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Folder Title: President Wolfensohn - Briefing Book for President's Meetings and Events - Dinner - United States Senators - Including Senator Landrieu - April 1, 1998

Folder ID: 30490409

Series: Meeting and event briefing materials

Dates: 02/05/1998 – 04/01/1998

Subfonds: Records of President James D. Wolfensohn

Fonds: Records of the Office of the President

ISAD Reference Code: WB IBRD/IDA EXC-13-10

Digitized: 05/21/2025

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THE WORLD BANK

Washington, D.C.

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The World Bank

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Washington DC 20433

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30490409

R2002-036 Other #: 53 Box #: 186503B

President Wolfensohn - Briefing Book for President's Meetings - Meeting Material
Dinner - United States Senators - Including Senator Landrieu - April 1, 1998

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DECLASSIFIED
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Dinner: U.S. Senators
(Including Senator Landrieu)

Wednesday, April 1, 1998
7:30 - 9:00 p.m.
Kalorama Residence

Archive Management for the President's Office

Document Log

Reference # : Archive-02187

Edit

Print

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: U.S. SENATORS (INCLUDING SENATOR LANDRIEU)
<KALORAMA RESIDENCE> <TOTAL: 16> TIME: 7:30 - 9:00 P.M. //
VENUE: KALORAMA RESIDENCE // CONTACT: MCHUGH @ 80309
GUESTS <TOTAL - 17>: SENATOR ROBERT BENNETT, APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE, SENATOR DIANNE FEINSTEIN, FOREIGN RELATIONS
COMMITTEE, SENATOR JOHN KERRY, BANKING COMMITTEE, FOREIGN
RELATIONS COMMITTEE, SENATOR MARY L. LANDRIEU,
SENATOR PATRICK J. LEAHY, APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, INCLUDING
FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE, SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR,
FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, SENATOR PAUL SARBARNES, BANKING
COMMITTEE; FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, SENATOR GORDON H.
SMITH, BUDGET COMMITTEE, FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, SENATOR
TED STEVENS, APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE (CHAIRMAN), INCLUDING
FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE
SENATOR FRANK R. LAUTENBERG, SENATOR DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN
THE HON. ROBERT E. RUBIN, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
THE HON. TIMOTHY F. GEITHNER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, MS. JAN PIERCY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MR. JOSEPH STIGLITZ, VICE PRESIDENT & CHIEF ECONOMIST,
MR. MATTHEW MCHUGH, COUNSELOR TO THE PRESIDENT,
JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN - HOST, NOTES: (3/2) SEE EMAILS FROM MCHUGH
& PIERCY / (3/3) MCHUGH CONVEYED AND CONFIRMED DATE/TIME / (3/5)
ITEM MOVED FROM MARCH 17 AS SENATOR LANDRIEU WILL NOT BE
AVAILABLE - SWITCH ITEM TO APRIL 1 // 3/4 JANE TO HANDLE CATERING
ARRANGEMENTS // (B) MCHUGH // DUE: FRIDAY, MARCH 27
EXC: CA // ALI (3/3)

Brief includes:

- Letter to JDW from M. McHugh, March 27
- List of Attendees
- Letter to JDW from Senator P. Leahy, Feb. 5
- Letter to Sen. P. Leahy from S. Sandstrom, Feb. 18
- Robert F. Bennett
- Dianne Feinstein
- John Kerry
- Mary Landrieu
- Frank Lautenberg
- Patrick Leahy
- Richard Lugar
- Barbara Mikulski
- Patrick Moynihan
- Paul Sarbanes
- Gordon Smith
- Robert Smith
- Ted Stevens

DATE: 04/01/98

C. VPU

The World Bank
1818 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20433
U.S.A

MATTHEW F. McHUGH
Counselor to the President

March 27, 1998

Mr. James D. Wolfensohn

Re: Dinner with U.S. Senators - April 1, 1998

Jim:

As of this writing, ten Senators have accepted your invitation to dinner on April 1. Spouses have not been invited.

As you know, the Senate floor schedule can have a last-minute impact on attendance, but the list looks quite good at this point, with the following key Committee people having said "yes":

Senator Robert Bennett - Appropriations Committee, including
Foreign Operations Subcommittee; Banking Committee.

Senator Dianne Feinstein - Foreign Relations Committee.

Senator John Kerry - Banking Committee; Foreign Relations Committee.

Senator Mary Landrieu - No relevant Committee to IDA or IMF.

Senator Frank Lautenberg - Appropriations Committee, including
Foreign Operations Subcommittee; Budget Committee.

Senator Patrick Leahy - Appropriations Committee, including
Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

Senator Richard Lugar - Foreign Relations Committee.

Senator Paul Sarbanes - Banking Committee; Foreign Relations Committee.

Senator Gordon Smith - Budget Committee; Foreign Relations Committee.

Senator Ted Stevens - Appropriations Committee (Chairman), including
Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

Secretary Rubin has indicated that he will attend, as will Jan Piercy, Joe Stiglitz and I.

Four other Senators have not yet responded to the invitation, i.e., Senators Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Barbara Mikulski, Pat Moynihan, and Robert Smith. Campbell and Mikulski are members of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

This dinner provides a good opportunity to cover a few important points:

- Thank them for their successful effort to fully fund IDA last year, and urge that the Senate approve the President's request for \$800 million this year (nearly a 23% reduction from last year's request).
- Brief them on your recent trip to Asia and the work that the Bank is doing to help resolve the crisis in the region.
- Describe what the IMF is doing in Asia to restore stability and confidence, and how the Fund's work complements the Bank's efforts to ensure sustainable development over time.

Recent Correspondence

EXT has searched your correspondence file and the only recent communication from one who may attend the dinner is a letter from Senator Pat Leahy, dated February 5, 1998, a copy of which is attached. It relates to Shirley Hufstedler's review of our grievance procedures. Sven responded on your behalf by letter of February 18, a copy of which is also attached.

Legislative Update

This year the President has requested \$800 million to cover the U.S. commitment to the third year of IDA 11. This request will not be dealt with until the House Foreign Appropriations Subcommittee marks up its FY99 foreign aid appropriations bill, probably in early to mid-May. The Senate subcommittee will mark-up later. At this point, we do not anticipate any major problems, but, as you have observed, an issue like family planning could alter the situation. We are watching that closely.

The Administration is working hard to secure prompt approval for its \$18 billion IMF request. Yesterday, March 26, the Senate approved the request, attaching it to the FY98 Supplemental Appropriations bill that covers emergency disaster relief and certain military operations. Senator Stevens took the lead on the IMF and scored an impressive 84-16 victory on the relevant amendment.

The situation in the House is much more problematic. While incorporating the IMF in its own version of a Supplemental Appropriations bill, the House Appropriations Committee included conditions to which Secretary Rubin has strongly objected. For example, governments borrowing more than \$500 million from the IMF would have to comply with trade agreements and limit government-directed lending and subsidies. Moreover, the House leadership has said that when this bill reaches the floor, an effort will be made to attach the abortion language to which the President and others so strongly object.

The House could consider the bill incorporating the IMF request before adjourning next Friday, April 3, for the two-week Passover/Easter recess. However, it is highly unlikely that all of the contentious issues can be resolved in a conference until late April, at the earliest.

I have attached biographies for those Senators who have accepted your invitation, as well for those who have not yet responded. I will keep your office posted on subsequent responses as they come in.



Matt

Attachments

DINNER HOSTED BY MR. JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN

ON WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1, 7:30 P.M.

FINAL LIST OF ATTENDEES

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

The Honorable Robert E. Rubin, Secretary of the Treasury
Ms. Jan Piercy, United States Executive Director at The World Bank

U.S. SENATE

The Honorable Robert F. Bennett
The Honorable Dianne Feinstein
The Honorable John F. Kerry
The Honorable Mary L. Landrieu
The Honorable Frank R. Lautenberg
The Honorable Patrick J. Leahy
The Honorable Richard G. Lugar
The Honorable Daniel P. Moynihan
The Honorable Paul S. Sarbanes
The Honorable Gordon H. Smith
The Honorable Robert C. Smith
The Honorable Ted Stevens (Will be slightly late.)

