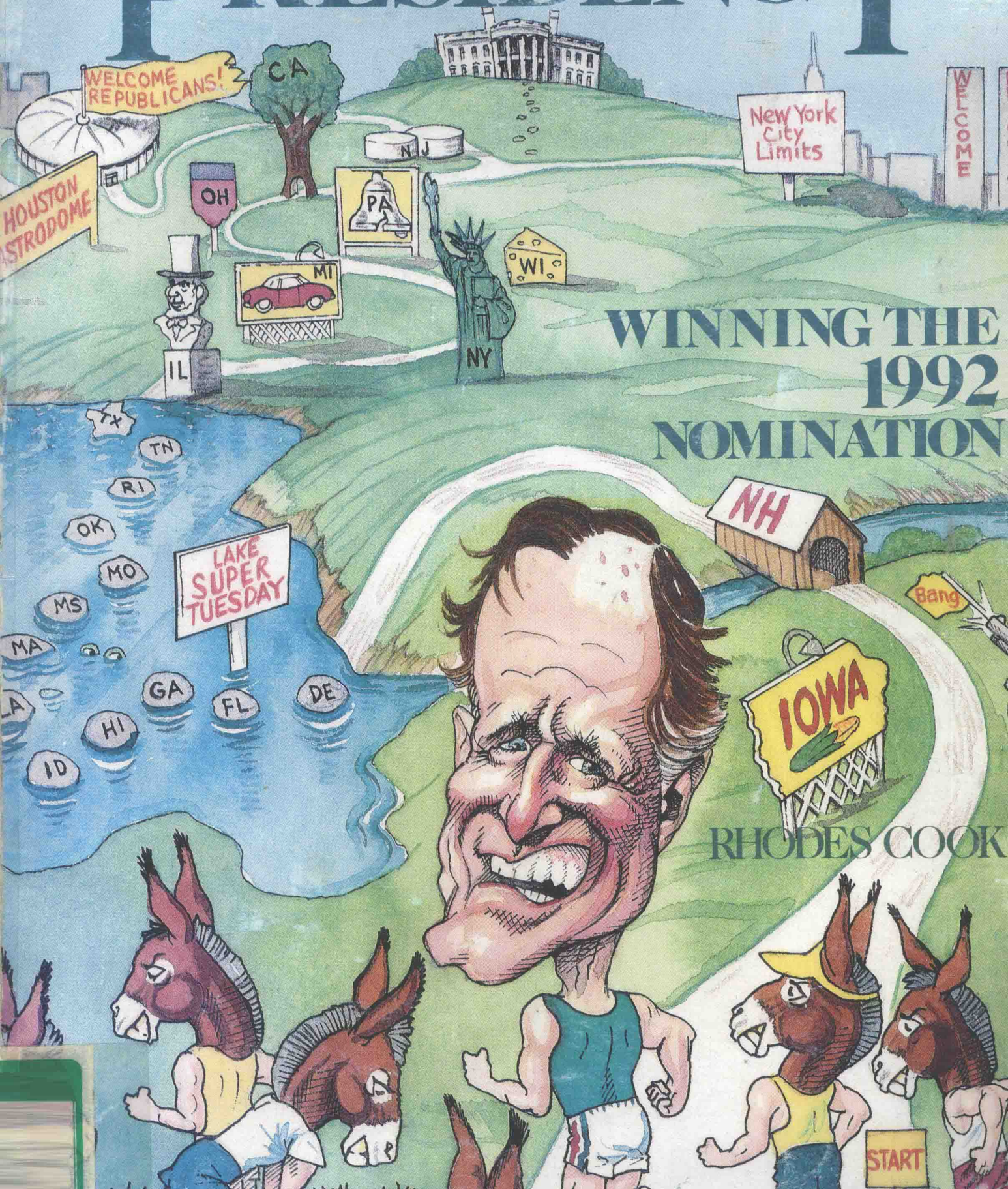


# RACE FOR THE PRESIDENCY



WINNING THE  
1992  
NOMINATION

RHODES COOK



# **Race for the Presidency**

## **Winning the 1992 Nomination**

**Rhodes Cook**



**Congressional Quarterly Inc.**  
**Washington, D.C.**

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# Editor's Note

In 1987, senior writer Rhodes Cook of Congressional Quarterly invented a resource for U.S. politics and journalism: a professional's handbook to gaining a major-party nomination for president. Cook's report had no precedent and no model, and it has no equivalent today. While it was used by those involved in the 1988 presidential campaigns, most of the people who found Cook's report invaluable weren't running for president — they were simply trying to understand those who were.

As the 1992 presidential campaign approaches, CQ is pleased to offer a fresh state-by-state portrait of the political landscape that candidates will encounter week by week through the nominating process. Led by Cook and Deputy Political Editor Ronald D. Elving, *Race for the Presidency: Winning the 1992 Nomination* analyzes past voting behavior and current political conditions state by state with the presidential nominating rules, and the vital demographics that constitute each state.

Cook was again the principal writer on the project. He has been analyzing presidential politics for CQ for more than 15 years and is a recognized expert in the voting patterns throughout America. Elving, the chief editor, has followed presidential campaigns as a newspaper reporter, worked as a Capitol Hill staff member and covered political and legislative news for CQ since 1987. Weekly Report staff reporter Glen Craney contributed to the report and intern Bret Hester compiled data on the state rules.

As a sophisticated and yet practical, plain-English guide, we hope this book will be useful to both the professional and amateur political junkie — from pollsters, fundraisers, consultants and reporters to assignment editors, political scientists and historians.

In the pages that follow, the accent is on the states: their parties, their voters and their role in the 1992 presidential nominating process.

The states appear in the chronological order in which their primary or first-round caucus was scheduled as of October 1991. Where the parties' dates differ, the Democrats' date was used as the benchmark.

Each state text focuses on the political lay of the land and voting behavior in recent nominating campaigns. Each state also has a statistical profile with the state vote from 1988 and the national rank of its Democratic vote (a sign of how competitive the state might be in 1992).

Each state has a "rules box" with filing dates, meet-

ing times and polling hours (in local time) and the latest information available on party rules for delegate selection. Democrats in most states limit caucus and primary participation to party members or to those who are willing to be recorded as taking part in the Democratic event.

Accompanying nearly all states are charts and maps presenting the 1988 results in sample counties (or cities and towns in the New England states). These data are chosen to illustrate voting patterns with actual votes rather than surveys, exit polls or other projections.

The charts begin with results from leading population centers (highlighted on the maps) — usually counties with 5 percent or more of the state's 1990 population.

Other groupings are included to emphasize elements of a state's demographics, such as high-growth suburbs and smaller industrial centers. "Wallace Country" counties are those where George C. Wallace ran exceptionally well as a third-party candidate in 1968.

The primary results have almost always been based on a preference vote in which the names of presidential hopefuls themselves (and not just delegates) are on the ballot. Caucus results reflect the outcome of mass meetings, the only stage open to grass-roots participation.

In almost every state, primary returns are tabulated and certified by a state election board, but results from a caucus are often less precise. Generally, the sample county charts include only candidates who drew at least 5 percent of the primary or caucus vote. Percentages are based on total votes cast.

