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Washington, D.C.

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Dinner - Congressional and World Bank Staff - Guest of Honor - Secretary Rubin -

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Archive Management for the President's Office

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12/8/97

Edit

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A. CLASSIFICATION

☐	Meeting Material
☐	Trips
☐	Speeches

☐	Annual Meetings
☐	Corporate Management
☐	Communications with Staff

☐	Phone Logs
☐	Calendar
☐	Press Clippings/Photos

☐	JDW Transcripts
☒	Social Events
☐	Other

B. SUBJECT: DINNER: FOR CONGRESSIONAL AND WORLD BANK STAFF // GUEST OF HONOR: SECRETARY RUBIN // HOSTED BY MR. AND MRS. WOLFENSOHN (B) (JDW & ERW)
VENUE: KALORAMA RESIDENCE
CONTACT: MATT MCHUGH @ 80309 (SORAYA)
NOTES: EMAIL SENT TO JH (DINNER & INVITE ARRANGEMENTS) // CAROLINE (ASSISTANT) // (4/22) EMAIL SENT TO EXC STAFF ADVISING CHANGE IN DATE FROM MAY 19 - JH TO ADV. ERW
(B) MCHUGH // DUE: WED. MAY 14 //INCLD. GUEST LIST
EXC: CA (JDW) // ALI (3/17) (4/22)
Brief Includes memo from Matt McHugh, dated May 19, 1997, "Dinner with US Senators and Congressmen and Secretary Rubin" and tabs:
- Sen. Hagel
- Sen. Lugar
- Sen. Smith
- Sen. Lautenberg
- Sen. Moynihan
- Sen. Hutchison
- Rep. Castle
- Rep. Flake
- Rep. Pelosi
- Rep. Leach
- Rep. Bereuter
- Rep. Porter
- Rep. Lowey
- Rep. LaFalce
- Rep. Spratt

DATE: 05/20/97

C. VPU

Corporate

☐	CTR
☐	EXT
☐	LEG
☐	MPS
☐	OED
☐	SEC/Board
☐	TRE

Regional

☐	AFR
☐	EAP
☐	ECA
☐	LAC
☐	MNA
☐	SAS

Central

☐	CFS
☐	DEC
☐	ESD
☐	FPD
☐	FPR
☐	HRO

Affiliates

☐	GEF
☐	ICSID
☐	IFC
☐	Inspection Panel
☐	Kennedy Center
☐	MIGA

D. EXTERNAL PARTNER

☐	IMF
☐	UN
☐	MDB/Other IO
☐	NGO
☐	Private Sector

☐	Part I
☐	Part II
☐	Other

E. COMMENTS:

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FAXED To
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The World Bank/IFC/MIGA
O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M

DATE: May 20, 1997 05:39pm

TO: See Distribution Below

FROM: John Donaldson, EXTIM (JOHN DONALDSON)

EXT.: 31367

SUBJECT: Senate Appropriations testimony by Secretary Rubin

The Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations received testimony from Secretary Rubin (accompanied by David Lipton) this afternoon on the Administration's request for the MDBs.

IDA dominated the comments, beginning with opening statements by Chairman McConnell and Senator Leahy. McConnell started off by noting that there was "good news and bad news." The good news is that the Budget Committee's resolution as currently written "essentially protects the President's request level for the 150 account. It also "specifically allows for adjustments in the discretionary caps" if a decision is reached to appropriate funds to cover US arrears, most notably to IDA. However, he said that "the bad news is, I believe, that Congress will be reluctant to fulfill the new pledge of \$800 million to IDA 11 and provide the \$234 million to complete the IDA 10 pledge unless there is an immediate, positive decision allowing US procurement access to money segregated by donors in the Interim Trust Fund (ITF)."

While commending Mr. Wolfensohn for efforts to increase the development impact of lending while restraining costs and improving services, as outlined in the Strategic Compact, McConnell noted remaining "systemic concerns." He asserted that the Bank "has been slow to effectively implement, coordinate and make improvements in Country Assistance Strategies which link new lending with ongoing assessments of measured performance." He cited Bank statistics that, he says, demonstrate that the percentage of problem projects has not declined since 1992. He cited that Bank documents "reflect the fact that of the 737 projects funded between 1985 and 1993, 32% of World Bank, and 41% of IDA, projects were rated unsatisfactory." He went on to suggest that these projects "are not exactly failing a tough test," since "standards for meeting the satisfactory test are not only lenient, the evaluations are largely administered by the loan managers consulting from Headquarters with the borrower."

McConnell went on to indicate that he was "dubious about Congressional support, given the Strategic Compact's solutions will cost \$100 to \$150 million a year, largely to get rid of so-called 'redundant' staff, while at the same time Bank officials are luxuriating in the splendors of a new gold-leaf executive dining room which Newsweek reported cost \$25 a square foot."

He closed by noting that he believes that "these institutions are vital to leveraging resources to serve development interests" and that he "intends to work with (Rubin) to improve them."

Senator Leahy commended the Treasury Department on efforts to streamline

replenishments at a time when the US was not meeting obligations to the institutions. He said that the institutions remain extremely important to US interests. He said that "Jim Wolfensohn is absolutely the right man for the job." However, Leahy then went on to make some general comments about "arrogant and unresponsive" managers at the Bank, officials who didn't work effectively with recipients. He suggested that his staff had heard of "several" cases where this was true. His comments were never more specific than this, but seemed to be related to one isolated instance concerning a Bank staffer who has appealed the failure to renew her fixed term contract, which Leahy's staff has been vigorously pursuing.

Leahy's suggestions that "those at the top" were responsive, while "mid-level managers" were arrogant and unresponsive, were not substantiated, and seemed as uninformed -- since every effort has been made to address the instance in question, including a meeting between Dorothy Berry and Tim Rieser of Leahy's staff.

Senator Bennett also attended the hearing, and questioned the Bank's continuing activity in China. He noted that an almost identical amount of capital was spent last year by China to acquire Russian military equipment as was loaned by the Bank to China.

Senator McConnell also questioned the continuing involvement of the Bank in China, and inquired about the US position toward Burma. He also asked for a list which demonstrated that IDA lending went predominantly to countries performing well, and not to non-performing countries.

Secretary Rubin made a strong case for US leadership in IDA, and attempted to address some of the questions raised. On two main concerns: ITF funds and procurement restrictions, and assistance to China, he indicated that the US shared the concerns of Congress, and opposed other donors on both issues. On the ITF, he did a good job of also indicating the pressures on and concerns of the other donors.

Clearly, the single largest concern is that there remains a significant level of confusion about the facts concerning reforms and lending at the Bank -- as evidenced by several misstatements and misrepresentations by Chairman McConnell and Senator Leahy. This indicates a continuing need for the US Treasury to make the Bank's case to key leaders in the Congress, if the US Government is to successfully obtain the support of appropriators for the President's request.

It is certainly reasonable for the Treasury to indicate where the US Administration has shared the view of the Congress, and opposed some other donors or Bank management on some issues. However, it remains true that many of the concerns in Congress can be allayed if key officials understand what the Bank is actually doing today, rather than focusing on issues that are either dated, exaggerated or simply not issues. We need to find ways to work more effectively with them to ensure that they have the information to accomplish their task of selling the Congress on President Clinton's request.

Despite the rhetoric, which is often present when the Senate begins their annual appropriations process, there were some distinct positives as well. The "problems" which were mentioned can largely be addressed between now and the time the Committee marks up their bill later this year. No doors were closed,

all of the comments were hedged in a way which suggested that they could be addressed. Most of all, the critical role of IDA was reinforced by the fact that it continues to dominate the thinking of the Congress.

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Matthew F. McHugh
Counselor to the President

May 19, 1997

Mr. James D. Wolfensohn

***Dinner with US Senators and Congressmen
and Secretary Rubin
May 20, 1997
7:30 p.m.***

Jim,

From responses we have received, you will have a full house for the dinner with Secretary Rubin and Members of the US Congress. The following have accepted the invitation to dinner:

Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE)
Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN)
Senator Gordon Smith (R-OR)
Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ)

Rep. Michael Castle (R-DE)
Rep. Floyd Flake (D-NY)
Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)
Rep. Jim Leach (R-IA)
Rep. Doug Bereuter (R-NE)
Rep. John Porter (R-IL)
Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY)
Rep. John LaFalce (D-NY)

There are two Senators, Senator Daniel Moynihan (D-NY) and Senator Kay Bailey Hutchinson (R-TX) and one Congressman, Rep. John Spratt (D-SC) who are in the "maybe" category.

In addition to the Senators and Congressmen and Secretary Rubin, David Lipton from Treasury and Jan Piercy will attend on behalf of the US Administration, and Kevin Cleaver and I will attend on behalf of the Bank.

As you well know, the actual attendance at the dinner can be affected by unexpected scheduling conflicts on the House or Senate floor. Although we are presently unaware of any such complications, we will keep you advised as the day progresses tomorrow.

The dinner has been scheduled to provide an informal setting in which you can establish deeper relationships with key legislators, and they with you. In addition, this provides another opportunity to update these Congressmen with your plans to reform and refocus the Bank, and to discuss US leadership in the Bank and IDA with this largely supportive group. In keeping with the informal nature of the event, there is no set agenda for the discussion. In view of the demonstrated interest of several of the Members regarding development in Africa, Kevin Cleaver has been invited to add dimension to this part of the discussion.

By coincidence, the dinner is occurring on the evening following Secretary Rubin's testimony before Senator McConnell's Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee. While the Subcommittee has not yet begun to form a view toward funding for IDA, the hearing will be the first indication of priorities for the Subcommittee. We will provide an update regarding the hearing before the dinner.

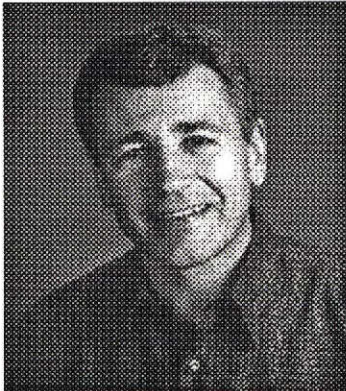
The group which has accepted your invitation to dinner includes Members of all four of our key Subcommittees in the US Congress. Chairmen Leach and Castle, Reps. Bereuter, Flake and Lafalce represent the House Banking Committee. Reps. Porter, Pelosi and Lowey represent the House Foreign Operations Subcommittee. Senator Hagel is Chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee with oversight of the Bank, and Senator Lugar is a ranking Republican on the full Committee. Senator Lautenberg is on our Appropriations Subcommittee, and Senator Hutchinson is on the full Appropriations Committee.

Attached are biographies of those who have indicated that they will be at dinner with you on Tuesday.

cc: Messrs./Mme. S. Sandstrom, H. Assad, C. Anstey (EXC), M. Malloch Brown
(EXTVP)

SEN. HAGEL

Senators of the 105th Congress



Senator Charles Hagel

R - Nebraska

**United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-2705**

Biography

Charles Hagel, Omaha, NE. Born October 4, 1946, North Platte, NE. BA, University of Nebraska, Omaha, 1971; Attended Brown Institute for Radio and Television, MN, 1966. President, McCarthy & Co, 1991-96 President/CEO, World USO, 1987-90 Founder/Director, Vanguard Cellular Systems Inc., 1980's Deputy Administrator, Veterans Administration, 1981-82, US Army, 1967-68. Omaha Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trustees, Bellevue University, Red Cross, Paralyzed Veterans of America Chair, 10th Anniversary Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Chair, No Greater Love, World USO, American Legion VFW. Married to Lilibet Ziller Hagel, 2 children.

Source: The United States Senate



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Last modified on: January 7, 1997

SEN. LUGAR

INDIANA

Richard G. Lugar (R)

Of Indianapolis — Elected 1976, 4th term

Biographical Information

Born: April 4, 1932, Indianapolis, Ind.

Education: Denison U., B.A. 1954; Oxford U., B.A. 1956, M.A. 1956.

Military Service: Navy, 1957-60.

Occupation: Manufacturing executive; farm manager.

Family: Wife, Charlene Smeltzer; four children.

Religion: Methodist.

Political Career: Indianapolis School Board, 1964-67; mayor of Indianapolis, 1968-75; GOP nominee for U.S. Senate, 1974.

Capitol Office: 306 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-4814.

Committees

Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry (chairman)

Foreign Relations

East Asian & Pacific Affairs; European Affairs (chairman);

Western Hemisphere & Peace Corps Affairs

Select Intelligence



In Washington:

After Republicans reclaimed control of the Senate in the 1994 elections, Lugar admirers were disappointed that he could not displace Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina as chairman of Foreign Relations. Lugar initially professed himself satisfied with his new status as chair-

man of Agriculture; but it soon became clear he had another career move in mind.

Before the month of January 1995 had ended, Lugar had accepted an invitation to a New Hampshire GOP dinner at which the field of candidates for the party's 1996 presidential nomination would be on display. The following week, a major obstacle to his running was removed with the announcement that Dan Quayle, the former vice president and former senator from Indiana, would not be a candidate in 1996 after all.

Lugar had been chafing at his position in the party's leadership queue since George Bush chose Quayle as his running mate in 1988. Lugar himself had been on most people's lists of vice presidential prospects that year, as he had been in 1980. He himself had acknowledged White House interest when he was mayor of Indianapolis in the early 1970s. And while he and Quayle had been friendly, the senior senator had to swallow hard to see his junior colleague tapped ahead of him.

That setback came on the heels of another. In 1987, after the Democrats took over the Senate and dislodged him as chair of Foreign Relations, Helms asserted his seniority to claim ranking member status on that committee (leaving Lugar the top Republican on Agriculture).

Lugar responded by becoming a cooperative ranking member at Agriculture, at times almost a co-pilot for Democratic Chairman Patrick J. Leahy. He also remained available to President George Bush and to the news media as needed on foreign affairs, acting as his party's spokesman on Capitol Hill during the Persian Gulf crisis of 1990-91 and again on the foreign policy crises in Yugoslavia and Africa in 1992-93.

And if the intervening years have done little to raise Lugar's popular profile, they continue to burnish his reputation in Washington. He received the Outstanding Legislator award from the American Political Science Association in 1991 and the following year was honored for his contributions to foreign policy by Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Yet as Lugar contemplated a 1996 presidential bid, he was untested in critical areas. He had never asked people to vote for him outside of his middle-sized home state. He had yet to translate his well-spoken and assured television manner to the campaign stump, where much of the nomination battle is still fought. And most important, he had never shown the heavyweight fundraising ability he would need to compete in earlier-than-ever primaries in populous, costly media states.

He also had some points of vulnerability on issues among Republican primary voters. He has been friendly to some forms of environmental legislation and gun control, voting for both the 1993 Brady law, which imposed a waiting period for handgun purchases, and the ban on certain assault weapons. He has also supported foreign aid for the former Soviet Union and expressed reservations about Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole's plans to revamp the U.S. relationship with the United Nations. Significantly, Lugar has objected to Dole's ideas as an undue restraint on the presidency, an office Dole himself would like to win in 1996.

Lugar is known as an independent thinker on many issues, a man who has earned bipartisan respect partly by studying at length before taking a position. But he also remains a solid conservative who supported Bush on key votes more often than all but three other Republican senators in 1992. His rating from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action has averaged only 10 over his Senate career. And he had a chance to underscore his anti-abortion position in February 1995 by vociferously opposing a Clinton nominee for surgeon general who had conducted abortions.

Lugar was highly visible in 1992 and early 1993 in the debate over U.S. involvement in the former Yugoslavia. He advised both Presidents

George Bush and Clinton to send U.S. troops on a peacemaking and peacekeeping mission.

But despite all these involvements, Lugar's main focus in recent years has been on the Agriculture panel, where as ranking member and now chairman he has been a strong advocate of revamping the price support system and restructuring the Agriculture Department. He and Leahy, who share dual interests in farm and foreign policy, have worked closely together on agriculture matters and share a distaste for most farm subsidies.

Lugar's efforts benefited Leahy, who as chairman had to fight off an insurgency from some liberal farm-state Democrats who were not only determined to increase farm subsidies but also viewed the issue as an effective one to use against Republicans back home. While Leahy gathered a group of moderate Democrats to freeze subsidy levels, Lugar maintained a solid bloc of GOP members on most votes.

The two committee leaders also shared an interest in slimming down the Agriculture Department bureaucracy. The Bush administration was reluctant to alter policy and fought off efforts to close down some agricultural field offices. But in the 103rd Congress, with the backing of Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, Leahy and Lugar pushed through an overhaul plan that eliminated 7,500 jobs, with more of the cuts taking place at Washington headquarters than at field offices.

Lugar's environmentalist tendencies are stronger than those of most Senate Republicans, and of many Agriculture Committee members of either party. He worked with Leahy to block changes sought by farm organizations in environmental restrictions in the 1985 farm bill, including the "swampbuster" provisions requiring cutoffs in federal payments to farmers who drain protected wetlands.

Lugar enjoyed national notice (and international importance) during the Gulf crisis of 1990-91 and the rebellion against Ferdinand E. Marcos in the Philippines in 1986. Lugar took the lead among Foreign Relations Republicans on the U.S. response to the August 1990 occupation of Kuwait by forces of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. After the invasion, Lugar raced out ahead of Bush, whose stated goal was simply to get Iraq to give up Kuwait. "It seems to me important that Saddam Hussein must either leave or be removed," Lugar said.

Lugar also insisted that Congress needed to fulfill what he viewed as its constitutional responsibility to authorize the use of military force. Even before the 101st Congress adjourned in late October, Lugar said, "Congress ought to come back into session to entertain a declaration of war."

Still, Lugar emerged as a Senate point man for Bush's gulf policy. Lugar spoke frequently, in the Senate and during national television interviews, in favor of the January 1991 resolution authorizing military force.

Despite the U.S.-led military rout that liberated Kuwait, Lugar's hopes for Saddam's immedi-

ate downfall were not met; instead, the Iraqi strongman used what military might he had left to crush revolts among his nation's Kurdish and Shiite Muslim populations. Lugar nonetheless defended Bush against criticisms that he had stopped short of Saddam's removal and had reacted slowly to the plight of Iraq's minority groups.

Early in 1986, President Ronald Reagan asked Lugar to head a U.S. delegation monitoring the Philippines election between Marcos and challenger Corazon C. Aquino. Lugar quickly concluded that Marcos was stealing the election. Privately he implored Reagan to denounce Marcos, but Reagan argued instead that there had been fraud on both sides.

Lugar persisted. Eventually the administration pressured Marcos to leave office peacefully, in what came to be regarded as one of Reagan's chief foreign policy achievements. But in 1989, Aquino gave the credit to Lugar. "Without him," she said, "there would be no Philippine-U.S. relations to speak of by now."

At Home: In 1994, Lugar became the first Indiana senator to be re-elected to a fourth term. A potentially competitive challenge by former Democratic Rep. Jim Jontz fizzled out long before the year's climate assured Lugar a victory.

A tireless and aggressive campaigner, Jontz hoped to present himself as a middle-class populist and Lugar as an out-of-touch politician who cared more about Peru, the country, than Peru, Ind. But when a follower of political extremist Lyndon H. LaRouche Jr. held him to 54 percent in the Democratic primary, Jontz's chances of attracting money, staff and party support evaporated.