WORLD BANK

Mr. Matthew F. McHugh, Counselor to the President
Mr. Joseph Stiglitz, Vice President & Chief Economist

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4502

98 FEB 12 PM 3:01

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

26333

COMMITTEES:

AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND
FORESTRY

APPROPRIATIONS

JUDICIARY

February 5, 1998

The Honorable James Wolfensohn
President
The World Bank
1818 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20433

Dear Jim:

I recently learned that Ms. Shirley Hufstedler has agreed to conduct a review of the World Bank's grievance process, and want you to know how appreciative I am that you sought and obtained her assistance.

I first became concerned about what I believe to be serious flaws in the grievance process at the Bank and the IMF in 1992. Since then I have received reports from female Bank and IMF employees who describe a pattern of harassment, retaliation, and other forms of mistreatment by their supervisors, and a grievance process that does not afford due process at an institution that is immune from the court system. The right to present documentary evidence can be severely restricted, witnesses are refused the opportunity to testify, and reinstatement is not an option even when the aggrieved individual proves that she is a victim of misconduct. It is my impression that resorting to the grievance process is widely regarded as detrimental to one's career, and therefore often avoided. It is also apparent that the Ethics Office and the Ombudsman have failed to address effectively serious problems within their areas of authority.

I am hopeful that Ms. Hufstedler's review will lead to fundamental reforms of the grievance process so it can become an effective deterrent to misconduct. However, for that to occur I believe it is important that her review not be limited to the issue of gender bias or to the two cases that have been identified for her consideration. There are a range of issues, including but not limited to gender, and beyond the experience of these two individuals, which need to be reviewed. In that regard, I would urge that Bank employees be made aware that Ms. Hufstedler is conducting the review, and encouraged, with assurance of confidentiality, to provide her with any relevant information.

Again, I greatly appreciate the important step you have taken to address these concerns. I have great respect for Shirley Hufstedler and look forward to seeing her report. I will help in any way I can to support her recommendations.

With best regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'P. Leahy', written over the printed name.

PATRICK LEAHY
Ranking Member
Foreign Operations Subcommittee

The World Bank
Washington, D.C. 20433
U.S.A.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 18, 1998

Senator Patrick Leahy
Ranking Member
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-4502

Dear Senator Leahy,

Thank you very much for your letter of February 5, addressed to Mr. Wolfensohn who is currently travelling, concerning the review of the World Bank's grievance process by Ms. Shirley Hufstedler.

Let me first assure you that Ms. Hufstedler has been given complete access to Bank files and the right to interview any staff member she chooses. The staff involved have been instructed to cooperate with her fully.

Once Ms. Hufstedler completes her assignment, it is our intention to have the entire grievance process reviewed with a view to identifying further possibilities for streamlining and transparency and ensuring a fair outcome.

We are gratified to note your continued interest in this subject and wish to assure you that it is given priority attention.

Sincerely yours,



Sven Sandström
Acting President

bcc: Zhang Shengman (SEC); Berry, Dorothy (HRS)

dtb

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02/13/98 4:03 PM

Robert F. Bennett (R)

Of Salt Lake City — Elected 1992, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Sept. 18, 1933, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Education: U. of Utah, B.S. 1957.

Military Service: National Guard, 1957-61.

Occupation: Management consultant.

Family: Wife, Joyce McKay; six children.

Religion: Mormon.

Political Career: No previous office.

Capitol Office: 431 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-5444.

Committees

Appropriations

Energy & Water Development; Foreign Operations; Interior; Legislative Branch (chairman); Transportation

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

Financial Services & Technology (chairman); International Finance; Securities

Governmental Affairs

Investigations; Oversight of Government Management and the District of Columbia.

Small Business

Joint Economic



In * Washington: Bennett lost a chance for an open door at the White House when his close associate, former Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, was defeated in the 1996 presidential election.

Bennett was a strong Dole ally in the Senate.

When Dole's bid for the

Republican presidential nomination was stumbling in early 1996, Bennett was one of the trusted advisers traveling the campaign trail with him.

During Dole's tenure as leader, Bennett got a seat on Appropriations, and in the 105th Congress he became chairman of the Legislative Branch Subcommittee. He got another gavel in 1997, chairing the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee on Financial Services and Technology. Also for the 105th, Dole's successor as majority leader, Trent Lott, made Bennett head of a task force on congressional reorganization.

That has been a particular interest of Bennett's since he joined the Senate. In 1993, he proposed legislation, which was never acted upon, to reorganize congressional committees, adopt a two-year budget cycle and establish congressional task forces to set priorities for legislative action.

Bennett got the door slammed in his face in the Republican leadership shuffle that followed Dole's June 1996 exit from the chamber. He drew just eight of 53 votes in a bid to chair the Republican Policy Committee, finishing third to Idaho's Larry E. Craig and Indiana's Daniel R. Coats in a contest Craig eventually won.

Although Bennett gave up a seat on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee when he joined Appropriations, he stays involved in Western lands issues on Appropriations' Interior Subcommittee. Bennett is among the conservative Republicans who accuse federal land management agencies and environmentalists of waging a "war on the West." He expressed outrage in September 1996 when President Clinton declared 1.7 million acres of scenic but mineral-rich southern Utah as a national monument, thus limiting

potential development of the land. In early 1997, he offered a bill that would hold Clinton to his statement when announcing the monument that the lands would remain open to existing multiple uses, such as mining, ranching and recreation.

Bennett also suggested he might try to undo the monument proclamation legislatively. Prior to Clinton's move, Bennett was a lead supporter of a bill, which failed, that would have declared a much smaller portion of southern Utah as protected wilderness while releasing the other lands for development.

Although Bennett's successful 1992 Senate bid at age 59 was his first campaign, he was no political naif. He had done previous Washington duty as a White House adviser to President Richard M. Nixon. And his father, Republican Wallace F. Bennett, was a Utah senator from 1951 to 1974.

Early in the 104th, Dole tapped Bennett as his point man on congressional and White House negotiations over whether to offer legislation to rescue Mexico from an economic crisis. Unable to reach a consensus, Congress opted to stay out of the peso crisis, while the Clinton administration moved ahead on its own.

In the 103rd, Bennett brokered a compromise that resulted in the authorization of \$65 million in grants over four years for the restoration of significant buildings at the nation's historically black colleges and universities. Bennett is usually a dependable vote for the Republican leadership, but he strays from the party line on a few significant issues.

While many conservatives attack the National Endowment for the Arts as a waste of taxpayers' money, Bennett defends the agency. Like some other members with substantial small city and rural constituencies, Bennett sees the NEA as a key funding source of mainstream music and arts for people who normally lack access to them.

Bennett says the NEA's opponents have a distorted view caused by past controversies that he says the agency's current leadership has worked to avoid. "It's become a holy crusade for them," Bennett said in 1997 of NEA's opponents. "But they don't look at the present circumstances."

Bennett also stood out from other Senate GOP conservatives by opposing a constitutional

UTAH

amendment aimed at overturning a Supreme Court ruling that barred states and localities from banning destruction of the American flag.

"If we start the precedent of amending the Constitution every time there is a Supreme Court decision with which we disagree, we run the risk of seeing the Constitution turned into something other than basic law," Bennett said.

Bennett is thoughtful and hard-working on the Banking Committee. During the 104th, he participated in the committee's hearings on the Whitewater case involving Clinton's financial dealings while governor of Arkansas, but was not among the Republicans inclined to cross-examine witnesses with great zeal.

Early in the 103rd Congress, Bennett earned the spotlight and the respect of some of his colleagues when he challenged independent political figure Ross Perot's views on trade policy when the Texas billionaire testified before the Banking Committee.

During the hearing, Perot reiterated his assertion that ratifying NAFTA would cause a massive job loss in the United States because companies would be encouraged to move to Mexico to take advantage of its lower wages. But Bennett said business owners place a higher premium on factors such as worker productivity and access to markets than on labor costs. "The horse has left the barn, and you are securing and hammering on the door," Bennett told Perot. "In my opinion, the factories are in Mexico now... NAFTA is about markets, not factories. NAFTA is about opening markets in Mexico for American goods."

