

Death on the Campaign Trail

A plane crashes, a Democratic Senator dies and suddenly both parties must adjust their strategies for Election 2002

By **JOSH TYRANGIEL**

IN 1990, A FEW WEEKS AFTER PAUL WELLSTONE—a wiry 5-foot 5-inch ex-college professor, liberal ideologue, professional agitator and extreme long shot—unseated an incumbent Senator in an election no one thought he could win, he sat down for breakfast with one of the few Establishment politicians he genuinely admired. Fellow Minnesotan and former Vice President Walter Mondale congratulated Wellstone on the upset but warned that the aggressiveness Wellstone had shown on the campaign trail (he starred in a series of ads in which he stalked his opponent) might not go over well on Capitol Hill. “Remember,” said Mondale, “you have six years in the first term, not six days. Don’t be so impatient, charging into everything.”

Wellstone didn’t hear a word. As Senator-elect in his first month, Wellstone said of new colleague Jesse Helms, “I have detested him since I was 19.” Then, on his first trip to the White House, on the eve of the Gulf War, Wellstone pelted President George H.W. Bush with antiwar arguments.

Over 12 years and nearly two Senate terms, Wellstone never wavered in his convictions, but he gradually adjusted his style to the courtly atmosphere of the Senate. Just how well he had adapted was evident in the hours after his campaign plane crashed two miles from a small airport on Friday, Oct. 25, 175 miles north of Minneapolis. (Also aboard were Wellstone’s wife Sheila, daughter Marcia and two pilots. There were no survivors.) “Despite the marked contrast between Paul’s and my views on matters of government and politics,”

said Helms, “he was my friend. And I was his.”

Wellstone had been locked in a tight re-election campaign against Republican challenger Norm Coleman and had begun to pull away in recent weeks, in part because this year’s chapter in the Iraq saga provided Wellstone with an opportunity to remind Minnesotans that his maverick streak remained as sharp as ever. No other member of the Senate was on the losing side of so many 99-to-1 or 98-to-2 votes. As the only vulnerable incumbent to vote against the resolution that would give President Bush war powers, Wellstone told the Senate, “Acting now on our own might be a sign of our power, but acting sensibly and in a measured way in concert with our allies ... would be a sign of our strength.” Soon after, private G.O.P. polls predicted that Wellstone would be re-elected.

Senators on both sides of the aisle broke down as they talked about Wellstone, but it wasn’t long before they returned to the cold calculus of midterm elections. With Wellstone’s death, the Senate is

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divided 49 to 49 to 1. If Coleman were to win, he would fill the vacancy immediately, and Republicans would suddenly have an advantage that could help them push through President Bush’s struggling Homeland Security bill before the new year. Optimism, though, was hard to find among G.O.P.

officials, who fear a possible repeat of what one Senator called the “Jean Carnahan syndrome.” Two years ago, Carnahan’s husband, Missouri Governor Mel Carnahan, died in a plane crash while campaigning. His name remained on the ballot, and the deceased Carnahan defeated Republican incumbent John Ashcroft. Jean Carnahan was then appointed to fill his seat for two years.

Republicans fear that former Vice President Walter Mondale is precisely the kind of party patriarch who could ride the coattails of Wellstone’s legacy to victory. “Politics is all about emotions,” says a Republican Senator. “Paul was beloved, and with his death he’ll be even more beloved.” ■

Questions

1. For what will Paul Wellstone be remembered?
2. How did Wellstone’s death affect Election 2002?

The Battle Hymn of the Republicans

It's hallelujah time in the White House as the Democrats discover (again) what a mistake it is to underestimate the appeal of George W. Bush. Here's how far the President plans to go with his new mandate

By ROMESH RATNESAR

"NO GLOATING," READ THE E-MAIL THAT greeted euphoric Republican leaders as they sleeplessly stumbled into work last Wednesday. The command came directly from the White House, which hours earlier had pulled off the biggest presidential triumph in a midterm election in nearly a century. George W. Bush and his strategists were worried that excessive celebration by congressional Republicans could infuriate Democrats, polarize the electorate and poison the slim, precious mandate the President had at last won.