Lugar relied on his popularity, strong organization and substantial campaign resources to rack up 67 percent of the vote.

A statewide poll released after the election showed that more Hoosiers supported a Lugar challenge to Clinton in 1996 than one by Quayle. Lugar's long record of electoral success is remarkable given his modest gifts as a campaigner. He meets crowds woodenly and his style borders on lecturing. But he has always managed to impress the Indiana electorate as a man of substance.

Even in 1974, running for the Senate in a Watergate-dominated year with a reputation as "Richard Nixon's favorite mayor," he came within a respectable 75,000 votes against Democrat Birch Bayh. Two years later, against a much weaker Democrat, Sen. Vance Hartke, he won handily. In his 1982 re-election bid, Lugar's personal popularity — and massive campaign treasury — put him out of reach of his Democratic challenger, Rep. Floyd Fithian.

Lugar's record as mayor of Indianapolis still stands as the foundation of his political career. His conservative, efficiency-minded administration won him favorable notices all over Indiana, and he attracted national attention by defeating John V. Lindsay of New York City for vice president of the National League of Cities in 1970.

A Rhodes scholar, Lugar served in the Navy

INDIANA

as a briefing officer at the Pentagon before returning home to run the family tool business. He won his first election in 1964, to the Indianapolis School Board.

Three years later, he saw an opportunity to take over the mayor's office. The Democrats were divided, and with the help of powerful Marion County GOP Chairman Keith Bulen, he beat incumbent Democrat John Barton.

Lugar's election over Lindsay was national news because he won it in an electorate of big-city mayors, most of whom were Democrats. He was a

spokesman for Nixon administration policies, and from that time on the president began to take an interest in him.

He came to regret those ties in 1974, when he was saddled with the Nixon connection. Still, he came close enough to beating Bayh to become the logical contender in 1976 against Hartke. Hartke had nearly been beaten six years earlier and was severely damaged by a primary challenger who charged him with foreign junketing and slavish loyalty to the communications industry. Lugar coasted to an easy win.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General

Richard G. Lugar (R)	1,039,625	(67%)
Jim Jontz (D)	470,799	(31%)
Barbara Bourland (LIBERT)	17,343	(1%)
Mary Catherine Barton (NA)	15,801	(1%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1988 (68%) 1982 (54%)
1976 (59%)

KEY VOTES

1995

Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment Y

1994

Safeguard access to abortion clinics N

Bar military action in Haiti without Congress' authorization Y

End U.S. arms embargo on Bosnia Y

Waive Senate budget rules to allow crime bill vote N

Waive Senate budget rules to allow GATT vote Y

Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment Y

1993

Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending N

Bar higher grazing fees and other public land reforms Y

Allow federal abortion funding N

Ban certain semiautomatic assault weapons Y

Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases Y

Approve NAFTA Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	45	55	78	22	78	22
1993	34	65	88	12	88	10
1992	87	10	86	12	76	21
1991	93	7	88	11	83	10
1990	86	11	86	12	97	3
1989	93	2	83	15	89	11

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	10	0	82	76
1993	10	0	100	72
1992	10	17	100	85
1991	10	17	90	76
1990	6	11	75	83
1989	10	0	100	75

Sew. Smith



Gordon H. Smith

Biography

U.S. SENATOR FOR OREGON



Gordon Harold Smith of Pendleton, Oregon, was sworn-in to the United States Senate on January 7, 1997, becoming the 23rd Oregonian to serve in the seat held by distinguished leaders such as Mark O. Hatfield, Richard L. Neuberger, Charles L. McNary and Edward Baker. He defeated Tom Bruggere in the general election by a margin of 50%-46%. Gordon also becomes the first U.S. Senator from eastern Oregon since 1938.

Gordon Smith made history in 1996, becoming the first candidate ever to run for a state's two U.S. Senate seats in one calendar year. Although Gordon lost a close special election in January, 1996, to fill the seat vacated by Sen. Bob Packwood, he bounced back to run for Oregon's other Senate seat left open by the retirement of Sen. Hatfield.

In his campaigns for the Senate, Gordon emphasized the need for a balanced budget, improved access to education and a more balanced approach to our natural resource laws.

Gordon has membership on important Senate committees. He serves on the Budget, Energy and Natural Resources, and Foreign Relations Committees. On Energy and Natural Resources, Gordon is the vice-chair of the Subcommittee on Water and Power, and also sits on the Subcommittee on Forests and Public Land Management and the Subcommittee on Energy Research, Development, Production and Regulation. On Foreign Relations, he chairs the Subcommittee on European Affairs and also

serves on the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs and the Subcommittee on International Operations. The Budget Committee has no standing subcommittees.

Gordon was born on May 25, 1952, in Pendleton, OR, to his father, Milan Dale Smith and mother, Jessica Udall Smith. Gordon's father left the family food processing business to accept an appointment to the Eisenhower Administration as executive assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Smiths relocated their family to Bethesda, MD. After high school, Gordon served a two year church mission in New Zealand, and earned a degree in history from Brigham Young University. It was at BYU where Gordon met his wife, the former Sharon Lankford.

After graduating from BYU in 1976, Gordon and Sharon moved to Los Angeles, where Gordon earned a law degree from Southwestern University in 1979. He served as a law clerk to Justice H. Vern Payne of the New Mexico Supreme Court and practiced law in Arizona. Gordon then purchased a frozen vegetable processing company in eastern Oregon. Through hard work and determination, Gordon guided the business out of debt and back to profitability. Smith Frozen Foods is now one of the largest private label packers of frozen vegetables in the United States.



In 1992, Gordon campaigned for and won a seat in the Oregon state Senate. In 1995, Gordon's colleagues elected him Senate president, a position he held until he began his service in the United States Senate.

Gordon and Sharon have three children, Brittany, 17; Garrett, 15; and Morgan, 8.



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SEN. LAUTENBERG

NEW JERSEY

Frank R. Lautenberg (D)

Of Secaucus — Elected 1982, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: Jan. 23, 1924, Paterson, N.J.

Education: Columbia U., B.S. 1949.

Military Service: Army, 1942-46.

Occupation: Computer firm executive.

Family: Separated; four children.

Religion: Jewish.

Political Career: No previous office.

Capitol Office: 506 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-4744.

Committees

Appropriations

Commerce, Justice, State & Judiciary; Defense; Foreign Operations; Transportation (ranking); VA, HUD & Independent Agencies

Budget

Environment & Public Works

Drinking Water, Fisheries & Wildlife; Superfund, Waste Control & Risk Assessment (ranking)

Small Business



In Washington: Lautenberg may never be counted among the lions of the Senate, but in 1994 he won the right to finish the millenium as a member of that body. It is an open question, however, whether the Senate of the latter 1990s will be a place where left-of-center plutocrats like Lautenberg will

find a platform for their ideas.

Lautenberg has amassed a fair share of achievements and enters his third term as a solid member of the chamber's middle rank.

Lautenberg was a major mover of the fiscal 1994 highway bill from his post as chairman of the Transportation Subcommittee on Senate Appropriations. Along with Rep. Bob Carr, D-Mich., his House counterpart in the 103rd, Lautenberg waged a battle to streamline the way in which dollars were divvied up in the \$13.9 billion spending bill. To the consternation of some members on both sides of the aisle, both Carr and Lautenberg sought to take some of the politics out of the legislation. Lautenberg, in particular, argued that unauthorized projects should not receive funding. The final bill lowered the amount of money directed to members' pet transportation projects and did not provide for any new highway or bridge projects that were not authorized.

Lautenberg's attention to the state has been his hallmark — he was first elected in 1982 by pledging to put "New Jersey first." And he has tried to fulfill this pledge by concentrating on the responsibilities he has assumed in transportation and pollution policy.

But learning to make the system work should not be confused with liking it. Lautenberg came to politics from a business career, and, like many self-made men, he has trouble dealing with the slow grind of legislation. The tough, hard-driving entrepreneur has elbowed his way into issues where his presence was not always welcome. While he generally has done so without alienating colleagues, there have been exceptions.

As Republican Christine Todd Whitman in

1993 pilloried Democratic Gov. James J. Florio for tax increases he imposed, Lautenberg very publicly opposed President Clinton's 1993 budget-reconciliation bill, saying the measure did not contain enough spending cuts.

In 1989, Lautenberg showed he had learned to play hardball when he steered a smoking ban on domestic airline flights through the Senate. A former two-pack-a-day smoker himself, he counseled tobacco farmers to "grow soybeans or something." This brought down the wrath of Republican Jesse Helms of North Carolina and other tobacco state senators, who howled that Lautenberg had bypassed their committees by attaching the ban to an appropriations bill. Lautenberg snapped: "The committee system is safe. The flying public is not."

Further engendering the ire of the tobacco state contingent, he shepherded an amendment through the Senate in 1993 that would have banned smoking in most federal buildings.

The superfund toxic waste cleanup program — an issue important to New Jersey, home to dozens of toxic waste sites — has been a major concern of Lautenberg's since he assumed chairmanship in 1987 of the Environment and Public Works subcommittee that has jurisdiction over the Environmental Protection Agency's program. In the 104th Congress, Lautenberg is the subpanel's ranking member.

New Jersey has long resented that New York City's sludge washes up on its shores, and Lautenberg has helped enact legislation to prevent recurrences. He has also pressed for laws against ocean dumping of plastics that do not degrade like organic materials. Allied with environmentalists, he was deeply involved in the 1994 effort to reauthorize the superfund program. Lautenberg worked behind the scenes with the Clinton administration to craft a fragile overhaul bill aimed at hastening the pace of cleanup at some of the nation's worst superfund sites. But the clock ran out on the compromise measure, and the bill died with the end of the 103rd Congress.

Like most in the New Jersey delegation, Lautenberg has been heavily involved in efforts to protect New Jersey's ability to export garbage to landfills in other states.

In the 102nd Congress, Lautenberg pushed a bill through the Senate to expand the EPA's authority to monitor and help improve indoor air quality, but the House did not act on it. He also steered passage of a bill to reauthorize programs aimed at reducing levels of radon, a colorless, odorless gas that can cause lung damage, but the House failed to act on this as well.

In the 103rd, Lautenberg's other subcommittee chairmanship, the Transportation Subcommittee on Appropriations, allowed him to plunge even deeper into issues of rail, air and highway safety. He has pushed for more transportation funds for densely populated East Coast states and has fought attempts to eliminate federal funding for Amtrak.

Lautenberg was the author, in the 98th Congress, of legislation aimed at curbing drunken driving by forcing states to raise their minimum drinking age to 21. To get the bill through the Senate, Lautenberg worked out a "stick and carrot" compromise — threatening states that refused to raise their drinking age with the loss of up to \$500 million a year in federal highway money, while also offering them incentives to try other measures to reduce drunken driving.

At Home: Lautenberg survived the 1994 GOP sweep that brushed aside many of his Democratic colleagues. This was no small feat, particularly in light of the statewide gains Republicans have made in recent years. Assembly Speaker Garabed "Chuck" Haytaian managed to hold Lautenberg to just over 50 percent of the vote. A conservative who took few cues from moderate GOP Gov. Whitman, Haytaian had difficulty formulating a campaign message beyond the general notion of lower taxes. And with little visible support from Whitman, New Jersey's kingmaker of late, Haytaian did his best to tar Lautenberg as a free-spending liberal. Lautenberg touted transportation projects that he brought back to the state and emphasized his status as an independent Democrat unafraid to cross his president.

By the campaign's final months, Haytaian's chief obstacle appeared to be the fact that New Jersey voters seemed largely unaware of who he was. Haytaian did benefit from a national political mood receptive to Republicans, and in the end, Lautenberg won by little more than 67,000 votes.

Lautenberg's races have always been close. In 1988, he beat back an aggressive challenge from Republican Pete Dawkins, who was the national GOP's premier "résumé" candidate for the Senate. Dawkins' life had been an unbroken string of accomplishments — winner of the Heisman Trophy (while playing for the Army in 1958), a Rhodes scholar, the Army's youngest brigadier general, a high-ranking Pentagon official, a Wall Street financial executive. He tried to mold his golden image to political advantage, describing himself as a potential national leader in the Bradley-Kean mold. He denigrated Lautenberg as "the junior senator."

But Dawkins soon found his superstar image challenged. An article in a Manhattan business magazine described him as a failure in a vari-

ety of military and business positions, who still was promoted because of the public relations value of his all-American image. It was said that he had shopped for a state in which to seek public office and settled on New Jersey, moving in just before announcing his Senate candidacy.

While Dawkins denied that assertion and dismissed the magazine story, he and his campaign were caught in several instances of résumé-padding that had to be retracted.

Dawkins spent \$1 million-plus in the spring to get his name in front of voters, but he entered the fall trailing Lautenberg in the polls. At that point, Lautenberg went on the attack, beginning with an unusual ad showing Dawkins himself making a flowery statement about the glories of New Jersey. "Be Real, Pete" was superimposed on the film clip, conveying Lautenberg's theme that Dawkins was a carpetbagger and a phony. Another ad accused Dawkins of viewing New Jersey as a pit stop on his route to national office. Dawkins bemoaned Lautenberg's mudslinging but then got into a tit-for-tat war of negativism that sank to its lowest when Dawkins charged multimillionaire Lautenberg with using his Senate seat for personal profit.

Lautenberg's lead weathered the fierce exchanges, and in spite of George Bush's solid victory in New Jersey, Lautenberg won 54 percent of the vote.

While Lautenberg had been involved for years as a Democratic activist and fundraiser — his \$90,000 contribution to George McGovern's campaign in 1972 earned him a place on President Richard M. Nixon's "enemies list" — he had never sought office before his 1982 bid for the seat vacated by appointed Republican Sen. Nicholas F. Brady.

After winning with a plurality in a Democratic primary, he came from behind to defeat Republican Rep. Millicent Fenwick.

Both candidates were wealthy. But while Fenwick inherited her fortune, Lautenberg, the son of an immigrant silk mill worker, was a self-made man. The Democrat spent about \$4 million of his own money to drive home that contrast. At one campaign stop, he pointed to the gap between his front teeth and said, "If my parents had money I wouldn't have this. I keep it as a badge of my roots."

Irreverent, witty and eccentric, Fenwick was frequently profiled and quoted in the national media and was a heroine to numerous good-government causes. She started out with a sizable lead over Lautenberg.

But Lautenberg overcame Fenwick's reformist credentials and personal popularity by painting her and the GOP as insensitive to working-class people. He touted himself as an expert on creating jobs, talking about how he had turned his company, Automatic Data Processing, from a three-man business into one of the world leaders in computer services.

To erase organized labor's doubts about him, Lautenberg advocated a minimum tax on corpora-

NEW JERSEY

tions and elimination of the third year of Reagan's tax cut for those earning more than \$40,000 per year. Labor finally went along with him against Fenwick, overlooking the absence of unions at his company. Lautenberg said no one had tried to organize the firm.

With the endorsements of several major newspapers, the unions and such liberal forces as

the National Organization for Women, Lautenberg showed that Fenwick's lead was soft. He hammered on her votes for the 1981 Reagan economic package. She could not equal his media effort, as she would not dip as heavily into her wealth and refused donations from political action committees. Lautenberg rejected her request that each side limit spending to \$1.6 million. He won with 51 percent of the vote.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Frank R. Lautenberg (D)	1,033,487	(50%)
Garabed "Chuck" Haytaian (R)	966,244	(47%)
1994 Primary		
Frank R. Lautenberg (D)	151,416	(81%)
Bill Campbell (D)	26,066	(14%)
Lynne A. Speed (D)	9,563	(5%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1988 (54%) 1982 (51%)

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
1994	
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Bar military action in Haiti without Congress' authorization	N
End U.S. arms embargo on Bosnia	Y
Waive Senate budget rules to allow crime bill vote	Y
Waive Senate budget rules to allow GATT vote	Y
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
1993	
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	N
Bar higher grazing fees and other public land reforms	N
Allow federal abortion funding	Y
Bar certain semiautomatic assault weapons	Y
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y
Approve NAFTA	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	81	18	84	16	19	78
1993	85	15	86	14	20	80
1992	22	78	92	8	5	95
1991	31	69	89	11	10	90
1990	25	75	88	12	8	92
1989	49	50	87	12	24	76

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	95	88	27	4
1993	95	82	45	24
1992	100	92	30	4
1991	95	67	10	5
1990	100	78	17	4
1989	80	90	29	7

SEN. MAYNIBAN

NEW YORK

Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D)

Of Pindars Corners — Elected 1976, 4th term

Biographical Information

Born: March 16, 1927, Tulsa, Okla.

Education: City U. of New York, City College, 1943; Tufts U., B.N.S. 1946, B.A. 1948; Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, M.A. 1949, Ph.D. 1961.

Military Service: Naval Reserve, 1944-66.

Occupation: Professor; writer.

Family: Wife, Elizabeth Brennan; three children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Sought Democratic nomination for N.Y. City Council president, 1965.

Capitol Office: 464 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-4451.

Committees

Environment & Public Works

Superfund, Waste Control & Risk Assessment;
Transportation & Infrastructure

Finance (ranking)

International Trade (ranking); Social Security & Family
Policy; Taxation & IRS Oversight

Rules & Administration

Joint Tax (ranking)



In Washington: Moynihan, easily one of the sharpest intellects in the Senate, has always been a puzzle. In a public career spanning three decades, Moynihan has been hailed as a prophet and denounced as a racist, run with the backing of the Liberal Party of New York and been design-

nated "man of the year" by William F. Buckley's conservative *National Review* magazine.

No surprise, then, that his brief tenure as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee during the 103rd Congress was no exception — noteworthy more for the fits it gave the new Clinton administration than for its lofty list of achievements, including the \$500 billion deficit-reduction bill and two massive trade measures, NAFTA (which Moynihan opposed) and GATT.

He is unquestionably *sui generis* in today's Senate, but Moynihan had big shoes to fill in following Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, who gave up the chairmanship of Finance to serve as Treasury secretary for President Clinton. And it was more than just the stylistic change from "board chairman" Bentsen in his custom-tailored suits to perennially rumpled Harvard professor Moynihan. Where Bentsen was cool and detached, Moynihan could be pedantic and quirky. While Bentsen resisted quixotic crusades, Moynihan has seemed to revel in them during his long career in government and academia. And while Bentsen focused on economic growth issues such as trade and taxes, Moynihan made his mark overhauling social programs such as welfare and Social Security.

Still, at least for Clinton, Finance was where the action was. With its narrow 11-9 party split and jurisdiction over trade, taxes, health and welfare programs, it alone would in large part determine the outcome of the president's agenda.

Things seemed to get off to a promising start. Moynihan was an early Clinton supporter, having worked with the then-Arkansas governor on passage of the 1988 Family Support Act, the last major welfare overhaul. The most important thing

for me coming to the job [as Finance chairman] ... is that I want to get the president's agenda through," Moynihan told *The New York Times* shortly after the 1992 election.

And then Moynihan proceeded to become one of the administration's biggest headaches.