At Home: Bennett's well-known name and a conservative voting record that meshes with Utah's strong GOP tendencies position him well

to seek re-election in 1998. He is leaving little to chance, raising a substantial treasury. From the beginning of 1993 through the end of 1996, Bennett had spent the fifth-highest amount of campaign funds among senators elected in 1992.

This follows a pattern Bennett set in that first Senate campaign, when he raised \$4.5 million and outspent his Democratic opponent, Rep. Wayne Owens, by a ratio of more than 2-1. In fact, Bennett overdid his 1992 fundraising. In 1996, he agreed to pay a \$55,000 fine to the Federal Election Commission for what he called "unintentional violations" during the 1992 campaign. The violations included accepting \$13,450 in donations beyond legal limits; his failure to disclose promptly \$600,000 worth of last-minute contributions Bennett made himself before elections; and failure to repay an aide for \$22,206 in campaign purchases in a timely manner.

The 1992 GOP Senate primary was a showdown of party millionaires: Bennett, who made his fortune with the Franklin Day Planner, a personal-schedule organizer, and Joe Cannon, a steel company executive. Bennett narrowly won the nomination, then went on to defeat Democrat Owens by 15 points to replace the retiring Garn.

During the general-election campaign, Owens and the media devoted attention to Bennett's connection to the 1972 Watergate break-in. He had bought a public relations firm that employed E. Howard Hunt, who was indicted in the Watergate burglary. Bennett said he fired Hunt after the scandal. At one point, Bennett had to contend with rumors that he was "Deep Throat," the informant who guided reporters to the heart of the Watergate issue. Bennett denied he was the source, as did journalists who covered the story.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1992 General			
Robert F. Bennett (R)	420,069	(55%)	
Wayne Owens (D)	301,228	(40%)	
Anita R. Morrow (POP)	17,549	(2%)	
Maury Modine (LIBERT)	14,341	(2%)	
1992 Primary			
Robert F. Bennett (R)	135,514	(51%)	
Joe Cannon (R)	128,125	(49%)	

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1992			
Bennett (R)	\$4,532,966	\$343,210 (8%)	\$4,439,376
Owens (D)	\$1,934,683	\$601,937 (31%)	\$1,904,750
Modine (LIBERT)	\$10,032	0	\$5,285

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	34	61	88	7	95	3
1995	26	73	94	4	89	7
1994	35	58	88	9	91	6
1993	31	66	91	6	90	7

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y	
Approve chemical weapons treaty	N	
1996		
Approve farm bill	Y	
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	Y	
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	Y	
Approve welfare overhaul	Y	
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	N	
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	Y	
1995		
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	Y	
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N	

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	5	n/a	92	95
1995	0	0	100	81
1994	5	0	90	100
1993	5	0	100	88

CALIFORNIA

Dianne Feinstein (D)

Of San Francisco — Elected 1992; 1st full term

Biographical Information

Born: June 22, 1933, San Francisco, Calif.

Education: Stanford U., A.B. 1955.

Occupation: Public official.

Family: Husband, Richard Blum; one child; three stepchildren.

Religion: Jewish.

Political Career: San Francisco Board of Supervisors, 1970-78, president, 1970-71, 1974-75, 1978; mayor of San Francisco, 1978-89; Democratic nominee for governor, 1990.

Capitol Office: 331 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-3841.

Committees

Foreign Relations

East Asian & Pacific Affairs; International Operations (ranking); Near Eastern & South Asian Affairs

Judiciary

Immigration; Technology, Terrorism & Government Information (ranking); Youth Violence

Rules & Administration

Joint Library



In Washington: Although she has been the city's mayor, the stereotype of liberalism associated with the term "San Francisco Democrat" has never fit Feinstein, whom some political wags have dubbed a "double-death Democrat" for her support of both the death penalty and abortion

rights. But mixing liberal and conservative punches has been a Feinstein trademark, especially since her constituency has broadened to include the whole of California.

Feinstein straddles the state's ideological gulf without appearing indecisive. In the Democratic-controlled 103rd Congress, she sponsored two landmark bills pleasing to liberals. Now under the GOP majority, she is known as a Democrat whom Republicans can work with on certain issues: From her seat on the Judiciary Committee in the 104th, she was a key Democratic backer of the GOP's efforts to toughen immigration standards.

She goes her own way, though, as Republicans learned bitterly when she switched her position on the balanced-budget constitutional amendment in the 104th. Feinstein had supported the amendment in 1994, but when its chances of enactment improved with the Republican takeover of Congress, she was one of six former supporters to come out against it in 1995.

In shifting, Feinstein expressed concern for the solvency of Social Security and said she hoped to take that program "off budget," or, remove it from budget-balancing calculations. But her proposal to do that failed, as did the budget amendment itself. She offered a similar Social Security provision in 1997, with identical results.

Feinstein was a key ally of Republicans who wanted to restrict the flow of illegal immigrants into the country, although that matter was left out of legislation enacted in 1996. She helped fend off efforts to weaken employee verification pilot projects and birth certificate standards, supported the idea of a border crossing fee, and offered language to tighten protections against students who

use invitations to attend private schools as a ruse to get into the country.

She voiced support for some other GOP ideas, such as overhauling product liability law and expanding private property rights, but she voted against the actual bills on those subjects — calling them "extreme." She opposed the welfare overhaul enacted in 1996, in part because she found its funding formula unfair to her state.

Her concern for California's interests led her to oppose the 1995 list of defense bases slated for closure, which included a major air force installation in Sacramento. She joined several other Californians in winning a duties exemption on chemicals used against AIDS, and also defended the interests of California poultry processors in a fight with southeastern producers.

Feinstein has a heterodox record on civil liberties issues, supporting a bill to ban employment discrimination based on sexual preference but also supporting a proposed constitutional amendment to allow laws banning desecration of the flag. She contends that the flag should be viewed as "a revered national object, not simply as one of many vehicles for free speech."

Feinstein voted during the 104th against a ban on a specific abortion procedure that its opponents call "partial birth" abortion, which President Clinton vetoed. In the 105th, she sponsored an amendment to the measure to ban post-viability abortions except to save the woman's life or protect her health, but it failed, 28-72.

She fought with California GOP Rep. Jerry Lewis over his ultimately unsuccessful move to take the 1.4 million acre Mojave National Preserve out of the National Park System. The preserve had been created as part of a 7.5 million-acre desert protection law that Feinstein sponsored in the 103rd Congress, the largest federal land protection measure in 14 years.

Feinstein negotiated more than 50 changes to her desert bill to win over leery senators and special interest groups. During final consideration of the bill in October 1994, Republicans threw up an obstacle course of filibusters, hoping to deny Feinstein a victory and dent her re-election campaign against GOP Rep. Michael Huffington. But

Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell shepherded colleagues back from the campaign trail for a rare Saturday session.

Feinstein scored a clear victory in November 1993 with her legislation banning 19 semiautomatic assault-style weapons. "It really comes down to a question of blood or guts — the blood of innocent people or the Senate of the United States having the guts to do what we should do when we take that oath to protect the welfare of our citizens," she said.

Feinstein and others made the case for the ban with gory accounts of gun-related deaths. When GOP Sen. Larry E. Craig of Idaho, a board member of the National Rifle Association, hinted that Feinstein didn't have much weapons knowledge, she recounted how she had tried to find the pulse of fellow San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk after he was gunned down at City Hall in 1978. The assault weapons ban passed, 56-43.

At Home: Feinstein's 1994 campaign was one of the nation's most closely watched Senate contests. Huffington had secured a seat in Congress in 1992 by spending more than anyone had ever spent before on a House race (\$5.4 million), and while still a freshman he embarked on another record-setting bid to unseat Feinstein. Lavishing nearly \$30 million (nearly all from his own pocket) on his broadcast campaign, Huffington dominated the airwaves.

He came on strong in the polls throughout the spring, leaping from a percentage in the teens to one near 40 percent in head-to-head matchups.

Not until Feinstein and other Democrats turned attack ads on Huffington did his climb come to a halt.

