FIT TO BE TIED?

The Rhodes Cook Letter

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Fit to be Tied:

The Battle to Control Congress in 2002

By Rhodes Cook

As originally published in the November/December 2002 issue of Public Perspective.

One of the working assumptions about this year's midterm elections is that whatever changes take place on Capitol Hill will be incremental in number. But even if that turns out to be the case, the 2002 congressional elections will be much more than a pit stop between presidential campaigns.

When the partisan balance is as close as it is now - a Republican majority of five seats in the House, a Democratic edge of one seat in the Senate - it does not take much of a change to have major ramifications.

And there are significant forces at play this year that could alter the composition of Congress not just by a little, but by a lot - a result that might push one party, or the other, into clear control on Capitol Hill and possibly move the nation into a new political era.

For much of the 20th century, change in Washington's partisan dynamic moved at a plodding pace. For most of the first third of the century, the Republicans controlled both the White House and Congress. For most of the second third, the Democrats controlled both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. And for the quarter century that followed, from 1969 through 1992, the nation's capital frequently boasted "divided government," with a Republican president and a Democratic Congress.

Yet the back and forth of national politics has accelerated over the last decade, with neither party able to gain a firm grip on either the White House or Congress. The result, since 1992, has been five different combinations running the federal government: a Republican president (George Bush) and a Democratic Congress; a Democratic president (Bill Clinton) and a Democratic Congress; a Democratic president (Clinton) and a Republican Congress; a Republican president (George W. Bush) and a Republican Congress; and most recently, a Republican president, a Republican House and a Democratic Senate.

In short, the virtual tie that exists now has been building over the last decade, to the point that if one adds together the nationwide House vote for the five elections conducted since the last round of congressional redistricting in 1992, the result is a virtual dead heat. A total of 203.9 million votes were cast for Republican House candidates and 202.5 million votes for Democrats, resulting in a GOP plurality of just 1.4 million votes out of more than 400 million cast in national elections from 1992 through 2000.

But if the last decade tells us anything, it is that the political dynamic is always in motion, always changing. And each party has some significant advantages this fall as they seek to break the partisan balance on Capitol Hill in their favor.

Does Presidential Popularity Trump History?

An arrow in the Democrats' quiver is the simple matter of history. The president's party in Congress almost always loses ground in midterm elections, an average of 25 seats in the

House and four seats in the Senate in midterm voting since the end of World War II.

If the focus is only on postwar Republican presidents at their first midterm - Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1954, Richard Nixon in 1970, Ronald Reagan in 1982, and George Bush in 1990 - the average GOP loss is reduced to 16 seats in the House and none in the Senate. Yet even a replication of those numbers this fall would not be good enough for congressional Republicans to either hold the House or regain the Senate.

Still, it is an open question how much history still applies in midterm elections. In the last such vote in 1998, when President Clinton's impending impeachment was the focus of attention, Demo-

crats actually gained five seats in the House and held their ground in the Senate. It marked the first time since the New Deal election of 1934 that the president's party had not lost House seats in midterm voting, and was only the fourth time since 1934 that the president's party had not lost Senate seats in a midterm election.

Clinton's name was not on the ballot in 1998. But ironically, throughout the year the beleaguered president enjoyed some of the highest presidential approval numbers of his administration. On the eve of the 1998 balloting, the Gallup Poll registered two-thirds of Americans approving his presidency (if not his personal behavior). And by and large, the higher a president's approval numbers, the better his party's showing in the midterm voting.

This year, Bush's high approval ratings should be an asset to congressional Republicans. He began the year at 84 percent in the Gallup Poll, the highest opening mark for any president in a midterm election since Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1942. Although Bush's popularity slipped a little throughout the spring and summer, it has remained high. And regardless of where he stands in the eyes of the voters come Election Day, he has already proved a mighty boon for Republicans at the cash register, raising tens of millions of dollars for GOP candidates.

Reading the Terrain

One of the most compelling questions to be answered by this November's vote is whether the unusual strength shown by the president's party in 1998 is an aberration or the new

The Evolution of a Tie

Since 1990, the Democrats have controlled Congress for a few years, followed by the Republicans for a few years. Since mid-2001, Democrats have run the Senate and Republicans the House of Representatives. What's next?

Election	Senate				House			
	Dems.	Reps	Other	Plurality	Dems	Reps	Other	Plurality
1990	56	44	0	D 12	267	167	1	D 100
1992	57	43	0	D 14	258	176	1	D 82
1994	47	53	0	R 6	204	230	1	R 26
1996	45	55	0	R 10	207	227	1	R 20
1998	45	55	0	R 10	211	223	1	R 12
2000	50	50	0	R 0	212	221	2	R 9
2002 (Oct.)	49	49	1		211	223	1	R 12

Note: With Republican Vice President Dick Cheney available to cast tie-breaking votes, Republicans had control of the Senate after the 2000 election. Control shifted to the Democrats in June 2001 when Republican Sen. Jim Jeffords became an independent. Totals reflect the results of each election with the exception of October 2002 figures. They include three Democratic House vacancies in the Democratic total. However, the Democratic vacancy in the Senate is not counted in the Democratic total since the seat can be filled at any time by appointment.

Source: *Vital Statistics on Congress 1999-2000*.

norm for midterm elections.

Certainly, it seems, congressional politics has been in a “dead ball” era. Gone is the old quality of ebb and flow, with scores of House members pulled into office on the coattails of a popular president, only to be defeated in the succeeding midterm election when he is not on the ballot.

What ebb and flow there has been in recent elections has had a nickel and dime quality to it, with the conspicuous exception of the political tsunami in 1994 that swept the Republicans into power on both sides of Capitol Hill. With easy targets on the decline and the cost of campaigns on the rise, the parties hotly contest fewer and fewer districts.

That is the case again this year, although redistricting adds an element of unpredictability to the House elections. Except in the seven states with a single representative, all House members must run this fall in districts that have been at least slightly altered to reflect population changes over the last decade.

That roils the normally settled waters at least a bit for House incumbents and could put a few more at risk than would normally be the case. In each of the last two decades, more incumbents were defeated in the post-redistricting years (1982 and 1992) than in any other election in those decades (combining primary and general election defeats).

If there is similar volatility this year, either party could emerge as the prime beneficiary. In 1982, the “out” party (the Democrats) gained House seats. In 1992, it was the president’s party (the Republicans) that gained seats.

On the Senate side, the conventional wisdom this year is that the terrain favors the Republicans. The GOP has more seats to defend - 20 to the Democrats’ 14. But 23 of the 34 seats will be contested in states won by Bush in 2000, only 11 in states won by Democratic nominee Al Gore.

A Popular President, His Party Benefits

Generally, the higher a president’s job approval rating during the midterm election year, the better his party does in November. The chart indicates job approval ratings for postwar presidents on election eve, and the change in congressional seats for the president’s party.