It did not help that the new chairman faced a potentially difficult reelection bid in 1994 or that he was always lukewarm about health reform, Clinton's top domestic priority. Still, the new administration hardly helped its own cause. Moynihan's ego is renowned, and even a small amount of stroking can make him purr like a lap cat. Yet, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, "through the transition and the early weeks of the administration neither the president nor any of his top staffers even bothered to get in touch with the new chairman of the most pivotal committee in Congress." Then, a week before the inauguration, Donna Shalala, the secretary-designate of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), concentrated nearly exclusively on health care reform at her confirmation hearing, with barely a nod to welfare and no mention at all of Moynihan's top issue — Social Security.

It did not take Moynihan long to fire back. When word leaked that the administration was considering freezing cost-of-living adjustments for Social Security recipients, the senator tartly labeled it "a death wish" on one of the network television talk shows. Indeed, Moynihan seemed to use the Sunday shows to inflict most of his damage to the president's agenda. During a discussion of health reform, Moynihan turned official Washington on its ear by proclaiming, "We don't have a health care crisis. We DO have a welfare crisis." It was intended as a dig at the administration for its foot-dragging on welfare reform. Instead, it was taken as a signal that Moynihan did not intend to move a health bill.

Still, Moynihan came through for the president on the budget bill — no easy task, since it involved holding together all 11 of the committee's often fractious Democrats. But it should not have been that much of a surprise. While Moynihan is best known and much appreciated for his high ora-

tory, in his recent Senate career he has demonstrated considerable ability to turn bills into law. On the welfare effort in 1987-88 he bridged huge gaps between the liberal Democrats who ran Congress and President Ronald Reagan. And in 1991 on a major highway bill, he cut deals over the state allocation of highway money with a facility that belied his reputation as a deep thinker but not a legislative heavyweight.

Not that the deep thinker reputation is undeserved. At certain moments, listening to him is both an education and a treat, as when he interrupts routine debate with a personal discourse on the impossibility of free trade with a country like Mexico that lacks an independent judiciary, or discusses an algebraic formula for determining national income and explains in comprehensible terms how it works.

Impressed colleagues do not always appreciate his manner, though; his digressions can cross the border to pomposity and appear as self-aggrandizement wrapped in disheveled, professorial tweed.

Moynihan can also frustrate by refusing to engage in the mundane that others must attend to. On the transportation bill, he was caught short when he insisted on an unrelated provision to pay to renovate a Brooklyn, N.Y., courthouse. His lack of attention to budget scorekeeping details threatened to lop \$1.2 billion in spending from the bill, when a little creative bill-drafting could have averted the problem. Eventually, Congress had to repeal the courthouse provision to save the highway money.

And Moynihan can still demonstrate a tin ear for what is politically achievable. In 1990 and 1991, for example, he proposed to cut Social Security taxes to stop the building of surpluses in the trust funds that were masking the true size of the federal deficit. The Senate voted it down both times.

Then, during the health debate in 1994, he proposed a tax on firearm ammunition as a potential financing mechanism, complete with the catchy line, "Guns don't kill people. Bullets do." Cooler heads were required to convince him the last thing that the health care measure needed was opposition from the National Rifle Association.

Despite his scholarly manner, Moynihan has also become a zealous protector of the needs of New York. Only a Moynihan could take to the Senate floor to oppose a provision of the health reform bill that sought to increase the supply of general practitioners in comparison to specialists (and thereby undercut the bottom lines of New York City's many teaching hospitals) by calling it "a sin against the Holy Ghost."

On many other domestic issues, Moynihan has been less intent on rethinking fundamental questions than on lining up emotionally with liberal Democrats in support of preserving the New Deal and Great Society. His ringing declarations of support for traditional Democratic Party ideas strike some colleagues as cynical political rhetoric, since

they remember him as a critic of those ideas.

And foreign policy questions no longer preoccupy Moynihan the way they did when, as U.N. ambassador, he was a staunch anti-communist and the scourge of radical Third World regimes. In the Senate, Moynihan has figured prominently as an arms-control supporter and backer-turned-critic of aid for the Nicaraguan contras. His was a lonely voice on Finance arguing to deny normal trading status to China in the 101st Congress after the Chinese government's massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators and subsequent repression.

At Home: The professorial Moynihan may not have the populist appeal of his earthier colleague, Republican Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato. But Moynihan's image of *gravitas* and avoidance of scandal has protected him from the sort of electoral scrape that D'Amato barely survived in 1992.

It also enabled him to withstand the powerful GOP swell in 1994 that ousted Democratic Gov. Mario M. Cuomo. As Republicans concentrated their efforts on defeating the three-term governor, they largely ignored Moynihan. His opponent, first-time candidate Bernadette Castro, a former sofa-bed company executive, went largely unnoticed; Moynihan outspent her by more than 3-to-1.

Moynihan's primary received as much attention. He was challenged by black activist and 1992 Senate candidate Al Sharpton. Sharpton's strength was limited to parts of New York City; he lost by a 3-1 margin.

Moynihan's election results powerfully attest to his political popularity. After unseating Republican Sen. James L. Buckley in 1976, Moynihan won his first re-election in 1982 with 65 percent of the vote. In 1988, he defeated Republican attorney Robert R. McMillan with 67 percent — breaking his own state record for Senate vote percentage.

Moynihan has risen from Manhattan's ethnic, blue-collar precincts to the heights of academia and government. Moynihan's father, a hard-drinking journalist, walked out on the family when the senator was age 6; his mother ran a saloon near Times Square. Moynihan walked into the entrance exam for City College with a longshoreman's loading hook in his back pocket.

After establishing himself as an academic — he taught his personal combination of economics, sociology and urban studies at Harvard and at the Joint Center for Urban Studies — Moynihan turned to government service in the 1960s. He worked in the Labor Department in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, and as an urban affairs expert for President Richard M. Nixon.

In the latter role, Moynihan was the architect of the ill-fated Nixon "family assistance" welfare proposal, whose history he detailed in a book. He also caused himself great trouble when he counseled "benign neglect" toward minorities. The dispute caused by this advice revived accusations that Moynihan's scholarship was highbrow racism, an issue that first surfaced in 1965, when his book "Beyond the Melting Pot" attributed social prob-

NEW YORK

lems among blacks to unstable family structure. Though Moynihan insisted he had been misunderstood, his social views created a gulf between him and some minority-group leaders that had to be bridged after he entered elective politics.

But the positive press Moynihan earned in his other roles in GOP administrations — as ambassador to India and to the United Nations under Nixon and President Gerald R. Ford — set him on the road to political success.

Moynihan's service at the United Nations clearly helped his political prospects in New York, although he denied any connection. His staunch defense of Israel earned him support among New York's sizable Jewish constituency, and his televised militance at the United Nations in 1975 allowed him to begin the 1976 campaign as a celebrity, rather than just an articulate Harvard professor. "He spoke up for America," one campaign advertisement said.

"He'd speak up for New York."

Three well-known figures of the Democratic left split the primary vote: Rep. Bella Abzug, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer. Clark and O'Dwyer took a combined 19 percent, enough to sink Abzug, who finished 10,000 votes behind Moynihan.

Moynihan started with a strong lead over Buckley in the polls, and he neither said nor did anything in the fall to fracture his tenuous party harmony. He spent much of his time in Massachusetts, teaching at Harvard to protect his tenure. When he did speak out, he called Buckley a right-wing extremist out of step with the state's politics — citing Buckley's initial opposition in 1975 to federal loan guarantees for New York City. He sailed to victory over Buckley by a half-million votes.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D,I)	2,646,541	(55%)
Bernadette Castro (R,C,TCN)	1,988,308	(42%)
Henry F. Hewes (RTL)	95,954	(2%)
1994 Primary		
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D)	526,766	(74%)
Al Sharpton (D)	178,231	(26%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1988 (67%) 1982 (65%)
1976 (54%)

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
1994	
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Bar military action in Haiti without Congress' authorization	N
End U.S. arms embargo on Bosnia	Y
Waive Senate budget rules to allow crime bill vote	Y
Waive Senate budget rules to allow GATT vote	Y
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
1993	
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	Y
Bar higher grazing fees and other public land reforms	Y
Allow federal abortion funding	Y
Ban certain semiautomatic assault weapons	Y
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y
Approve NAFTA	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	84	16	92	8	16	84
1993	93	7	95	5	15	85
1992	35	65	90	10	34	66
1991	35	65	92	7	25	75
1990	31	69	89	9	11	89
1989	52	45	90	7	24	71

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	100	88	27	0
1993	90	91	27	4
1992	100	83	10	0
1991	95	92	10	0
1990	94	78	17	4
1989	75	100	38	4

SEN. HUTCHINSON

TEXAS

Kay Bailey Hutchison (R)

Of Dallas — Elected 1993, 1st full term

Biographical Information

Born: July 22, 1943, Galveston, Texas.

Education: U. of Texas, B.A. 1992, J.D. 1967.

Occupation: Broadcast journalist; banking executive, candy manufacturer.

Family: Husband, Ray Hutchison.

Religion: Episcopal.

Political Career: Texas House, 1973-77; Texas state treasurer, 1991-93.

Capitol Office: 283 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-5922.

Committees

Armed Services

Acquisition & Technology; Airland Forces; Strategic Forces

Commerce, Science & Transportation

Aviation; Science, Technology & Space; Surface Transportation & Merchant Marine

Select Intelligence

Small Business



In Washington: Elected, indicted, acquitted and re-elected within a year and a half, Hutchison has had quite a ride on the political roller coaster since she entered the 1993 special election to complete the Senate term of Lloyd Bentsen, who joined President Clinton's Cabinet. With all

that turmoil behind her, the 104th Congress offers Hutchison an opportunity for a fresh start as part of the new Republican majority in the Senate.

When Hutchison trounced appointed Democratic Sen. Bob Krueger in June 1993 polling, she appeared poised to make a mark in the Senate, where collegiality counts for a lot. Hardworking, intelligent and ambitious, but with a soft-spoken and non-confrontational public style, Hutchison was described in one post-election profile as "head cheerleader for the Republican Party."

But even as she prepared to move into her new office, a Texas grand jury subpoenaed 14 of her former employees and one of her campaign officials in an investigation into charges that as Texas state treasurer, Hutchison had abused her office. Among the allegations: that she used state workers to carry out personal errands on state time, that she used state phones and computers for political purposes, and that she once struck an employee with a notebook.

She was acquitted in February 1994, after the state prosecutor declined to proceed with the case. Hutchison returned to Washington triumphant, and was treated to a standing ovation and a cake by her Senate GOP colleagues. But the collapse of the case did not entirely erase the image that had emerged of Hutchison as a hard-driving perfectionist with an evil temper who hid her true nature behind her trademark puffy blonde hairdo and sorority-sister smile.

It wasn't until Hutchison's re-election victory in November 1994 that she could be certain the episode had not caused irreparable damage among voters. Though her winning tally was smaller in her second outing at the polls, it was

still very comfortable — just under 61 percent, compared with 67 percent in 1993.

As a senator, Hutchison appears to be following much the same pattern she established as a Texas state legislator from 1973 to 1977: general obedience to the Republican party line, with deviations coming mostly in areas of particular concern to women. (She was the first Republican woman to win a seat in the Texas House of Representatives).

She is taking an active role in GOP efforts at regulatory reform, including pushing for passage of a bill that would temporarily stop the Clinton administration from implementing more than 4,300 federal regulations. Hutchison supports abortion rights, with reservations, and she voted in favor of establishing criminal and civil penalties for people who use force, the threat of force or physical obstruction to block access to abortion clinics. However, in the 103rd she refused to support an effort led by Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski of Maryland to eliminate restrictions on Medicaid coverage of abortions. The failure of Mikulski's campaign to eliminate the so-called Hyde amendment barring the use of Medicaid funds for abortions in most cases was seen as a major setback for abortion rights activists.

Hutchison and Sen. Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., were the only two members of the Senate Armed Services Committee to vote against allowing former chief of naval operations Adm. Frank B. Kelso II to retire at full rank despite his role in the Tailhook scandal. When the question reached the Senate floor, she joined the other six women in the Senate, five of them Democrats, in opposing Kelso's retirement at four-star rank. The Senate must approve all three- and four-star retirements, or the officer retires at two-star rank, with a reduction in pension.

It was a rare confrontational stance from Hutchison, whose sense of the social niceties is such that when she discovered that Democrats and Republicans in the Senate dining room usually occupy separate tables, she went out of her way to sit with Democrats. Hutchison smiled rather than bridled when Rep. Jack Brooks of Beaumont referred to her as the "pretty senator from Texas" during a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing. (It

won't happen again — old-style Democrat Brooks was swept out of the House in November.) More typical of Hutchison's efforts as a member of Armed Services was her intense behind-the-scenes effort to make sure House-Senate conferees included two programs based in Fort Worth in the final version of the defense authorization bill: one for the construction of F-16 Air Force fighters, and another equipping scout helicopters with sophisticated electronic equipment.

At Home: Hutchison has admitted to being an indifferent student at the University of Texas in the mid-1960s, but after trying on several other careers she found the one that not only fit her but brought out her ambition: She was elected to the state Legislature in 1972 at the age of 29. While in Austin she made common cause with famous Democratic legislator Sarah Weddington (the lawyer who filed the suit that became *Roe v. Wade*) on bills protecting victims of sex offenses (including a ban on the publication of the names of rape victims).

In 1990 she ran for state treasurer, succeeding Ann W. Richards, who was elected governor. When Bentsen left the Senate in January 1993, Richards appointed Krueger, a former House member (1975-79) who once had almost beaten the legendary Texas Republican Sen. John Tower (1961-85). Texas law made Krueger stand for election after just a few months in office, and Hutchison saw an opportunity in the splintered, all-party field of 24 candidates. She finished first with 29 percent, just a handful of votes ahead of Krueger and with more votes than GOP Reps. Jack Fields

and Joe L. Barton combined. From there on, the runoff was all but a foregone conclusion. Her 67 percent tally against Krueger in June was the biggest vote share ever for a challenger to an incumbent in Texas. She carried 239 counties, and Krueger, just 15.

In 1994, Hutchison had to run again to secure her own full six-year term (she had been completing the one Bentsen won in 1988). But her triumph over the indictment made her the Joan of Arc of the Lone Star State, scaring off much of the likely competition in the primary and in the Democratic field as well. The nomination went to Dallas businessman Richard Fisher, who had advised Ross Perot's independent presidential campaign in 1992 and then run for Bentsen's seat in 1993 (finishing well down in the pack). In the primary, Fisher outpolled former state Attorney General Jim Mattox, a former House member (1977-83), and Rep. Michael A. Andrews (1983-95). He then defeated Mattox in a runoff 54 percent to 46 percent.

For a time, Fisher seemed to be catching on. He had spent \$1 million of his own fortune running in 1993, but in the general election of 1994 he was outclassed. His fluent Spanish helped him run well in the largely Hispanic counties of South Texas, as he had done in ousting Mattox. But Hutchison outspent Fisher by a 4-1 ratio during the general election months and left him in the dust, carrying all six of the most populous counties and nine out of 10 counties overall. Her winning margin was nearly 1 million votes and 23 percentage points.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General			
Kay Bailey Hutchison (R)	2,604,218	(61%)	
Richard Fisher (D)	1,639,615	(38%)	
1994 Primary			
Kay Bailey Hutchison (R)	467,975	(84%)	
Stephen Hopkins (R)	34,703	(6%)	
James C. Currey (R)	15,625	(3%)	
Roger Henson (R)	14,021	(3%)	
Ernest J. Schmidt (R)	8,690	(2%)	
M. Troy Mata (R)	8,632	(2%)	
Tom Spink (R)	5,692	(1%)	

Previous Winning Percentage: 1993* (67%)

*Special election.

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	34	56	88	6	94	6
1993	45†	53†	87†	11†	94†	0†

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
1994	
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Bar military action in Haiti without Congress' authorization	Y
End U.S. arms embargo on Bosnia	Y
Waive Senate budget rules to allow crime bill vote	N
Waive Senate budget rules to allow GATT vote	Y
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
1993	
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	N
Bar higher grazing fees and other public land reforms	Y
Allow federal abortion funding	N
Bar certain semiautomatic assault weapons	N
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y
Approve NAFTA	Y

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	10	0	90	96
1993	13	0	100	94

Rep. CASTLE

AL Michael N. Castle (R)

Of Wilmington — Elected 1992, 2nd term

Biographical Information

Born: July 2, 1939, Wilmington, Del.

Education: Hamilton College, B.A. 1961; Georgetown U., LL.B. 1964.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Jane DiSabatino.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Del. deputy attorney general, 1965-66; Del. House, 1967-69; Del. Senate, 1969-77, minority leader, 1976-77; lieutenant governor, 1981-85; governor, 1985-93.

Capitol Office: 1207 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-4165.

Committees

Banking & Financial Services

Domestic & International Monetary Policy (chairman);
Housing & Community Opportunity

Economic & Educational Opportunities

Early Childhood, Youth & Families; Oversight &
Investigations

Select Intelligence



In Washington: When he was elected to Congress in 1992, Castle was known by many members as the governor who, with Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, had helped rewrite the federal welfare law in 1988. In winning the White House, Clinton promised an overhaul of the welfare system, but that never became a

top priority in the 103rd. Instead, Castle as a freshman made a mark by helping rescue another Clinton initiative — a broad anti-crime bill.

Moderate Republicans in Congress often become pivotal deal-makers when prominent bills stall. So it was in August 1994, when President Clinton's \$33.2 billion crime bill — painstakingly balanced between funds for prevention and punishment — seemed dead in the water after the House rejected a rule governing debate on the bill.

But much to the chagrin of conservatives who were ready to celebrate the bill's demise, a group of Republicans led by Castle, John R. Kasich of Ohio and Susan B. Molinari of New York began to negotiate directly with the administration. Castle recruited 20 from his party to sign a letter recommending changes in the bill. Ultimately, the White House agreed to cut back the bill's prevention programs and toughen penalties on sex offenders, and the bill, \$3 billion smaller, passed, 235-195, with 46 Republicans providing its margin of victory.

Those who know Castle's predisposition for governing by consensus were not surprised by his deft move to center stage that summer. The new House GOP leadership in the 104th Congress is determined to move legislative debate to the right, but Castle was not denied a chance to exert influence. He holds the chairmanship of the Banking Committee's Domestic and International Monetary Policy Subcommittee.

In his 1992 campaign, Castle criticized what he said was partisan gridlock in Congress, and he vowed to bring a spirit of bipartisanship to the problems he tackled. This was Castle's approach in 1988, when he and Clinton worked as governors to forge a

centrist welfare reform proposal that served as the backbone of the welfare law Congress passed that year. Castle and Clinton believed that state and federal officials could come together to address other national problems.

After the July 1993 death of Rep. Paul B. Henry, R-Mich., Castle filled a vacancy on the Education and Labor Committee, giving him input on the welfare reform debate. He also served on a House Republican task force on welfare, a group that drafted legislation imposing stiff penalties on welfare recipients who have not found work within two years. When the administration's own welfare proposal still had not arrived on the Hill by April 1994, Castle needled his old co-chairman Clinton. At an Education and Labor hearing he asked an administration welfare specialist, "When will the White House bill come down? It's not that I'm complaining, I just want to know."