But in private some Republicans just couldn't resist. At 2 A.M. on election night, shortly after incumbent Missouri Democrat Jean Carnahan conceded defeat, an aide to Trent Lott sneaked into his empty Capitol office and placed a bronze plaque engraved with the words MAJORITY LEADER on Lott's desk. The plaque had been stowed in the bottom drawer of the desk since the Republicans lost control of the Senate 18 months ago, when Vermont's Jim Jeffords abandoned the G.O.P., but Lott never threw it away, just in case he returned to the Senate's top job. "I just feel exhilarated about having another opportunity," he told TIME.

In the Oval Office early Wednesday, Bush surprised his senior staff by bounding in on five hours' sleep for a 7 A.M. meeting and laying out his post-election strategy. "Right off the bat he said we're going to focus on the economy and unfinished business," says an official. Bush instructed the aides—Karen Hughes, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, Vice President Dick Cheney, chief of staff Andrew Card, communications director Dan Bartlett and strategist Karl Rove—to

"tone it down. Let it speak for itself." But the President was smiling. "This," he said, "is a great day."

Until last week, the presidency of George W. Bush was not so much historic as shaped by history, created out of the mold of an extraordinary election and given form by the terrorist attacks of September 2001. Despite broad support for his campaign against al-Qaeda, Bush, in the eyes of his detractors, has never fully shaken his image as a fortunate son whose approval ratings would eventually collapse under the weight of a sagging economy. Democrats figured that would be enough to at least hold their ground, but last week Bush's appeal blindsided them. After gaining control of both houses of Congress and winning unanimous approval for a new Security Council

resolution against Iraq, Bush has the potential to become the most powerful American politician since Ronald Reagan.

The Republican takeover of the Senate was close to two years in the making, the strategy hammered out by Rove and various high-rank-

ing G.O.P. activists in secret meetings held everywhere from Capitol Hill brasseries to West Virginia golf courses. By the eve of the election, G.O.P. polls projected a big turnout by Republican voters energized by Bush's full-court press: he visited 15 states in the past five days. Democratic strategists, meanwhile, underestimated his pull. "Bush's coat-tails were far more effective than anybody on our side thought," says a top Democratic operative. "We thought his popularity numbers were soft."

They weren't. Twenty-one out of the 23 House members and 12 of the 16 Senate candidates Bush campaigned for won their races. The results were momentous. Only three other times in the past century has a President's party gained seats in the House in an off-year election, and not since

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the Civil War has the President's party won back a Senate majority in a midterm contest. Bush will be the first Republican President since Dwight Eisenhower to enjoy outright majorities in the House and Senate.

Democrats could do little more than insist on their relevance. "We're not going away," Senate Democratic leader Tom Daschle said. "We're going to be fighting for the things we believe in." The loss of control may actually give Daschle more flexibility: sources tell *TIME* that as majority leader he often held his fire to guard against the defection of Georgia Democrat Zell Miller, who threatened to leave the party if Daschle came down too hard on the President. But Daschle and the rest of the party leadership have yet to lay out a compelling alternative to the President's agenda, in part because party members can't decide whether or not to fight it. Democrats in the Senate are divided over whether to support the White House's push to make its tax cuts permanent, and all but the most liberal members have gone silent on the Administration's hawkish foreign policy.

In the House, the resignation of minority leader Richard Gephardt set off a fight for the soul of the party. His probable replacement, Nancy Pelosi of San Francisco, is an unapologetic member of the party's liberal wing—most recently she led the fight against the President's drive for congressional authorization to strike Iraq—and a descendant of a minor Democratic dynasty: her father served in Congress and as mayor of Baltimore, a job her brother also held. (Her daughter Alexandra grew friendly with Bush while making *Journeys with George*, a documentary about his presidential campaign.) The apparent anointment of Pelosi, a strong fund raiser who would be the first female party leader in Congress, cheered Republican strategists, who expect her to try to revive the party by picking fights with the White House. Pelosi says she's ready for combat: "We cannot allow Republicans to pretend they share our values and then legislate against those values without consequence."