President	Party	Election	Election Eve	Change in Seats for President’s Party	
				House	Senate
George W. Bush	R	2002	-	-	-
Presidents with High Approval Ratings					
Bill Clinton	D	1998	66%	+5	0
Ronald Reagan	R	1986	63%	-5	-8
John F. Kennedy	D	1962	61%	-4	+3
Dwight D. Eisenhower	R	1954	61%	-18	-1
Presidents with Moderate Approval Ratings					
George Bush	R	1990	58%	-8	-1
Richard M. Nixon	R	1970	58%	-12	+2
Dwight D. Eisenhower	R	1958	57%	-48	-13
Gerald R. Ford	R	1974	54%	-48	-5
Presidents with Low Approval Ratings					
Jimmy Carter	D	1978	49%	-15	-3
Bill Clinton	D	1994	46%	-52	-8
Lyndon B. Johnson	D	1966	44%	-47	-4
Ronald Reagan	R	1982	42%	-26	+1
Harry S. Truman	D	1950	39%	-29	-6
Harry S. Truman	D	1946	33%	-45	-12

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Poll. Congressional data are from *Vital Statistics on Congress 1999-2000*.

Yet the correlation between Senate and presidential voting is far from perfect. Two loyally Republican states at the presidential level, North and South Dakota, have four Democratic senators between them, led by Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota. Meanwhile, Maine and Pennsylvania, which voted twice for Clinton and once for Gore, each have a pair of Republican senators.

Altogether, more than two-thirds of the Senate seats that switched party hands in the last three midterm elections (11 of 15) were in states that were carried by the other party's presidential candidate in the previous election. That includes six seats the Republicans picked up in 1994 in states that had been won by Clinton two years earlier. Without those half dozen seats, Republicans would not have won a Senate majority in 1994.

Issues and Turnout

The outcome of the 2002 elections will be heavily influenced by whether either party can win the "issues" debate. Democrats are expected to run best if the spotlight is on domestic issues, from the fate of Social Security and prescription drug benefits to corporate wrongdoing and the nation's struggling economy.

In the last quarter century, the two biggest Democratic years came when Republican administrations were thrown on the defensive by the perception of recession. In 1982, the Democrats gained 26 House seats, the most for the party in any election since the Watergate year of 1974. In 1992, the Democrats won the White House for the first time since 1976.

But Republicans hope that international security will be on voters' minds come November. Bush's forceful response to the September 11 terrorist attacks has defined his presidency, in much the same way that the Cuban missile crisis raised the stature of the young Democratic president, John F. Kennedy, in the fall of 1962.

Vox Populi

While the national population is approaching 300 million, less than three-fourths of the overall population in 2000 was of voting age (18 years old and above), slightly more than one-half were registered to vote, barely one-third participated in the last presidential election, and less than one-fourth cast ballots in the midterm House elections in 1998.

U.S. Population (2000)		281,421,906
Voting Age Population (2000)		205,814,000
Registered Voters (2000)		159,049,775
Votes cast for President (2000)		105,396,627
Votes cast for U.S. House (2000)		97,226,268
Votes cast for U.S. House (1998)		65,896,772

Sources: *America Votes* 23, 24; *Washington Post*, Dec. 29, 2000.

The events of that October 40 years ago also dramatically affected the year's elections, "freezing" the campaign at a critical stage that blunted the Republicans' chances for significant midterm gains. That November, the Democrats made the best midterm showing of any presidential party between 1934 and 1998, losing only four seats in the House, while gaining three in the Senate. If the

Republicans could post similar numbers in November, they would hold the House and regain the Senate.

Ultimately, though, who wins depends on who votes, and the turnout for a midterm election is often little more than two-thirds as large as a presidential election. The rule of thumb is that participation in midterm elections is disproportionately skewed to older, more affluent, and better-edu-

cated voters. Yet the electorate also shows a growing number of independents - swing voters, if you will, who are not closely identified with either party.

It does not take a big swing to have a dramatic effect on the composition of Congress. When the GOP made its historic breakthrough in 1994, there was a swing of just 6 percentage points in the congressional vote from two year earlier, when the Democrats firmly controlled Congress. The Democratic share of the nationwide House vote declined from 51 percent in 1992 to 45 percent in 1994, while the Republican share rose a similar amount.

It was not a large swing, but enough to end one political era on Capitol Hill and launch another.

It would require a much smaller swing than that this year to break the tie in favor of one party or the other. Anything like the 6 percentage point swing of 1994 would likely usher in a new political era where ties are not allowed.

House Reapportionment: The Top Three States Each Decade

Geographic power within the House of Representatives has shifted several times during the nation's history. Initially, it was concentrated in states along the Atlantic Seaboard, led at first by Virginia; then, from the early 19th to the mid-20th century, hegemony shifted to states of the industrial Frost Belt, led by New York and Pennsylvania; and since World War II, the fast-growing states of the Sun Belt have been ascendant, led by California.

Listed below are the top three states in number of House seats for each decade. In 1920, there was a Census but no reapportionment.

Census	Total House Seats	Top Three States (and their number of seats)		
		First	Second	Third
1789	65	Virginia (10)	Massachusetts, Pennsylvania (8)	
1790	106	Virginia (19)	Massachusetts (14)	Pennsylvania (13)
1800	142	Virginia (22)	Pennsylvania (18)	Massachusetts, New York (17)
1810	186	New York (27)	Pennsylvania, Virginia (23)	
1820	213	New York (34)	Pennsylvania (26)	Virginia (22)
1830	242	New York (40)	Pennsylvania (28)	Virginia (21)
1840	232	New York (34)	Pennsylvania (24)	Ohio (21)
1850	237	New York (33)	Pennsylvania (25)	Ohio (21)
1860	243	New York (31)	Pennsylvania (24)	Ohio (19)
1870	293	New York (33)	Pennsylvania (27)	Ohio (20)
1880	332	New York (34)	Pennsylvania (28)	Ohio (21)
1890	357	New York (34)	Pennsylvania (30)	Illinois (22)
1900	391	New York (37)	Pennsylvania (32)	Illinois (25)
1910	435	New York (43)	Pennsylvania (36)	Illinois (27)
1930	435	New York (45)	Pennsylvania (34)	Illinois (27)
1940	435	New York (45)	Pennsylvania (33)	Illinois (26)
1950	435	New York (43)	California, Pennsylvania (30)	
1960	435	New York (41)	California (38)	Pennsylvania (27)
1970	435	California (43)	New York (39)	Pennsylvania (25)
1980	435	California (45)	New York (34)	Texas (27)
1990	435	California (52)	New York (31)	Texas (30)
2000	435	California (53)	Texas (32)	New York (29)

Source: *Congressional Elections 1946-1996*; *Guide to U.S. Elections* (both published by CQ Press).

The Changing Composition of the 107th Congress

The death of Democratic Sen. Paul Wellstone in a light plane crash Oct. 25 has roiled the political waters in the final days of the 2002 campaign. Wellstone was involved in a hotly contested reelection campaign in his home state of Minnesota that was considered one of the most pivotal races in the country. Minnesota Democrats nominated Walter F. Mondale as their replacement candidate for the Nov. 5 election. But it is up to outgoing Gov. Jesse Ventura, a member of the Independence Party of Minnesota, as to who – if anyone – fills the seat for the remaining days of the 107th Congress.

