPEN (Swift)		
		WA-03	Jolene Unsoeld		
		WA-04	Jay Inslee		
		WA-09	Mike Kreidler		
		WI-01	Peter Barca		
		AK-AL	Don Young	CA-27	Carlos Moorhead
		AR-04	Jay Dickey	CA-44	OPEN (McCandless)
		CA-22	OPEN (Huffington)	CT-05	Gary Franks
		CA-43	Ken Calvert	FL-12	Charles Canady
		IL-18	OPEN (Michel)	FL-22	Clay Shaw
		IA-02	Jim Nussle	GA-03	Mac Collins
		IA-03	Jim Ross Lightfoot	GA-04	John Linder
		IA-05	OPEN (Grandy)	IN-05	Steve Buyer
		KY-02	Ron Lewis	IN-07	John Myers
		MD-02	OPEN (Bentley)	NV-02	Barbara Vucanovich
		MA-03	Peter Blute	NY-03	Peter King
		MA-06	Peter Torkildsen	NY-19	OPEN (Fish)
		ME-02	OPEN (Snowe)	OK-01	OPEN (Inhofe)
		MN-06	OPEN (Grams)	OR-02	OPEN (Smith)
		NY-30	Jack Quinn	TX-23	Henry Bonilla
		NC-11	Charles Taylor	WI-03	Steve Gunderson
		OH-10	Martin Hoke	WY-AL	OPEN (Thomas)
PA-18	OPEN (Santorum)	PA-21	OPEN (Ridge)		
RI-01	OPEN (Machtley)	TN-07	OPEN (Sundquist)		

38 REPUBLICAN-HELD SEATS

LEAN DEMOCRAT

TOSS UP

LEAN REPUBLICAN

POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OVERVIEW
Wednesday, September 14, 1994

Draft

PRESIDENTIAL PARTICIPATION IN FALL ELECTIONS

- Between now and election day, the President and his top Administration officials including the Vice President, First Lady and Cabinet Secretaries will campaign aggressively on behalf of Democratic candidates.
- By the time election day rolls around, the President will have traveled to all regions of the country to help get Democrats elected. With any political schedule, the President's travel schedule for the next two months is fluid. As the races become more defined, the President's political schedule will firm up.
- Democrats have a solid record of accomplishments and candidates are campaigning on that record. We believe that's a plus for candidates across the board. Voters are making decisions based on what their Representative, Senator or Governor has delivered. Have they worked to cut the deficit, create jobs, reduce crime, protect Medicare? Have they stood with ordinary people or fought for the privileged few? Have they taken on the special interests or wilted under special interest pressure? That's what voters want to know.

TUESDAY'S PRIMARIES

- Yesterday's primaries in nine states and the District of Columbia, while not the last of the season, certainly puts us well down the road to the general election. And Democrats across the country had a very good day.
- Democrats nominated excellent candidates for the U.S. Senate and for governor in Minnesota, Maryland and Arizona. In both Arizona and Minnesota, Democrats have a good chance of picking up seats. And in Minnesota, Democrats are on a path to taking Republican Senator Dave Durenberger's seat.
- In Minnesota, Republican Governor Arne Carlson emerged from a bruising primary battle that tore the Republican Party apart. Radical Right voters who backed Carlson's extremist opponent, Alan Quist, have made it clear they won't vote for Carlson in the general and will probably stay home in November. With one more week to go before all the primaries are over, we're heading into the general election with strong candidates committed to getting things done and we are optimistic about November.

Political Talking Points, P 2

Q. Is the President going to back Marion Barry who, in addition to being the Democratic nominee, is a convicted drug user who spent six months in prison?

A. Yes. The President supports Democratic nominees across the country. As you know, the President does not involve himself nor does the Democratic National Committee get involved in primary elections. That was the case in yesterday's DC primary. But now, the voters in Washington expressed their preference, made their voices heard and the President respects the will of the voters. As citizens of this city, it is important that we all work to help District officials to make the city's streets, neighborhoods and schools safe.