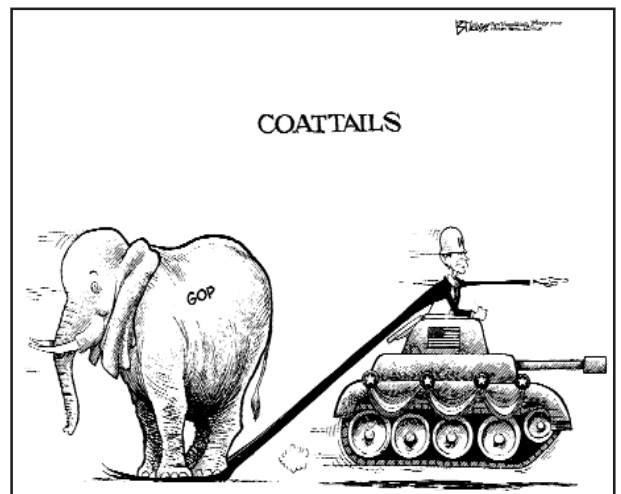
How the White House plans to act on its new mandate, though, isn't clear. Members of both parties say Bush has stockpiled all the support he needs to go to war against Saddam Hussein. "You

won't hear as much complaining out of Congress about not being consulted," says a senior House Republican aide. Tuesday's election suggests that Bush has loosened the country's 50-50 deadlock—Republican candidates won 53% of all votes cast in congressional and gubernatorial races—but not by much. In his first two years, Bush kept his conservative base happy but was also known to compromise on issues like education and campaign finance. Like Eisenhower's, Bush's popularity rests heavily on his prestige as Commander in Chief rather than on deep support for his domestic policies. Even with the Senate in G.O.P. hands, Bush will still have to court Democrats if he hopes to accomplish his goals and preserve his appeal to swing voters. It's no coincidence that in his Nov. 14 news conference, Bush identified passage of homeland-security legislation as the top priority on his agenda and bristled at the suggestion that he takes cues from his conservative base.

But even with its newly won bipartisan control, the White House doesn't command a "governing majority" in the Senate: the 60 votes needed to break a filibuster. Members of Congress from both parties say Bush will still have to cut deals with Democrats and ditch pet projects in order to get things done. "The President asked for the Senate, and he's got it," says one top Democrat. "He can no longer blame us if something doesn't go right." ■

Questions

1. What was historic about the election of 2002?
2. What did Bush identify as his top agenda item?

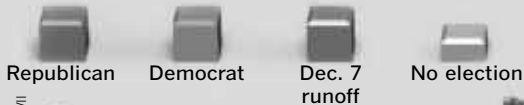




Why the Senate Is Now Back In G.O.P. Hands

Credit Democratic apathy and a hustling campaigner-in-chief

SENATE RESULTS



FIVE DAYS, 15 STATES

Cities in which Bush campaigned five days before the election

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—VI

COLORADO

Wayne Allard

The veterinarian beat '96 loser Tom Strickland in a bitter rematch. Their nasty tone drove loyal partisans to the polls but kept independents home. It hurt Strickland—Republicans outnumber Democrats in this state.