On the House side, there are three vacancies as election day approaches. A special election has been scheduled for Nov. 30 in Hawaii's 2nd District to fill the remaining weeks of the term of Democratic Rep. Patsy T. Mink, who died in late September. No special elections have been scheduled in Ohio to fill the two vacancies there.

Bold type indicates the number of seats held by the party controlling each chamber. Events that produced a vacancy are indicated in italics. "Ind." is an abbreviation for independents. "Vac." is an abbreviation for vacancies.

Date and Event	House of Representatives				Senate			
	R	D	Ind.	Vac.	R	D	Ind.	Vac.
Nov. 7, 2000 - ELECTION	221	212	2	0	50	50	0	
<i>Dec. 8, 2000 - Rep. Julian C. Dixon (D-Calif. 32) dies</i>	221	211	2	1				
<i>Feb. 3, 2001 - Rep. Bud Shuster (R-Pa. 9) resigns</i>	220	211	2	2				
<i>March 29, 2001 - Rep. Norman Sisisky (D-Va. 4) dies</i>	220	210	2	3				
May 15, 2001 - Special election in Pa. 9th won by Bill Shuster (R)	221	210	2	2				
<i>May 28, 2001 - Rep. Joe Moakley (D-Mass. 9) dies</i>	221	209	2	3				
June 5, 2001 - Sen. James M. Jeffords (Vt.) switches from Republican to independent					49	50	1	
June 5, 2001 - Special election in Calif. 32nd won by Diane E. Watson (D)	221	210	2	2				
June 19, 2001 - Special election in Va. 4th won by J. Randy Forbes (R)	222	210	2	1				
<i>Aug. 6, 2001 - Rep. Asa Hutchinson (R-Ark. 3) resigns</i>	221	210	2	2				
<i>Aug. 16, 2001 - Rep. Floyd Spence (R-S.C. 2) dies</i>	220	210	2	3				
<i>Sept. 6, 2001 - Rep. Joe Scarborough (R-Fla. 1) resigns</i>	219	210	2	4				
Oct. 16, 2001 - Special elections in Fla. 1st and Mass 9th; Fla. 1st won by Jeff Miller (R), Mass. 9th by Stephen Lynch (D)	220	211	2	2				
Nov. 20, 2001 - Special election in Ark. 3rd won by John Boozman (R)	221	211	2	1				
Dec. 18, 2001 - Special election in S.C. 2nd won by Joe Wilson (R)	222	211	2	0				
Jan. 8, 2002 - Special election in Okla. 1st won by John Sullivan (R) for seat of Rep. Steve Largent (R), vacated by resignation on Feb. 15, 2002	222	211	2	0				
<i>July 24, 2002 - Rep. James A Traficant Jr. (D-Ohio 17) expelled</i>	222	210	2	1				
August 1, 2002 - Rep. Virgil H. Goode (Va. 5) switches from independent to Republican	223	210	1	1				
<i>Sept. 9, 2002 - Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio 3) resigns</i>	223	209	1	2				
<i>Sept. 28, 2002 - Rep. Patsy T. Mink (D-Hawaii 2) dies</i>	223	208	1	3				
Oct. 25, 2002 - Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.) dies in plane crash	223	208	1	3	49	49	1	1

'Big Ticket' Races: Republican Victories in the Last 10 Elections

The following chart indicates the number of Republican victories for president, Senate and governor over the last 10 elections for each office, and a total for the aggregate number of victories for the three offices combined. The higher the number, the more Republican the terrain.

For president, the period covered is from 1964 through 2000. For Senate and governor, the period depends on the state. The starting point for Senate elections in most states is the early 1970s, and for gubernatorial elections, the early 1960s.

In bold type are the categories in which Republicans have won at least six of the last 10 elections. The Senate total in New Hampshire does not include the 1974 election which was so close that it was replayed in 1975.

NORTHEAST				
State	President	Senate	Governor	Total Rep. Wins
Connecticut	5	2	3	10
Delaware	5	4	5	14
Maine	5	6	3	14
Maryland	3	2	1	6
Massachusetts	2	1	6	9
New Hampshire	7	8	7	22
New Jersey	6	1	5	12
New York	3	4	5	12
Pennsylvania	4	9	6	19
Rhode Island	2	5	5	12
Vermont	6	5	2	13
West Virginia	3	0	4	7

MIDWEST				
State	President	Senate	Governor	Total Rep. Wins
Illinois	6	3	8	17
Indiana	9	9	5	23
Iowa	5	5	9	19
Kansas	9	10	4	23
Michigan	5	2	8	15
Minnesota	1	6	4	11
Missouri	6	7	4	17
Nebraska	9	2	4	15
North Dakota	9	1	4	14
Ohio	6	3	7	16
South Dakota	9	4	7	20
Wisconsin	4	2	7	13
SOUTH				
State	President	Senate	Governor	Total Rep. Wins
Alabama	8	3	3	14
Arkansas	5	1	2	8
Florida	7	3	3	13
Georgia	6	3	0	9
Kentucky	6	4	1	11
Louisiana	6	0	3	9
Mississippi	8	7	2	17
North Carolina	8	7	3	18
Oklahoma	9	7	5	21
South Carolina	9	5	4	18
Tennessee	6	5	5	16
Texas	7	7	4	18
Virginia	9	7	5	21
WEST				
State	President	Senate	Governor	Total Rep. Wins
Alaska	9	9	3	21
Arizona	9	7	7	23
California	6	3	6	15
Colorado	8	5	4	17
Hawaii	2	0	0	2
Idaho	9	9	4	22
Montana	8	3	5	16
Nevada	7	4	3	14
New Mexico	6	6	5	17
Oregon	5	8	5	18
Utah	9	10	5	24
Washington	4	4	4	12
Wyoming	9	10	5	24

Longest Current Winning Streaks in Gubernatorial and Senate Races

The following chart indicates states in which one party has won five or more consecutive elections for senator or governor. An asterisk (*) indicates that Republican Howard "Bo" Callaway won the popular vote for governor of Georgia in 1966 but fell short of the required majority. Democrat Lester Maddox was subsequently elected governor by the state legislature. The last governor of Georgia who was not a Democrat was a Liberal Republican (LR), elected during the post-Civil War Reconstruction period. A pound sign (#) indicates that no Republican has been elected to the Senate from Louisiana since direct popular vote for the office was instituted nationally in 1913.