Q. Will the President campaign for Marion Barry?

A. With the primary season nearing an end, we are looking at all possible options for the use of the President's time in connection with candidates and campaigns across the country. Clearly, the President has limited time that he can devote to political activities and we want to make sure that we maximize the impact of his efforts. We have received far more requests for the President's time and campaign support than we could ever honor. [In fact, the President has already campaigned aggressively for Democratic candidates in Ohio, Michigan, New York, California and other states across the country.]

Q. Does Marion Barry's win end any chance for DC Statehood?

A. We hope not nor do we think so. Statehood is about the people of this city, full representation and voting rights in the House and Senate. The President continues to fully support statehood for the District and the Administration will continue to work toward getting statehood passed.

Q. Can you quantify how much the President hurts Democrats in the fall elections?

A. We have a solid record of accomplishments; Democrats are campaigning on that record. We believe that's a plus for candidates across the board. Voters are making decisions based on what their Congressmen, Senator or Governor has delivered. Have they worked to cut the deficit, create jobs, reduce crime, protect Medicare? Have they stood with ordinary people or fought for the privileged few? Have they taken on the special interests or wilted under special interest pressure? That's what voters want to know. [Voters aren't voting for or against Bill Clinton this election day.]

Political Talking Points, P 3

Q. Where is the President traveling?

By election day, he will have traveled to every region of the country for Democratic candidates. We have several trips coming up in the next week and a half -- and many more trips have been requested by campaigns that we are considering. As the general election campaign moves into high gear, the President's schedule will remain flexible so we'll have the flexibility to put him in key states during the final weeks.

Q. Will the President campaign in the South?

Yes. He's already been in the South and he will go there again before election day. The Democratic Party is not writing off any region of the country. Additionally, the Vice President and cabinet secretaries will campaign throughout the South and all over the country.

Q. How often will the President be on the road?

Still undetermined. A lot will depend on what's happening foreign policy-wise and legislative-wise. But between now and election day, you can expect a good deal of travel and aggressive campaigning by the President, the First Lady, the Vice President, and Mrs. Gore and cabinet members.

Q. Leading Republicans and some independent political analysts are predicting that Republicans will take control of the Senate and make substantial gains in the House in the fall's elections. How many seats are Democrats going to lose?

A. Our work is cut out for us, but we won't lose control of either the House or the Senate. The same pundits claiming catastrophic Democratic losses this election day, also claimed that NAFTA meant a loss of jobs, the economic package would cause the deficit to skyrocket, and the Brady Bill wouldn't take guns off the streets.

We expect to beat the average midterm loss for the Party that occupies the White House of 3-4 Senate seats and 22 House seats. Remember, it's normal for the Party that controls the White House to lose seats in a mid-term election. And Democrats have more seats up this year than Republicans (22 of 35 in the Senate, 21 of 36 governors, and 256 of 435 in the House -- 6 of the 9 open seats in the Senate are held by Democrats and 30 of the 49 open House seats are now represented by Democrats. Tony Coelho estimates that we will lose 3-4 Senate seats and 18-22 seats in the House.)

Political Talking Points, P 4

It's also important to remember that voters don't begin to focus on campaigns until after Labor Day. Now that the general election campaign season is starting in earnest, voters will become more focused on what the candidates are saying and what they have done. The next 60 days are an opportunity for Democratic candidates. Democrats will take their record of historic deficit reduction, more than four million new jobs, a crime bill for the first time in six years, and protection of Medicare to the voters and contrast it to Republicans who have voted to slash Medicare, who caved in to the NRA and voted against taking deadly assault weapons off our streets and who voted against higher taxes for the wealthiest 1% of Americans. We'll have that debate anytime.

Q. Specifically, where can Democrats pick up seats now held by Republicans?

A. That's a question better asked of the DNC, DSCC, DCCC, and DGA. But let's take a look at the U.S. Senate. As I mentioned, the Senate seat vacated by Dave Durenberger of Minnesota is a good opportunity. In Delaware, Democrats have a very strong candidate in Attorney General Charlie Oberly who is waging a fierce campaign against Senator William Roth. We have an excellent candidate in Wyoming with Governor Sullivan who is battling Republican Craig Thomas to fill the open seat in that state. In Missouri and Montana, Alan Wheat and Jack Mudd are dynamic Democratic candidates. There is no shortage of opportunities for Democrats.

NEW MEXICO
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



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