In the fall, the contest was overshadowed by the immigration issue. Huffington made support for Proposition 187 (denying public services to illegal aliens) the centerpiece of his campaign. Feinstein opposed the measure and labeled Huffington a hypocrite when it was revealed he had employed an illegal immigrant in his household. Huffington's campaign then discovered an illegal immigrant had worked for Feinstein in the early 1980s.

On Election Day, Feinstein ran strongly in Northern California, easily carrying the nine Bay Area counties. One anomaly in the general regional split was that Huffington's home county of Santa Barbara toward the south of the state went for Feinstein. Overall, she won with 47 percent.

Until her election to the Senate, Feinstein was best known as the former mayor of San Francisco, although she had been a leading contender for the Democratic Party's vice presidential nomination in 1984. Her victory in the 1992 special Senate election was made all the sweeter because the seat she won had belonged to Republican Pete Wilson, to whom she lost the 1990 gubernatorial election. After beating Feinstein, Wilson resigned from the Senate and appointed John Seymour in his place. By ousting Seymour, who never managed to gain much notice back home, Feinstein won the right to serve the remaining two years of Wilson's term.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General

Diane Feinstein (D)	3,977,063	(47%)
Michael Huffington (R)	3,811,501	(45%)
Elizabeth Cervantes Barron (PFP)	255,036	(3%)
Richard Benjamin Boddie (LIBERT)	178,951	(2%)
Paul Meeuwenberg (AMI)	142,630	(2%)
Barbara Blong (GREEN)	137,710	(2%)

1994 Primary

Diane Feinstein (D)	1,635,837	(74%)
Ted J. Andromidas (D)	297,128	(13%)
Daniel Davy O'Dowd (D)	271,615	(12%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992† (54%)

† Special election

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1994			
Feinstein (D)	\$14,597,791	\$1,570,773 (11%)	\$14,407,179
Huffington (R)	\$29,992,884	\$0 (0%)	\$29,969,695
Blong (GREEN)	\$3,568	0	\$3,568
Barron (PFP)	\$50	0	\$50
Carroll (X)	\$165	0	\$160

KEY VOTES

1997

Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y

1996

Approve farm bill	Y
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	N
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N
Approve welfare overhaul	N
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	N

1995

Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	88	10	81	19	53	47
1995	83	16	79	20	39	56
1994	92	8	89	11	44	56
1993	89	8	88	10	37	59

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	38	20
1995	95	100	37	13
1994	70	63	40	8
1993	85	100	9	13

MASSACHUSETTS

John Kerry (D)

Of Boston — Elected 1984; 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: Dec. 11, 1943, Denver, Colo.

Education: Yale U., B.A. 1966; Boston College, J.D. 1976.

Military Service: Navy, 1968-69.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Teresa Heinz; two children, three stepchildren.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Lieutenant governor, 1983-85; Democratic nominee for U.S. House, 1972.

Capitol Office: 421 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-2742.

Committees

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

Financial Services & Technology; Housing Opportunity & Community Development (ranking); Securities

Commerce, Science & Transportation

Communications; Oceans & Fisheries (ranking); Science, Technology & Space

Foreign Relations

East Asian & Pacific Affairs (ranking); International Operations; Western Hemisphere, Peace Corps, Narcotics and Terrorism

Select Intelligence

Small Business



In Washington: Kerry faced the possibility of an abrupt halt to his political career in 1996, when he drew a tough re-election challenger in his state's enormously popular governor, Republican William Weld.

But Kerry prevailed by an impressive 7 percentage points. Battle-hardened from

that, his first real electoral test, Kerry now finds his name among those mentioned when speculation arises about potential Democratic aspirants to the White House.

Kerry has played his most notable Senate role in foreign affairs, generally supporting President Clinton and fighting off congressional attempts to weaken the executive's control over foreign policy. And nowhere has Clinton turned to Kerry more than on issues related to Vietnam.

More than 20 years after the last U.S. soldiers pulled out of Vietnam, Kerry finds that the conflict still colors his actions and his life. Kerry teamed up with another decorated Vietnam veteran, Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., to push for the normalization of relations with Vietnam. Clinton strongly supported the idea, as did a number of U.S. companies eager to tap the Vietnam market.

But without Kerry and McCain's backing, such a measure, pushed by a president dogged by his avoidance of military service, would have had a hard time overcoming strong Republican opposition, which was led by Vietnam veteran Sen. Robert C. Smith of New Hampshire and Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas.

Smith and Dole argued that Hanoi had been slow to provide a full accounting for U.S. soldiers still missing in action. Kerry and McCain concluded that Vietnam was being responsive in this regard.

In 1994, Kerry and McCain sponsored an amendment that cleared the way for Clinton to lift the longstanding trade embargo with Vietnam. Yet even as he was helping heal old war wounds, Kerry belied a certain ambivalence. "This is not a reward [for Vietnam]," he said. "It's not a question of taking away leverage, but of giving leverage to us" in pur-

suing information about American soldiers unaccounted for in Vietnam.

The sense-of-the-Senate amendment came a year after Kerry's Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs concluded that there was "no compelling evidence" that any American remained alive in captivity in Southeast Asia. But even then, Kerry stated, "This report does not close the issue. It is not meant to."

Clinton normalized relations by executive order in July 1995, but the matter was not put to rest in Congress. The anti-Vietnam sentiment was evident in language that North Carolina Republican Jesse Helms attached to his State Department reorganization bill. A provision in that bill would have restricted the use of funds needed for normalization — a reason Clinton cited for vetoing the measure.

Kerry's views of the Vietnam War inform his foreign policy pronouncements in general, particularly when it comes to sending U.S. troops into battle. In 1991, Kerry voted against the resolution authorizing President George Bush to use force in the Persian Gulf, yet he took pains to note his overall support for confrontation with Iraq.

Kerry went to Vietnam as a Navy officer, protested the war when he returned to the United States and entered politics as an (unsuccessful) anti-war candidate for Congress in 1972. Clinton, whose sidestepping of the draft as a youth diminishes his stature as commander-in-chief, has turned to Kerry for counsel on foreign affairs.

Kerry has come to Clinton's side when Republicans in Congress seem to be trying to limit the executive's control over foreign policy. When senators sparred over the administration's stance toward Haiti, Kerry was among those who warned against handcuffing Clinton. "This is not what the Senate does in relationship with the president, unless it is being asked to play politics," Kerry said.

During the 104th, Clinton depended on Kerry often for legislative support on a number of difficult foreign policy bills, most notably to turn back Helms' bid to reorganize the State Department and close three foreign policy-related agencies.

Kerry argued that the GOP bill would infringe on the president's prerogative to manage the State

Department. In early consideration of the bill, he offered a wide-ranging substitute amendment that would give the president six months from the date of enactment to produce his own consolidation scheme. But Kerry's amendment went too far for the administration, which opposed any consolidation. It was defeated in committee.

Then, with Helms holding up several ambassadorial appointments in an effort to get the administration to negotiate, the Foreign Relations chairman re-offered Kerry's compromise on the floor.

Kerry again pushed the measure. The administration would be able to pry loose its ambassadors at the price of a straight up-or-down Senate vote on a separate measure eliminating a single agency. But the administration dug in its heels over details.

Kerry seemed almost apologetic over the administration's hard-line attitude. "There ought to be an effort to engage in legislative discussions to see whether or not there could be a more bipartisan approach," he told reporters. Eventually, the two sides struck a deal, brokered by Kerry. In return for a vote on his plan, Helms lifted his hold on 15 of Clinton's ambassadorial nominees. The Senate then confirmed all 15 nominees by a single voice vote.

After the bill was passed and cleared for the president, he vetoed it. And the veto was sustained.

Kerry broke with Clinton in 1994 on the use of military force in Bosnia, which the president then opposed. Calling for Clinton to lift the embargo barring Bosnian Muslims from buying Western arms, Kerry admitted that U.S. interests in Bosnia were not as vital as in "other parts of the world where we have chosen to send troops and fight wars."

But he warned against inaction: "The alternative is to do nothing; the alternative is to admit defeat; the alternative is to accept that the United Nations and NATO are impotent in the face of any threat."