SENATE

State	Region	Party	Consecutive Wins	Last Win by Opposing Party
Louisiana	South	Dem.	32 #	(No Rep. win since popular vote for Senate initiated in 1913)
Kansas	Midwest	Rep.	24	George McGill (D), 1932
West Virginia	East	Dem.	16	Chapman Revercomb (R), 1956
Hawaii	West	Dem.	11	Hiram L. Fong (R), 1970
Utah	West	Rep.	10	Frank E. Moss (D), 1970
Wyoming	West	Rep.	10	Gale McGee (D), 1970
Massachusetts	East	Dem.	9	Edward W. Brooke (R), 1972
New Jersey	East	Dem.	9	Clifford P. Case (R), 1972
Alaska	West	Rep.	8	Mike Gravel (D), 1974
Idaho	West	Rep.	8	Frank Church (D), 1974
New Hampshire	East	Rep.	8	John A. Durkin (D), 1975
North Dakota	Midwest	Dem.	8	Mark Andrews (R), 1980
Maryland	East	Dem.	7	Charles Mathias (R), 1980
Connecticut	East	Dem.	6	Lowell P. Weicker (R), 1982
Mississippi	South	Rep.	6	John Stennis (D), 1982
California	West	Dem.	5	Pete Wilson (R), 1988
Texas	South	Rep.	5	Lloyd Bentsen (D), 1988
Wisconsin	Midwest	Dem.	5	Robert W. Kasten (R), 1986

GOVERNOR

State	Region	Party	Consecutive Wins	Last Win by Opposing Party
Georgia	South	Dem.	50*	James M. Smith (LR), 1872
Hawaii	West	Dem.	10	William F. Quinn (R), 1959
Kentucky	South	Dem.	8	Louie B. Nunn (R), 1967
Maryland	East	Dem.	8	Spiro T. Agnew (R), 1966
Illinois	Midwest	Rep.	7	Daniel Walker (D), 1972
South Dakota	Midwest	Rep.	6	Richard F. Kneip (D), 1974
Utah	West	Rep.	5	Scott M. Matheson (D), 1980
Vermont	East	Dem.	5	Richard A. Snelling (R), 1990
Washington	West	Dem.	5	John D. Spellman (R), 1980

The 2002 Congressional Elections

Do the Math, and the Result Is: Not Much of a Contest

By Rhodes Cook

As originally published in The Washington Post Outlook section on October 6, 2002.

Republican Mike Rogers of Michigan seems like the perfect target for the Democrats as they try this fall to wrest away the six seats they need to recapture control of the House. Not only did the incumbent freshman win his 2000 race by the smallest margin in the country - 111 votes - but he represents a district that switched back and forth between the parties three times during the Clinton years.

Yet Rogers's seat is widely regarded as safe for the Republicans. How come? Certainly his fundraising has gone well - his campaign had amassed more than \$700,000 by the middle of last year. But just as important has been the redistricting effort of the GOP-controlled state legislature, which made Rogers's Lansing-area district significantly more Republican and significantly less competitive than it was two years ago.

Rogers has plenty of company. Scores of incumbents will face little or no competition in their quest to return to Washington next year, and many of them can thank the redistricters. So when the media machine revs up for its usual breathless coverage about "the battle for the House" and you see those big color-coded maps on Election Night, remember that the vast majority of those 435 House seats were decided months before any voter pulled a lever or pressed a touch screen.

The power of incumbency is a well-established fact of political life. But incumbent protection became the dominant theme of this round of congressional redistricting - assisted by ever more sophisticated computer programs that can track demographic changes block by block. The result is that you won't need a scorecard to tell the players - because there aren't that many to keep tabs on. Most political handicappers say that no more than 40 to 50 of this year's House races will be "competitive" (won by a candidate who receives less than 55 percent of the vote).

The competition was much fiercer in 1992, after the last round of redistricting. Then, the House banking scandal (remember that?), the widespread worry about a

Competitive House Races Since 1990

The amount of competition for House seats often dwindles as a decade winds down, but picks up again with a new round of redistricting. Such was the case in 1992, and the level of competition and partisan change remained high through 1996. The partisan shift in House seats is measured from immediately before to immediately after each election.

Election	Competitive Races	Seats Changing Party Hands	
	(Sub-55% Winners)	Total Changes	Net Change
1990	57	21	Dems gain 9
1992	111	43	Reps gain 10
1994	98	60	Reps gain 52
1996	94	35	Dems gain 9
1998	47	17	Dems gain 5
2000	57	18	Dems gain 2

Source: For changes in House seats, *Vital Statistics on Congress 1999-2000* (The AEI Press).

recession and an anti-incumbent sentiment personified by Ross Perot's maverick presidential candidacy all served to roil the political waters. More than one out of every four House contests (111) that year was won with less than 55 percent of the vote, and two dozen incumbents lost. The 1994 election continued this trend, producing the Republican Revolution that ended 40 years of Democratic control of the House and the Senate. But in the 2000 election, barely one of every eight House races (57) was won with less than 55 percent, and only six incumbents were defeated (others resigned or ran for different offices, creating more turnover but not necessarily more competition).

This fall, recession is back, the threat of war is in the air and redistricting has rearranged the boundaries of practically every district in the country. It would seem the perfect environment for turmoil in congressional races from coast to coast. But with the House of Representatives about as closely divided as it has been at any point in nearly a half century (223 Republicans, 208 Democrats, 3 Democratic vacancies and 1 independent), the two parties have opted to be safe rather than sorry.

California has led the way. The Golden State's ruling Democrats, who employed partisan redistricting with a vengeance in the 1980s, decided this time to consolidate their recent election gains with a map that is expected to maintain the status quo of 32 Democrats and 20 Republicans. In the nation's largest delegation, only one seat appears up for grabs. "It was like a kids' birthday party," University of Oklahoma political scientist Keith Gaddie said of the California redistricting. "Everybody got a prize."

And there have been prizes galore, all around the country. The corporal's guard of vulnerable incumbents numbers around two dozen. About half the competitive seats this year are open, either newly created by reapportionment or in the process of being vacated by a departing incumbent.

To be sure, partisan redistricting has created some interesting battlegrounds in several states where one party controlled all the levers of redistricting (the governorship and both chambers of the state legislature). Republicans, for example, are hoping to gain a few seats from their line drawing in Michigan and Pennsylvania, which Democrats hope to offset with their creative cartography in states such as Georgia and Maryland.

But in big states such as California, Texas and Illinois, it is hard to find more than a single competitive race - or any at all in New York, Ohio and Michigan. Those half dozen states contain almost 40 percent of the nation's congressional districts, but they are almost entirely removed from this fall's action.

The current muting of competition, as anti-democratic as it may seem, has a certain logic.

Incumbent protection served as the path of least resistance for state legislatures redrawing the lines. Unlike in 1992, there were comparatively few retirements this time that would naturally create competitive open-seat districts. And there are fewer districts that are competitive by nature of their internal contradictions - for example, voting for one party's candidate for president and the other party's for Congress. In 2000, the number of such "split-ticket" districts was at its lowest level in nearly 50 years.

Neither party wants to lose its hard-won gains. With the partisan balance almost even, every seat counts.

It is a far different situation than a decade ago, when the Democrats approached the 1992 elections with a huge 100-seat advantage in the House. Republicans had barely a toehold in the redistrict-

ing process in many states, but they had a powerful ally in President George H. W. Bush's Justice Department. It used the Voting Rights Act to encourage the creation of more majority-minority districts across the South, at the same time diminishing the minority vote in adjoining districts that had sustained white Democrats.

The effects were not felt immediately. But when the political winds shifted dramatically in the Republicans' favor in 1994, the GOP was poised for its historic breakthrough. More than one out of every four House seats has shifted party hands at least once since 1992, and the South has been transformed from the cornerstone of the Democratic House majority to the building block of GOP control.