The rules boxes deal with the calendar, including pertinent filing information, and with how delegates are won. Republicans elect delegates from congressional districts and statewide. To these two categories Democrats add pledged party and elected officials (PEOs) and unpledged party and elected officials ("superdelegates"). The PEOs, like Democratic district and at-large delegates, must reflect the state's primary or caucus vote. Superdelegates are free agents.

Each party's delegate count is subject to revision. The biggest change will occur in spring 1992 when Democrats in Congress are picked as superdelegates and added to their state's total.

Neil Brown

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## THE FIRST HURRAH

# New Primaries, New Rules Mark Road to Nomination

*A generation's tinkering in pursuit of fairness has rarely led Democrats to White House*

**W**inning the nomination might be considered the "first hurrah" of a presidential election campaign. But for Democrats in recent years, that first hurrah has also been the last.

With President Bush seemingly a shoo-in for renomination in 1992, the spotlight is again on the Democrats and their search to find a credible challenger to an incumbent Republican president.

Who that challenger may be is an open question; through the summer of 1991 Democratic candidates were slow to come forward. But when they do, they will find a nominating process markedly different from what existed in 1988.

Super Tuesday, the Dixie-oriented vote-fest on the second Tuesday in March (March 10), has been scaled back. Regional votes have sprouted on either side of Super Tuesday: in the Rocky Mountain states (March 3-7) and in the heart of the industrial Midwest (March 17).

Even Iowa and New Hampshire, the February starting points of the nominating campaign, will offer settings totally different from those of 1988. Iowa, a symbol of agrarian distress during the last presidential campaign, is back on its feet. New Hampshire, which was enjoying the ripple effect of the "Massachusetts miracle" in 1988, is flat on its back.

But New Hampshire could see a lot more out-of-state dollars flowing its way in the next few months than at a comparable stage of the 1988 campaign. Then, the media focus was on Iowa. But with Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin running for the Democratic nomination in 1992, New Hampshire is widely seen as the first big test for all the candidates.

One of the ironies of 1992 is that while fewer candidates than usual may be running, the number of voters taking



ARNOLD SACHS, CONSOLIDATED PHOTOGRAPHY INC.

part in the nominating process, at least on the Democratic side, could be greater than ever.

The number of presidential primaries — just 17 in 1968 — has steadily increased; in 1992 there are likely to be more than ever before. The total should approach 40, with primaries in 18 of the 20 most populous states (including all of the top 10).

The two populous exceptions, Missouri and Virginia, will be abandoning one-shot flings with the primary format in 1988. Missouri's primary had been created largely to further the presidential ambitions of St. Louis congressman Richard A. Gephardt (who has declared himself out of the Democratic race this year).

Similarly, Virginia instituted a primary in part to show support for Sen. Charles S. Robb, who was an architect of the Southern regional primary concept for Super Tuesday.

Vermont has also dropped the non-binding "beauty contest" primary it had held in early March for budget reasons (caucuses are cheaper). And there is a chance that one or two other small states facing financial problems may opt to cancel their primary for budgetary reasons before the nominating season begins.

But if a few primaries are going out of business in 1992, a greater number are being created. Colorado and Washington will be holding their first presidential primaries ever. Michigan and Kansas are scheduled to have their first since 1980.

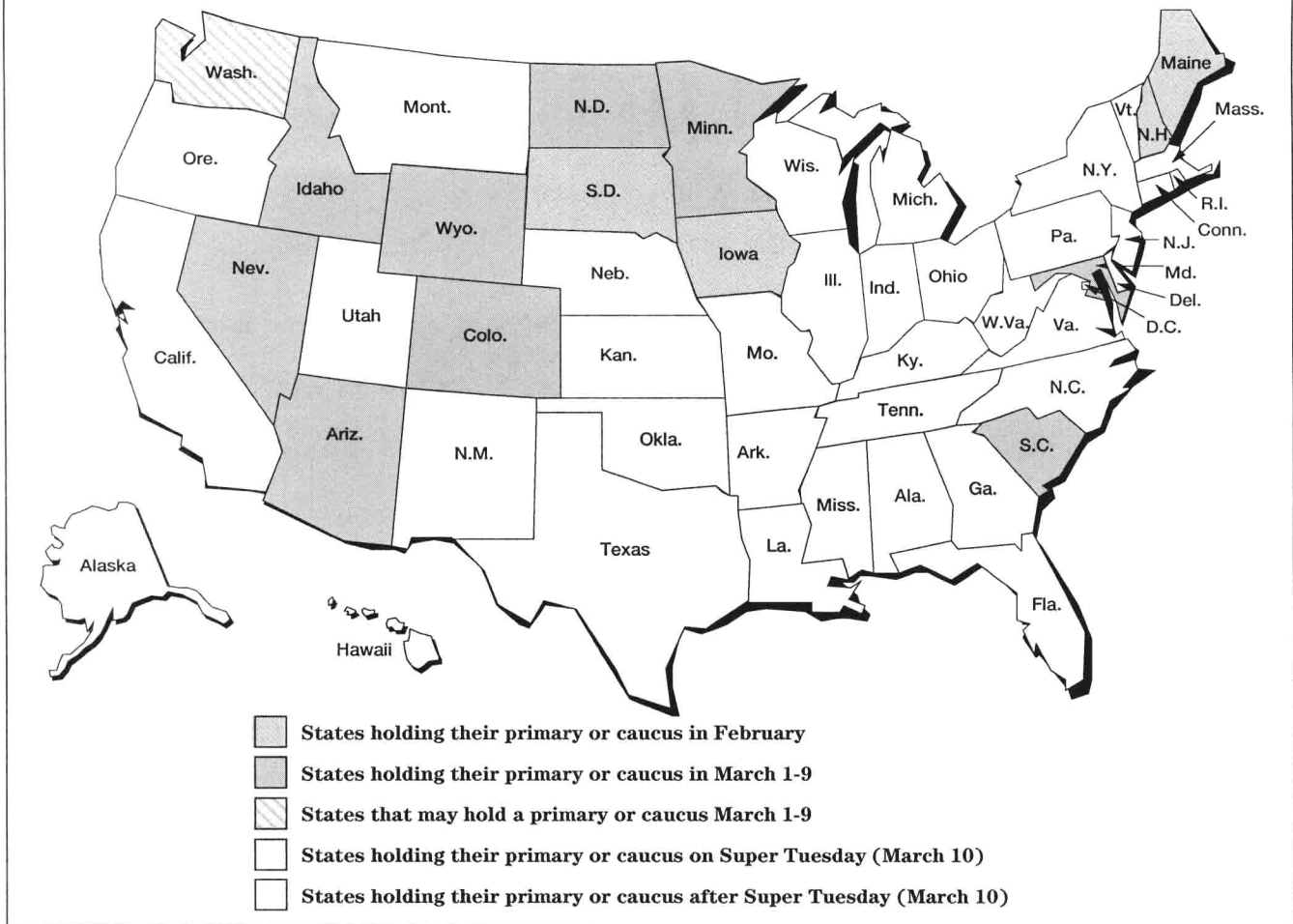
And Minnesota, which has scheduled a "beauty contest" on the same day as the Wisconsin primary in early April, will be holding its first presidential primary since 1956. In a bid to increase voter participation, Minnesota officials even considered the novel idea of conducting the primary by mail (an idea since dropped).