Kerry has come to the aid of the Clinton administration on domestic issues as well. During hearings on the Whitewater affair and on White House aide Vincent W. Foster Jr.'s suicide, Kerry sharply questioned witnesses who alleged a cover-up. At the first hearing of the Senate Special Committee on Whitewater, chaired by Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, R-N.Y., looking into the Foster suicide, Kerry objected to a demonstration by Sen. Frank H. Murkowski. The Alaska Republican used Foster's briefcase to demonstrate how hard it would have been to misplace the suicide note that administration officials said they did not find for four days.

Kerry countered with his own demonstration of how the torn note might have gone undiscovered, holding the briefcase open to the audience. He complained that Democrats were not told Murkowski would use the briefcase as a prop. He criticized independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr, a Republican heading a separate federal inquiry, for turning the evidence over to the GOP. "It was calculated to attract every camera in this room,"

Kerry said. "This is an inappropriate way for these hearings to begin."

On domestic policy issues that came up in the 104th, Kerry generally upheld his reputation as a liberal. He cosponsored the Senate Democrats' minimum wage increase in 1996, and, with fellow Massachusetts Democrat Edward M. Kennedy, devised the strategy that ultimately forced reluctant Republicans to allow a vote on the measure.

Kerry antagonized the National Rifle Association by trying to amend anti-terrorism legislation. Arguing that black gunpowder is used in 90 percent of U.S. pipe bombings, Kerry sought to add it to the list of explosives studied by the FBI for the feasibility of adding tracing elements known as taggants. The NRA said black gunpowder was used almost exclusively by antique gun collectors. Kerry's amendment failed.

Kerry was one of only 14 Democrats to vote against a measure intended to prevent states from recognizing same-sex marriages. However, Kerry said his stand was dictated by considerations of constitutionality, not because he favors same-sex unions.

Kerry did part company with fellow liberal Kennedy on the welfare overhaul. He voted in August 1996 for the bill that Clinton had announced he would sign into law.

Early in his Senate years, Kerry's reputation suffered somewhat from his apparent preoccupation with image. He got a reputation for caring about how things looked, and when he had corrective jaw surgery it was regarded by some as an effort to improve his appearance.

Kerry also has been seen as overly aware of characteristics he shares with a legendary Massachusetts politician with the same initials. Like John F. Kennedy, Kerry is a product of social privilege (his middle name, Forbes, salutes his mother's blue-blood family). Like Kennedy, Kerry was decorated for his daring as a small-craft commander in the Navy and went quickly into politics in the party of the lower-income classes. But Kerry's career has been more anti-establishment, especially at critical junctures.

At Home: In the grueling Kerry-Weld duel of 1996, each candidate was well-known to voters, yet each labored to distinguish himself from the other. The two shared more similarities than differences. Both were tall, wealthy and patrician. Weld is a descendant of the Cabot family; Kerry is in the Forbes line, and is married to Teresa Heinz, heiress to a ketchup fortune worth at least \$600 million (and former wife of the late GOP Sen. John Heinz of Pennsylvania). Both men sport fashionable in-town Boston addresses as well as summer homes. They have similar educational and professional backgrounds. Their wives and children sport similar accomplishments. They even drive the same four-wheel-drive sports utility vehicle.

Kerry emphasized his stands on education, the environment and the minimum wage. He exploited his 20-point lead among women with a press

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conference attended by all five Democratic women in the Senate. But most of all, Kerry tried to link Weld with House Speaker Newt Gingrich, often noting that Weld was known to refer to him as "Newtie."

Weld relied on his popularity as governor — in his 1994 re-election, he won with 71 percent of the vote. Weld's liberal stands on many issues helped cut into Kerry's base, notably among labor and also in the homosexual community. On the campaign trail, Weld's affable, down-to-earth style contrasted well with Kerry's stiff, aloof persona. And Kerry had to battle allegations of impropriety over the rent-free use of a lobbyist's apartment in Washington.

But Kerry's late spending and solid performance in an extended series of debates bolstered him. He also benefited from the fact that some late-deciding voters who liked both candidates concluded that backing Kerry would keep both men in office.

Kerry first gained attention in 1971, when as a leader of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, he joined with other demonstrators as they threw their medals over the White House fence. Kerry takes pains to explain that he opposed the returning of medals as a tactic and returned none of his own (three Purple Hearts, a Silver Star and a Bronze Star). He threw the medals of a veteran from Worcester, Mass., who could not come to Washington, and also threw several ribbons he had received with his own medals.

He got front-page coverage in 1971 by asking the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "How do you ask a man to be the last man to die for a mistake?" He tried to exploit the publicity by moving to Lowell and running in the open 5th District

in 1972. Kerry won his 10-way primary but lost in the fall to Republican Paul Cronin.

After that defeat, Kerry went to law school and then worked as assistant district attorney in Middlesex County. In 1980, he bowed out of a House campaign in a second suburban district in favor of fellow liberal Barney Frank.

In 1982, he challenged the Democratic establishment by running for lieutenant governor. With help from Ray Flynn, a member of the Boston City Council who later became mayor, he edged out Evelyn Murphy in the primary.

The anti-establishment theme surfaced again in 1984, when he bested Rep. James M. Shannon for the nomination to replace retiring Sen. Paul E. Tsongas.

In the general election, Kerry faced conservative businessman Raymond Shamie, who had won the GOP nomination in a stunning upset over longtime national figure Elliot Richardson. Indications that Shamie had picked up primary votes from working-class Democrats, along with President Ronald Reagan's popularity in lunch-bucket territory, led Kerry to play down foreign policy, talk about economics and mute his anti-war background.

But The Boston Globe ran articles tying Shamie to the ultra-conservative John Birch Society, and Shamie was not helped when some of his supporters questioned Kerry's loyalty as a U.S. citizen. Kerry won with 55 percent.

In 1990, Kerry sought a second term amid a maelstrom of statewide anti-incumbent fervor. However, despite early polls indicating an extremely close race, Kerry took 57 percent of the vote against his GOP challenger, millionaire real estate developer and lawyer Jim Rappaport.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
John Kerry (D)	1,334,135	(52%)	
William F. Weld (R)	1,143,120	(45%)	
Susan C. Gallagher (C)	70,007	(3%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (57%) 1984 (55%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Kerry (D)	\$10,342,115	\$14,591 (0%)	\$10,962,607
Weld (R)	\$8,074,417	\$800,761 (10%)	\$8,002,123
Gallagher (C)	\$56,544	\$1,700 (3%)	\$56,056

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	31	5
1995	95	100	32	4
1994	95	88	30	0
1993	90	82	45	12
1992	100	83	10	0
1991	95	83	20	5

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N	
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y	
1996		
Approve farm bill	N	
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	N	
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N	
Approve welfare overhaul	Y	
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y	
Override veto of ban on "partial-birth" abortions	N	
1995		
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N	
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N	

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	92	8	92	8	18	82
1995	86	13	91	8	12	84
1994	89	10	94	6	16	84
1993	93	7	94	6	24	73
1992	23	77	92	8	8	89
1991	28	72	92	8	10	90

Mary L. Landrieu (D)

Of Baton Rouge — Elected 1996, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Nov. 23, 1955, Arlington, Va.

Education: Louisiana State U., B.A. 1977.

Occupation: Real estate agent.

Family: Husband, Frank E. Snellings; one child.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: La. House, 1980-88; La. treasurer, 1988-96; candidate for governor, 1995.

Capitol Office: 702 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-5824.

Committees

Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry

Marketing, Inspection & Product Promotion; Production & Price Competitiveness

Energy & Natural Resources

Energy Research Development Production & Regulation; Forests & Public Land Management; National Parks, Historic Preservation & Recreation

Small Business



The Path to Washington:

When Landrieu decided to jump into the Louisiana political gumbo, she already had the benefit of a family name well-known in Pelican State politics. Her father, Moon Landrieu, had been mayor of New Orleans and secretary of Housing and Urban Development in the

Carter administration.

It didn't take her long to build a name for herself. She acquired a reputation as a political reformer while serving as a state legislator and later as state treasurer. She comes to the Senate from the "new Democrat" wing of her party, and in her bid for the Senate, she embraced the centrist politics espoused by President Clinton in his two presidential elections.