The lines this time have not been drawn with the expectation of dramatic upheaval. But there is the potential for small shifts - either now or later in the decade - that could tip the balance in a closely divided House.

Prime targets are the roughly 30 districts that elected one party's House candidate in 2000 while voting decisively for the other party's presidential candidate. The group is nearly evenly divided between a band of moderate Frost Belt Republicans and a cadre of centrist Southern and border state Democrats including six from Texas alone.

One of the Republicans who must run this year in hostile terrain is Maryland's Constance A. Morella, whose revamped Montgomery County district cast roughly two-thirds of its ballots for Democrat Al Gore in the last presidential election. Reelected to an eighth term in 2000 with just 52 percent of the vote, Morella is considered one of the House's most endangered incumbents.

As this decade unfolds, more of these "misfit" seats may become competitive, as incumbents either become vulnerable or they opt to retire. Such a development would create more opportunity for change on Capitol Hill. And that would be all to the good for those who would like to see a true battle for the House rather than a rerun of past elections.

Paired Incumbents: They Could Prove Decisive

Once every decade, several pairs of House members are thrown together in the same constituency by congressional redistricting. Rarely, does the outcome of these handful of races make a difference in determining control of the House. But this year they could.

Three of the four contests involving paired incumbents this fall are being waged in districts that voted heavily for George W. Bush in 2000 (based on the last vote for president compiled for this year's districts by the Republican National Committee). Another favorable sign for Republicans is the trend established in the primaries. In the four intraparty contests between incumbents, the more senior member won each time. Of the four sets of paired incumbents this fall, the Republican is the senior member in each race.

DEMOCRATS				REPUBLICANS			
District	Incumbent	Terms	'00 Win %	Incumbent	Terms	'00 Win %	Terrain
Conn. 5	James Maloney	3	53.6%	Nancy Johnson	10	62.6%	Pro-Dem. (Bush 43%)
Ill. 19	David Phelps	2	64.6%	John Shimkus	3	63.1%	Pro-Rep. (Bush 58%)
Miss. 3	Ronnie Shows	2	58.1%	Charles "Chip" Pickering	3	73.2%	Pro-Rep. (Bush 65%)
Pa. 17	Tim Holden	5	66.3%	George Gekas	10	71.5%	Pro-Rep. (Bush 57%)

The Marginal 57: House Members Elected in 2000 with Less Than 55% of the Vote

A total of 57 House members were elected in 2000 with less than 55% of the total vote - a group nearly evenly divided between Democrats (28) and Republicans (29). The level of competitiveness in their races, however, varied considerably. Just 42 members were elected two years ago by a margin of less than 10 percentage points. Barely two dozen members were elected with less than 52% of the vote.

If history is a guide, the incumbents on this list most likely to have trouble in 2002 are freshmen in highly competitive districts and declining or low-flying incumbents, who have been winning in recent years by dwindling margins.

Many of the incumbents on this list had their districts made safer in the recent round of redistricting. Those with "Friendly" terrain are in Republican-held districts where George W. Bush received at least 55% of the presidential vote in 2000 or Democratic-held districts where Bush drew less than 45%. Those with "Marginal" terrain are in districts where Bush drew between 45% and 55% of the vote. Those with "Hostile" terrain are in Democratic-held districts where Bush polled at least 55% of the vote or Republican-held districts where Bush was held to less than 45%. The Bush percentages were compiled by the Republican National Committee to reflect the new congressional district lines.

For some members, the recent vote on the use of force against Iraq could be a key issue. The resolution passed the House Oct. 10 by a vote of 296-to-133, with 126 Democrats, six Republicans and one independent voting "No." A dash (-) in the chart below indicates that Rep. James A. Traficant had been expelled from the House before the vote was taken. Traficant is running for a seat in the 108th Congress as an independent in a district where the terrain is favorable to a Democrat.

Several members on this list have announced their retirement or are running for other office. They are listed in italics. Members are listed according to the district in which they were elected in 2000.

Democratic Marginals

Member	Current Term	2000 Election Results		Iraq Vote	Terrain
		% of Total Vote	Victory Margin (in Total Vote)		
Steve J. Israel, D-N.Y. 2	1	47.9%	13.0%	Y	Friendly
Betty McCollum, D-Minn. 4	1	48.0%	17.1%	N	Friendly
Jane Harman, D-Calif. 36	4	48.4%	1.9%	Y	Friendly
Rush Holt, D-N.J. 12	2	48.7%	0.2%	N	Friendly
Susan A. Davis, D-Calif. 49	1	49.6%	3.4%	N	Friendly
William P. Luther, D-Minn. 6	4	49.6%	1.6%	Y	Marginal
Dennis Moore, D-Kan. 3	2	50.0%	3.1%	Y	Marginal
James A. Traficant, D-Ohio 17	9	50.0%	27.3%	-	Friendly (to Dem.)
Rick Larsen, D-Wash. 2	1	50.0%	4.1%	N	Marginal
Mike Ross, D-Ark. 4	1	51.0%	2.0%	Y	Marginal
Tammy Baldwin, D-Wis. 2	2	51.4%	2.8%	N	Friendly
<i>Timothy J. Roemer, D-Ind. 3</i>	6	51.6%	4.2%	Y	Marginal
Shelley Berkley, D-Nev. 1	2	51.7%	7.5%	Y	Friendly
Cal Dooley, D-Calif. 20	6	52.3%	6.8%	Y	Friendly
Ellen O. Tauscher, D-Calif. 10	3	52.6%	8.4%	Y	Friendly
Adam Schiff, D-Calif. 27	1	52.7%	8.9%	Y	Friendly
Joseph M. Hoeffel, D-Pa. 13	2	52.8%	7.1%	Y	Friendly
Earl Pomeroy, D-N.D. AL	5	52.9%	8.4%	Y	Hostile
Lois Capps, D-Calif. 22	2	53.1%	8.8%	N	Friendly
Sanford Bishop, D-Ga. 2	5	53.5%	7.0%	Y	Marginal
James H. Maloney, D-Conn. 5	3	53.6%	9.3%	N	Friendly
Baron Hill, D-Ind. 9	2	54.2%	10.4%	Y	Hostile
Mike Honda, D-Calif. 15	1	54.3%	12.1%	N	Friendly

Member	Current Term	2000 Election Results		Iraq Vote	Terrain
		% of Total Vote	Victory Margin (in Total Vote)		
Ken Lucas, D-Ky. 4	2	54.3%	10.8%	Y	Hostile
Jay Inslee, D-Wash. 1	3	54.6%	12.0%	N	Friendly
Chet Edwards, D-Texas 11	6	54.8%	10.5%	Y	Hostile
Lane Evans, D-Ill. 17	10	54.9%	9.8%	N	Friendly
Brad Carson, D-Okla. 2	1	54.9%	13.1%	Y	Marginal