Whether it holds a primary or a caucus, every state will be affected by a new Democratic rule that requires that all

By Rhodes Cook

## A Beginning, A Super Tuesday and An End

Which States Vote When in 1992 Democratic Presidential Nominating Season



publicly elected delegates be apportioned according to the candidates' shares of the primary or caucus vote (after a candidate has reached the 15 percent threshold needed to qualify).

Most states had proportional representation during the 1988 Democratic nominating process, but some conspicuous exceptions — including Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania — awarded extra delegates to the winning candidate.

In retrospect, the move to nationwide proportional representation has the potential to backfire on the Democrats. Facing what looks to be a steep, uphill fight to unseat Bush next fall, party officials have made clear their interest in finding a nominee without a long, drawn-out struggle. But nationwide proportional representation could actually retard the search for consensus by spreading delegates around the field rather than consolidating them behind the front-runner.

Winner-take-all systems of allocating delegates, which the Republicans allow, have helped the GOP wrap up their nominating contests quickly in the last two decades. Only in 1976 was the Republican contest still alive after May. And, coincidentally or not, that was the only one of the last six elections that the party has lost.

Barring the unexpected, the GOP nominating contest

should again be over quickly in 1992. Delegates attending the Republican convention on Aug. 17-20 in Houston's Astrodome are expected to vote en masse to renominate Bush.

### The Continuing Reform

If the ground rules of every nominating contest differ at least a little from those of the one before, the Democrats are largely responsible.

Since their tumultuous 1968 convention in Chicago, in which Hubert H. Humphrey was nominated without having to run in a single primary state, the Democrats have revised their nominating process every four years.

Sometimes they have overhauled; sometimes they have tinkered. But they have always held forth the goal of devising a system that would encourage grass-roots participation, involve party and elected officials and nominate a candidate who could win in November and govern the following January.

No doubt, Democratic leaders would describe the changes in party rules for 1992 as tinkering. But what is tinkering for the Democrats would be revolutionary for the Republicans, who have taken a laissez-faire approach to their nominating rules over the last quarter century while the Democrats have furiously written and rewritten their

One who usually travels from place to place mending household utensils.



# Nominating Season at a Glance

	Delegate Count		Form of Delegate Selection	Filing Deadline	Date of Main Event
	D	R			
Alabama	62	38	Open Primary	April 3	June 2
Alaska	18	19	Closed Caucus (D)/Open Caucus (R) †		April 2
Arizona	47	37	Closed Caucus	January 6	March 7
Arkansas	43	27	Open Primary	March 31	May 26
California	382	201	Closed Primary	March 19	June 2
Colorado	54	37	Open Primary †	January 2	March 3
Connecticut	61	35	Closed Primary	February 7	March 24
Delaware	19	19	Closed Caucus (D)/Open Caucus (R)		March 10
District of Columbia	29	14	Closed Primary	March 6	May 5
Florida	160	97	Closed Primary		March 10
Georgia	88	52	Open Primary		March 10
Hawaii	26	14	Closed Caucus	February 2	March 10
Idaho	24	22	Open Caucus (D)/Open Primary (R)	April 25	March 3
Illinois	183	85	Open Primary	January 15	March 17
Indiana	86	51	Open Primary	March 7	May 5
Iowa	57	23	Open Caucus †		February 10
Kansas	42	30	Open Primary †	February 12	April 7
Kentucky	62	35	Closed Primary	January 28	May 26
Louisiana	69	38	Closed Primary	January 10	March 10
Maine	30	22	Open Caucus †		February 23
Maryland	80	42	Closed Primary	Jan. 9 (D)/Dec. 23 (R)	March 3
Massachusetts	107	38	Open Primary †	January 3	March 10
Michigan	148	72	Closed Primary	January 10	March 17
Minnesota	87	32	Open Caucus		March 3
Mississippi	45	32	Open Primary	January 10	March 10
Missouri	86	47	Open Caucus		March 10
Montana	22	20	Open Primary	March 19	June 2
Nebraska	31	24	Closed Primary	March 13	May 12
Nevada	23	21	Closed Caucus	January 30	March 8
New Hampshire	24	23	Open Primary †	December 23	February 18
New Jersey	117	60	Open Primary †	April 19	June 2
New Mexico	33	25	Closed Primary	March 15	June 2
New York	268	100	Closed Primary	February 13	April 7
North Carolina	93	57	Closed Primary (D)/Open Primary (R) †	February 3	May 5
North Dakota	20	17	Open Caucus (D)/Open Primary (R)	April 10	March 5-19
Ohio	167	83	Open Primary	February 20	May 5
Oklahoma	52	34	Closed Primary	January 15	March 10
Oregon	53	23	Closed Primary	March 10	May 19
Pennsylvania	188	90	Closed Primary	February 18	April 28
Rhode Island	28	15	Open Primary †		March 10
South Carolina	50	36	Open Primary (D)	February 1	March 7
South Dakota	20	19	Closed Primary	December 30	February 25
Tennessee	77	45	Open Primary	January 7	March 10
Texas	214	121	Open Primary & Caucus (D)/Open Primary (R)	January 2	March 10
Utah	28	27	Open Caucus		April 20
Vermont	19	19	Open Caucus		March 31
Virginia	92	54	Open Caucus		April 11
Washington	80	35	Open Primary	April 19	May 19
West Virginia	38	18	Closed Primary (D)/Open Primary (R) †	February 1	May 12
Wisconsin	91	35	Open Primary	February 18	April 7
Wyoming	19	20	Closed Caucus		March 7
Puerto Rico	57	14	Open Primary		March 15
U.S. Territories	12	12			
Democrats Abroad	9				
Unassigned	262				
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,282</b>	<b>2,206</b>			

† Independents may participate; voters registered by party may participate only in their party's primary or caucus.

rule book.

For 1992, the Democrats have made three basic rules changes that could significantly affect the upcoming battle for the party's nomination.

Besides requiring proportional representation for publicly elected delegates, the Democrats have added more than 100 uncommitted "superdelegate" seats to the roughly 650 that were set aside for leading party and elected officials in 1988.

That means that when the Democratic convention meets July 13-16 in New York's Madison Square Garden, nearly one delegate in five will be a superdelegate who does not have to vote according to the primary or caucus results in his or her state.

The party also has moved forward by one week the officially sanctioned start of the Democratic primary season. The shift from the second to the first Tuesday in March was viewed as an open invitation to California to hold its primary on March 3.

Many in the party had hoped that an early California vote would overshadow the results from the small, early-voting kingmakers, Iowa and New Hampshire, where long shots tend to win as often as front-runners.

But in a state as large and expensive to campaign in as California, a well-heeled, well-known candidate would probably have the inside track. And an early March blow-out by such a candidate in California could have led to the quick resolution party leaders wanted.

But the California Legislature adjourned in September without GOP Gov. Pete Wilson and the Democratic legislators having agreed on a March 3 primary. For all practical purposes, the idea is dead for 1992.

### More of a Moving Target

The eleventh-hour maneuvering in California is a prime example of why the delegate-selection process for 1992 is more of a moving target than it was four years ago.