Given Landrieu's association with reform, it was ironic that her arrival in the Senate was clouded by an investigation into her election. Her Republican opponent in 1996, Louis "Woody" Jenkins, alleged that gambling interests and political associates of New Orleans Mayor Marc Morial had arranged vote buying, multiple voting and other forms of fraud. Although Jenkins said neither Landrieu nor her campaign had been involved in any irregularities, he maintained that tainted votes had enabled her to win.

Jenkins conducted a national campaign of protest, appealing to conservatives for money and attracting attention in conservative media. He called on the Senate to vacate Landrieu's seat and order a new election.

Two attorneys hired by the Senate Rules Committee recommended dismissing most of Jenkins' charges and seeking hard evidence of the others. But the committee, led by Chairman John W. Warner, a Virginia Republican, set aside that recommendation and dispatched a fresh team of investigators to New Orleans in May 1997 to look into the full set of allegations.

The controversy overshadowed several of the critical decisions Landrieu had to make in her early months in the Senate, among them her vote to

amend the Constitution to require a balanced federal budget and her vote on a particular abortion method opponents call "partial birth" abortion.

Looking to the longer term, Landrieu had said her top priority in the Senate would be education, including full funding of Head Start, more federal dollars for computers in classrooms and tax credits to help middle-class families pay for college tuition.

On taxes generally, she favors a \$10,000-per-year deduction for education expenses and some reduction in capital gains taxes as long it fits within budget constraints.

As a candidate in 1996, Landrieu was a strong supporter of the minimum wage increase enacted that year. But she says she also would like to see better enforcement of laws guaranteeing equal pay for women and increased access to job training programs. Even though more jobs for skilled people have become available in Louisiana, many individuals do not have the skills to fill those jobs, she says.

Landrieu was given a seat on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, a panel on which her predecessor, J. Bennett Johnston, was once chairman (and retired as the ranking Democrat). Efforts to deregulate utility industries are on that panel's agenda, and Landrieu says she will be protecting Louisiana's interests — which include its large oil and gas industries as well as its energy consumers. Landrieu is also mindful of the support she has received from both industry and environmental groups.

As a member of the Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee, she plans to promote a research and technology partnership between the private sector and the federal government to help the state's farmers. She was also assigned a seat on the Small Business Committee.

Landrieu's political road to the Senate was not a smooth one. Her bid for governor in 1995 was derailed in the primary by Democratic Rep. Cleo Fields, one of the state's two black members of Congress, who ultimately lost to Republican Mike Foster. Landrieu did not endorse Fields in his runoff against Foster, a decision that would soon return to haunt her.

LOUISIANA

In her 1996 Senate bid, Landrieu had to battle Democratic Attorney General Richard P. Ieyoub, who quickly wrapped up the support of many of the state's black leaders, including Fields.

Given the oddity of Louisiana's election law, which puts candidates from all parties together on a single primary ballot, Landrieu and Ieyoub appeared for a time to be headed for an all-Democratic runoff. They were running first and second in the summertime polls, with no fewer than six serious Republican candidates dividing the rest of the vote.

In September, however, GOP leaders rallied around Jenkins, enabling him to break out of the pack and consolidate enough of the Republican vote to win a surprising strong plurality in the primary. Landrieu wound up barely eking out a second-place finish over Ieyoub to earn a spot in the runoff with Jenkins.

Landrieu looked becalmed. Ieyoub almost surely would have beaten her in the primary had it not been for news reports that he had used campaign funds for items such as clothing and improvements to his home. Staggering into the runoff with the surging Jenkins, Landrieu suddenly needed to recruit Ieyoub's black supporters. That task was doubly difficult given her strained relations with Fields, who remained an influential leader in the state's black community. After some hesitation, and at the urging of many state and national Democrats, Fields eventually endorsed Landrieu's Senate bid.

Landrieu portrayed herself in her Senate campaign as a fighter for the middle class and working

poor. At the same time, she attempted to cast Jenkins as a right-wing extremist. She also was critical of his proposal to abolish the Internal Revenue Service and replace the current tax system with a consumption tax collected by the states. In particular, Landrieu questioned his motives for such a proposal after news reports revealed that the IRS in recent years had placed several liens on his business, Great Oaks Broadcasting, saying he had failed to pay taxes on time.

Jenkins, meanwhile, tried to portray Landrieu as a tax-and-spend liberal. He also criticized her for helping to win parole for a convicted killer. In addition, Jenkins and others, including the retired Roman Catholic archbishop of New Orleans, attacked Landrieu for her support of abortion rights.

Jenkins, who had been a leading opponent of abortion in the state Legislature, said her stand on abortion was out of step with the rest of the state, which has a significant Catholic population and many evangelical Protestants who oppose abortion. Landrieu moderated her stand somewhat by supporting a ban on so-called partial birth abortions.

The candidates met in televised debates that highlighted their many differences. Asked at one point to make one positive statement about his opponent, Jenkins thought a moment and said: "She's nice looking."

Landrieu emerged the winner by 5,788 votes out of 1.7 million cast, the slimmest winning margin ever in a Louisiana Senate race. Jenkins, bidding to be the state's first Republican in the Senate since Reconstruction, refused to concede.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Mary L. Landrieu (D)	852,945	(50%)
Louis "Woody" Jenkins (R)	847,157	(50%)
1996 Primary †		
Louis "Woody" Jenkins (R)	322,244	(27%)
Mary L. Landrieu (D)	264,268	(22%)
Richard P. Ieyoub (D)	250,682	(21%)
David Ernest Duke (R)	141,489	(12%)
Jimmy Hayes (R)	71,699	(6%)
Bill Linder (R)	58,243	(5%)
Chuck McMains (R)	45,164	(4%)
Peggy Wilson (R)	31,877	(3%)
Troyce Guice (D)	15,277	(1%)

† In Louisiana the primary is open to candidates of all parties. If a candidate wins 50 percent or more of the vote in the primary, no general election is held. A candidate unopposed in the primary and general election is declared elected, and the candidate's name does not appear on the ballot.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Landrieu (D)	\$2,899,684	\$535,736 (18%)	\$2,715,287
Jenkins (R)	\$1,969,175	\$479,543 (24%)	\$1,967,742

KEY VOTES

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y

Frank R. Lautenberg (D)

Of Cliffside Park — 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

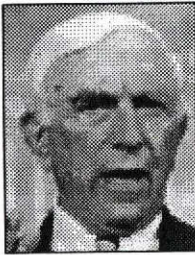
Commerce, Justice, State & Judiciary; Defense; Foreign Operations; Transportation (ranking); VA, HUD & Independent Agencies

Budget (ranking)

Environment & Public Works

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

Select Intelligence



In Washington: Lautenberg moved into a new role in the 105th Congress, taking over as ranking Democrat on the Senate Budget Committee, working under Republican Chairman Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico.

In May 1997, when the White House and congressional Republican leaders came to terms on a plan designed to balance the federal budget by 2002, Lautenberg endorsed the agreement, albeit without evincing great enthusiasm. Nonetheless, because Lautenberg is generally seen as a fiscal-policy liberal, his willingness to stand with Domenici as the plan was announced was taken as a sign that the agreement probably would be broadly acceptable among Senate Democrats. Indeed, the budget resolution passed, 78-22, in late May. It gave the GOP tax and spending cuts and gave President Clinton more money for certain domestic priorities, including funds to provide health insurance for uninsured children and to restore certain federal benefits denied legal immigrants under the 1996 welfare overhaul bill.

During the 104th, Lautenberg was often sharply critical of Republican budget practices. He voted in 1995 against the GOP's budget-reconciliation bill, which tried to balance the federal budget by 2002 in part by reducing the rate of spending growth on Medicare and Medicaid, and he has opposed the balanced-budget constitutional amendment. He also voted against the welfare overhaul legislation.

Lautenberg has resisted major funding reductions in the area of environmental protection. He has been a strong advocate for financing cleanup. For the fiscal 1996 VA-HUD appropriations bill, for example, he unsuccessfully tried to add \$432 million to the nearly \$1 billion for the superfund hazardous waste cleanup fund; \$328 million to the \$2.3 billion to help local communities build sewage treatment plants; and another \$1 million to the \$1 million for the Council on Environmental Quality, which provides environmental advice to the White House and federal agencies. Lauten-

berg proposed to offset these costs by limiting any proposed tax cuts to families earning more than \$150,000 per year.