Republican Marginals

Member	Current Term	2000 Election Results		Iraq Vote	Terrain
		% of Total Vote	Victory Margin (in Total Vote)		
Mark Kennedy, R-Minn. 2	1	48.1%	0.1%	Y	Marginal
Steve Horn, R-Calif. 38	5	48.4%	0.9%	Y	Hostile
Shelley Moore Capito, R-W.V. 2	1	48.5%	2.6%	Y	Marginal
Mike Rogers, R-Mich. 8	1	48.8%	0.1%	Y	Marginal
Clay Shaw, R-Fla. 22	11	50.1%	0.2%	Y	Marginal
Heather A. Wilson, R-N.M. 1	2	50.3%	7.0%	Y	Marginal
Rob Simmons, R-Conn. 2	1	50.6%	1.2%	Y	Hostile
Ric Keller, R-Fla. 8	1	50.8%	1.6%	Y	Marginal
Mike Pence, R-Ind. 2	1	50.9%	12.1%	Y	Friendly
Samuel B. Graves Jr., R-Mo. 6	1	50.9%	4.1%	Y	Marginal
Mark Steven Kirk, R-Ill. 10	1	51.2%	2.4%	Y	Marginal
Dennis Rehberg, R-Mont. AL	1	51.5%	5.2%	Y	Friendly
Mike Ferguson, R-N.J. 7	1	51.6%	6.0%	Y	Marginal
Constance A. Morella, R-Md. 8	8	52.0%	6.5%	N	Hostile
Edward L. Schrock, R-Va. 2	1	52.0%	4.0%	Y	Friendly
Don Sherwood, R-Pa. 10	2	52.6%	5.2%	Y	Friendly
John Hostettler, R-Ind. 8	4	52.7%	7.4%	N	Friendly
Ernest Fletcher, R-Ky. 6	2	52.8%	18.0%	Y	Friendly
Anne M. Northup, R-Ky. 3	3	52.9%	8.7%	Y	Marginal
John E. Sununu, R-N.H. 1	3	52.9%	7.8%	Y	Marginal
Pat Tiberi, R-Ohio 12	1	52.9%	9.1%	Y	Marginal
Steve Chabot, R-Ohio 1	4	53.0%	8.4%	Y	Marginal
Tim Johnson, R-Ill. 15	1	53.2%	6.4%	Y	Friendly
Pat Toomey, R-Pa. 15	2	53.2%	6.5%	Y	Marginal
Jeff Flake, R-Ariz. 1	1	53.6%	11.2%	Y	Friendly
Tom Tancredo, R-Colo. 6	2	53.9%	11.8%	Y	Friendly
Pete Sessions, R-Texas 5	3	54.0%	9.6%	Y	Friendly
Elton Gallegly, R-Calif. 23	8	54.1%	13.4%	Y	Marginal
Todd Tiahrt, R-Kan. 4	4	54.4%	12.4%	Y	Friendly

'Sea of Red,' the Iraq Vote, and the 2002 Senate Lineup

Republicans have liked the look of the electoral battlefield for this fall's Senate races. Although they are defending six more seats than the Democrats (20 to 14), including three more open seats (5 to 2), all but a trio of seats that the GOP is defending are in "Red America" - states that favored George W. Bush in the last election.

Yet the correlation between presidential and Senate voting is not always that strong. Just look at the wall-to-wall Democratic senators in the Dakotas. Still, few Democrats running for reelection this year are putting much distance between themselves and President Bush. The Senate vote Oct. 11 to authorize the president to use military force to disarm Iraq passed by a vote of 77-to-23. Only four senators up for election this year voted "no," all Democrats running in states carried by Al Gore in 2000. And only one of the four - the late Paul Wellstone of Minnesota - was involved in a hotly contested race.

In italics are the names of retiring senators (as well as Wellstone and Democrat Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, who dropped his Senate bid in late September). An asterisk (*) indicates senators who were elected to a first term in 1996. A pound sign (#) denotes the special case of Missouri's Jean Carnahan, who was appointed to her Senate seat.

2002 Senate Seats Up (with 1996 Margins of Victory)					
State	2000 Pres. Winner	Republicans	Iraq Vote	Democrats	Iraq Vote
Bush States					
Idaho	Bush by 40%	Craig by 17%	Y		
Wyoming	Bush by 40%	Enzi by 12%*	Y		
Alaska	Bush by 31%	Stevens by 64%	Y		
Nebraska	Bush by 29%	Hagel by 14%*	Y		
Montana	Bush by 25%			Baucus by 5%	Y
South Dakota	Bush by 23%			Johnson by 3%*	Y
Oklahoma	Bush by 22%	Inhofe by 17%	Y		
Kansas	Bush by 21%	Roberts by 28%*	Y		
Texas	Bush by 21%	Gramm by 11%	Y		
Mississippi	Bush by 17%	Cochran by 44%	Y		
South Carolina	Bush by 16%	Thurmond by 9%	Y		
Alabama	Bush by 15%	Sessions by 7%*	Y		
Kentucky	Bush by 15%	McConnell by 13%	Y		
North Carolina	Bush by 13%	Helms by 7%	Y		
Georgia	Bush by 12%			Cleland by 1%	Y
Colorado	Bush by 8%	Allard by 5%*	Y		
Louisiana	Bush by 8%			Landrieu by 0.4%*	Y
Virginia	Bush by 8%	J. Warner by 5%	Y		
West Virginia	Bush by 6%			Rockefeller by 53%	Y
Arkansas	Bush by 5%	Hutchinson by 5%*	Y		
Tennessee	Bush by 4%	Thompson by 25%	Y		
Missouri	Bush by 3%			J. Carnahan #	Y
New Hampshire	Bush by 1%	Bob Smith by 3%	Y		

2002 Senate Seats Up (with 1996 Margins of Victory)					
State	2000 Pres. Winner	Republicans	Iraq Vote	Democrats	Iraq Vote
Gore States					
New Mexico	Gore by 0.1%	Domenici by 35%	Y		
Iowa	Gore by 0.3%			Harkin by 5%	Y
Oregon	Gore by 0.5%	Gordon Smith by 4%*	Y		
Minnesota	Gore by 2%			Wellstone by 9%	N
Maine	Gore by 5%	Collins by 5%*	Y		
Michigan	Gore by 5%			Levin by 19%	N
Illinois	Gore by 12%			Durbin by 15%*	N
Delaware	Gore by 13%			Biden by 22%	Y
New Jersey	Gore by 16%			Torricelli by 10%*	Y
Massachusetts	Gore by 27%			Kerry by 8%	Y
Rhode Island	Gore by 29%			Reed by 28%*	N

The Battle for the Senate: A Strange Finish

The battle for the Senate had a fixed shape to it for much of the year, as retirements were limited to a quartet of Southern Republicans. But since Labor Day, three more Senate seats have come open in other parts of the country, only the first of which was even vaguely expected.

That was in New Hampshire, where embattled Republican incumbent Bob Smith lost his party's Senate primary to Rep. John E. Sununu. But barely a fortnight later, Democratic Sen. Robert Torricelli abandoned his bid for reelection in New Jersey under an ethics cloud. And in a shocking tragedy less than two weeks before the election, Democratic Sen. Paul Wellstone died in a plane crash in his home state of Minnesota.