Castle has not embraced the welfare changes advocated in the House GOP's "Contract With America." The contract would require 1.5 million recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children to work by 2001, a goal that "may be too grandiose," Castle said in December 1994. He also opposes the contract's provisions denying welfare benefits to unwed teenage mothers and eliminating 60 federal benefits to legal immigrants.

Castle has consistently found himself in the middle of the fray on major fiscal initiatives. He was a cosponsor, with Charles W. Stenholm, D-Texas, and Dan Schaefer, R-Colo., of the balanced-budget constitutional amendment that the House passed in January 1995.

During April 1993 consideration of a measure to give the president a limited line-item veto, Castle offered a stronger substitute that would have made it more difficult for Congress to defeat the president's proposed rescissions. His substitute failed, 198-219, with 33 Democrats supporting it and only four Republicans voting against it. Language similar to Castle's was later included in the Contract With America, whose line-item veto provision passed the House early in the 104th.

In August 1994, Castle suggested a fundamental change in the way Congress pays for emergency relief when disasters strike or military

DELAWARE

Delaware is a bellwether in national elections — it has supported the winning presidential ticket 11 times in a row — and pursues ticket-splitting with rare relish in the elections within its borders.

The state's four major statewide officeholders — its governor, two senators and U.S. representative — are evenly split between the parties. Delaware voted in 1992 to send a Democrat to the White House, its Republican governor to the U.S. House and its Democratic House member to the governor's mansion.

Delaware's split-ticket mania is sometimes attributed to the compactness of the state. Personal campaigning is more important than party identification. Voters expect to see their candidates, and over the course of a campaign, candidates are able to meet a large part of the electorate. The absence of a commercial statewide television station accentuates the importance of grass-roots campaigning.

Despite its track record of voting for presidential winners, Delaware has had trouble producing any of its own. No president has ever been elected from Delaware, and neither of the two candidates emerging from the state in 1988, former Republican Gov. Pierre S. "Pete" du Pont IV and Democratic Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr., traveled far on the road to the White House.

Up in the small but relatively densely populated area north of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, Democrats are strong in Wilmington, the state's largest city. Fifty years ago, almost half the state's people resided in Wilmington, but the city's 72,000 residents now cast only about 10 percent of Delaware's vote. As the city has shrunk, its suburbs have grown; New Castle County, which encompasses them both, casts more than 65 percent of the state's total vote.

The GOP's strength lies in Wilmington's suburbs and down south of the canal, in the poultry farms and coastal marshes of the Delmarva peninsula, whose name is an amalgam of its ingredients: Delaware and the eastern ends of Maryland and Virginia.

Thanks to its liberal business-incorporation rules, Delaware is the on-paper home to about half the Fortune 500 and nearly 250,000 smaller corporations. Wilmington is the very real home to the Du Pont Co., Delaware's largest employer. It employs 110,000 worldwide. The last recession hit even Du Pont; it has shed a few thousand workers since 1991.

Dover, Delaware's capital, is set in the

DELAWARE At large

state's midsection, in Kent County. It, too, has a strong Democratic constituency. A few miles south of the city is Dover Air Force Base. The base employs about 8,000 military and civilian personnel who played a critical role in transporting cargo to the Middle East during the Persian Gulf War. But it has also brought something of a grim image to the city; its huge mortuary has received thousands of dead servicemen over the past three decades, including Persian Gulf casualties. Other major Dover employers include Kraft, General Foods, Playtex, Scott Paper and a variety of chemical corporations.

Down at the southern end of the state is Sussex County, Delaware at its most rural. Sussex produces more poultry than any other county in the country, along with sorghum, corn and soybeans.

Tourism also has its place in this county, at its far southeast end. A string of beach resorts from the mouth of the Delaware Bay down the peninsula to Fenwick Island draw thousands of oceangoers each year. A series of storms that have battered the coast have washed away a number of beach rebuilding projects.

Rehoboth Beach is a popular summer resort whose sizable gay population has lately become a permanent fixture, raising tensions with the community's more traditional visitors and older residents.

The increasing number of retirees residing in the beach communities have made Sussex the fastest-growing county in the state; they add to the county's already conservative tenor.

Ronald Reagan and George Bush won consistently in Sussex in the 1980s. But in 1992, Bush managed just 39 percent, 1,300 votes more than Bill Clinton.

A new bypass that leads to the beach may forever change the character of the southern counties. Relief Route 1 promises to cut the travel time between northern and southern Delaware and is expected to boost the local economies. But it is expected to do so by attracting city and suburban folks from New Castle County as new residents, a prospect that concerns the area's farmers.

1990 Population: 666,168. White 535,094 (80%), Black 112,460 (17%), Other 18,614 (3%). Hispanic origin 15,820 (2%). 18 and over 502,827 (75%), 62 and over 98,658 (15%). Median age: 33.

DELAWARE

crises arise. In a series of votes on budget procedures that were essentially symbolic (because the Senate was not expected to consider them, and did not), Castle offered an amendment that would have eliminated emergency spending authority. Instead, he proposed an annual reserve fund of about \$5 billion to respond to disasters. His amendment was defeated, 184-235.

In 1994, Castle supported Clinton's position on more than 70 percent of House floor votes, putting him near the top of the list of Republicans most often in agreement with the president. In addition to supporting NAFTA and GATT, which most House Republicans endorsed, Castle bucked his party majority in supporting the family and medical leave bill and a five-day waiting requirement for handgun purchases.

At Home: Although a lawyer by trade, Castle has spent most of his adult life in politics and government. He became the state's deputy attorney general in 1965 when he was 26, and began a 10-year career in the Delaware General Assembly

two years later. He served as lieutenant governor from 1981 to 1985 before being elected governor. He was re-elected in 1988 with 71 percent of the vote, the highest tally ever for a statewide official.

Under state law, Castle was not allowed to seek a third term as governor and had little choice but to seek the state's one at-large House seat if he wanted to remain in politics.

But in the year of the political outsider, Castle got more of a run for his money. In the GOP primary, he picked up 56 percent of the vote in a four-way contest. He won the general election with 55 percent after a vigorous challenge from the state's former lieutenant governor, Democrat S. B. Woo.

Castle switched places with the state's former representative, Democrat Thomas R. Carper, who is now governor. He also took over Carper's seat on the Banking Committee, an important position for a state with a large corporate constituency.

Castle had no trouble winning a second term in 1994, defeating Democrat Carol Ann DeSantis, a hospital executive and first-time candidate.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Michael N. Castle (R)	137,960	(71%)
Carol Ann DeSantis (D)	51,803	(27%)
Danny Ray Beaver (LIBERT)	3,869	(2%)
1992 General		
Michael N. Castle (R)	153,037	(55%)
S.B. Woo (D)	117,426	(43%)
Peggy Schmitt (LIBERT)	5,661	(2%)

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
1994	
Ban certain assault weapons	Y
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Approve crime bill	Y
Approve GATT	Y
1993	
Ban federal abortion funding except in certain cases	Y
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	N
Lift ban on homosexuals in the military	N
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y
Approve NAFTA	Y
Approve Penry-Kasich plan to cut federal spending	Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	71	29	81	18	92	8
1993	54	43	82	17	84	16

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	20	33	n/a	67
1993	20	25	91	75

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1992		1988	
D	126,054 (44%)	D	108,647 (44%)
R	102,313 (36%)	R	139,639 (56%)
I	59,213 (21%)		

REP. FLAKE

6 Floyd H. Flake (D)

Of Queens — Elected 1986, 5th term

Biographical Information

Born: Jan. 30, 1945, Los Angeles, Calif.

Education: Wilberforce U., B.A. 1967; Payne Theological Seminary, 1968-70; Northeastern U., 1974-75; St. John's U., 1982-85.

Occupation: Minister.

Family: Wife, M. Elaine McCollins; four children.

Religion: African Methodist Episcopal.

Political Career: No previous office.

Capitol Office: 1035 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-3461.

Committees

Banking & Financial Services

Capital Markets, Securities & Government Sponsored Enterprises; Domestic & International Monetary Policy (ranking)

Small Business

Procurement, Exports and Business Opportunities



In Washington: A handsome and elegantly dressed minister who speaks in the captivating cadences of the black church, Flake has inspired comparisons to another black clergyman elected to Congress from New York — the late Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

For a time, the parallel with Powell, who faced legal and ethical problems during much of his early House career, seemed to be getting uncomfortably close.

In April 1991, the government's case against Flake — which consisted of charges that he embezzled funds from a housing project run by his church and evaded taxes — was dismissed after a federal judge barred prosecutors from presenting what one called "the heart" of the case to the jury.

Despite that victory, the entire episode made Flake "damaged goods" in the eyes of many Democrats, hurting his prospects for advancement in Washington. When two New York Democrats left the Appropriations Committee prior to the 103rd Congress, Flake made a bid for the panel. Instead, two more junior New Yorkers — Nita M. Lowey and Jose E. Serrano — were tapped for the vacancies.

But briefly at least, there was a silver lining in Flake's failure to move off the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee. Because so many others left the committee after the 1992 election, he started the 103rd ranked ninth of 30 Democrats on Banking and was thus able to claim the chairmanship of the General Oversight Subcommittee. But Flake barely got the chair warm before Republicans won control of Congress in 1994. With the GOP in charge, Flake found himself serving on the Banking and Financial Services Committee, a name change that some Democrats worried might portend a de-emphasis on urban and housing issues in Congress.

When Republicans held the White House,

Flake was critical of administration efforts to bail out the failed savings and loan industry, portraying the rescue operation as a handout to wealthy financial interests. But just as he became chairman of the General Oversight Subcommittee, Democrats moved into the White House, and Flake became responsible for helping to advance the Clinton administration's effort to finish the S&L cleanup.

It was not a task he relished. "I am tired of dealing with this issue," Flake said in 1993. "Today I stand, having changed my position, because I think it is the best position for the American taxpayer."

The Whitewater affair also gave Flake some grief in the 103rd. When a Republican member tried to turn one of Flake's subcommittee hearings on a minority- and women-owned business program into a venue for examining Whitewater, Flake balked at the distraction. "I don't have a problem in dealing with the Whitewater matter," he said, "but my concern now is for a class of people that have been mistreated in this country forever."

A vocal advocate for minorities and the poor, Flake at the same time works to promote the interests of New York's big banking and financial interests, which provide jobs in his district. When Clinton proposed legislation to encourage lending in distressed communities, Flake first criticized the funding as "woefully inadequate." But then he teamed with ranking Republican Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa to persuade the Banking Committee to strip one-third of the program's funding — which aided community development banks — and dedicate it to mainstream lending institutions. The Flake-Leach proposal promised an insurance break to banks with a good lending record in distressed communities by funding the 1991 Bank Enterprise Act, which Flake co-authored.

Also in the 103rd, Flake was able to affect minority lending programs from his seat on the Small Business Committee. The panel considered legislation to modify government procurement procedures and set aside certain government contracts for minority-owned busi-

NEW YORK

The southeast portion of Queens has sent an African-American to the House only since 1986; up until then, the white-run Democratic machine had dominated Queens politics. But a challenge to black representation here appears unlikely: Redistricting for the 1990s boosted the black population from 50 percent to 56 percent. Hispanics (about 17 percent) contribute to the minority-group voting bloc.

The 6th provides a dependable partisan base for Rep. Flake and other Democrats. In 1992, Bill Clinton dominated the 6th, winning 75 percent. Any political action here is going to be in the Democratic primaries.

With an eastern border that follows the line between the New York City borough of Queens and suburban Nassau County, the 6th is one of the most economically sound minority-majority districts. Its poverty rate is less than the rate for New York state as a whole; the poverty rates for blacks and Hispanics are about half the figures for those groups statewide.

More than a generation ago, such communities as Springfield Gardens and St. Alban's were settled by a burgeoning Roman Catholic middle class. Today, the economic profile of these areas is not much different: Its brick homes house many civil servants, teachers and small-business owners. But the demographics are completely different. Instead of Irish- and Italian-Americans, most of the residents now are blacks.

John F. Kennedy International Airport, by far the district's largest employer, provides

NEW YORK 6

Southeast Queens — Jamaica; St. Albans

a steady job base. It is also the district's most prominent geographical feature: Originally named Idlewild for the marshlands on which it was built, "JFK" occupies a huge swath of the 6th along the north shore of Jamaica Bay.

Despite its overall middle-class veneer, the 6th does have some areas that are much less well off. South Jamaica, where such urban problems as low high school graduation rates, welfare dependency, crime and drugs are rife, is the focus of efforts by economic development advocates (including Flake). The 6th's portion of the Rockaway peninsula — across Jamaica Bay from the airport with no direct land link to the rest of the district — has several public housing projects.

Much of the district's mainly middle-class white population is in its northeast end, in such communities as Bellerose and Queens Village, and near its western border, in Ozone Park. These areas are mainly Irish and Italian, with a scattering of Jewish residents. They lean Democratic, though the Republican vote is heavier than in the rest of the 6th. The Aqueduct horse track is in South Ozone Park.

1990 Population: 580,337. White 170,071 (29%), Black 326,335 (56%), Other 83,931 (14%). Hispanic origin 98,209 (17%). 18 and over 432,187 (74%), 62 and over 79,944 (14%). Median age: 32.

nesses. Flake offered an amendment to eliminate a requirement that minority business owners prove they are economically disadvantaged in order to participate. It was approved in committee, but was dropped in conference.

In previous years, Flake sat on Banking's Housing Subcommittee, which gave him a role in shaping housing programs for low-income people. In the 101st Congress, he battled to ensure that more low-income families benefited from a \$300 million rental-housing production program. The program, devised by New York Democrat Charles E. Schumer, was included in a bill overhauling the nation's federal housing programs. It established a revolving loan fund to provide advances to developers, nonprofit groups and public housing agencies to construct or rehabilitate affordable rental housing.

Republicans called it "a scandal waiting to happen" and tried to kill it. Flake, too, was troubled, and his reservations threatened to spark additional Democratic opposition to the program. Flake met with Schumer and agreed to return to the fold in exchange for a promise to modify the program so that either 40 percent

of a building's tenants would be low-income or 20 percent would be lower-income. That proposal, offered by Flake, was adopted by the committee.

At Home: Flake's wide victory margins give him the appearance of an entrenched incumbent. Yet he has actually had a stormier career than most tenured members.

Running as an insurgent House candidate in 1986, he wrestled with the Queens Democratic machine: He first lost to party-endorsed state Rep. Alton R. Waldon Jr. in a special election, then unseated Waldon in the primary that followed. Though never seriously threatened in his ensuing re-election bids, Flake was shadowed by the allegations of improprieties.

Even after surviving legal battles, Flake had other problems in 1992. First, he continued a feud with the Queens Democrats by organizing a slate of primary candidates to challenge party regulars for elective and party positions, after they endorsed his opponent in the Democratic primary. The party organization retaliated by challenging the ballot status of Flake and the slated challengers. An out-of-court compromise

NEW YORK

was reached under which most of the challengers withdrew and Flake stayed on the ballot.

The incumbent then had to fend off black businessman Simeon Golar, a former New York City housing official who had earlier staged four failed House bids.

In a primary campaign notable for its strong rhetoric, Golar reminded voters constantly of Flake's previous legal problems. While Flake touted the federal funds he had obtained for the district, Golar argued that most benefits had gone to members of the church Flake heads.

Golar, however, was not able to establish himself as a credible alternative. He had run two strong primary challenges, in 1982 and 1984, against white Democratic Rep. Joseph P. Addabbo after the 6th District gained a black majority in redistricting. But he was a late entrant into the 1986 Democratic primary that followed Addabbo's death and was drubbed.

Then, in 1990, Bronx Republicans wanted to test the depths of black antipathy to Hispanic control of the seat of resigned Democratic Rep. Robert Garcia, and Golar agreed to be their candidate against Democrat Jose E. Serrano. Golar went on to tally 7 percent of the vote in the overwhelmingly Democratic district.

Flake breezed past Golar by a 3-1 margin and won easily in November.

Flake has a diverse background in corporate marketing and in education. But it was his long

tenure as pastor of the Allen African Methodist Episcopal Church — and the economic and social programs that he sponsored in that role — that gave Flake a base for a political career.

Flake made his political debut in the June 1986 special election. The party's backing gave Waldon an organizational advantage, and he was aided by a filing technicality that prevented Flake from appearing on absentee ballots. Yet Waldon won only a narrow victory over Flake, whose followers, angered by the absentee ballot flap, believed the election was stolen by a corrupt Queens machine.

That sentiment gave Flake momentum going into the September primary to choose a nominee for a full term in the 100th Congress. Fusing his support in the black church with elements of black organized labor, Flake defeated Waldon and went on to an easy general election win.

By 1988, Flake drew no significant opposition. His only difficulty was of a personal nature. In May, a woman who had worked for Flake at his Queens church accused Flake of harassing her to quit after she broke off a sexual affair with him. Flake denied the accusations.

In 1990, Flake carried the burden of his tax-evasion indictment into his campaign. But many of his supporters rallied to his side. Flake defeated a strong Republican with 73 percent of the vote.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Floyd H. Flake (D)	68,596	(80%)
Denny D. Bhagwandin (R,C)	16,675	(20%)
1992 General		
Floyd H. Flake (D)	96,972	(81%)
Denny D. Bhagwandin (R, C)	22,687	(19%)

Previous Winning Percentages: **1990** (73%) **1988** (86%)
1986 (68%)

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
1994	
Ban certain assault weapons	Y
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Approve crime bill	Y
Approve GATT	Y
1993	
Ban federal abortion funding except in certain cases	N
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	Y
Lift ban on homosexuals in the military	Y
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y
Approve NAFTA	Y
Approve Penny-Kasich plan to cut federal spending	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	74	14	86	1	14	72
1993	72	21	91	3	11	77
1992	10	76	87	3	10	83
1991	23	65	87	4	0	95
1990	14	81	85	5	9	80
1989	27	67	85	4	7	93

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	95	78	n/a	0
1993	90	92	22	5
1992	90	92	13	0
1991	100	100	20	0
1990	89	91	38	4
1989	95	100	30	4

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1992		1988	
D	115,253 (75%)	D	103,157 (73%)
R	27,855 (18%)	R	37,715 (27%)
I	9,335 (6%)		

REP. PELOSI

8 Nancy Pelosi (D)

Of San Francisco — Elected 1987; 4th full term

Biographical Information

Born: March 26, 1940, Baltimore, Md.

Education: Trinity College, A.B. 1962.

Occupation: Public relations consultant.

Family: Husband, Paul Pelosi; five children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Calif. Democratic Party chairman, 1981-83.

Capitol Office: 2457 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4965.

Committees

Appropriations

Foreign Operations, Export Financing & Related Programs;
Labor, Health & Human Services, Education & Related
Agencies

Select Intelligence

Standards of Official Conduct



In Washington: Pelosi has all the self-assurance one would expect from a woman born into the political business, and it has not gone unnoticed. Her savvy has earned her the affection and trust of many Democratic colleagues, as evidenced by her committee assignments and high-

profile party responsibilities.

Pelosi did not hold public office before coming to Congress in 1987. But her father, Thomas J. D'Alesandro Jr., was a House member during the New Deal and then mayor of Baltimore. She made her own way in politics, however, moving to the West Coast and serving as California Democratic Party chairman and finance chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee before running for the House.