"If forced to choose between a tax break for the rich and strengthening environmental protections," Lautenberg said, "I'm convinced most Americans would strongly support the environment."

On another issue, he pushed through an amendment to the Omnibus Fiscal 1997 Appropriations bill (including Treasury-Postal Service-General Government) that bars anyone convicted of domestic violence — including spouse or child abuse — from possessing a firearm. The legislation survived a spirited resistance on the floor backed by the National Rifle Association.

"I believe that this legislation will save the lives of many battered wives and abused children," Lautenberg said. "We had to overcome intense opposition from one of the most powerful special interests in American politics."

And Lautenberg won approval of an amendment to the fiscal 1997 transportation appropriations bill that fully funded the administration's request for \$188.5 million for airport security. Lautenberg was a member of the President's Commission on Aviation Security, formed after the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.

Lautenberg was a member of the bipartisan Senate task force empaneled to work out new gift and lobby regulations during the 104th Congress. The legislation had been killed by a Republican-led filibuster at the end of the 103rd Congress. The Senate voted to ban most gifts from lobbyists. It also passed legislation toughening lobbying regulation requirements; an identical bill passed the House and was signed into law by President Clinton.

"When lobbyists take a senator to dinner, they are not just buying a meal for a nice person," Lautenberg said during debate on the bill. "The meal involves time, and time means access. Ordinary citizens do not have that access."

Lautenberg was a major mover of the fiscal 1994 highway bill from his post as chairman of the Transportation Subcommittee on Senate Appro-

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priations. Along with Rep. Bob Carr, D-Mich., his House Appropriations 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 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 to ban smoking in most federal buildings.

New Jersey has long resented the arrival of New York City's sludge 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 push for more transportation funds for densely populated East Coast states, especially New Jersey, and to fight attempts to eliminate federal funding for Amtrak.

At Home: Lautenberg survived the 1994 GOP sweep that engulfed many of his Democratic colleagues. This was no small feat, particularly in light of the statewide gains that New Jersey Republicans have made in recent years.

State Assembly Speaker Garabed "Chuck" Haytaian, a conservative who took few cues from moderate GOP Gov. Whitman, struggled to formulate a campaign message beyond the general notion of lower taxes. Though he drew little visible support from Whitman, 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 the president.

By the campaign's final months, Haytaian's chief obstacle appeared to be his lack of familiarity to New Jersey voters. Still, Haytaian benefited from a national mood receptive to Republicans. The contest tightened down the stretch, and in the end, Lautenberg managed to win re-election with 50 percent of the vote, to 47 percent for Haytaian.

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. 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 variety of military and business positions, who still was promoted because of the public relations value of his all-America 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.

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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.

The two 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 with 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 corporations and elimination of the third year of President Ronald 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

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	
Approve farm bill	N
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	N
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N
Approve welfare overhaul	N
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	N
1995	
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	90	10	91	7	11	87
1995	87	13	94	6	7	93
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

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	15	0
1995	100	100	16	0
1994	95	88	30	4
1993	95	82	45	24
1992	100	92	30	4
1991	95	67	10	5

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1994			
Lautenberg (D)	\$6,443,199	\$1,248,189 (19%)	\$7,278,332
Haytaian (R)	\$5,110,518	\$450,300 (9%)	\$5,110,378

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Patrick J. Leahy (D)

Of Middlesex — Elected 1974, 4th term

Biographical Information

Born: March 31, 1940, Montpelier, Vt.

Education: St. Michael's College, B.A. 1961; Georgetown U., J.D. 1964.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Marcelle Pomerleau; three children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Chittenden County state's attorney, 1967-75.

Capitol Office: 433 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-4242.

Committees

Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry

Forestry, Conservation & Rural Revitalization; Research, Nutrition & General Legislation (ranking)

Appropriations

Agriculture, Rural Development & Related Agencies; Defense; Foreign Operations (ranking); Interior; VA, HUD & Independent Agencies

Judiciary (ranking)

Antitrust, Business Rights & Competition



In Washington: Leahy has a new role in the 105th Congress — ranking minority member of the Judiciary Committee — and if his first few weeks in the job were any indication, it promises to be a very active time.

In February 1997, he played the lead role for the Democratic minority in opposing a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. "This proposed constitutional amendment risks seriously undercutting the protection of our constitutional separation of powers," Leahy said. "No one has yet convincingly explained how the proposed amendment would work and what role would the president play and what role the courts play in its implementation and enforcement."

After the amendment fell one vote short of the two-thirds majority required for passage, Leahy jokingly revealed some of the pressure that had been applied to Democrats to keep faith with their leaders and vote against the resolution. Leahy said there was some "arm twisting" in the office of Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle. "And if that didn't work," he said, "they sent them downstairs to Bob Byrd." West Virginia's Robert C. Byrd, the dean of the Senate Democrats, has vigorously opposed the GOP's efforts to pass the balanced-budget amendment.

Leahy also tasted victory in February when the Senate cleared legislation releasing \$385 million in previously appropriated international family planning aid without abortion restrictions. President Clinton signed the measure into law. The Senate voted 53-46 in favor of the resolution to accelerate release of the funds. If it had failed, the administration would not have been able to begin spending the money until July 1. "This vote is not about funding abortions," said Leahy, who managed the resolution on the Senate floor. "It is about releasing money we already appropriated to address the most serious environmental problem of all — unchecked population growth — and to help prevent unwanted pregnancies and abortions."

That same month, he joined GOP Sen. Conrad Burns of Montana in introducing two bills to ease export restrictions on encryption technology and prohibit the federal government from holding its own "keys" for decoding encrypted communications over the Internet. Encryption is the process by which computer or cellular phone transmissions are scrambled to prevent their being intercepted; on the other end, recipients with decoding capability are able to translate the data back into usable form. Clinton administration policy has been that encryption software that exceeds a certain complexity cannot be exported for fear that it would pose problems for law enforcement. But Burns and Leahy maintained that such software is widely available in other countries, and export controls are hurting U.S. software makers. They pointed to a Commerce Department study that estimated that U.S. firms lost \$60 billion in potential sales in 1995 and could lose 200,000 jobs by the year 2000. "As an avid Internet user, I care deeply about protecting individual privacy and encouraging the development of the Internet as a secure and trusted communications medium," Leahy said.

In January 1997, he and Daschle introduced a package of initiatives that focused on youth violence, drugs and gangs. The package, which is estimated to cost \$13 billion over two years, would increase authorizations for several federal programs to combat crime and drugs, such as the Violence Against Women Act and President Clinton's Community Oriented Policing (COPS) program. While almost half the money would go to states for prison construction, states would also get new sources of federal funds for shelters for battered women and drug treatment programs. Leahy characterized the package as one that builds on the 1994 crime bill, with additional steps to address youth crime and gangs. The bill would stiffen penalties for crimes committed with the aid of certain "gang paraphernalia," such as bulletproof vests. It would also create "gun courts," where juvenile gun offenders could be tried on an expedited basis.

Also in early 1997, Leahy clashed with Judiciary Committee Chairman Orrin G. Hatch, R-

Utah, over what he felt were unnecessary delays in confirming Clinton's judicial nominees. "We should say enough's enough," Leahy said. "We ought to be doing what Democrats have always done — confirm judges if they're men and women of integrity and competence."

At a Judiciary Committee meeting early in the 105th, Leahy challenged Hatch to move quickly on the Clinton nominees, many of whom had been nominated in the 104th Congress. Hatch insisted that Clinton had more judges confirmed in his first term than former Presidents George Bush, Ronald Reagan and Richard M. Nixon during each of their first terms, and that the federal judiciary's vacancy rate at the end of the 104th was virtually the same as it was at the end of the Democratic-controlled 103rd Congress.