Democrats in Minnesota and New Jersey have turned to a pair of septuagenarian former senators as replacement candidates – Frank Lautenberg in New Jersey and Walter F. Mondale in Minnesota.

While both are favored to win their truncated campaigns, neither by any means could be considered a lock. Lautenberg won three previous Senate elections – in 1982, 1988 and 1994 – but always by a margin of less than 10 percentage points.

Meanwhile, Mondale won two previous Senate elections – in 1966 and 1972 – before becoming Jimmy Carter's vice president. His last time on the Minnesota ballot was as the Democratic presidential nominee in 1984, when he carried his home state by a margin of just 3,761 votes out of more than 2 million cast.

Another race that close Nov. 5 would be rather fitting in a Senate where the partisan balance between the Democrats and Republicans stands even at 49 apiece.

Third Party/Independent Governors Since 1990

In the last dozen years, third party and independent candidates have had their greatest success in races for governor. And that should be the case again this year, with former Democratic Rep. Tim Penny standing a decent chance of winning the governorship of Minnesota on the Independence Party line.

Following is a list of those candidates who have been elected governor since 1990 running as an independent or third-party nominee. Three of the four had their political roots in one of the two major parties. Hickel and Weicker were former Republican officeholders; King, a former Democrat. Of the four, only King sought an additional term as governor, although Hickel had served a previous term as a Republican. The winning percentage represents each candidate's share of the total vote.

Candidate	State	Party	Year	Win %	Reelection Status
Walter J. Hickel	Alaska	Alaskan Independence	1990	38.9%	<i>Did not seek reelection in 1994</i>
Lowell P. Weicker	Connecticut	A Connecticut Party	1990	40.4%	<i>Did not seek reelection in 1994</i>
Angus King	Maine	Independent	1994	35.4%	<i>Won a second term in 1998</i>
Angus King	Maine	Independent	1998	58.6%	<i>Term-limited</i>
Jesse Ventura	Minnesota	Reform	1998	37.0%	<i>Is not seeking reelection in 2002</i>

Third Party/Independent Candidates of Note in 2000

Following are the limited number of races for federal office in 2000 that were contested by both major parties and a third-party or independent candidate received at least 10% of the vote. The only winners were two independent House members, Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Virgil H. Goode Jr. of Virginia. Goode is running for reelection this fall as a Republican.

Most of the other races listed below were won easily by the Democratic or Republican candidate, and the vote for independent or third-party candidates did not play a decisive role in the outcome.

However, Republican Rob Simmons ousted veteran Democratic Rep. Sam Gejdenson in Connecticut's 2nd District on the basis of several thousand votes that Simmons picked up on the Independence Party line. Simmons had been endorsed by the third party, and without the votes from that line Republicans would not have picked up the seat in 2000.

PRESIDENT

Candidate	State or District	Party	%	Order of Finish	Winner
Ralph Nader	Alaska	Green	10.1%	3rd	George W. Bush (R)

SENATE

Candidate	State or District	Party	%	Order of Finish	Winner
Carla Howell	Massachusetts	Libertarian	11.9%	3rd	Edward M. Kennedy (D)

HOUSE

Candidate	State or District	Party	%	Order of Finish	Winner
Gatewood Galbraith	Ky. 6	Reform	12.0%	3rd	Ernie Fletcher (R)
Tom Foley	Minn. 4	Independence	20.6%	3rd	Betty McCollum (D)
David Vickers	N.Y. 23	Conservative - Right to Life	20.9%	2nd	Sherwood Boehlert (R)
Randy Walter	Ohio 17	Independent	21.5%	3rd	James A. Traficant (D)
Rodney Driver	R.I. 2	Independent	21.4%	2nd	Jim Langevin (D)
Bernie Sanders*	Vt. AL	Independent	69.2%	1st	-
Virgil H. Goode Jr.*	Va. 5	Independent	67.4%	1st	-

Source: *Federal Elections 2000* (Federal Election Commission)

2002 Gubernatorial and Senate Candidates at a Glance

Dashes in the Senate or gubernatorial columns indicate there is no race for that particular office this year. An asterisk (*) denotes an incumbent. A pound sign (#) indicates that a recent change in candidates has taken place. Frank Lautenberg has replaced Robert Torricelli as the Democratic Senate candidate in New Jersey. Walter Mondale has replaced the late Paul Wellstone as the Democratic Senate candidate in Minnesota.

State	Gubernatorial Races			Senate Races	
	Primary	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans
California	March 5	Gray Davis*	Bill Simon Jr.	-	-
Texas	March 12	Tony Sanchez	Rick Perry*	Ron Kirk	John Cornyn
Illinois	March 19	Rod Blagojevich	Jim Ryan	Richard J. Durbin*	Jim Durkin
Indiana	May 7	-	-	-	-
Ohio	May 7	Tim Hagan	Bob Taft*	-	-
Nebraska	May 14	Stormy Dean	Mike Johanns*	Charlie A. Matulka	Chuck Hagel*
West Virginia	May 14	-	-	John D. Rockefeller IV*	Jay Wolfe
Arkansas	May 21	Jimmie Lou Fisher	Mike Huckabee*	Mark Pryor	Tim Hutchinson*
Oregon	May 21	Ted Kulongoski	Kevin Mannix	Bill Bradbury	Gordon H. Smith*
Pennsylvania	May 21	Ed Rendell	Mike Fisher	-	-
Idaho	May 28	Jerry Brady	Dirk Kempthorne*	Alan Blinken	Larry Craig*
Kentucky	May 28	-	-	Lois Combs Weinberg	Mitch McConnell*
Alabama	June 4	Don Siegelman*	Bob Riley	Susan Parker	Jeff Sessions*
Iowa	June 4	Tom Vilsack*	Doug Gross	Tom Harkin*	Greg Ganske
Mississippi	June 4	-	-	Steven Turney	Thad Cochran*
Montana	June 4	-	-	Max Baucus*	Mike Taylor
New Jersey	June 4	-	-	Frank Lautenberg#	Douglas Forrester
New Mexico	June 4	Bill Richardson	John Sanchez	Gloria Tristani	Pete Domenici*
South Dakota	June 4	Jim Abbott	Mike Rounds	Tim Johnson*	John Thune
Maine	June 11	John Baldacci	Peter Cianchette	Chellie Pingree	Susan Collins*
North Dakota	June 11	-	-	-	-
South Carolina	June 11	Jim Hodges*	Mark Sanford	Alex Sanders	Lindsey Graham
Virginia	June 11	-	-	(No candidate)	John Warner*
Utah	June 25	-	-	-	-
Tennessee	Aug. 1	Phil Bredesen	Van Hilleary	Bob Clement	Lamar Alexander
Kansas	Aug. 6	Kathleen Sebelius	Tim Shallenburger	(No Candidate)	Pat Roberts*
Michigan	Aug. 6	Jennifer Granholm	Dick Posthumus	Carl Levin*	Andrew Raczowski
Missouri	Aug. 6	-	-	Jean Carnahan*	Jim Talent
Colorado	Aug. 13	Rollie Heath	Bill Owens*	Tom Strickland	Wayne Allard*
Georgia	Aug. 20	Roy E. Barnes*	Sonny Perdue	Max Cleland*	Saxby Chambliss