By Labor Day 1987, the 1988 calendar was essentially in place, partly because a passel of candidates in both parties had already been campaigning actively for months.

With the 1992 campaign slow to develop, state parties — particularly Republican ones — have felt less pressure to nail down their delegate-selection procedures.

But even with California keeping its primary in June, it is already clear that candidates will have to gear up quickly for a process that is still heavily front-loaded. There will still be a number of potentially decisive contests in February and March, and filing deadlines for entering them arrive as early as December.

Iowa and New Hampshire will hold their events first. The Iowa caucuses lead off Feb. 10, with the New Hampshire primary eight days later. South Dakota and Maine will vote in their wake — Maine on Feb. 23; South Dakota on Feb. 25.

On March 3 and on the Saturday that follows, March 7, candidates will have to begin to choose between events. The biggest cluster is in the Rocky Mountain region, where as many as five states — Colorado, Arizona, Nevada, Wyoming and Idaho — have tentatively scheduled their events for the first week of March.

But for those unwilling to go west, Maryland, Minnesota and South Carolina will also be offering tempting delegate harvests.

In 1988, South Carolina Republicans held a primary on the Saturday before Super Tuesday that proved a springboard for Bush's Southern sweep. Next year, South Caro-

## Can a Democrat Still Be Elected President?

*States in order of 1988 vote share for Dukakis  
(new 1992 electoral vote)*

1) District of Columbia (3) .....	82.6%
2) Rhode Island (4) .....	55.6
3) Iowa (7) .....	54.7
4) Hawaii (4) .....	54.3
5) Massachusetts (12) .....	53.2
6) Minnesota (10) .....	52.9
7) West Virginia (5) .....	52.2
8) New York (33) .....	51.6
9) Wisconsin (11) .....	51.4
10) Oregon (7) .....	51.3
11) Washington (11) .....	50.0

**Electoral vote total carried by Dukakis: 107**

12) Illinois (22) .....	48.6
13) Pennsylvania (23) .....	48.4
14) Maryland (10) .....	48.2
15) Missouri (11) .....	47.8
16) Vermont (3) .....	47.6
17) California (54) .....	47.6
18) New Mexico (5) .....	46.9
19) Connecticut (8) .....	46.9
20) South Dakota (3) .....	46.5
21) Montana (3) .....	46.2
22) Michigan (18) .....	45.7
23) Colorado (8) .....	45.3

**Electoral vote total in 45 percent or better states: 168**

**Combined Total: 275**

lina Democrats will get into the act with a pre-Super Tuesday primary of their own.

### Scaled-Down Super Tuesday

Super Tuesday itself will be about half as large as it was in 1988, when Democratic contests were held in 20 states. Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky and North Carolina are among those that have bailed out, moving their events to late spring. But the linchpins of Super Tuesday, Texas and Florida, remain, and the March 10 vote is still expected to feature states from Massachusetts to Hawaii with an accent on the South.

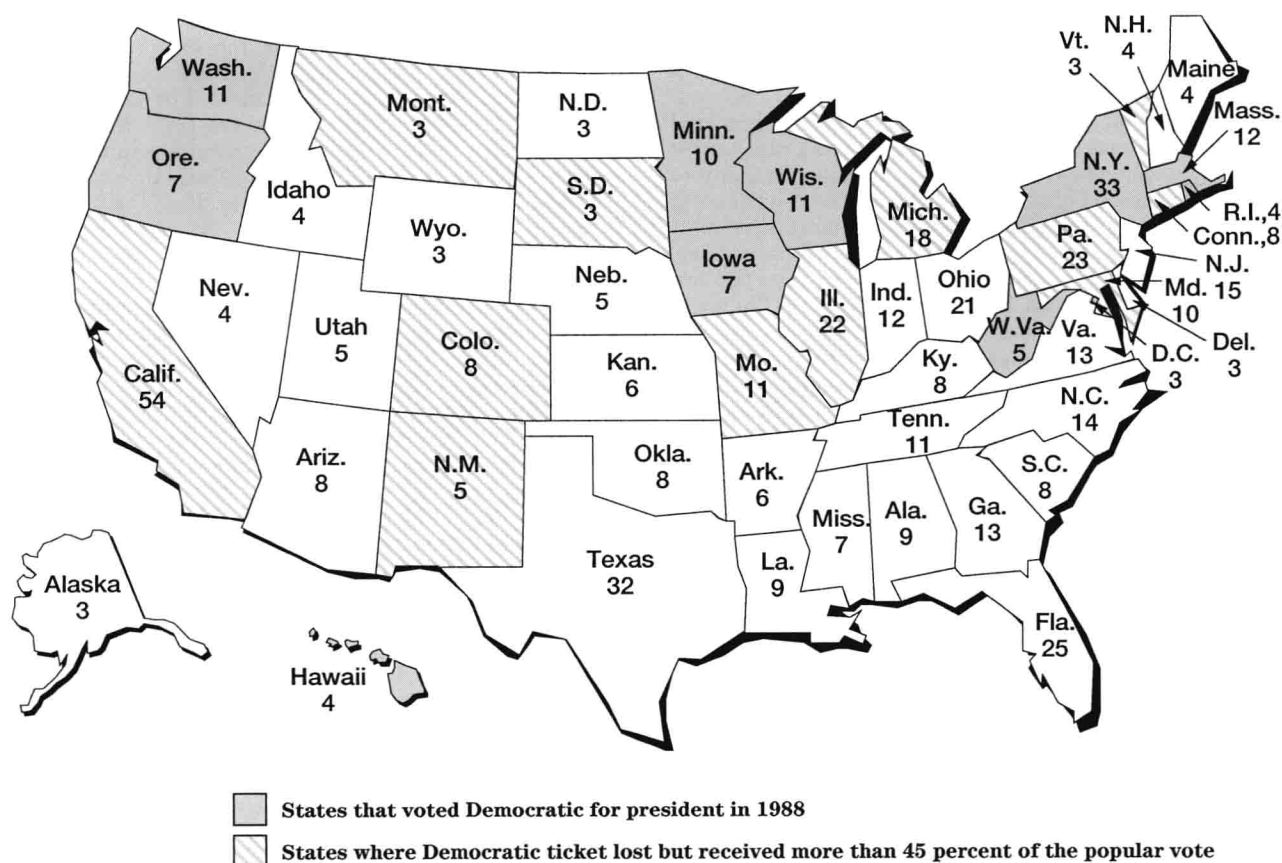
On Friday, March 13, Democratic candidates will be tested in a different type of setting when the Capitol Hill "congressional primary" takes place; House Democrats are scheduled to caucus that day and select 80 percent of their number as superdelegates.

Four days later, Illinois and Michigan will combine to create a regional primary of sorts in the heart of the industrial Midwest. By the end of March 17, more than half the states will have voted and roughly half the delegates to the Democratic convention will have been picked.

Candidates still in the race at this point can concentrate their flying pattern on the industrial Frost Belt. New York

## Can a Democrat Still Win the Electoral College Vote?

### Constructing a Prospective Electoral College Majority in 1992



and Wisconsin both vote April 7, the same day that Senate Democrats are scheduled to choose 80 percent of their number as superdelegates. Pennsylvania casts its primary ballots April 28, and Indiana and Ohio follow May 5.