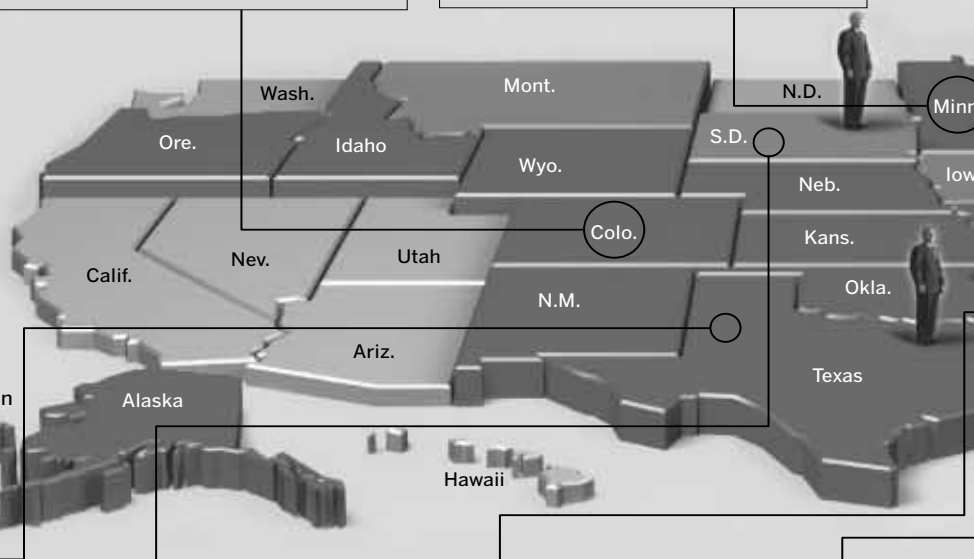
THE KEY TO VICTORY Allard wins the southern Denver suburbs and rural areas.

MINNESOTA

Norm Coleman

After Paul Wellstone's death, Coleman, 53, hit the perfect tone in ads—respectful but looking toward the future. With Mondale, 74, and gubernatorial candidate Roger Moe, 61, on their ticket, the Democrats looked like the past.

THE KEY TO VICTORY The partisan memorial service for Wellstone turned off independents.



TEXAS

Republican attorney general John Cornyn defeated Ron Kirk despite the Dallas mayor's moderate record.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Tom Daschle's fellow Democrat Tim Johnson beat Congressman John Thune by a total of only 528 votes.

ARKANSAS

Mark Pryor defeated Republican Senator Tim Hutchinson in the Democrats' only pickup of the night.

LOUISIANA

Mary Landrieu succeeded in defending her seat against Republican Suzanne Haik Terrell in the Dec. 7 runoff.

Sources: AP, The Cook Political Report, National Governors Association

Republicans Hold the House...

All 435 House seats were up for grabs this election.

Here were some of the key battles:

HOUSE RESULTS

Republicans	229	(Gain of 6)
Democrats	205	(Loss of 6)
Independent	1	

ALABAMA

3rd District
G.O.P. wins 50.4%-48.2%
Democrat Joe Turnham challenged Republican Mike Rogers to a skeet-shooting contest to prove he wasn't a liberal. The tactic didn't work.

NEW YORK

1st District
Democrats win 50.1%-48.6%
Tim Bishop, who campaigned on a pro-environment platform, won a surprise upset against first-time Republican Felix Grucci.

COLORADO

7th District
G.O.P. wins 47.4%-47.2%
Republican Bob Beauprez claimed victory here; Democrat Mike Feeley conceded defeat in early December, following a recount.

KENTUCKY

3rd District
G.O.P. wins 51.6%-48.4%
Incumbent Anne Northup got a break and challenger Jack Conway took a hit when his boss, the Governor, was hit with a scandal.

FLORIDA

5th District
G.O.P. wins 47.9%-46.3%
Half of this redrawn district's voters were new to Democratic Representative Karen Thurman, giving Ginny Brown-Waite an upset victory.

MISSOURI

Jim Talent

Two years after being appointed to succeed her late husband, Jean Carnahan lost to Talent, who made an issue of who would be more loyal to the President as he continues the war on terrorism. Talent won—by just 1% of the 1,867,432 votes.

THE KEY TO VICTORY Republicans attacked Carnahan for not voting to make the tax cuts permanent.

GEORGIA

Saxby Chambliss

In a big upset, Chambliss beat Max Cleland. Republican ads accused the Democrat, a Vietnam vet and triple amputee, of being soft on national security. Chambliss is chairman of a sub-committee on terrorism.