Her ascent into the ranks of the respected in the House was confirmed at the start of the 102nd Congress when Pelosi won a seat on the powerful Appropriations Committee (where her father had once served).

House leaders also drafted Pelosi in 1991 to sit on the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, and at the start of the 103rd Congress, she sought and won assignment to the Intelligence Committee. In 1992, she replaced scandal-plagued Mary Rose Oaker of Ohio as co-chairman of the Platform Committee for the Democratic National Convention.

Despite impressive committee assignments and the initial respect she has earned from the party faithful, Pelosi does not play to unanimous rave reviews. She is a liberal Democrat from one of the nation's most liberal districts, so many Republicans and conservative Democrats disagree with her views.

In the 103rd Congress, she successfully defended in the House the conversion of the Presidio Army Base, located in her district, to national park land even though other members argued it would cost the financially strapped National Park Service too much to maintain and

that the land would be better used for a mix of development.

Her bill, approved 245-168, created a special public benefit corporation, known as the Presidio Trust, to oversee the leasing and repair of some of the Presidio's 870 buildings. Located by the San Francisco Bay, the 1,480-acre complex is a scenic attraction marked by forests, grasslands and coastal bluffs as well as a hodgepodge of buildings, including a supermarket, pet cemetery and fire station.

Pelosi's bill authorized the Park Service to lease Presidio properties for five years and use the income for maintenance of the buildings and grounds. Once the Presidio Trust was up and running, it would take over the leasing and management of the properties.

During floor debate, Republicans argued that the Park Service could not afford to take on new duties. The General Accounting Office had estimated it would cost up to \$1.2 billion over 15 years to complete the Presidio's transfer. But Pelosi argued that her proposed management structure for the property would save the federal government money in the long run.

Despite her success in the House, the Senate failed to act on the bill by the end of the 103rd Congress.

Pelosi also led the effort in 1994 to link most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status for China with improvements in its human rights record, a cause she has championed most of her congressional career. She had little success under the Bush administration in changing the nation's trade policy toward China, but expected a sympathetic ear in Bill Clinton, who had campaigned on linking China MFN to human rights improvements.

Pelosi, whose San Francisco district includes thousands of Chinese-Americans, set her sights early on China. In 1989, she sponsored a bill to allow Chinese students caught in the United States at the time of the Chinese government's June massacre of pro-democracy forces in Tiananmen Square to seek permanent residency here without returning home first. Congress cleared the measure, but President George Bush

San Francisco (natives call it "The City") has been romanticized for generations by writers, artists, visitors and residents. Overrun with adventurers during the gold rush era, it kept its reputation as a rough-and-tumble port city long after. More recently, the city has hosted successive waves of counterculturalism, notably the beatniks of the 1950s and the hippies of the 1960s.

Racially, San Francisco is the second most diverse county in the nation. In the past two decades, the city's well-established homosexual community has grown larger and more visible, wielding greater influence over the city's politics (the gay vote is estimated at about 15 percent of the electorate). There has been some backlash in recent years, particularly among working-class families and white ethnic minorities.

But whatever their local disagreements, San Franciscans have little trouble choosing sides in federal elections. In 1992, San Francisco County (which is coterminous with the city) gave 76 percent of its vote to Bill Clinton, who turned out to be the weakling of the ticket. Senate nominees Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein got 76 percent and 81 percent, respectively, in the county. Feinstein, serving out the last two years of Gov. Pete Wilson's Senate term, was re-elected in 1994 by 79 percent in the county. Rep. Pelosi collected 82 percent in the 8th in 1992 and 1994.

Seeing both Feinstein and Boxer elected was a point of special satisfaction: Feinstein is a former mayor of San Francisco, and Boxer represented part of the city throughout her decade in the House.

The 8th resembles the old 5th, except that it comes even closer to encompassing all of San

CALIFORNIA 8 San Francisco

Francisco within a single congressional district.

The old 5th had to give up the city's far northwest (including the bridgehead of the Golden Gate Bridge) to the 6th (centered in Marin County at the other end of the bridge). This constituted roughly one-fifth of the city's population.

But the map adopted in 1992 reclaimed these sections of the city (including Seacliff, Park Presidio and environs north of Golden Gate Park). Sacrificed instead (this time to the 12th District that adjoins to the south) were the neighborhoods south of Golden Gate Park and west of Twin Peaks (including the Sunset, Parkside and Forest Hill districts).

The shift added nearly 50,000 more city residents to the newly renumbered San Francisco district, but the Democratic share of registered voters remains high, above 60 percent. The removal of the southwestern neighborhoods did affect the district's racial mix. Whites had accounted for 59 percent of the old 5th; they constitute 52 percent in the 8th. In some future Democratic primary, the nomination may well be contested by a candidate from one of the minority communities — the largest of which, the Asian-American, is nearing 30 percent as the Chinese and Japanese are joined by increasing numbers of Koreans, Filipinos and Southeast Asians.

1990 Population: 573,247. White 298,038 (52%), Black 73,310 (13%), Other 201,899 (35%). Hispanic origin 89,908 (16%). 18 and over 481,160 (84%), 62 and over 92,882 (16%). Median age: 35.

vetoed the bill, and the Senate sustained the veto early in 1990.

In both the 101st and 102nd Congresses, Pelosi was a leading critic of MFN for China. Her bill would have made MFN approval contingent on Beijing's release of political prisoners arrested during the protests in Tiananmen Square and "significant progress" in other human rights areas.

In the 103rd Congress, Pelosi at first approved of Clinton's solution to the problem: granting China MFN for one year, but making the next year's approval contingent upon specific reforms. The reforms required that China comply with a 1992 agreement that Chinese prison labor not be used to produce goods for export to the United States, that China not erect barriers to free emigration of its citizens and that it meet other human rights goals.

"These conditions are calibrated to be met," Pelosi said when Clinton announced his directive.

"Certainly within the next year, if China does not comply with the president's executive order ... there will be through the Congress, like wildfire, a vote to deny MFN."

In 1994 China was again granted MFN, even though Clinton acknowledged not all of the conditions were met. Using arguments that he once vehemently attacked the Bush administration for, Clinton called for separating China's progress on human rights from the annual question of whether its MFN status should be renewed.

Pelosi and her supporters rejected this idea, saying that economic threats with bite were the best way to get the attention of China's leaders.

As a result of Clinton's policy, Pelosi and other leading House and Senate Democrats introduced legislation to remove MFN eligibility from China's state-owned industries. But the House in August 1994 reaffirmed Clinton's decision to renew China's trade status, and Pelosi's

CALIFORNIA

sanctions bill was rejected.

Although she has always received the strong backing of labor groups, Pelosi opposed them when it came time to vote for NAFTA. She said the trade agreement would be good for California's economy and would improve life in Mexico. The status-quo in the U.S.-Mexico relationship was "unacceptable economically and environmentally," Pelosi said.

At Home: When she began her first House campaign, Pelosi was more familiar to national Democratic activists than to San Francisco voters. But the financial and political contacts she had developed over years of party service provided Pelosi with a critical edge in the special Democratic primary to succeed Democratic Rep. Sala Burton, who died in February 1987.

Pelosi entered the contest backed by much of the city and state party establishment. Pelosi also had powerful friends in the national Democratic hierarchy. While chairing the state party, she helped attract the 1984 Democratic National Convention to San Francisco. She lost a bid for national party chairman in 1985 but then directed money-raising efforts for the party's successful 1986 effort to retake the Senate.

The most important support for Pelosi was delivered, in dramatic fashion, just before the seat became vacant. Burton indicated several days prior

to her death of cancer that she wanted Pelosi to be her successor. That backing was crucial because the 5th had long been dominated by the organization loyal to Sala Burton and her late husband, Rep. Phillip Burton.

Pelosi's last real hurdle was a vigorous challenge from San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt, a Democrat and a leading homosexual politician. In a district where the gay vote was roughly 15 percent of the electorate, Britt started with a large base. He also aimed his campaign at a wider audience, citing his efforts on rent control and his opposition to new real estate development.

But Pelosi was energetic and cool under fire. She fell short of 50 percent of the vote in the April ballot but took her GOP foe easily in a June runoff.

Pelosi then established the district as her own, winning re-election in 1988 with 76 percent and again in 1990, when anti-incumbent sentiment was widespread, with 77 percent.

In 1992, redistricting altered Pelosi's district slightly but left the Democratic registration about where it was: just shy of two-thirds. The Democratic ticket romped in the district, and Pelosi led it with an 82 percent performance. She won again with more than 80 percent in 1994.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Nancy Pelosi (D)	137,642	(82%)
Elsa C. Cheung (R)	30,528	(18%)
1994 Primary		
Nancy Pelosi (D)	58,426	(91%)
Robert Ingraham (D)	5,476	(9%)
1992 General		
Nancy Pelosi (D)	191,906	(82%)
Marc Wolin (R)	25,693	(11%)
Cesar G. Cadabes (PFP)	7,572	(3%)
James R. Elwood (LIBERT)	7,511	(3%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (77%) 1988 (76%)
1987* (63%)

*Special election.

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
1994	
Ban certain assault weapons	Y
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Approve crime bill	Y
Approve GATT	Y
1993	
Ban federal abortion funding except in certain cases	N
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	Y
Lift ban on homosexuals in the military	Y

Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y
Approve NAFTA	Y
Approve Penny-Kasich plan to cut federal spending	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	74	19	93	1	0	97
1993	77	19	93	2	7	93
1992	12	80	91	1	2	90
1991	24	69	89	4	3	86
1990	15	84	92	3	4	96
1989	26	70	93	1	0	98

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	90	89	n/a	0
1993	95	92	18	0
1992	90	92	25	0
1991	90	92	20	0
1990	100	92	15	4
1989	95	100	20	0

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1992		1988	
D	187,201 (76%)	D	139,831 (79%)
R	39,396 (16%)	R	36,432 (21%)
I	21,180 (9%)		

REP. LEACH

1 Jim Leach (R)

Of Davenport — Elected 1976, 10th term

Biographical Information

Born: Oct. 15, 1942, Davenport, Iowa.

Education: Princeton U., B.A. 1964; Johns Hopkins U., M.A. 1966; London School of Economics, 1966-68.

Occupation: Propane gas company executive; foreign service officer.

Family: Wife, Elisabeth Ann "Deba" Foxley; two children.

Religion: Episcopalian.

Political Career: GOP nominee for U.S. House, 1974.

Capitol Office: 2186 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6576.

Committees

Banking & Financial Services (chairman)

International Relations
Asia & the Pacific



In Washington: Leach has built a reputation as a deliberate Republican moderate, willing to forge bipartisan solutions and less prone than many of his colleagues to give in to partisan bickering.

This made him well-suited for his high-profile role in the 103rd as the

House GOP's chief inquisitor into the Whitewater affair, a failed land deal involving the Clintons and the owner of a now defunct Arkansas thrift.

Leach's independent manner and thoughtful approach combined to bring credibility to his efforts to unveil details about Whitewater and dispel Democrats' insistence that Republicans were conducting a witch hunt. As the ranking Republican on the House Banking Committee, Leach led the charge for congressional hearings on the matter but was careful to play by Democrats' rules.

In March 1994, Leach took to the House floor for a speech in which he methodically outlined a list of alleged improprieties he discovered in his investigation of Whitewater and related matters. He summed up Whitewater as being "about the arrogance of power — Machiavellian machinations of single-party government."

Leach's image contrasted with that of the Senate's leading Whitewater critic, the fiercely partisan Alfonse D'Amato, R-N.Y., who often played "bad cop" to the Iowan's "good cop" in both lawmakers' successful efforts to hold Banking Committee hearings on the matter. But D'Amato's unrelenting criticism of the Democratic leadership's response to the matter may have, in the end, forced more action on Whitewater than Leach's more restrained approach.

In the 104th, Leach took over as chairman of the Banking Committee and pledged to hold thorough Whitewater hearings. He backed off, however, on launching an immediate inquiry because the new GOP leadership wanted to devote the first 100 days of the new Congress to action on the "Contract With America."

In the 103rd, Leach worked with Democrats

on some banking issues. He cooperated to develop the 1993 replenishment of the thrift cleanup, causing tensions with some of his GOP colleagues. He was successful in gaining some concessions from Democrats on the bill but in the end did little to help round up GOP votes.

Although Leach has a solid grasp of the details — if not the politics — of banking issues, he has had trouble working closely with the committee's mercurial ranking member, Democrat Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas. In fact, relations between the two are strained. Gonzalez has openly criticized Leach's sometimes quixotic, if principled, stands.

The Whitewater matter further weakened the relationship between the two lawmakers. Reluctant to hold hearings, then-Chairman Gonzalez took aim at Leach, whom he called "obdurate and obstinate," by canceling a March 1994 oversight hearing on the thrift bailout that Republicans had vowed to turn into a session on Whitewater. After the move, Leach acknowledged that his relationship with the chairman had deteriorated. "It's been very unfortunate. One of the ironies is that up until this point in time, I have held Henry Gonzalez in far higher regard than any member of my side," Leach said.

Leach's willingness to take on Whitewater and Clinton may have less to do with some partisan allegiance than with his predisposition to be suspicious of any culture where relations between political figures and business leaders appear to be exceedingly cozy.

Leach now occupies the No. 3 GOP spot on the International Relations Committee (formerly called Foreign Affairs). His outspoken foreign policy views have made him a pariah to his party's dominant right wing. It does not seem to bother Leach, who often relishes the chance to demonstrate his iconoclasm and prove that policy is more important to him than party.

In President Ronald Reagan's second term, Leach was often the leading GOP critic of administration policies on Central America, arms control and South Africa. In supporting sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa, he said, "All we ask of this Republican president is that he advance a foreign policy consistent with the views

The 1st is Iowa's most urbanized district, with three of the state's six most populous cities. Cedar Rapids (Linn County) and Davenport (Scott County) grew up around heavy industry, and Iowa City (Johnson County) is home to the University of Iowa. These urban centers give the 1st a Democratic tilt. In 1992 presidential voting, Bill Clinton prevailed by comfortable margins in all three counties. Rep. Leach has kept the 1st in GOP hands by mixing fiscal conservatism with more liberal social views.

Cedar Rapids emerged as Iowa's second-largest city in the late 1980s; nearly a third of district residents live in or around it. Long a center for the grain-processing business, Cedar Rapids has weathered hard economic times of late with help from high technology, such as production of electronic and telecommunications equipment. Rockwell International, which makes avionics equipment, eclipsed Quaker Oats as the city's largest employer during the decade. In 1991, Eastman Kodak and Caltur Limited teamed up to build an \$85 million biotechnology complex in Cedar Rapids.

Nearly 30 percent of the people in the 1st live in Scott County. Davenport and neighboring Bettendorf, along with the Illinois cities of Rock Island and Moline, make up the Quad Cities urban concentration. These are old, industrial Mississippi River cities whose economies suffered badly during the 1980s, as did the nearby manufacturing cities of Clinton and Muscatine.

The district will get a boost when Canadian-based Ipsco Steel Inc. completes work on a steel mill, which is scheduled to open in rural Muscatine County in the spring of 1996 and may employ up to 300 people.

Emblematic of the difficulties is a Caterpillar plant outside Davenport that once employed 4,000 people; briefly abandoned in the 1980s, it has

IOWA 1 East — Cedar Rapids; Davenport; Iowa City

recently found new life, but as a storage warehouse for several local businesses. Davenport and the other river cities are trying to rebound by capitalizing on tourist dollars drawn to riverboat gambling, permitted under a 1990 law. Scott voted Democratic for president in 1988 and 1992, but Leach has carried the county in the past five elections.

Iowa City, the next-largest population center, grew by nearly 18 percent in the 1980s. The city and Johnson County cast just under one-fifth of the district's vote. Once labeled "Berkeley of the Midwest," Johnson County remains a Democratic bastion, although suburban and high-tech influences have moderated its politics. In the past, the 1,800 University of Iowa faculty members were predominantly liberal, while the 27,000-member student body was more conservative. Students' attitudes, particularly on social issues, recently have shifted leftward, and they have become more concerned about whether the economy will afford them gainful employment after graduation.

Export sales by companies such as Stanley Consultants, an engineering consulting firm, and Hon Industries, makers of office furniture, give the 1st's economy an international dimension. But the traditional lifeblood, agriculture, is still important: By one estimate, there are four hogs to every person in the district, and its range of crops includes corn, tomatoes, soybeans and watermelons.

1990 Population: 555,229. White 527,384 (95%), Black 14,624 (3%), Other 13,221 (2%). Hispanic origin 11,102 (2%). 18 and over 413,721 (75%), 62 and over 79,309 (14%). Median age: 32.

of the first Republican president, Abraham Lincoln."

In the early days of the 104th, Leach supported Clinton's controversial plan to grant billions of dollars in loan guarantees to Mexico to try to rescue that country's economy. Leach reasoned that even though the loan guarantees were unpopular, they were preferable to allowing Mexico to sink further.

Leach, however, found himself fully in line with more conservative Republicans when he sharply criticized the administration's efforts to help ensure the peaceful restoration of democratic rule to Haiti by deploying U.S. troops there in September 1994. "In sum, no compelling U.S. national interest is at stake in Haiti," Leach said.

At Home: Redistricting made the 1st slightly more Democratic, but for moderate Leach the changes posed no problems. Pitted against a little-known actuary who had trouble getting support from his own party, Leach took every county in the

new 1st in 1992.

As his party's leadership clung to conservative themes at the 1992 national convention in Houston, Leach led the charge for a middle course. It not only won him national exposure but assuaged his Democratic constituents.

Leach brought a varied background to his first campaign, in 1974, against first-term Democrat Edward Mezvinsky. Leach had studied at Princeton and at the London School of Economics, worked in the Office of Economic Opportunity and in the Foreign Service, was assigned to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, then returned to Iowa to run the propane gas manufacturing firm that his family owned.

He lost to Mezvinsky in 1974 by 12,147 votes, but that was a good showing for a Republican newcomer in a Democratic year. During the next two years, he spoke regularly in the district, held his organization together and built a \$200,000 campaign fund.

IOWA

In 1976 Leach stressed his ties to Robert Ray, Iowa's moderate Republican governor. He described himself as a "Bob Ray Republican" and called Mezvinsky a "Bella Abzug Democrat." Leach won by carrying his home base of Scott County (Davenport), which Mezvinsky had taken in 1974.

The only Democrat who has given Leach any trouble since he won the seat was the 1982 nominee, former Scott County Supervisor William E. Gluba, a forceful campaigner with a populist flair and more than 10 years of political involvement in the 1st's most populous county.

But Gluba was so little known outside his home county that he gave up 37 percent of the Democratic primary vote to a candidate who had

spent several years in prison for a variety of offenses, including burglary and armed robbery.

That embarrassment made it difficult for Gluba to convince potential contributors he could win, and he never obtained the resources necessary to match Leach's organization. Gluba ended up with two counties.