Beginning that day, the candidates have to resume paying close attention to the South and the West. North Carolina votes May 5, and May 19 the Pacific Northwest weighs in, with contests scheduled in Oregon and Washington. On May 26 candidates get another taste of Dixie, with the Arkansas and Kentucky primaries.

The results from California June 2 will dominate the headlines, although New Jersey, Alabama, Montana and New Mexico are also scheduled to hold primaries that day.

#### Small Slice

The nominating process traditionally involves a relatively small slice of the American electorate. While roughly half of the nation's voting-age population cast ballots in the 1988 presidential election, only about 20 percent participated in the process that nominated the candidates. The turnout rate was a bit higher than 20 percent for most primaries, and a lot lower for first-round caucuses (the only stage of the multitier caucus process that is open to mass participation).

Primaries require voters only to cast a ballot, an exercise that usually takes just a few minutes. The deliberative nature of a neighborhood caucus, though, often requires the commitment of an afternoon or evening.

Barely 10 percent of Iowa's voting-age population participated in the nation's most famous caucuses in 1988. By contrast, 34 percent of the New Hampshire electorate voted in the state's first-in-the-nation primary, while the Wisconsin primary had the highest turnout rate of all in 1988, with 38 percent of the state's voting-age population casting either a Democratic or a Republican ballot.

#### Hard Spring, Hard Fall

However low the participation, though, the primaries and caucuses now decide the presidential nominations. Gone are the councils of power brokers that judged the candidates at the party conventions. Under the current system, it would be impossible — barring an unusual deadlock during the primary season — for a candidate to be nominated as Humphrey was in 1968. Winning a nomination now requires participation in virtually every primary and caucus.

Victories in critical primaries can set off a chain reaction, but the dominoes do not automatically fall if signifi-



## Scrapping for Funds

**W**ith lingering recession and a persistent federal deficit as a backdrop, candidates for president in 1992 may get an unwelcome chance to demonstrate how they get by on a tight budget.

The Federal Election Commission (FEC) has said that the taxpayer-supported checkoff fund, the source of public funds for White House candidates, is likely to run short during February and March, the crucial early months of the presidential primary season.

As a result, the Department of the Treasury has decided to set aside enough money to finance the national conventions and the general election. That will leave primary candidates scrapping for whatever remains. Assuming President Bush runs for re-election, most all of those scrapping will be Democrats.

Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown has accused the Treasury of playing politics with the fund. Brown says the conservative set-aside plan will hurt Democratic candidates who most need the early money.

The problem has eased somewhat because Democratic candidates were slow about getting their campaigns started. Still, FEC officials expect only about \$20 million to be available in the early months of 1992, with a projected demand, even with a reduced field, of about \$23 million.

The FEC is planning to provide candidates with only a portion of the amounts they would otherwise be entitled to in matching funds during the crucial early primary months.

The problem arises because fewer taxpayers have been checking the box on their tax return that authorizes the use of \$1 per taxpayer for the fund. The amount per taxpayer has remained the same since the fund was inaugurated in the 1970s. Congress has not passed legislation to index that amount to inflation (let

alone to keep pace with campaign costs).

The commission has called for direct legislative appropriations to supplement the fund, but Congress has not been friendly to that idea. The commission asked the Treasury, which makes the final decision on disbursements, to permit more distributions in the early going — relying on future receipts to finance the conventions and general-election grants. But Treasury refused.

### Post-Watergate Reform

The public-financing system for presidential campaigns was set up in the post-Watergate reform era in an effort to diminish the role of private money. Primary candidates who agree to state-by-state spending limits qualify for federal grants matching individual contributions of \$250 or less. Once the nominations have been determined, each party's champion has his or her campaign fully financed with federal grants.

Altogether, \$180 million went out of the checkoff fund to finance the 1988 campaign. Bush and Michael S. Dukakis each received \$46.1 million for the fall campaign. Each party was given \$9.2 million to hold its national convention.

In the primaries, 16 candidates together received \$67.5 million, with the biggest payout (\$10.4 million) going to the man who raised the most through small, individual contributions: Republican Pat Robertson.

Although the fund is less flush this time, the commission has loosened the state-by-state spending limits — which have proven burdensome to enforce. The commission asked Congress to repeal the limits and substitute a national spending cap on primary candidates.

—Glen Craney

cant elements of a party see a given candidate as flawed. Walter F. Mondale, for instance, essentially wrapped up the 1984 Democratic nomination in the Frost Belt industrial states in March and April, yet still lost most of the primaries that followed in May and June.

Mondale's struggle underscores a basic fact: The ease or difficulty with which a candidate navigates the nominating process is often a precursor of success or failure in the general election. In short, those who can demonstrate broad-based support in the spring usually are quite competitive in the fall, while those who struggle through the primaries with limited appeal among some of the party's major constituency groups are often buried in landslides in November.

Constructing an Electoral College majority in 1992 will probably be difficult for any Democratic nominee. It takes 270 electoral votes to win the White House, and for Democrats to reach that total they will need a number of states they lost consistently against Ronald Reagan and George Bush in the 1980s.

More than 400 electoral votes will be cast next year by states that were consistently in the GOP column throughout the last decade. States with 221 electoral votes have consistently voted the GOP presidential ticket in both the 1970s and '80s. And states with 191 electoral votes have

been GOP mainstays ever since joining in Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson's landslide victory in 1964.

But there remains a difference between difficult and hopeless. It is possible to find a Democratic route to an electoral vote majority by combining all the states carried by the party's presidential ticket in 1992 with all the states in which that ticket drew more than 45 percent of the vote.

In the Democratic column in 1988 were 10 states, plus the District of Columbia. Together, these will be good for 107 electoral votes in 1992 currency (adjusted for the results of the 1990 census). A dozen other states worth 168 electoral votes were in the close-call category, anchored by California, which in 1992 will offer 54 electoral votes all by itself.

Together, these states hold 275 electoral votes. Reaching that total in 1992 is certainly a tall order and possible only if the Democrats can nominate an attractive candidate with widespread — and not strictly regional — acceptability.

No one knows whether the Democrats will be able to nominate someone with broad-based appeal in 1992. The primaries and caucuses will provide a number of clues, but no nominating system by itself can promise a successful choice.

Perhaps all a party can ask is that its nominating system find the person best able to win in November without damaging the candidate too much in the process. ■

# IOWA

February 10

**E**ver since 1972, when the Iowa caucuses revealed their remarkable power to scramble the standings among presidential candidates, that power has been resented.

So when Iowa failed to produce a winner or derail a front-runner in 1988, some in other states smiled. And when California began considering an early-March alternative to its June primary, many wondered how much longer Iowa would be a magnet for White House hopefuls.

But for the immediate future, only the bravest candidates will turn their backs completely on the Hawkeye State. After all, an entire generation of politicians is now resigned to deep-winter visits and the quaint, unpredictable precinct meetings on that Monday night in February.

The impact of these caucuses has been particularly impressive in the Democratic Party. In four of the past five presidential cycles, the Democratic nominee has broken from the pack by virtue of his showing in Iowa.