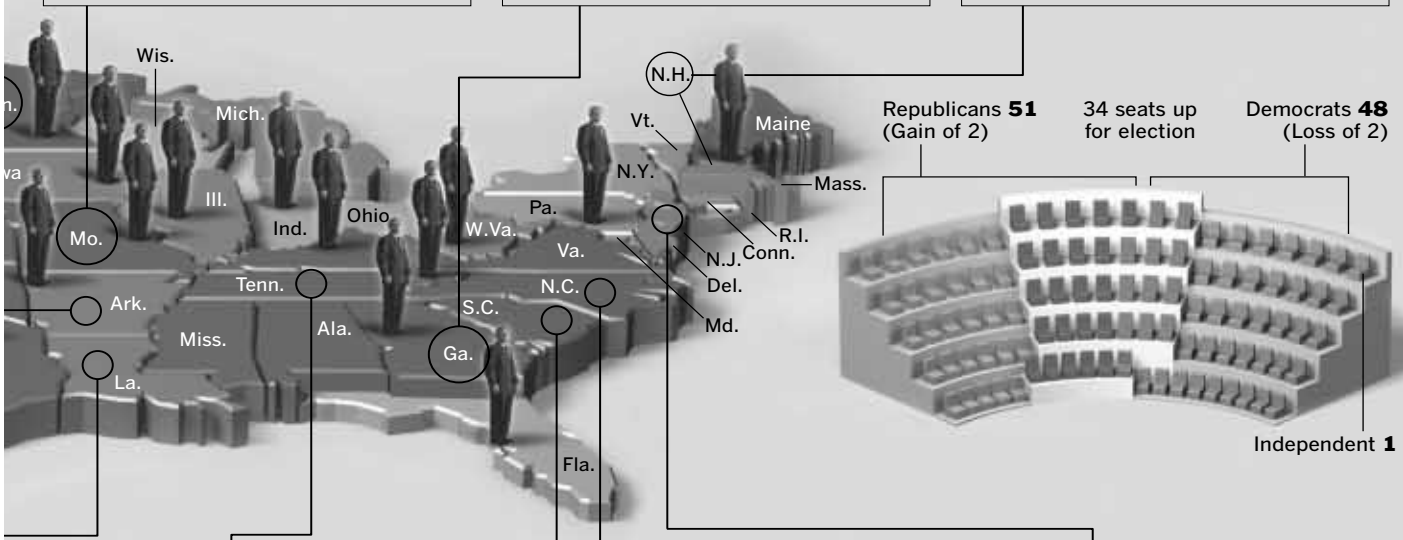
THE KEY TO VICTORY President Bush visited the state three times and told voters that Chambliss would be a strong ally.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

John E. Sununu

Democrat Jeanne Shaheen built a reputation as a moderate during three terms as Governor and outspent Sununu by \$1.3 million. But he successfully painted her as a tax-and-spend liberal—dirty words in this state.

THE KEY TO VICTORY Shaheen was able to attract only 4% of independent voters.



TENNESSEE

Former Education Secretary Lamar Alexander won the fight to keep Fred Thompson's seat in the Republican column.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Republican Representative Lindsey Graham won retiring Strom Thurmond's seat. Will Graham serve 50 years too?