Gluba was back in 1988, winning the nomination after former gubernatorial nominee Lowell Junkins had passed on it. But Gluba was even more woefully underfunded than in 1982. He again carried just two counties, and his share of the districtwide vote slipped below 40 percent. Leach has had little difficulty securing re-election since then.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Jim Leach (R)	110,448	(61%)
Glen Winekauf (D)	69,461	(38%)
Jan Zonneveld (I)	2,264	(1%)
1992 General		
Jim Leach (R)	178,042	(68%)
Jan J. Zonneveld (D)	81,600	(31%)
Previous Winning Percentages:		
1990 (100%) 1988 (61%)		
1986 (66%) 1984 (67%) 1982 (59%) 1980 (64%)		
1978 (64%) 1976 (52%)		

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
1994	
Ban certain assault weapons	Y
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Approve crime bill	Y
Approve GATT	Y
1993	
Ban federal abortion funding except in certain cases	Y
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	N
Lift ban on homosexuals in the military	Y
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y
Approve NAFTA	Y
Approve Penry-Kasich plan to cut federal spending	Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	63	35	68	31	69	31
1993	55	39	63	28	43	50
1992	52	47	65	33	54	40
1991	59	41	61	35	59	41
1990	38	59	62	37	52	48
1989	45	52	59	34	51	44

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	40	22	n/a	33
1993	55	42	82	55
1992	60	33	63	40
1991	60	42	70	35
1990	61	42	57	21
1989	65	25	67	46

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1992		1988	
D	128,655 (46%)	D	136,716 (56%)
R	95,660 (35%)	R	105,683 (44%)
I	52,983 (19%)		

Rep. Berentzen

NEBRASKA

1 Doug Bereuter (R)

Of Lincoln — Elected 1978, 9th term

Biographical Information

Born: Oct. 6, 1939, York, Neb.

Education: U. of Nebraska, B.A. 1961; Harvard U., M.C.P. 1963, M.P.A. 1973.

Military Service: Army, 1963-65.

Occupation: Urban planner; professor; state official.

Family: Wife, Louise Anna Meyer; two children.

Religion: Lutheran.

Political Career: Neb. Legislature, 1975-79.

Capitol Office: 2348 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4806.

Committees

Banking & Financial Services

Financial Institutions & Consumer Credit; Housing & Community Opportunity (vice chairman)

International Relations

Asia & the Pacific (chairman); International Economic Policy & Trade



In Washington: Bereuter applies his moderate philosophical outlook and his increasingly senior status to promote international and domestic policies that he believes benefit the nation's interest as well as Nebraska's. On the domestic front, he has been instrumental in devising rural and

Indian housing programs and in focusing attention on flood insurance problems.

He also has become known on Capitol Hill for his work on international issues. In the past, he combined the overlapping jurisdictions of two committees, Banking and Foreign Affairs (now called International Relations), to focus on multinational lending activities and export promotion, an area in which his activities often have redounded to the benefit of his state's agricultural producers.

He will now have more of a chance to promote those international interests from his position as chairman of the Asia and Pacific Subcommittee on the International Relations Committee.

Bereuter also keeps his seat on the Banking Committee for the 104th Congress, where he sits on the Housing and Community Opportunity and Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit subcommittees.

Bereuter is a rare moderate Republican on the often ideologically divided International Relations Committee. During debates on such issues as aid to the Nicaraguan contras in the 1980s, Bereuter was often one of the committee's few voices urging compromise. But he has also remained skeptical of foreign entanglements.

In 1993, he joined with other House Republicans in bashing President Clinton for committing the country to an open-ended peacekeeping mission in Somalia, and he criticized the Democratic leadership for not bringing a bill to the floor requiring immediate withdrawal from the African nation. "The leadership is manipulating the will of Congress to avoid a straightforward vote, now, on the rapid and orderly withdrawal of our military per-

sonnel from Somalia," Bereuter said. "I believe they know how this House would vote and the other body would vote."

He was equally adamant about not getting U.S. forces involved in Bosnia. Although acknowledging that Americans were repulsed and outraged by the atrocities taking place in the former Yugoslavia, Bereuter told the House, "We must be very cautious about committing U.S. troops in a conflict where the U.S. national interest is not immediately apparent, where the strategic objectives are murky, and where prospects for success are highly uncertain."

His background as an Army intelligence officer and his former service on the Select Intelligence Committee give him a broad view of complex international events, a view he felt the Intelligence Committee lacked in 1994 when it cut the budget for U.S. intelligence programs. He argued that the cuts were a result of politics because a majority of the Democratic Caucus was critical of U.S. intelligence efforts, and because committee leaders worried the bill would not pass "without draconian cuts on the floor."

Bereuter charged in 1994 that instead of reducing the defense budget, the Armed Services and Appropriations committees "routinely divert intelligence savings to other defense programs, notably those that are not funded in the defense request but are valued by some members for parochial or political reasons."

He also took umbrage in early 1990 at the State Department's efforts to develop a closer relationship with Iraq. Citing the "abysmal" record of Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime — which included the use of poison gas in 1988 against the nation's Kurdish minority — Bereuter cosponsored a non-binding resolution with then-Rep. Gus Yatron of Pennsylvania, the chairman of Foreign Affairs' International Security Subcommittee, condemning Iraq for a "consistent pattern" of human rights violations.

Though the resolution easily passed the subcommittee, the Bush administration blocked its advance. After Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Bereuter supported the president's request to use force against Iraq and said economic sanctions institut-

Not long ago, Lincoln was a sleepy town that came to life only during the Legislature's sessions and on autumn Saturdays when the University of Nebraska played football. Back then, Cornhusker crowds nearly matched the city's population. Today, however, Lincoln is thriving: Its population has nearly doubled over the past 40 years to 192,000. A diversified employment base makes Lincoln (Lancaster County) a picture of economic health.

The city's boom has been led by the expanding state and city governments and by the university, which has 24,000 students. Lincoln has three major hospital complexes, and the white-collar base features banks and insurance companies. In addition, Lincoln (like Omaha) is fast becoming a telecommunications hub. Gallup Organization Inc., the polling company, is in Lincoln. Lincoln does have industrial employers, including a Good-year factory that makes rubber belts and hoses. There are also a number of food-processing companies.

The 1st has pockets of population growth elsewhere. Norfolk (Madison County) is known for pursuing industry; beef products, electronic components and steel products are made here. The district includes Omaha exurbs to the north (Washington County) and south (most of Cass County), as well as Dakota County suburbs of Sioux City, Iowa (where IBP, the nation's largest beef processor, has headquarters), and Dodge County.

In the more sparsely populated rural sections of the 1st is some of the nation's most productive farmland. Counties in the northern part of the 1st are among Nebraska's leaders in hog and milk production; York

NEBRASKA 1 East — Lincoln; Norfolk

County, to the west, is a leading corn producer. Farming in the rural parts of Lancaster County outside Lincoln makes the county the biggest sorghum producer.

The rural Republican vote gives the GOP an advantage in the 1st. In 1992, Madison County gave 57 percent to George Bush, although that was well below his 1988 tally of 76 percent.

But Lancaster, which casts more than 40 percent of the district's total vote, tends to be a swing county, tipping Republican for president but backing such Democrats as Sens. Jim Exon and Bob Kerrey, who hail from Lincoln.

In 1992, Bush won Lancaster over Bill Clinton by just 193 votes, out of more than 104,000 cast. Four years earlier, Bush won the county by 345 votes. Rep. Bereuter took Lancaster by more than 10,000 votes in 1994.

The strongest Democratic counties are at opposite corners of the district. In the northeast are Dakota County, with a large blue-collar contingent and some Hispanic and Asian residents, and Thurston County, made up almost entirely of Winnebago and Omaha Indian reservations. In the southwest is rural Saline County, dominated by people of Czech heritage with a longstanding Democratic tradition.

1990 Population: 526,297. White 507,343 (96%), Black 5,544 (1%), Other 13,410 (3%). Hispanic origin 7,106 (1%). 18 and over 389,852 (74%), 62 and over 91,091 (17%). Median age: 33.

ed against Iraq had proved insufficient.

A free trader, Bereuter praised NAFTA as being in the best interest of the nation. With his background in international affairs, he also viewed the trade pact as a referendum on America's future role in the hemisphere.

"All of Latin America and the Caribbean is watching our vote today to see if we have the courage, political will and the confidence in ourselves to act not only in our own best interests, but more importantly to lead this Western Hemisphere to a brighter economic future for all of its citizens," he said. In 1994, Bereuter also supported GATT.

He has also been a leading opponent of cargo-preference laws (which require that a share of U.S.-financed exports be carried on U.S.-flag vessels). Bereuter says such laws hurt American farmers whose foreign competitors can export goods any way they choose. But he is not often successful at blocking their passage, or at replacing them with language more hortatory than mandatory.

A city planner by profession, Bereuter has been active on the Banking Committee on housing and development issues. In 1990, he helped shepherd to enactment a pilot program of mortgage loan guarantees for lower-income residents of small communities in rural areas. In 1992, the program was extended to all 50 states and broadened to include middle-income households. In 1994, he said a reauthorization of housing and community development programs incorporated a number of provisions he had sponsored.

One provision created a new loan guarantee program for the development of multifamily rural rental housing. The bill also reauthorized an Indian housing loan guarantee program that Bereuter said would make more private lending available on trust land. Bereuter's district is home to the Winnebago and Omaha Indian reservations.

Another domestic cause he has undertaken is the overhaul of the nation's flood insurance program. Although the House approved a flood insur-

NEBRASKA

ance reform bill in 1994, Bereuter criticized it for not going far enough. The House bill more strictly enforced laws requiring people who live in flood plains and coastal areas to keep their flood insurance policies up to date. Language that Bereuter supported, which would have eliminated federally subsidized flood insurance for buildings located on land that erodes easily, was stripped out of the bill before floor debate. Bereuter argued that the new version only encouraged people to build in unwise locations.

At Home: Bereuter's background is unusual for a Nebraska politician. He held the state's top city planning post under moderate GOP Gov. Norbert Tiemann from 1969 to 1971. Then he served one four-year term in the Legislature, winning a reputation as one of the more liberal members by sponsoring a land-use planning bill. Farming and ranching interests regarded the bill as an intrusion

into private-property decisions.

Bereuter used conservative rhetoric during his 1978 House campaign, but he was still seen as a moderate in Lincoln. His big margin in Lancaster (Lincoln) County pushed him past a conservative state senator.

In November he drew united GOP support and a large independent vote to collect 58 percent against Hess Dyas, the former Democratic state chairman.

Thereafter he won every two years with 64 percent or better, until 1992, when redistricting added some of the Omaha metropolitan area to his Lincoln-based district. He won again in 1992, but his share slipped to 60 percent.

His 1994 Democratic opponent, Patrick Combs, launched an aggressive bid but was short on money and name identification and was defeated easily.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1994 General			
Doug Bereuter (R)	117,967	(63%)	
Patrick Combs (D)	70,369	(37%)	
1992 General			
Doug Bereuter (R)	142,713	(60%)	
Gerry Finnegan (D)	96,309	(40%)	
Previous Winning Percentages:			
1990 (65%)	1988 (67%)		
1986 (64%)	1984 (74%)	1982 (75%)	1980 (79%)
1978 (58%)			

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
1994	
Ban certain assault weapons	Y
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Approve crime bill	N
Approve GATT	Y
1993	
Ban federal abortion funding except in certain cases	Y
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	N
Lift ban on homosexuals in the military	N
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	N
Approve NAFTA	Y
Approve Penny-Kasich plan to cut federal spending	Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	55	45	77	22	81	17
1993	53	47	80	19	84	16
1992	68	30	77	21	73	25
1991	79	21	77	22	78	22
1990	62	38	73	25	87	13
1989	69	29	58	41	80	17

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	15	11	n/a	71
1993	10	8	91	88
1992	20	33	88	79
1991	10	17	100	85
1990	17	0	100	67
1989	15	33	80	61

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1992		1988	
D	80,700 (33%)	D	96,096 (44%)
R	107,092 (43%)	R	123,083 (56%)
I	59,979 (24%)		

REP. PORTER

10 John Edward Porter (R)

Of Wilmette — Elected 1980; 8th full term

Biographical Information

Born: June 1, 1935, Evanston, Ill.

Education: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1953-54; Northwestern U., B.S., B.A. 1957; U. of Michigan, J.D. 1961.

Military Service: Army Reserve, 1958-64.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Kathryn Cameron; five children.

Religion: Presbyterian.

Political Career: GOP nominee for Cook County Circuit

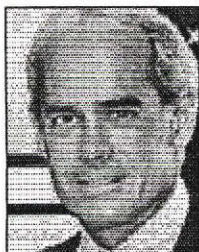
judge, 1970; Ill. House, 1973-79; GOP nominee for U.S. House, 1978.

Capitol Office: 2373 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4835.

Committee

Appropriations

Foreign Operations, Export Financing & Related Programs; Labor, Health & Human Services, Education & Related Agencies (chairman); Military Construction



In Washington: Porter is in the difficult position of overseeing an appropriations bill that the Republican Party has targeted for serious cuts, even though he has supported some of the projects in the past.

In the 104th Congress, Porter took over as chairman of the Appropriations

Committee's Labor, HHS, Education Subcommittee, which funds programs such as bilingual education, low-income energy assistance and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting that some Republicans view as prime federal programs to chop.

In a January 1995 hearing before the subcommittee, Porter said he believes public broadcasting has value. But he spoke for many of the panel's Republicans when he asked, "Is public broadcasting a higher priority than Pell grants, Head Start, the vaccine program or worker training?"

He has the freedom to pursue his own provocative ideas, which sometimes clash with the majority of the GOP caucus, because he is in an unusually comfortable political position. He represents a firmly Republican and relatively affluent district north of Chicago; most of his constituents do not have a pressing need for federal goods and services. Like Porter, they tend to be relatively liberal on social issues but conservative on fiscal matters.

And true to his district, Porter's approach to the federal budget deficit is purely conservative. He voted in 1993 against President Clinton's five-year deficit-reduction plan because, he said, "it spends most of the new taxes it raises and because its deficit-reduction goals are inappropriately modest."

Porter voted for a bipartisan measure put forth by House "deficit hawks" that would have cut federal spending by \$90 billion over five years, saying the amendment "would lower the deficit and help mitigate the fiscal child abuse Congress continues to commit with its profligacy." The plan failed to pass the House, however.

He also voted for the 1990 budget summit plan that included a tax increase as an instrument

to tame the deficit. The next year, during a House-Senate conference on the Labor-Health and Human Services appropriations bill, he expressed dismay at the use of an accounting device that allowed outlays to be pushed into the subsequent fiscal year in order to skirt deficit ceilings. Calling it "another phony attempt to live beyond our means," Porter said the effort to get around the 1990 budget agreement was "one of the most insane exercises I've ever seen."

At the beginning of the 103rd Congress, Porter became the ranking Republican on the Labor-HHS Appropriations subcommittee. As the ranking member, he managed a small coup during consideration of the spending bill in 1994 by getting the House to accept his amendment establishing 125 new community health care centers across the nation.

But his success proved short-lived. The next day, committee leaders demanded a revote as allowed under the rules, and the House turned around and rejected Porter's amendment, 211-217. Democratic leaders had leaned on some of the 53 members who had crossed party lines to vote for the clinics.

Porter and other Republicans said that increasing the number of clinics would improve access to health care for more than 800,000 low-income citizens in rural and urban areas. "This amendment will not solve the health care problem by itself, but it will make a significant contribution to the solution," Porter told the House.

But Democrats angrily denounced the proposal as an effort to undermine a broader health care reform package.

"What we have here is a political fig leaf," said Appropriations Committee Chairman David R. Obey of Wisconsin. "They want to be on the record, somewhere, somehow, on the cheap, in voting for health care. I don't think that's the way to do business."

Porter showed his liberal side in the 102nd Congress when he led the fight against a Bush administration ban on abortion counseling at federally funded family planning facilities. In both 1990 and 1991, Porter introduced legislation to overturn the counseling ban. During committee

Drivers following lake-hugging Sheridan Road north from Evanston reach some of Chicago's oldest and wealthiest suburbs. Affluent North Shore communities here such as Wilmette, Kenilworth, Winnetka and Glencoe have long set a Republican tone in Illinois' northeastern section.

GOP candidates rarely sweat the outcome in the 10th, which includes northern Cook County suburbia and a swath of Lake County that reaches to Wisconsin. George Bush's struggles here in 1992 were not typical; he took 60 percent of the district vote in 1988. Sen. Paul Simon staged a rare Democratic win in 1990, but the 10th went against Democrat Carol Moseley-Braun in 1992.

When there is competition in district elections, it is almost always within the GOP. In the 1992 House primary, Porter — who combines a conservative stance on fiscal policy with more liberal positions on social issues — got 62 percent against an anti-abortion challenger. Porter won easily in November.

Most of the residences in the wealthy near-in suburbs were built before 1940; although these communities are hardly in decline, their growth days may be past. Highland Park, site of the summertime Ravinia music festival, won a national award for downtown revitalization.

Nearby is the Army's Fort Sheridan, which was closed under the 1989 base-closing law and is being converted partly to Navy housing, and Glenview Naval Air Station. However, the Great Lakes Naval Training Center a few miles north remains by far the 10th's largest single employer. Under the 1993 closure round, it became the nation's only Naval training center; the resulting expansion is expected to add millions to the economy. In between are two affluent suburbs, Lake Forest and Lake Bluff, that have been gaining residents.

ILLINOIS 10 North and Northwest Chicago suburbs — Waukegan

The district's boom has been in newer subdivisions near its western border. Arlington Heights (partially in the 8th District) and surrounding communities expanded rapidly in the 1980s. Buffalo Grove's population grew 64 percent; Wheeling and Prospect Heights were up 29 percent. At the outer edge of Chicago's commuting zone, Lake County communities such as Mundelein, Vernon Hills and Libertyville also attracted numerous new residents.

Although most of the 10th's communities are known as bedroom suburbs, several major employers are scattered around the district. The Walgreen drug store chain (Deerfield), Zenith Electronics Corp. (Glenview), Allstate Insurance Co. (Northbrook) and Underwriters Laboratories (Northbrook) have headquarters here.

The Cook County portion of the 10th provided slightly more of the votes in 1992 and 1994 than the Lake County part. The Cook vote is solidly Republican, the Lake vote slightly less so.

Lake County has the 10th's largest blocs of Democratic voters in the industrial cities of Waukegan and North Chicago. Just over half of Waukegan's residents are white, and the city has slightly more than half the entire district's minority-group residents. The Outboard Marine Corp., which makes boat motors, is based in Waukegan; Abbott Laboratories' home is in North Chicago.

1990 Population: 571,530. White 494,355 (86%), Black 35,228 (6%), Other 41,947 (7%). Hispanic origin 40,586 (7%). 18 and over 425,243 (74%), 62 and over 74,558 (13%). Median age: 34.

consideration of the fiscal 1992 Labor-HHS appropriations bill, he won approval of an amendment to block enforcement of the counseling ban, dubbed the "gag rule." But President George Bush vetoed the bill, and the override attempt failed.

Porter opposes federal funding for abortion, but he thinks it should remain a legal option, and he supports family planning. He also voted in 1993 against requiring parental notification of a minor's abortion.

From his seat on the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Porter has been a leading advocate of U.S. funding for the U.N. family planning agency. When the House considered the fiscal 1995 foreign operations bill, Porter said he was pleased to see a healthy increase in funds for international family planning.