State	Primary	Gubernatorial Races		Senate Races	
		Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans
Wyoming	Aug. 20	Dave Freudenthal	Eli Bebout	Joyce Corcoran	Mike Enzi*
Alaska	Aug. 27	Fran Ulmer	Frank Murkowski	Frank Vondersaar	Ted Stevens*
Oklahoma	Aug. 27	Brad Henry	Steve Largent	David Walters	Jim Inhofe*
Nevada	Sept. 3	Joe Neal	Kenny Guinn*	-	-
Delaware	Sept. 7	-	-	Joe Biden*	Ray Clatworthy
Arizona	Sept. 10	Janet Napolitano	Matt Salmon	-	-
Connecticut	Sept. 10	Bill Curry	John Rowland*	-	-
Florida	Sept. 10	Bill McBride	Jeb Bush*	-	-
Maryland	Sept. 10	Kathleen Kennedy Townsend	Robert Ehrlich	-	-
Minnesota	Sept. 10	Roger Moe	Tim Pawlenty	Walter Mondale#	Norm Coleman
New Hampshire	Sept. 10	Mark Fernald	Craig Benson	Jeanne Shaheen	John E. Sununu
New York	Sept. 10	Carl McCall	George Pataki*	-	-
North Carolina	Sept. 10	-	-	Erskine Bowles	Elizabeth Dole
Rhode Island	Sept. 10	Myrth York	Don Carcieri	Jack Reed*	Bob Tingle
Vermont	Sept. 10	Douglas Racine	James Douglas	-	-
Wisconsin	Sept. 10	Jim Doyle	Scott McCallum*	-	-
Massachusetts	Sept. 17	Shannon O'Brien	Mitt Romney	John Kerry*	(No Candidate)
Washington	Sept. 17	-	-	-	-
Hawaii	Sept. 21	Mazie Hirono	Linda Lingle	-	-

ELECTION DAY POLL CLOSING TIMES

Following are poll closing times on Election Day Nov. 5. If a state falls into more than one time zone, the latest closing time is listed. All times are Eastern Standard Time:

7 p.m. --- Ga., Ind., Ky., S.C., Vt., Va.

7:30 p.m. --- N.C., Ohio, W.V.

8 p.m. --- Ala., Conn., Del., Fla., Ill., Kan., Maine, Mass., Md., Miss., Mo., N.H., N.J., Okla., Pa., Tenn.

8:30 p.m. --- Ark.

9 p.m. --- Ariz., Colo., La., Mich., Minn., Neb., N.M., N.Y., N.D., R.I., S.D., Texas, Wis., Wyo.

10 p.m. --- Iowa, Mont., Nev., Utah.

11 p.m. --- Calif., Hawaii, Idaho, Ore., Wash.

1 a.m. --- Alaska.

State by State: What's Up In 2002

State	HOUSE SEATS					SENATORS	GOVERNORS
	2002 Total	Change	R	D	I		
Alabama	7		5	2		Jeff Sessions (R)	Don Siegelman (D)
Alaska	1		1			Ted Stevens (R)	Tony Knowles (D)
Arizona	8	+ 2	5	1			Jane Dee Hull (R)
Arkansas	4		1	3		Tim Hutchinson (R)	Mike Huckabee (R)
California	53	+ 1	20	32			Gray Davis (D)
Colorado	7	+ 1	4	2		Wayne Allard (R)	Bill Owens (R)
Connecticut	5	- 1	3	3			John G. Rowland (R)
Delaware	1		1			Joseph R. Biden (D)	
Florida	25	+ 2	15	8			Jeb Bush (R)
Georgia	13	+ 2	8	3		Max Cleland (D)	Roy E. Barnes (D)
Hawaii	2			1			Benjamin J. Cayetano (D)
Idaho	2		2			Larry Craig (R)	Dirk Kempthorne (R)
Illinois	19	- 1	10	10		Richard J. Durbin (D)	George H. Ryan (R)
Indiana	9	- 1	6	4			
Iowa	5		4	1		Tom Harkin (D)	Tom Vilsack (D)
Kansas	4		3	1		Pat Roberts (R)	Bill Graves (R)
Kentucky	6		5	1		Mitch McConnell (R)	
Louisiana	7		5	2		Mary L. Landrieu (D)	
Maine	2			2		Susan M. Collins (R)	Angus King (Ind.)
Maryland	8		4	4			Parris N. Glendening (D)
Massachusetts	10			10		John F. Kerry (D)	Jane Swift (R)
Michigan	15	- 1	7	9		Carl Levin (D)	John Engler (R)
Minnesota	8		3	5		Paul Wellstone (D)	Jesse Ventura (IPM)
Mississippi	4	- 1	2	3		Thad Cochran (R)	
Missouri	9		5	4		Jean Carnahan (D)	
Montana	1		1			Max Baucus (D)	
Nebraska	3		3			Chuck Hagel (R)	Mike Johanns (R)
Nevada	3	+ 1	1	1			Kenny Guinn (R)
New Hampshire	2		2			Robert C. Smith (R)	Jeanne Shaheen (D)
New Jersey	13		6	7		Robert G. Torricelli (D)	
New Mexico	3		2	1		Pete V. Domenici (R)	Gary E. Johnson (R)
New York	29	- 2	12	19			George E. Pataki (R)
North Carolina	13	+ 1	7	5		Jesse Helms (R)	
North Dakota	1			1			
Ohio	18	- 1	11	6			Robert A. Taft II (R)
Oklahoma	5	- 1	5	1		James M. Inhofe (R)	Frank Keating (R)
Oregon	5		1	4		Gordon H. Smith (R)	John Kitzhaber (D)
Pennsylvania	19	- 2	11	10			Mark Schweiker (R)
Rhode Island	2			2		John F. Reed (D)	Lincoln C. Almond (R)
South Carolina	6		4	2		Strom Thurmond (R)	James H. Hodges (D)
South Dakota	1		1			Tim Johnson (D)	William J. Janklow (R)
Tennessee	9		5	4		Fred Thompson (R)	Don Sundquist (R)
Texas	32	+ 2	13	17		Phil Gramm (R)	Rick Perry (R)
Utah	3		2	1			
Vermont	1				1		Howard Dean (D)
Virginia	11		8	3		John W. Warner (R)	
Washington	9		3	6			
West Virginia	3		1	2		John D. Rockefeller IV (D)	
Wisconsin	8	- 1	4	5			Scott McCallum (R)
Wyoming	1		1			Michael B. Enzi (R)	Jim Geringer (R)
NATIONAL	435		223	208	1	34 Up (20 R, 14 D)	36 Up (23 R, 11 D, 2 I)

Note: Gov. Jesse Ventura is a member of the Independence Party of Minnesota (IPM). As of Oct. 31, there were three vacant Democratic House seats – two in Ohio and one in Hawaii – which are not included in the totals.

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