NORTH CAROLINA

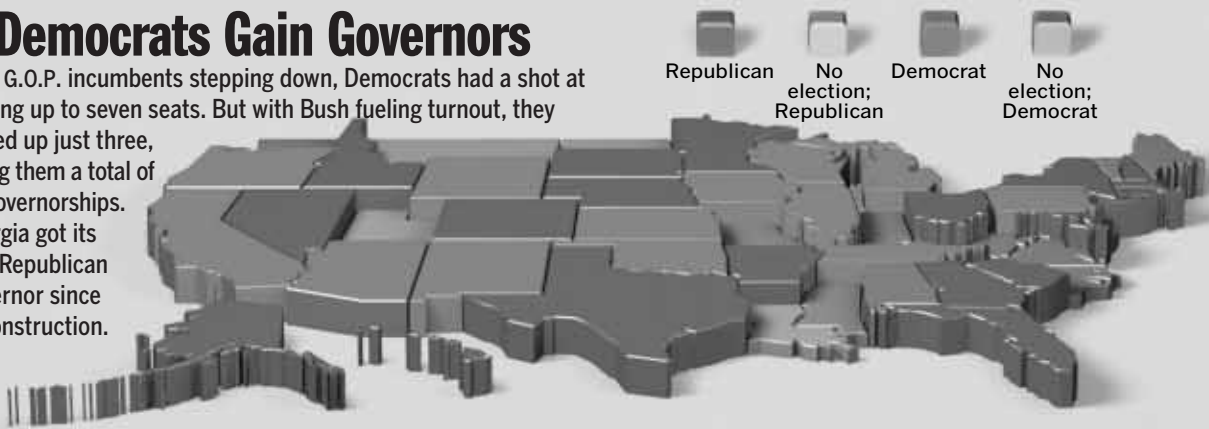
Despite a shrinking lead just before the vote, Elizabeth Dole held on to beat Clinton chief of staff Erskine Bowles.

NEW JERSEY

After two years off, Frank Lautenberg, 78, is back on Capitol Hill after stepping in for Bob Torricelli.

...Democrats Gain Governors

With G.O.P. incumbents stepping down, Democrats had a shot at gaining up to seven seats. But with Bush fueling turnout, they picked up just three, giving them a total of 24 governorships. Georgia got its first Republican Governor since Reconstruction.



Text by Mitch Frank

Homeland Security: A Primer

What will a new Cabinet-level agency mean for the war against terrorism?

By JESSICA REAVES

THE HOUSE HAS APPROVED IT. THE WHITE House is behind it. And now the Senate has—painfully—voted to implement it. We've heard a lot about the Homeland Security Department over the past six months. But what exactly can we expect from this new division of government—and what effect will it have on the country?

Origins of Homeland Security.

In the 24 hours after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, employees from nearly every department of the government were struggling to help, but running into barriers due to red tape or communication failures. And so the Office of Homeland Security was born, fronted by former Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Ridge. The White House later pushed to make the office a Cabinet-level agency, a push that is now coming to fruition.

It hasn't been an easy road to passage for the HSD, but now, after the Senate defeated attempts by Democrats to strip the bill of G.O.P.-sponsored additions, the White House has achieved victory. And while the first signs of transition will be limited to

moving vans and packing boxes, they will signal the largest reorganization of federal agencies since the 1947 merger of the War and Navy departments, which formed the Defense Department, and the first major restructuring since 1977, when the Energy Department first came on the scene. The HSD would employ 170,000 people, culled primarily from the staff of 22 agencies, including the Secret Service, Coast Guard, Border Patrol, Transportation Security Authority and INS. Duties of

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the new agency will include coordinating counter-terrorism measures as well as preemptive defense. The four divisions: border and transportation security; emergency preparedness and response; countermeasures for chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear attacks; and a new intelligence clearinghouse. Ideally, this synergy means that if, for example, someone came into the country and aroused suspicion, the INS will have a direct link

to the intelligence needed to clear or arrest that person at once. It also means that in the case of the next terrorist attack, the government will have a cohesive, prepared response to deal with damage and simultaneously ward off further attacks.

The cost of this massive overhaul? An estimated \$40 billion, according to several independent analysts. That's \$37.5 billion initially set aside to run the 22 agencies marked for inclusion in the new department, as well as an additional \$2 billion for costs associated with starting a new agency from scratch. Those figures are disputed by the Bush Administration, which claims it can run the department on the budgeted \$37.5 billion.