He also is active in international human rights issues. Porter was co-chairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, which he helped found in 1983. Despite his efforts to save the cau-

cus, it was one of 28 legislative service organizations whose funding was eliminated in December 1994.

During a 1994 subcommittee debate on the foreign operations bill, he argued against aid to Turkey, citing that government's counterinsurgency campaign against Kurdish separatists. Subcommittee Chairman Obey had recommended withholding 25 percent of U.S. military loans to Turkey until the president reported to Congress on allegations of abuses by that country's military forces.

The proposal drew opposition from Porter, who demanded that the entire military aid package for Turkey be subject to conditions. But he was overruled.

He told panel members that his wife, human rights activist Kathryn Cameron Porter, had been harassed and intimidated by Turkish officials during a recent visit to Kurdish areas in Turkey.

At Home: The Republican leanings of the

ILLINOIS

affluent North Shore suburbs in the 10th District likely would be enough to elect the fiscally conservative Porter. But his more liberal views on such social issues as abortion have earned Porter some support from independent and Democratic voters, enabling him to easily win his general-election contests.

However, those same positions unsettle the more conservative GOP factions. Porter's most vigorous challenge in recent years came from within the party in the 1992 primary.

His opponent was activist Kathleen M. Sullivan, founder of an organization that promotes sexual abstinence among teenagers.

Trying to avoid the "single issue" label, Sullivan espoused an agenda of strong conservative positions on economic and social issues.

Still, abortion was the defining issue. Sullivan tried to portray Porter as an abortion advocate, citing his support for the 1992 Freedom of Choice bill. But Porter said his support for abortion rights was in keeping with his philosophy that government should stay out of individuals' lives.

Although Porter was never seriously threatened, Sullivan held him to 60 percent, his lowest percentage in 10 years. His 1992 general election was more routine: Porter defeated Democratic lawyer Michael J. Kennedy with 65 percent.

Sullivan challenged Porter again in 1994. But Porter bested her in the primary, this time with 66 percent of the vote; Sullivan garnered 34 percent. Porter again had a routine general election against a political newcomer who was placed on the ballot

after Democrats failed to field a primary candidate.

The son of a well-known judge in Evanston, Porter returned to the Chicago suburbs after a stint in Washington with the Justice Department in the early 1960s. Porter tried to follow his father into the judiciary in 1970 by running for Cook County Circuit judge. A Republican candidate in the Democratic-dominated county, Porter found his cause was hopeless. But the bid helped boost his credentials within GOP circles. He had no trouble winning a state House seat in 1972 and was re-elected twice.

Meanwhile, Democrat Abner J. Mikva, one of the most liberal House Democrats, had won the old 10th District by scanty margins in 1974, and 1976 and was looking ripe for a challenge. Porter won the 1978 primary over six other Republicans.

Although Porter waged a well-funded campaign, Mikva was not quite ready to be taken: He nudged Porter out by 650 votes. But Mikva was appointed to a federal judgeship a few months later, and Porter won the 1980 special election to fill out his term. Seeking a full term in November 1980, he was returned to office by a convincing margin.

When a 1981 redistricting plan placed Porter's Evanston home in the heavily Democratic 9th District, Porter announced that he would move to challenge 10-term GOP Rep. Robert McClory in the new solidly Republican 10th. McClory, then 74, decided to retire, clearing the way for Porter, who defeated an experienced Democratic state legislator and set a pattern of easy November victories.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1994 General			
John Edward Porter (R)	114,884	(75%)	
Andrew M. Krupp (D)	38,191	(25%)	
1994 Primary			
John Edward Porter (R)	28,467	(66%)	
Kathleen M. Sullivan (R)	14,484	(34%)	
1992 General			
John Edward Porter (R)	155,230	(65%)	
Michael J. Kennedy (D)	85,400	(35%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (68%) 1988 (72%)
1986 (75%) 1984 (73%) 1982 (59%) 1980 (61%)
1980* (54%)

*Special election.

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
1994	
Ban certain assault weapons	Y
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Approve crime bill	Y
Approve GATT	Y
1993	
Ban federal abortion funding except in certain cases	Y
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	N
Lift ban on homosexuals in the military	N
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y

Approve NAFTA	Y
Approve Perry-Kasich plan to cut federal spending	Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	54	45	71	27	61	39
1993	45	50	71	24	61	36
1992	62	33	73	23	60	31
1991	67	30	69	27	78	22
1990	65	33	69	29	70	30
1989	65	35	54	41	71	24

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	30	33	n/a	52
1993	25	0	91	71
1992	30	33	88	74
1991	30	17	80	80
1990	22	17	79	67
1989	30	8	100	63

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1992		1988	
D	108,149 (41%)	D	90,306 (39%)
R	112,401 (43%)	R	143,671 (61%)
I	40,719 (16%)		

Rep. Lowen

NEW YORK

18 Nita M. Lowey (D)

Of Harrison — Elected 1988, 4th term

Biographical Information

Born: July 5, 1937, Bronx, N.Y.

Education: Mount Holyoke College, B.A. 1959.

Occupation: Public official.

Family: Husband, Stephen Lowey; three children.

Religion: Jewish.

Political Career: N.Y. assistant secretary of state, 1985-87.

Capitol Office: 2421 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6506.

Committee

Appropriations

Agriculture, Rural Development, FDA & Related Agencies;
Labor, Health & Human Services, Education & Related
Agencies



In Washington: In only three terms in the House, Lowey has proved adept at both the inside and outside game — mostly by going out and getting what she wants.

At the start of the 102nd Congress, she wanted a seat on the Appropriations Committee, which she got by aggressively lobbying the Democratic leadership. When the Republicans took over after the 1994 elections and vowed to cut committee rosters, Lowey's seat was considered lost. But rather than trust her own leaders to negotiate on her behalf, Lowey went directly to the decision-makers, pleading her case to incoming House Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Appropriations Chairman Robert L. Livingston of Louisiana. She argued that by sparing only a few more Democratic seats, the incoming regime could maintain important diversity on the pivotal spending panel. Her seat was saved, along with that of California Hispanic Esteban E. Torres.

Lowey is more than just a behind-the-scenes dealer, though. She also has a flair for public relations and sound bites, a key survival skill in the crowded downstate New York media market. One example was her leadership against attempts by the National Rifle Association (NRA) to recruit women members through ads in mass-market magazines such as *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Redbook*. Lowey led a march in front of the NRA's downtown Washington headquarters.

Lowey, however, is best known for her work on women's issues, particularly as a leader of House abortion-rights forces. In the 103rd Congress, as chair of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues pro-choice task force, she led the fight to ensure that abortions were covered in the "standard benefit packages" envisioned in health reform. Lowey's forces won the battle — abortion services were included in President Clinton's bill, as well as the bills approved by two House committees and the one put forward by House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri — but no

bill was enacted.

But Lowey's leadership on the abortion issue also showed that aggressiveness and street-smarts are sometimes no substitute for hardball legislative experience. In 1993, the Lowey-led abortion rights forces were embarrassingly outmaneuvered by Rep. Henry J. Hyde of Illinois and the anti-abortion movement during debate on the annual funding bill for the departments of Labor, Health and Human Services (HHS) and Education. At issue was the longstanding "Hyde amendment" that had limited federal funding for abortions under the Medicaid program since 1981 to those in which the pregnancy endangered the life of the woman.

Clinton's budget was silent on the abortion issue, in effect lifting all restrictions on Medicaid-funded abortions. And House rules were skewed toward keeping the bill that way. But Hyde managed to find a 1908 precedent allowing reimposition of most of the ban, and he also enlisted the support of the legendary William H. Natcher, D-Ky., an anti-abortion sympathizer who in 1993 chaired both the full Appropriations panel and the Labor-HHS subcommittee. Lowey and her lieutenants were caught by surprise and ultimately left sputtering on the floor. The bill's final version relaxed the restrictions for the first time in more than a decade to allow Medicaid-funded abortions in cases of rape or incest, but only because abortion foes had conceded that point.

But while she has been developing a national and institutional presence, Lowey has been careful not to neglect her district, which, since the 1992 remapping, includes not only much of upscale Westchester County but also some blue-collar neighborhoods in Queens and the Bronx. From her perch at Appropriations she helped city residents by winning an increase in funding to renovate Grant's Tomb and preserving funding for renovation of Penn Station. For Westchester, she and Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan together managed to obtain more than \$4 million for development of downtown Yonkers.

But despite her obvious ambitions, Lowey has also shown a willingness to buck both party leaders and important interests. During a House-

The 18th is one of many jigsaw-puzzle pieces in New York's district map. It stretches from the southern part of Westchester County (which has two-thirds of the district's population), down a ribbon of the East Bronx bordering Long Island Sound, across the mouth of the East River and down a narrow corridor into central Queens.

Before 1992 redistricting, Democrat Lowey's constituency was wholly within Westchester. But the drastic reshaping left the political makeup pretty much intact: The 18th is one of New York's most competitive districts, with a slight Democratic lean in recent elections.

The remap removed mainly black, Democratic-voting communities on the urban southern edge of Westchester. But it replaced them with heavily Jewish parts of Queens, where Lowey took 71 percent of the vote in 1992, cinching her victory over the Republican she unseated four years earlier, former Rep. Joseph J. DioGuardi.

The Westchester portion of the district is a tossup: Lowey won 53 percent there in 1992. This section has some of the most affluent communities in New York state. Most — including such places as Bronxville and Harrison — lean Republican, though Scarsdale, with its large Jewish population, often goes Democratic. The 18th's coastal location along the Long Island Sound also breeds an environmental consciousness that has benefited Lowey.

The most Democratic sections are in the low- to middle-income areas of the large cities, including parts of New Rochelle and White Plains, the county's seat and commercial center. The 18th has the largest portion of Yonkers, Westchester's most populous city (which is split among three districts).

NEW YORK 18 Parts of Westchester, Bronx and Queens counties

While Yonkers provides some Democratic votes from its ethnic white, working-class population, it is not a liberal place; it has been tied up for years in a federal court battle over whether there is intentional housing discrimination. The part of the city in the 18th (mainly on the east side) is nearly 90 percent non-Hispanic white, while the southwest part in the 17th District is two-thirds minority.

While there is much commuting to New York City, the portion of Westchester in the 18th has several large employers, including the headquarters of Texaco (White Plains) and PepsiCo (Purchase). There is a significant retail trade, much of it in White Plains. Educational institutions include Iona College in New Rochelle and exclusive Sarah Lawrence College in Yonkers.

On its east side, the district takes in an edge of the Bronx, including Pelham Bay Park and City Island. This area's small population, mainly working-class Italian-Americans, is heavily Republican.

The 18th then enters Queens via the Throgs Neck Bridge and follows a winding path through urban Flushing, which gives it much of its Asian population. After enveloping the southern part of Flushing Meadow Park, the district spreads west to take in the community of Rego Park and east to Utopia, site of St. John's University.

1990 Population: 580,337. White 470,717 (81%), Black 43,506 (7%), Other 66,114 (11%). Hispanic origin 60,202 (10%). 18 and over 467,381 (81%), 62 and over 117,660 (20%). Median age: 38.

Senate conference on the fiscal 1995 foreign aid spending bill, Lowey, a longtime supporter of Israel, broke with House Committee Chairman David R. Obey of Wisconsin to support strict language tying aid to the PLO to its adherence to the peace agreement with Israel.

Lowey was also the first Democrat in the New York delegation to publicly announce support for the NAFTA trade pact — a gutsy move for a member who received nearly half her political action committee contributions in the 1992 election cycle from organized labor, which vehemently opposed the agreement.

When Lowey entered the 101st Congress as a freshman, she got a seat on the Education and Labor Committee, a good fit for her interests, and she was a reliable liberal vote there. She also used a perch on the now-defunct Merchant Marine Committee to pursue federal funding to clean up Long Island Sound and its estuaries. She gave up her seats on both committees when she made it onto

Appropriations at the start of the 102nd Congress.

At Home: Lowey made a stunning political debut in 1988 when she unseated two-term Rep. Joseph J. DioGuardi in the then-20th District. Her outgoing personality and district-oriented legislative efforts enabled her to settle in quickly, defeating a poorly funded Republican candidate in 1990, then brushing aside a comeback attempt by DioGuardi in 1992.

In 1994, Lowey faced down a challenge by Republican Andrew C. Hartzell Jr., a senior partner at a major New York law firm, who put in a quarter-million dollars of his own money into the campaign.

Hartzell attacked Lowey for her support for Clinton on issues such as the budget-reconciliation bill and the crime bill, and he faulted her opposition to capital punishment. But even in the favorable GOP climate, Hartzell could not muster more than 41 percent.

By the time she entered the political arena,

NEW YORK

Lowey had spent years as a Democratic activist. In 1974, Lowey, then a homemaker in Queens, worked in an early campaign of a neighbor, Mario M. Cuomo. When Cuomo was later appointed by then-Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey as New York secretary of state, he hired Lowey to work in his department's anti-poverty division.

By the mid-1980s, Cuomo was governor; Lowey was the top aide to Secretary of State Gail Schaffer and a resident of the Westchester suburb of Harrison. Meanwhile, DioGuardi in 1984 had captured a swing Westchester House district that had long been held by Democrats.

In 1988, Lowey aimed for DioGuardi. She survived a primary against Hamilton Fish Jr., publisher of The Nation magazine and son of a House member, and businessman Dennis Mehiel. Lowey also raised \$1.3 million, a huge treasury for a challenger.

DioGuardi outspent her, but his fundraising prowess also turned into his downfall. A newspaper reported in October that a New Rochelle auto

dealer had funneled \$57,000 in corporate contributions to DioGuardi's campaign through his employees. DioGuardi denied knowledge of the pass-through scheme, but the revelations damaged him. Despite DioGuardi's effort to brand her as an extreme liberal, Lowey won — though by fewer than 6,000 votes.

GOP officials allowed Lowey to coast in 1990, but they found DioGuardi eager for another shot in 1992. The ousted Republican again argued that Lowey, who profiled herself as a moderate, was too far to the left. He continued to deny prior knowledge of the 1988 funding scheme and noted that Lowey had been fined for late reporting of personal funds that she had put into the 1988 campaign.

But Lowey denied wrongdoing, saying the fine was the result of an innocent oversight, and she tied DioGuardi to the Reagan-Bush policies she blamed for the nation's economic problems. This time she won with a cushion of more than 20,000 votes.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Nita M. Lowey (D)	91,663	(57%)
Andrew C. Hartzell Jr. (R,C)	65,517	(41%)
Florence T. O'Grady (RTL)	2,873	(2%)
1992 General		
Nita M. Lowey (D)	115,841	(56%)
Joseph J. DioGuardi (R, C, RTL)	92,687	(44%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (63%) 1988 (50%)

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
1994	
Ban certain assault weapons	Y
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Approve crime bill	Y
Approve GATT	Y
1993	
Ban federal abortion funding except in certain cases	N
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	Y
Lift ban on homosexuals in the military	Y
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y
Approve NAFTA	Y
Approve Penny-Kasich plan to cut federal spending	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	82	18	97	2	11	89
1993	84	16	95	3	18	82
1992	13	87	96	3	15	85
1991	24	74	95	3	8	92
1990	14	83	94	4	15	81
1989	28	70	94	3	15	85

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	85	89	n/a	10
1993	90	92	18	4
1992	100	92	25	0
1991	100	100	20	0
1990	100	100	21	4
1989	95	100	40	7

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1992		1988	
D	117,937 (50%)	D	107,577 (46%)
R	94,754 (40%)	R	123,597 (53%)
I	22,019 (9%)		

Rep. LAFALCE

29 John J. LaFalce (D)

Of Tonawanda — Elected 1974, 11th term

Biographical Information

Born: Oct. 6, 1939, Buffalo, N.Y.

Education: Canisius College, B.S. 1961; Villanova U., J.D. 1964.

Military Service: Army, 1965-67.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Patricia Fisher; one child.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: N.Y. Senate, 1971-73; N.Y. Assembly, 1973-75.

Capitol Office: 2310 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-3231.

Committees

Banking & Financial Services

Capital Markets, Securities & Government Sponsored Enterprises; Financial Institutions & Consumer Credit

Small Business (ranking)



In Washington: As chairman of the Small Business Committee from 1987 through the 103rd Congress, LaFalce labored to change the panel's image as a backwater and give it a role in setting tax and regulatory policy. But the Republican electoral sweep of 1994 threatened the very existence of the committee.

Some post-election GOP proposals to streamline the House called for abolishing Small Business. The Republican leadership ultimately spared the committee, but that decision had little to do with any progress LaFalce had made in boosting the panel's reputation; rather, the committee was spared because the Republican slated to chair it was Jan Meyers of Kansas. She was the only woman in line to head a full House committee in the 104th, and GOP leaders concluded that giving her that opportunity could not hurt the party's image.

Those who work with LaFalce regard him as one of the smarter members of the House, but his intense manner and his intellectual certitude can at times be off-putting. The 104th will be a big adjustment for him, as he cedes the prerogatives of the chair to Meyers and moves over to become Small Business' ranking minority member.

If LaFalce did not establish the Small Business Committee as a powerhouse during his years as chairman, there is no doubt that he expanded the reach of the panel, and that he found ways to improve the availability of capital and credit to small businesses.

In the 103rd Congress, LaFalce was able to make it easier for small businesses to get a greater share of federal contracts by helping enact legislation overhauling government procurement rules; the measure was part of the Clinton administration's "reinventing government" initiative. LaFalce staked out his committee's jurisdiction on the issue, and worked to set a higher ceiling on the size of government contracts reserved for small business. He also fought to keep intact regulations that require federal contractors to specify what

portion of each contract they plan to farm out to small and minority-owned businesses.

Also in the 103rd, LaFalce's committee oversaw a reauthorization bill for the Small Business Administration that included defense conversion loans for areas hurt by base closings and established an Office of Women's Business Ownership at the SBA. He continues to press for creation of a government-sponsored secondary market to buy and sell small-business loans. His hope is that a secondary market similar to that for home mortgages will stimulate small business lending.

LaFalce once conceded that "99 out of 100" issues in which he got Small Business involved were outside the committee's jurisdiction, adding, "I can either say we'll tend to our knitting or we can become the aggressive ombudsman of the small-business community."

To do this, he had to encroach on the turf of some of the most powerful House members. His biggest victory came in 1989 at the expense of Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill.

At issue was Section 89 of the 1986 Tax Reform Act, which sought to eliminate disparities in employee health programs that provided greater benefits to higher-paid workers. Backed by small business groups who complained that compliance with Section 89 imposed an onerous burden, LaFalce lined up congressional support and told Rostenkowski he wanted to repeal the section. Rostenkowski resisted at first, then agreed with LaFalce to work out a compromise short of repeal. But LaFalce found that the repeal bandwagon he had started was unstoppable. Republicans enthusiastically jumped on board, and Rostenkowski got rolled; on a 390-96 vote, the House repealed Section 89. After the ballot, LaFalce appeared somewhat melancholy that his outreach to Rostenkowski had come too late. "I wanted a Ways and Means victory," LaFalce told a colleague.