The magic has been only slightly less potent on the Republican side. In the past three competitive contests for the GOP nomination (1976, 1980 and 1988), Iowa has launched either the winning campaign or its closest competitor.

For candidates who must live or die on "free media," Iowa has offered a relatively small, cheap environment in which to make a breakthrough into the national consciousness.

	1980	1990
Population	2,913,808	2,776,755
Percentage of U.S. population	1.29	1.12
White	97	97
Black	1	2
Asian or Pacific Islander	N/A	1
(Hispanic)	(1)	(1)
1988 presidential vote:		
Democratic	55%	Republican 44%
Democratic vote rank: 3		
Last voted Democratic for president: 1988		
Registration		
Democrats	581,816 (38%)	
Republicans	483,099 (32%)	
Other	467,663 (30%)	

Iowa's success as a media event has been its fortune. By 1984, all three networks were broadcasting their evening news from Des Moines on the night of the caucuses. In 1988, Baltimore Sun columnist Roger Simon was struck by the sheer weight of TV technology in Iowa.

"These are trucks capable of beaming a signal up to a satellite in geosynchronous orbit 22,280 miles above the Earth," Simon wrote in a mix of misgiving and awe. "There are only 74 such mobile uplinks in the United States. On caucus night, 40 of them will be in Des Moines."

Who can say for certain that those trucks will not be back in 1992?

Iowa officials breathed a sigh of relief when California decided to keep its primary in early June and not move to a

March 3 date where its large shadow would hang over the Hawkeye State.

But in 1992, Iowa's place will still be subject to serious challenge. Ironically, one of its biggest problems is the presidential candidacy of the state's junior senator, Tom Harkin. He warmed up in 1990 for his White House bid by becoming the first Iowa Democrat ever to serve a full term in the Senate and be re-elected to a second.

Many believe Harkin's candidacy will convert the Iowa caucus into a personal referendum, leaving other candidates to run for No. 2. Combined with the apparent lack of any GOP contest, an Iowan in the field could finally take

## The Iowa Rules...

The Democratic and Republican precinct caucuses are open only to registered party members. However, prospective voters are able to register on caucus night as a member of either party. A change in the Democratic national party rules is responsible for making Iowa such an important stop on the campaign trail. Since 1972 all Democratic caucus participants have been required to

state either their candidate preference or their desire to remain uncommitted. This change created the potential for instant assessment of candidate strength that was not available before this rule was instated. Iowa Republicans have traditionally conducted a straw vote in conjunction with their caucuses to measure candidate strength, although none is planned for 1992.

★D★

★R★

### THE CALENDAR

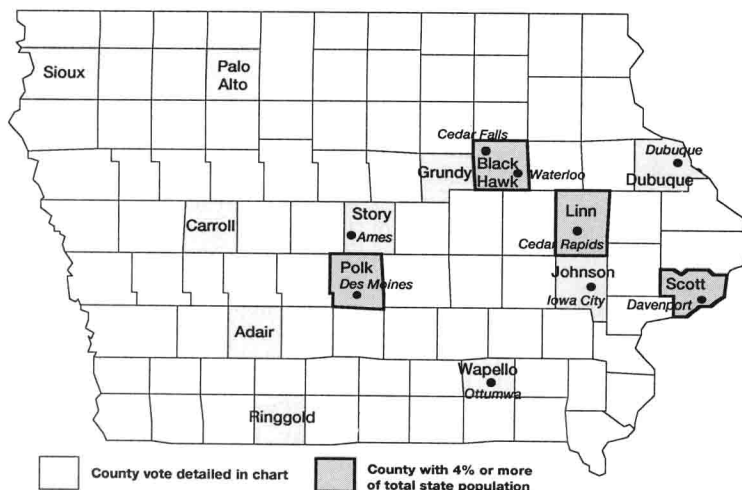
Precinct Caucuses	Feb. 10
County Conventions	March 28
Congressional District Conventions	May 2
State Convention	June 20

Feb. 10
March 21
May 2
June 12-13

### THE DELEGATES

Number (% of national total)	57 (1.3%)
In-state distribution:	
By congressional district	32 (varies from 5 to 7 per district)
At large	11
Pledged PEOs	6
Superdelegates	8
Method of Allocation	Proportional representation — candidate needs 15 percent of the vote at all levels of the process

23 (1.0%)
15 (3 per district)
8
—
—
No formal system — determined by participants



would increase the likelihood of competition to Harkin and entice candidates who might consider skipping Iowa to keep booking flights to Des Moines.

But then there is the matter of 1988. While the hoopla and attention for the caucuses had never been greater that year, an unusual thing happened.

The Iowa winners — Republican Bob Dole and Democrat Richard A. Gephardt — not only failed to win their party nominations but dropped out of the race the very next month. The second-place finishers — Republican Pat Robertson and Democrat Paul Simon — lasted longer in the nominating season but were eliminated as possible nominees even before Dole and Gephardt.

As Gephardt's campaign manager Bill Carrick said in 1988, "It would have been nice if someone had told us that Iowa was going to be worth Idaho this time around."

Gephardt may have also devalued his own victory by overemphasizing the state. He spent 148 days in the state, according to a study by a professor at Iowa's Drake University. He even moved his mother into an apartment in Des Moines. His strategy created expectations too great to fulfill, let alone exceed.

Perhaps just as damaging to the Iowa mystique was the escape of Al Gore, who decided to skip the caucuses and got

the Iowa caucus down a peg.

To restore some interest in the caucuses, Iowa Democratic officials are considering a proposal to have voters register their preferences by secret ballot, rather than by the public head count which traditionally has taken place. Conducting the vote more privately, the argument goes,

## Iowa Caucuses: 1988 Sample Counties

(All figures are percentages; highest votes are in **boldface**)

	★D★					★R★					
	Gephardt	Simon	Dukakis	Jackson	Babbitt	Dole	Robertson	Bush	Kemp	du Pont	November Winner
<b>STATEWIDE</b>	<b>31%</b>	27%	22%	9%	6%	<b>37%</b>	25%	19%	11%	7%	Dukakis (55%)
<b>LEADING POPULATION CENTERS</b>											
Polk (Des Moines)	26	<b>27</b>	25	11	7	<b>36</b>	19	22	11	10	Dukakis (59)
Linn (Cedar Rapids)	<b>28</b>	20	24	15	11	<b>31</b>	30	17	11	10	Dukakis (56)
Scott (Davenport)	20	<b>38</b>	24	13	2	<b>29</b>	27	24	10	9	Dukakis (52)
Black Hawk (Waterloo)	<b>32</b>	28	21	14	4	<b>37</b>	20	21	15	6	Dukakis (56)
<b>SMALLER INDUSTRIAL</b>											
Dubuque	<b>35</b>	30	19	7	6	30	<b>33</b>	17	14	4	Dukakis (62)
Wapello (Ottumwa)	<b>48</b>	20	25	3	3	21	<b>48</b>	16	12	2	Dukakis (65)*
<b>ACADEMIC INFLUENCE</b>											
Johnson (University of Iowa at Iowa City)	5	<b>34</b>	21	22	15	<b>41</b>	17	21	12	8	Dukakis (64)
Story (Iowa State University at Ames)	15	<b>28</b>	20	21	14	<b>44</b>	17	17	13	8	Dukakis (58)
<b>REPUBLICAN FARM</b>											
Grundy	<b>35</b>	18	32	6	2	<b>48</b>	18	16	11	5	Bush (60)
Sioux	23	19	<b>42</b>	0	6	<b>32</b>	22	14	30	3	Bush (77)*
<b>HARDSCRABBLE FARM</b>											
Adair	31	14	9	<b>36</b>	4	<b>49</b>	22	15	7	6	Dukakis (55)
Ringgold	<b>41</b>	19	24	2	2	<b>46</b>	18	18	12	3	Dukakis (59)
<b>RURAL DEMOCRATIC</b>											
Carroll	<b>36</b>	21	19	0	11	<b>50</b>	16	16	11	7	Dukakis (59)
Palo Alto	21	27	<b>31</b>	7	7	<b>44</b>	21	20	10	4	Dukakis (62)