Hard-won victory. The President's initial proposal for the department, issued to Congress June 18, 2002: “I propose to create a new Department by substantially transforming the current confusing



patchwork of government activities into a single department whose primary mission is to protect our homeland.” As soon as the President made his announcement, the fighting began. Democrats, while supportive of a plan to protect the country, were outraged at the insistence by the President and his Republican allies that he should have the power to hire, fire and discipline any staff member for any reason—because, he reasoned, the sensitivity of this department’s mission demanded fast action. Democrats, along with union leaders, argued the employees of HSD should be given the same rights—reviews, protections—as any other federal employees. Finally, leaders on both sides returned to the bargaining table. The end result would provide unions with a “consultation” prior to any staffing changes. The President, however, would maintain ultimate control over employees.

Questions of security. Even as the Senate conflict comes to a close, battles still rage over security. Not national security—personal security. Critics of the HSD proposal say the legislation would permit the government virtually unfettered access to private information exchanged between U.S. citizens. The computer system in question, called “Total Information Awareness,” is being run out of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, or DARPA, which is in turn part of the Information Awareness Office, or IAO. The software would allow government surveillance of e-mail, credit card and banking records and travel documents. While more extensive legislation is needed to completely open the floodgates of heretofore private information, wording in the current HSD bill is enough to amend the Privacy Act of 1974, which put limits on what the government could do with personal information. Civil libertarians say the IAO program infringes on basic privacy rights, while proponents of the system say it only takes necessary measures—investigating suspicious spending or email threats—to make everyone as safe as possible. ■

Questions

1. What is the Homeland Security Dept.’s mission?
2. What concerns about civil liberties have critics of the new department raised?

NOW FOR THE HARD PART

Homeland Security Chief Tom Ridge is preparing to take on one of the toughest jobs in Washington

As the dust clears from the Senate vote creating a Cabinet-level Homeland Security Department, Tom Ridge is poised to take on one of the most critical and politically risky jobs in Washington’s history—and to head up the second largest federal agency after the Pentagon. Despite his new clout, the department will take months, if not years, to create—time that critics say the country just doesn’t have.

There’s a whole infield of hurdles waiting to be jumped, not the least of which is the enormity of the task at hand. While the White House insists the 170,000-person department will be up and running in one year, some General Accounting Office experts estimate the massive overhaul could take several years to finalize. In fact, if President Bush fails in his 2004 re-election bid, it’s quite possible Ridge will never get the chance to take on his new role.

Then there’s the departmental budget to consider: Because Congress failed to approve spending bills before the start of the fiscal year (on October 1st), the HSD, along with virtually every other federal endeavor, is operating under an assumed budgetary outline. There are sure to be battles—perhaps largely symbolic, given that come January, the G.O.P. will have control over both houses of Congress—over exactly how much money is appropriated to which security measure. There are also concerns among Democrats and Republicans over several last-minute provisions tacked onto the HSD bill, including one (which raised particular hackles) that provides Texas A&M University—a favorite of retiring Senator Phil Gramm—special consideration for the creation of an academic homeland security research center. ■



Name..... Date.....

After the Election: Bush's Agenda

With Republicans now in control of the House of Representatives and the Senate, President George W. Bush is expected to renew his efforts to pass legislation on a number of issues that he considers particularly important. Working individually or with a small group of classmates, use the questions below to learn more about one of these issues. Investigate the President's agenda—then voice your own opinion on this issue.

ISSUES TO INVESTIGATE:

- The Environment**
- The Economy**
- The War Against Iraq**
- Health Care**
- Homeland Security**
- The Courts**

SUGGESTED WEBSITES FOR YOUR RESEARCH:

- www.whitehouse.gov**
- www.time.com**
- www.cnn.com/allpolitics**
- www.washingtonpost.com**
- www.washtimes.com**
- www.onlinenewspapers.com**

1. What issue from the list above do you plan to investigate?

2. What are the President's key goals for new legislation and policies related to the issue you have identified? Use at least two websites to locate information in answer to this question. (Suggested sites are listed above.)

3. If the legislation that the President advocates does become law, what would the consequences and impact be?

4. How have Democrats responded to the President's position on this issue? Quote the position of at least one Democratic member of the Senate or House on this issue.

5. Do you support the President's stance on the issue you have investigated? Why or why not? Explain your position here, and continue on the back of this page if you need more space for your answer.