That was not the only time LaFalce broke some china in the Democratic pantry in the name of small business. In 1990, the Democratic leadership made it an election-year priority to pass a Civil Rights Act aimed at reversing court decisions limiting the right to sue and recover compensatory

NEW YORK

The many industrial workers in the Buffalo-Niagara Falls region provide a political base for LaFalce and other Democratic candidates in the 29th. However, the district also has a piece of GOP-leaning Buffalo suburbia and Rochester suburbs at its eastern extreme; in between is some solidly Republican rural turf. Many traditional Democratic voters in the Buffalo area are socially conservative white "ethnics" with roots in Italy, Eastern Europe and Ireland.

These factors make the 29th potentially competitive. LaFalce (a leading Democratic opponent of abortion) has maintained his party's grasp on the seat, but his once-dominant hold has slipped: He took 55 percent in 1990 and 1994 and 54 percent in 1992.

In 1992, Bill Clinton beat George Bush in the 29th, but his plurality was one of the smallest of any district that he carried in the state. Working-class unhappiness with the two major parties led to an exceptional turnout for independent Ross Perot: In Niagara County, Clinton won 37 percent, compared with 32 percent for Bush and 31 percent for Perot.

Most of the district's residents live in northwest Erie County and all of Niagara County (each of these jurisdictions provides about 40 percent of the 29th's population).

The 29th takes in the northwest corner of the city of Buffalo. Though it has a small part of downtown and the Peace Bridge that connects the city with Fort Erie, Ontario, this is a mainly residential area, where Italian-Americans make up the predominant constituent group.

To the north are such mixed blue- and white-collar suburbs as Tonawanda and Grand Island. Like the rest of Buffalo, this area is adjusting from an economy dependent on heavy industry to one based on service providers and

NEW YORK 29 Northwest — Part of Buffalo; Niagara Falls

lighter manufacturers. Unemployment is down but so are wages for formerly unionized blue-collar workers.

The natural grandeur of Niagara Falls makes its namesake city one of the world's leading tourist stops. But the Niagara River also made the region a major industrial center. Its chemical industry provides thousands of jobs but has given the area a somewhat sinister ecological reputation. A community had to be abandoned in 1978 because of toxic dumping in the city's Love Canal; part of the area has been cleaned up and reoccupied.

Though there has been some retrenchment, blue-collar industry is still central: Occidental Chemical, du Pont and Carborundum factories are in Niagara Falls, as is a Nabisco shredded wheat factory. General Motors' components plant in Lockport has thus far avoided the financially struggling company's downsizing: GM committed \$50 million to the Lockport facility in 1992 for air-conditioning equipment that will not use ozone-depleting refrigerants.

The remainder of Niagara and Orleans County to the east are largely rural, with many dairy and produce farms. Orleans is by far the most Republican part of the 29th: George E. Pataki beat Gov. Mario M. Cuomo there 66 percent to 20 percent in 1994.

1990 Population: 580,337. White 537,547 (93%), Black 26,118 (5%), Other 16,672 (3%). Hispanic origin 16,241 (3%). 18 and over 441,716 (76%), 62 and over 102,578 (18%). Median age: 34.

damages for claims of job discrimination. LaFalce took seriously President George Bush's threat to veto the measure as a "quotas" bill, and he produced a plan that made it easier for employers to prove non-discrimination and lowered the cap on damages.

But whatever its public policy merits, the political impact of LaFalce's proposal was to give aid and comfort to the GOP. House Democratic leaders had intentionally adopted a hard-line strategy to put Bush in the uncomfortable posture of opposing civil rights legislation, and House Republicans were floundering for a countering strategy. When LaFalce was blocked from offering his measure as a Democratic alternative, then-Minority Leader Robert H. Michel of Illinois put his name on it and promoted it as a GOP plan. LaFalce voted for the Michel substitute, but he also voted for the Democrats' bill. And he voted for the final House-Senate compromise version, which died under Bush's promised veto.

LaFalce is also a veteran member of the Banking Committee; he chaired a subcommittee there before taking the helm at Small Business. By the start of the 104th he had risen to be the No. 2 Democrat on Banking, right behind ranking member (and former chairman) Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas, a man who, like LaFalce, has a reputation for being prickly and headstrong. Even though LaFalce lost the Small Business chair in the 104th, he stayed on there as ranking rather than moving to a ranking seat on a Banking subcommittee.

LaFalce is among the House Democrats most opposed to abortion, and he has warned that the party's advocacy of abortion rights could create a lasting rift with ethnic and working-class voters.

At Home: His aggressive manner, an ethnic link to many of his constituents and the Democratic lean in his Niagara region district enabled LaFalce to dominate his first eight House contests. However, in each of his past three bids, LaFalce has tallied no more than 55 percent of the vote.

NEW YORK

Though he slipped from the 73 percent he obtained in 1988 in what was then the 32nd District, LaFalce was never threatened with defeat in 1990. His Republican opponent received only 31 percent.

LaFalce blamed his slippage on complacency and his absence from the district during the 101st Congress' long session. However, there also was evidence of dissatisfaction in LaFalce's blue-collar base.

LaFalce dodged a bullet in the redistricting that preceded the 1992 election. An early remap proposal would have placed LaFalce in the same district as rising GOP Rep. Bill Paxon.

However, voters' dissent continued to simmer, and Republicans recruited a higher-profile candidate to challenge LaFalce in the new 29th District. Lawyer William E. Miller Jr. was young and aggressive and had a well-known name: His late father, a longtime House member from the area, was the vice presidential candidate on the 1964 GOP ticket with Barry Goldwater.

Miller ran hard on an anti-incumbent theme. He tried to tar LaFalce, as a senior Banking Committee member, with some responsibility for the savings and loan scandal. He also contrasted his

support for abortion rights with LaFalce's anti-abortion position.

But LaFalce fought back vigorously. He said he was an early advocate of banking law reform and blamed the thrift crisis on regulatory failures by Republican administrations. Although Miller gained a higher percentage than the 1990 GOP candidate, LaFalce prevailed by more than 30,000 votes, 54 percent to 42 percent.

Miller tried again in 1994. Despite a more favorable GOP climate, he did not fare much better. This time, LaFalce won by 22,000 votes but pushed his percentage to 55 percent; Miller received 43 percent.

LaFalce, a lawyer in his hometown of Buffalo, burst into politics in 1970 with an upset victory for the state Senate. When a redistricting plan gave him an impossible district to run in two years later, he moved down to the state Assembly, where he served one term.

In 1974, when GOP Rep. Henry P. Smith retired, LaFalce campaigned in a semi-suburban district that had not been won by a Democrat in 62 years. He carried 60 percent of the vote, then proceeded to win with even greater margins until his 1990 dropoff.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1994 General			
John J. LaFalce (D,I)	103,053	(55%)	
William E. Miller (R,C)	80,355	(43%)	
Patrick Murty (RTL)	3,296	(2%)	
1994 Primary			
John J. LaFalce (D)	16,393	(81%)	
John A. Basar Jr. (D)	3,882	(19%)	
1992 General			
John J. LaFalce (D, I)	128,230	(54%)	
William E. Miller Jr. (R, C)	98,031	(42%)	
Kenneth J. Kowalski (RTL)	7,367	(3%)	
Previous Winning Percentages:			
1990 (55%)	1988 (73%)		
1986 (91%)	1984 (69%)	1982 (91%)	1980 (72%)
1978 (74%)	1976 (67%)	1974 (60%)	

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	82	12	86	10	47	42
1993	72	25	84	10	39	61
1992	27	70	86	9	29	65
1991	32	67	89	8	22	78
1990	30	67	80	14	35	61
1989	34	59	81	15	41	51

KEY VOTES

1995		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N	
1994		
Bar certain assault weapons	Y	
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	N	
Approve crime bill	Y	
Approve GATT	Y	
1993		
Bar federal abortion funding except in certain cases	Y	
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	Y	
Lift ban on homosexuals in the military	N	
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y	
Approve NAFTA	N	
Approve Penny-Kasich plan to cut federal spending	N	

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	80	78	n/a	15
1993	75	100	9	17
1992	85	100	25	12
1991	90	83	30	10
1990	72	67	46	21
1989	90	83	50	12

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1992		1988	
D 103,528 (40%)		D 123,634 (51%)	
R 86,732 (33%)		R 117,286 (49%)	
I 70,231 (27%)			

Rep. Spratt

5 John M. Spratt Jr. (D)

Of York — Elected 1982, 7th term

Biographical Information

Born: Nov. 1, 1942, Charlotte, N.C.

Education: Davidson College, A.B. 1964; Oxford U., M.A. 1966; Yale U., LL.B. 1969.

Military Service: Army, 1969-71.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Jane Stacy; three children.

Religion: Presbyterian.

Political Career: No previous office.

Capitol Office: 1536 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-5501.

Committees

Government Reform & Oversight

Government Management, Information & Technology;
National Economic Growth, Natural Resources &
Regulatory Affairs

National Security

Military Readiness; Military Research & Development
(ranking)



In Washington: A brainy lawyer and former bank president, Spratt made a quiet, steady rise to influence on defense and budget matters during his first decade in the House. Although the Republicans took control of the House for the 104th Congress, Spratt's pro-defense views are still likely to

find a voice on the National Security Committee, formerly Armed Services, where he serves as the ranking Democrat on the Military Research and Development Subcommittee.

Spratt also gained a leadership slot in the 104th, as Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt included more southern Democrats in the leadership ranks. Spratt serves as vice chairman for policy, along with George Miller of California, on the Policy Committee, which studies issues, writes bills and publicizes what the Democrats are doing.

In the defense arena, Spratt's centrist views are more in line with those of Republican Committee Chairman Floyd D. Spence, also of South Carolina, than those of the former Democratic chairman, Ronald V. Dellums of California, who took a more dovish approach to defense policy.

Reflecting his role as an ally of the Democratic leadership, Spratt early in 1995 took exception with some elements of the Republican plans for the military contained in the GOP's "Contract With America." When a Republican defense bill came to the floor, Spratt offered an amendment stipulating that anti-missile defenses for U.S. territory merit a lower priority than maintaining the readiness of U.S. forces and fielding defenses to protect troops in the field. The amendment was adopted 218-212, with 24 Republicans voting with the Democrats.

But Spratt is still to the right of the liberal Dellums most of the time, and in the past he has taken a pro-defense posture — as in 1994, when he spoke out against an amendment to the defense bill that would have terminated the Trident D-5 missile. Spratt said losing the missile "would be a serious mistake."

Arguing that 50 percent of the U.S. nuclear

deterrent would depend on the D-5 in years to come, Spratt told the House, "We are in the midst of the biggest downsizing of strategic weaponry since the end of the Second World War. . . . We are coming down to the point where this system, the D-5 system, is the centerpiece of our triad."

Spratt also positions himself in the center on budget issues. In 1994 and 1995, he voted for a balanced-budget constitutional amendment.

As the 103rd Congress began, Spratt unsuccessfully sought the Budget Committee chairmanship, running as a moderate against liberal Rep. Martin Olav Sabo of Minnesota. Within the liberal-tilted Democratic Caucus, Sabo had a clear edge; he defeated Spratt by a vote of 149-112.

In May 1993, when the House was preparing to vote on President Clinton's five-year deficit-reduction plan, Spratt had considered offering to the bill a plan to cap entitlement programs. But after a visit from Clinton, he changed his mind.

"The reconciliation bill is more important," Spratt said. Clinton had argued that an entitlement cap would hurt his health care reform efforts because the administration also was trying to find ways to control Medicare and Medicaid, the two fastest-growing entitlements.

Even though the 5th District has a rural flavor and the big employers make textiles and apparel — two industries traditionally wary of low-wage competitors abroad — Spratt voted for NAFTA. As chairman of the Congressional Textile Caucus (one of the legislative service organizations that lost funding when the GOP took control of the House in 1995) Spratt said he was aware that NAFTA could mean a loss of low-wage apparel manufacturing jobs. But after a visit to Mexico in October 1993 with a group of House colleagues, Spratt said he saw "palpable evidence that there is potential for U.S. companies to sell goods" there.

He also was persuaded to vote for the trade pact when the Clinton administration gained an agreement from the Philippines and some, but not all, other developing countries to accept a phase-out of existing U.S. textile import quotas over 15 years, rather than 10 years.

On another issue of local concern, Spratt in 1993 helped to resolve a land claim by a

SOUTH CAROLINA

Touching on four distinct regions of South Carolina, the 5th extends from the hills of Cherokee County south to the low country around Sumter. To command a districtwide media presence, a candidate has to buy time in four cities outside the district: Greenville, Columbia, Florence and Charlotte, N.C.

This geographic diversity makes it difficult to pigeonhole the district's personality. In the west, rural counties such as Newberry, Chester, Lancaster and Kershaw produce cotton for the textile mills that historically have dominated this region's economy.

The small but growing cities of Rock Hill and Sumter add urbane, progressive immigrants from the North to the population mix. In the east, residents of Chesterfield, Dillon and Marlboro counties depend heavily on tobacco farming.

Linking the two rural parts of the district is their common struggle with declining economies. About 20 percent of the tobacco-producing counties live in poverty, and modernization has stripped many mills in the west of their plentiful, low-skill jobs.

To the north, the city of Rock Hill provides population and suburban affluence to the district. Once heavily textile-dependent, county residents now gravitate north toward white-collar jobs in Charlotte. In fact, the area's biggest challenge may be to avoid surrendering its identity to Charlotte's yuppie hordes, who stream down I-77 searching for bedroom communities.

Native industry here still includes textile mills; many have converted from weaving cotton to producing high-tech fibers for industrial uses.

Rock Hill grew modestly during the

SOUTH CAROLINA 5 North Central — Rock Hill

1980s, but it anticipates faster growth as the 1990s continue. The settlement in the Catawba Indians' claim to 144,000 acres in two counties — which stymied investment as buyers worried about a proposed lawsuit against 62,000 individual landowners — is expected to unleash a pent-up drive for development.

In national elections, increasing affluence has persuaded some areas to abandon their Democratic heritage.

Bush reaped 49 percent of the vote in York County, down from his 65 percent showing in 1988 but still a respectable draw in a three-way race. And Spratt has had an increasingly difficult time holding on to the "yellow dog" Democrats, mostly mill and agricultural workers who inherited ideological proclivities from their parents and grandparents. In 1994, he lost five counties, while struggling to his lowest tally ever.

York County's days as a hotbed of religious conservatism have been fading, however, since television evangelist Jim Bakker's downfall and incarceration forced him to abandon his PTL headquarters in Fort Mill; some of Bakker's supporters since have moved elsewhere.

Other conservative votes in the district come from the counties of Sumter (home of Shaw Air Force Base) and Kershaw.

1990 Population: 581,131. White 396,287 (68%), Black 179,155 (31%), Other 5,689 (1%). Hispanic origin 3,233 (1%). 18 and over 422,575 (73%), 62 and over 83,253 (14%). Median age: 32.

group of Catawba Indians. To satisfy the ancient claim on 144,000 acres of land in South Carolina's York, Lancaster and Chester counties, the Catawbas threatened to sue all property owners in those areas, effectively freezing real estate transactions.

Spratt helped negotiate a deal, which was cleared by Congress, under which the Catawbas would get \$50 million in public and private funds; rights to about 4,000 acres; tribal recognition (which would allow for limited self-government and eligibility for payments under federal Indian programs); and other benefits.

At Home: With his lofty academic credentials and background in law and banking, Spratt is not the obvious choice for a district where many of the Democratic voters come from poor textile towns and dusty farms.

Spratt had not had a close race until 1994. Republican Larry Bigham, a Rock Hill restaurant owner whose only political experience was

service on a local school board and an unsuccessful state Senate bid, distributed bumper stickers reading, "Stop the Clinton-Spratt agenda." His aggressive challenge included ads charging Spratt with voting in favor of child pornography.

When Bigham and the electoral climate looked increasingly dangerous for Spratt, the congressman guaranteed a \$200,000 loan to his campaign. The money helped Spratt continue his attacks on the GOP's "Contract With America," which Bigham signed, and to stress his own conservative views and service to the district. Spratt sent a targeted mailing to senior citizens, telling them that the contract threatened Medicare and Social Security.

Although Spratt lost five counties, including York, his home and the district's most populous, affluent and Democratic area, he squeezed by at 52 percent.

But after emerging from a field of four Demo-

SOUTH CAROLINA

cratic candidates in 1982, Spratt had won six general elections with ease. Even in 1992 — when the investigation of the House bank showed that Spratt had 45 overdrafts, new turf was given to him in redistricting and the 5th gave George Bush a presidential victory — Spratt's opponent, GOP businessman Bill Horne, managed just 39 percent.

In his first campaign, Spratt worked hard to turn his elitist credentials into an asset. "People are glad to see a candidate with these qualifications," he said. "That's my come-on."

In 1982, when Democratic Rep. Ken Holland announced his retirement just before the filing deadline, Spratt jumped for the Democratic nomination, as did former Holland aide John Winburn and state Rep. Ernie Nunnery.

Winburn had Holland's contacts and Nunnery had a base in Chester County, but Spratt's banking interests and his law practice gave him strong connections in political and business circles. Many Democratic leaders quietly backed him.

And when Winburn called Spratt "a millionaire banker, lawyer and hobby farmer" who could not relate to ordinary people, Spratt persuasively argued that his work with small-town clients and depositors had given him an understanding of their circumstances. Spratt finished first in the primary with 38 percent of the vote, then took 55 percent in a runoff against Winburn.

In November, Republican John Wilkerson, a longtime friend and legal client of Spratt's, accused the Democrat of being too liberal for the district. But Spratt appealed to the district's partisan loyalties and had a clear organizational edge. When he visited county courthouses, rural areas and factories, he often had a locally popular political figure close at hand. One source described Wilkerson's core supporters as "the country club boys — the fellows who put ice in their whiskey." Spratt won two-thirds of the vote.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
John M. Spratt Jr. (D)	77,311	(52%)
Larry Bigham (R)	70,967	(48%)
1992 General		
John M. Spratt Jr. (D)	112,031	(61%)
Bill Horne (R)	70,866	(39%)

Previous Winning Percentages: **1990** (100%) **1988** (70%)
1986 (100%) **1984** (92%) **1982** (68%)

KEY VOTES

1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
1994	
Ban certain assault weapons	Y
Safeguard access to abortion clinics	Y
Approve crime bill	Y
Approve GATT	N
1993	
Ban federal abortion funding except in certain cases	Y
Pass Clinton budget raising taxes and cutting spending	Y
Lift ban on homosexuals in the military	N
Approve five-day waiting period for handgun purchases	Y
Approve NAFTA	Y
Approve Penny-Kasich plan to cut federal spending	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1994	81	18	89	9	78	22
1993	82	16	85†	13†	82	18
1992	34	66	83	15	79	21
1991	40	59	82	15	73	27
1990	29	69	86	14	72	28
1989	49	51	83	16	68	32

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1994	65	88	n/a	24
1993	55	83	45	25
1992	75	67	50	28
1991	50	83	30	21
1990	56	67	36	33
1989	65	67	80	29

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1992		1988	
D	81,197 (43%)	D	60,014 (39%)
R	85,971 (45%)	R	92,170 (61%)
I	23,437 (12%)		