\* County in which this nominee received his highest percentage of the November vote

NOTE: Democratic percentages are based on a weighted measurement of the caucus results devised by the Iowa Democratic Party called delegate equivalents. Republican percentages are based on a statewide straw vote held in conjunction with the caucuses.



away with it. Gore established himself in the presidential world via his showing on Super Tuesday. He did not get the nomination, but he got his campaign off the ground without ever seeking clearance from the control tower in Des Moines.

### Bush: A Near Victim Revives

For a week in 1988, Iowa did seem to have achieved another of its coups by dumping front-runner George Bush for a third-place loss. Bush, with 19 percent, failed to carry a single county. The blow was still heavier because Bush had done so well in the state in 1980, eclipsing Ronald Reagan by 2 points and landing himself on the cover of Newsweek.

But Bush had been in trouble in Iowa well before caucus night in 1988. Reagan's mantle, invaluable elsewhere, was a millstone in a state where jobs and farms had been lost by the many thousands. One of only four states where population declined in the 1980s, Iowa was sour as the decade drew to a close.

Dole was well positioned to benefit. As a rural Midwesterner openly disparaging of the vice president, Dole was the ideal messenger for the disaffected. Even his own sometimes angry demeanor was a kind of asset. Dole won big not only in the traditional farm counties but in the university communities and cities such as Des Moines and Waterloo.

### Sharing the Camera

But much of the media attention both Dole and Gephardt had counted on went to Robertson, whose "invisible army" materialized. Arriving in groups for caucuses in such midsize towns as Dubuque, Ottumwa and Cedar Rapids, Robertson's forces provided one-quarter of the statewide vote and put the religious broadcaster on the national political map. But Robertson, like Dole and Gephardt, would be unable to duplicate his Iowa feat in more than a handful of other small states.

The flip side of that fate was the rapid elevation of the New Hampshire co-winners: Bush and Michael S. Dukakis. Each had been third in Iowa, and each would lose badly again in the "Iowa echo" primary in South Dakota two weeks later. But by reversing the tide in New England, Bush and Dukakis positioned themselves for Super Tuesday and eventual nomination.

Another candidate who rebounded in 1988 after a slow start in Iowa was Jesse Jackson. Having made nary a ripple in Iowa in 1984, Jackson returned with a timely pitch to hard-pressed farmers and displaced factory workers in 1988. Iowans did not respond, yet Jackson would eventually give Dukakis his only real competition for the nomination.

### The Big Bounce

Despite what happened to Dole and Gephardt, the Iowa caucus remains one of the most successful political inventions of recent times.

The first of its critical parts is its timing, which catches candidates, reporters and voters at their freshest. Second is the caucus format, in which deals between supporters of different candidates blend with group dynamics and bandwagon psychology to affect the results.

The Iowa story has also been benefited by its tendency

## Recent Iowa Results

Year	Turnout	Top Candidates	Percent
<b>Democrats</b>			
1988	126,000	<b>Gephardt</b>	31
		Simon	27
		Dukakis	22
		Jackson	9
1984	75,000	<b>Mondale</b>	49
		Hart	16
		McGovern	10
1980	100,000	<b>Carter</b>	59
		Kennedy	31
1976	38,500	<b>Uncommitted</b>	38
		Carter	29
		Bayh	11
1972	20,000	<b>Uncommitted</b>	36
		Muskie	36
		McGovern	23
<b>Republicans</b>			
1988	108,838	<b>Dole</b>	37
		Robertson	25
		Bush	19
		Kemp	11
1984	—	—	—
1980	106,051	<b>Bush</b>	32
		Reagan	30
		Baker	15
1976 *	20,000	<b>Ford</b>	45
		Reagan	42
1972	—	—	—

\* Based on results from sample precincts.

to flummox the experts. Some of the biggest winners in Iowa have been candidates who lost but did better than expected. Sometimes, it has even been the runner-up who enjoyed the big "Iowa bounce" and landed at the center of the national imagination.

In 1972, George McGovern earned his first respect with 23 percent of the vote against presumed front-runner Edmund S. Muskie. Four years later, Iowa helped create the phenomenon of Jimmy Carter.

Perhaps the quintessential Iowa bounce, though, was the one that surprised even its beneficiary, Gary Hart, in 1984. Walter F. Mondale came down from neighboring Minnesota to claim about half of the caucus vote. But Hart got half the momentum with just 16 percent of the vote because he exceeded the modest expectations of the media (and because John Glenn and Alan Cranston fell miserably short by the same standard). A week later, Hart won New Hampshire.

So if 1988 cost Iowa some of its luster, the state may have been a victim of the same expectations game so important to candidates.

# NEW HAMPSHIRE

February 18

**L**ike the New York Yankees of old, the New Hampshire presidential primary has never been willing to settle for anything less than first.

A state, of course, has means beyond those of a ball team: New Hampshire has decreed that its primary be held before that of any other state as a matter of law.

And despite all the frowning and frustration in other states — and at countless meetings of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) — New Hampshire will once again be in the leadoff primary position in 1992.

The latest dickering over this distinction flared when South Dakota scheduled its 1992 primary on Feb. 25, the same day as New Hampshire. New Hampshire moved forward to the 18th, a date the DNC at first refused to sanction because it would come within hours of the date they had initially assigned Iowa, Feb. 17. Ultimately, the DNC relented.

The Granite State's insistence on primacy among primaries has not prevented its being rivaled in recent years by other kinds of early events. Since 1972, Iowa has been holding precinct caucuses at least a week before New Hampshire's primary. Before the start of the 1988 nominating season, Democratic and Republican candidates collectively spent about 900 days campaigning in Iowa and fewer than 700 in New Hampshire (according to a compilation by free-lance journalist Charles Brereton of New Hampshire and political scientist Hugh Winebrenner of Iowa).

New Hampshire laughed last, however. The Iowa winners, Democrat Richard A. Gephardt and Republican Bob

	1980	1990
Population	920,610	1,109,252
Percentage of U.S. population	0.41	0.45
White	99	98
Black	0.5	1
Asian or Pacific Islander (Hispanic)	0.4 (1)	1 (1)
1988 presidential vote:		
Republican 62% Democratic 36%		
Democratic vote rank: 48		
Last voted Democratic for president: 1964		
Registration		
Republicans 253,972 (39%)		
Democrats 192,217 (29%)		
Other 212,572 (32%)		

Dole, were both also-rans after Super Tuesday. The New Hampshire victors — Republican George Bush and Democrat Michael S. Dukakis — became their party's nominees.

That enabled New Hampshire chauvinists to continue boasting that since their presidential primary became a major part of the political landscape in 1952, no one has ever been elected president without first winning the New Hampshire primary.

It has never been clear whether that streak owes more to the predictive judgment of New Hampshire voters or to the momentum generated by an early victory.

The primary winner in 1992 should again be rewarded with such a wind at his back. But the economic backdrop in New Hampshire will be far different from that of 1988. At that

time, the state was enjoying boom times, with electronics and defense-related industries leading the way. When New Hampshire voters went to the polls in February 1988, the state's unemployment rate was 2.7 percent, the lowest in the country.

Since then, New Hampshire has joined the rest of New England in economic free fall. Shakeouts in computers and defense-related industries have had a ripple effect on construction, real estate and banking. Nearly one in 10 New Hampshire jobs has disappeared since 1988, and the unemployment rate in June 1991 soared past 7 percent.

The economic downturn has yet to affect the party balance; New Hampshire remains a staunchly Republican state. Democratic newcomer Dick Swett unseated Republican Chuck Douglas in 1990, giving Democrats the western New Hampshire House seat for the first time in more than

## The New Hampshire Rules...

'92

New Hampshire likes to think of itself as a model of grass-roots democracy, and when it comes to its presidential primary, it basically is. Candidates have the relatively low hurdle of a \$1,000 filing fee, which means that not only major contenders but also a dozen or two

minor ones participate.

As for voting, the primary is open to registered members of each party plus registered independents, who automatically become members of the party in which they cast a primary ballot.

★D★

★R★

### THE CALENDAR

<b>Primary Date (polling hours)</b>	Feb. 18 (open by 10 a.m. - close by 8 p.m.)
<b>Filing Deadline</b>	Dec. 23, 1991
<b>Filing Procedure</b>	Candidates pay \$1,000 filing fee to the secretary of state's office; no petitions required.

Feb. 18 (open by 10 a.m. - close by 8 p.m.)
Dec. 23, 1991
Candidates pay \$1,000 filing fee to the secretary of state's office; no petitions required.

### THE DELEGATES

<b>Number (% of national total)</b>	24 (0.6%)
<b>In-state distribution:</b>	
<b>By congressional district</b>	12 (6 per district)
<b>At large</b>	4
<b>Pledged PEOs</b>	2
<b>Superdelegates</b>	6
<b>Method of Allocation</b>	Proportional representation — 15 percent threshold based on district and statewide primary vote

23 (1.0%)
6 (3 per district)
17
—
—
Proportional representation — 10 percent threshold based on statewide primary vote

75 years. But Swett's victory was largely due to Douglas' contentious nature. Republicans still control the governorship, both Senate seats, both chambers of the state legislature and the other House seat.

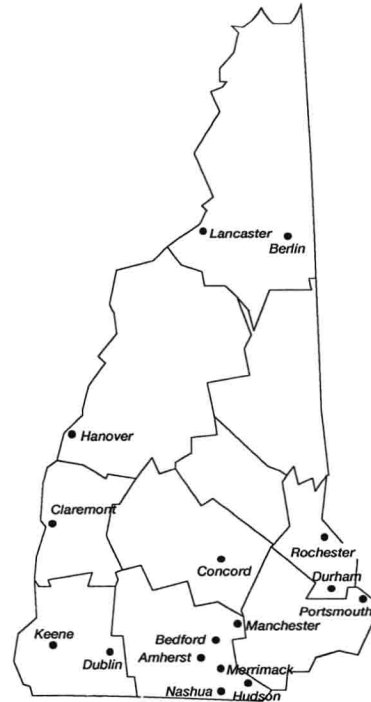
New Hampshire's marriage to Republicanism has lasted despite a changing electorate. The population has nearly doubled since 1960, including a 20 percent growth spurt in the 1980s (east of the Mississippi River only Florida grew faster).

### Newcomers Fit In

The newcomers, many from neighboring Massachusetts, tend to respect the Yankee traditions of self-reliance, hard work and frugality. New Hampshire has neither an income tax nor a sales tax, and candidates for major state office have traditionally had little chance unless they take what is locally called "the pledge" against broad-based taxes.

Conservative as they are, voters in the state where the motto is "Live Free or Die" have never been reluctant to deliver a blow against the politically high and mighty.

Two presidents — Harry S Truman and Lyndon B. Johnson — decided not to seek re-election after poor New Hampshire showings. Truman was upset in the 1952 Democratic primary by Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee. A write-in campaign for Johnson in the 1968 Democratic balloting could muster only 49.6 percent of the vote against



## New Hampshire Primary: 1988 Sample Cities/Towns

(All figures are percentages; highest votes are in boldface)

	★D★						★R★						
	Gephardt		Jackson		Babbitt		Bush		Kemp	Robertson		November	
	Dukakis		Simon		Gore		Dole			du Pont		Winner	
STATEWIDE	36%	20%	17%	8%	7%	5%	38%	28%	13%	10%	9%	Bush (62%)	
LEADING POPULATION CENTERS													
Manchester	27	28	16	5	11	3	32	23	15	18	10	Bush (65)	
Nashua	41	22	16	6	5	3	37	33	12	7	9	Bush (59)	
SMALLER URBAN (Moderate Influence)													
Concord	33	11	18	10	13	9	35	33	15	8	6	Bush (52)	
Keene	39	15	17	12	6	6	34	37	14	6	5	Bush (50)	
Portsmouth	40	17	16	12	5	6	41	32	12	6	8	Dukakis (52)	
AFFLUENT SUBURBS													
Amherst	31	14	26	10	5	7	39	33	11	9	7	Bush (71)	
Bedford	26	20	19	6	11	5	34	28	14	17	6	Bush (77) *	
HIGH-GROWTH, HIGH-TECH													
Hudson	35	26	17	5	5	3	42	28	12	7	9	Bush (65)	
Merrimack	34	24	17	8	6	3	35	29	14	11	10	Bush (68)	
SMALLER INDUSTRIAL													
Berlin	32	27	6	8	4	2	47	24	7	12	8	Bush (52)	
Claremont	43	20	13	7	3	3	32	25	9	13	18	Bush (52)	
Rochester	38	25	16	5	4	2	41	25	12	7	12	Bush (59)	
ACADEMIC INFLUENCE													
Durham (University of New Hampshire)	30	9	29	16	6	7	40	40	7	7	4	Dukakis (55)	
Hanover (Dartmouth College)	42	3	21	12	9	12	38	42	5	10	4	Dukakis (59) *	
YANKEE REPUBLICAN													
Dublin	30	8	18	12	6	23	22	32	10	10	25	Bush (52)	
Lancaster	35	21	14	9	3	5	38	22	9	18	11	Bush (71)	

\* Major city or town in which this nominee received his highest percentage of the November vote

NOTE: A complete tally of write-in votes was not available in computing candidate percentages in cities and towns.