In taking the top Democratic spot on Judiciary, Leahy gave up his ranking slot on the Agriculture Committee, though he continues to serve as ranking member of its Research, Nutrition and General Legislation Subcommittee. Leahy's early disagreements with Hatch on Judiciary suggest that theirs may not be as close a working relationship as the one Leahy forged with Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., the Agriculture Committee chairman.

Leahy, in fact, unsuccessfully tried to prod some of his Democratic colleagues in February 1996 to accept a compromise farm bill offered by Lugar and then-Majority Leader Bob Dole. Both Republicans were running for president, and they had decided to accept almost any legislation so they could concentrate on campaigning and tell farmers before the critical Iowa caucus that they had passed a farm bill. For Republicans, the deal would have represented a wholesale retreat from their original goal of phasing out subsidies over seven years, the so-called Freedom to Farm bill. But Democrats, facing divisions between Midwestern and Northeastern members, refused to be hurried. "I wish we could have accepted it that night," Leahy said. "That was our best deal. By the time [Senate Democrats] decided they did like it, it was no longer on the table."

The hesitant response cost the Democrats a golden opportunity to derail Freedom to Farm. Instead, the Senate passed a farm bill one week later with the core GOP priority intact—a new system of fixed, declining payments to farmers that would undo the decades-old subsidy structure. Leahy backed that farm bill, which included funding for nutrition and conservation programs. Earlier, Leahy tried to cut a deal with Lugar that would emphasize issues such as conservation, nutrition and Northeastern dairy supports, instead of subsidies for wheat, corn and other crops. "When Sen. Leahy put forward his proposal, that sent everybody basically running in an undisciplined fashion to cover their own bases," said Sen. Bob Kerrey, D-Neb.

In fact, Leahy made it very clear that he would not allow nutrition programs to be cut deeply without a fight. He predicted that he could muster support on the Senate floor for amendments to

the farm bill that would restrict subsidies to wealthy farmers. "If I have to choose between very wealthy farm interests and needy children, I am going to pick children every time," Leahy said.

In the conference agreement reached in March 1996, negotiators agreed to fund new farm conservation programs and to block conservatives' attempts to scale back wetlands regulations. That was a price Leahy insisted on for his support. The bill also included a commission empowered to set prices for milk in the Northeast.

Leahy serves as ranking minority member of Appropriations' Foreign Operations Subcommittee, and he has devoted much energy in recent years to seeking abolition of anti-personnel land mines.

In August 1995, the Senate voted 67-27 for an amendment to the annual defense authorization bill that would impose a one-year moratorium on U.S. forces' use of anti-personnel mines. The moratorium, to take effect three years after enactment of the bill, would allow deployment of anti-personnel mines only along international borders or internationally recognized demilitarized zones — and only if they were scattered in areas that were marked as minefields and monitored by military personnel to prevent civilians from wandering into them. Anti-tank mines would be exempt.

The Pentagon vehemently opposed the provision, and it was dropped by Senate-House conferees. However, with no fanfare, Leahy inserted the core provision of his land-mine ban into the foreign operations appropriations bill, which was attached to the stopgap spending bill approved by Congress and signed by Clinton in January 1996.

In January 1997, Leahy criticized a Clinton administration announcement that it would try to negotiate an international treaty banning anti-personnel land mines through the U.N. Conference on Disarmament, rather than through a series of negotiations led by Canada. Proponents of a total ban on mines complained that the practical effect of this decision would be to delay a treaty, since the U.N. conference operates by a rule of unanimity that "rewards holdout states, who effectively have a veto that retards or prevents strong agreements," Leahy said.

Leahy generally votes the liberal line — he opposed welfare overhaul, the line-item veto and telecommunications deregulation — but he did vote to ban a particular abortion technique that opponents call a "partial birth" abortion and to override Clinton's veto of the measure.

When Democrats ran the Senate, Leahy's role as liberal inquisitor during the Clarence Thomas hearings in the fall of 1991 had wide-reaching political impact. The rhetoric he employed in opposing Thomas — before and after the Supreme Court nominee was confronted by Anita F. Hill's accusation of sexual harassment — helped introduce a theme that Democrats used to good effect in the 1992 presidential campaign: that the Bush administration had become captive

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to an extremist conservative element.

During the Judiciary Committee hearings, Leahy basically ignored the tradition that holds it is bad form to press a nominee directly for his views on an issue that would come before the Supreme Court. Leahy pressed the elusive nominee for his views on several issues, most notably abortion. He elicited Thomas' assertions that he had never debated or discussed the landmark *Roe v. Wade* decision — statements that Thomas' opponents exhibited as proof that the nominee was being deliberately evasive.

At Home: When he first won office more than 30 years ago, Leahy was in the vanguard of Democratic gains in Vermont. At 26, he was elected Chittenden County state's attorney in 1966. He revamped the office and headed a national task force of district attorneys probing the 1973-74 energy crisis.

In 1974, he ran for the Senate seat being vacated by Republican George D. Aiken. At 34, Leahy presented a contrast with the 82-year-old political institution he hoped to replace.

Leahy was an underdog against GOP Rep. Richard W. Mallary. But Mallary proved a rather awkward campaigner, and Watergate made Vermont more receptive to a Democrat, enabling Leahy to score his breakthrough victory. He became Vermont's first Democratic senator since the Republican Party was founded in 1854.

Leahy survived in 1980 by emphasizing his roots in the state rather than his ties to the Democratic Party. Campaigning against the

national GOP tide, he fought off New York-born challenger Stewart Ledbetter with the slogan: "Pat Leahy: Of Vermont, for Vermont." Leahy squeaked by with 50 percent.

Leahy's narrow re-election pegged him as the most vulnerable Democratic incumbent up in 1986 — a status that was reinforced when Republican Richard A. Snelling, who had retired in 1985 after four terms as governor, agreed to tackle Leahy.

But Leahy was well-prepared and well-financed. While he had been building his organization, Snelling had spent much of 1985 on a sailing excursion. Early polls showed Leahy way ahead, which hurt Snelling's fundraising. The moderate Snelling also had trouble defining a distinction between himself and Leahy. In the end, Snelling resorted to attacking Leahy's attendance record and labeling him one of the Senate's "biggest spenders." Leahy won 63 percent.

Republicans had trouble attracting a big name in 1992 until Vermont Secretary of State James H. Douglas jumped into the race, hoping that Leahy's long tenure in office would turn off voters. As the year wore on, the angry voter mood helped make Douglas' campaign competitive. But Leahy, who had not taken re-election for granted even when he looked safe in 1991, kicked his already humming campaign into high gear.

Vermont's anti-status quo vote was evident in Ross Perot's surprisingly strong 23 percent showing in the state's presidential balloting that year, but Leahy still prevailed by 11 points, 54 to 43 percent.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1992 General		
Patrick J. Leahy (D)	154,762	(54%)
James H. Douglas (R)	123,854	(43%)
Jerry Levy (LU)	5,121	(2%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1986 (63%) 1980 (50%) 1974 (50%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1992			
Leahy (D)	\$932,940	\$308,052 (33%)	\$950,331
Douglas (R)	\$196,635	0	\$195,737

KEY VOTES

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	
Approve farm bill	Y
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	N
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N
Approve welfare overhaul	N
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	Y
1995	
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	75	25	85	12	32	63
1995	87	11	93	4	9	89
1994	89	11	96	4	6	94
1993	92	7	92	6	27	73
1992	23	75	90	4	5	92
1991	28	72	90	10	18	80

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	90	n/a	23	5
1995	100	100	16	0
1994	95	100	20	0
1993	95	82	27	8
1992	100	100	10	0
1991	95	92	20	5

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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; Republican 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; Western Hemisphere, Peace Corps, Narcotics and Terrorism

Select Intelligence



In Washington: As the 105th Congress began, Lugar found himself in the painfully familiar position of trying to carve out a suitable niche for his talents. A much-admired expert on foreign policy, he remained in the shadow of the more senior Jesse Helms of North Carolina, chairman

of the Foreign Relations Committee.

An expert also on agriculture and chairman of the Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee, Lugar had little to do in that area after passage of the 1996 farm bill. And, although his name was floated as a possible candidate for secretary of State, Lugar took himself out of the running for that post.

Instead, the senator who had aspired to the presidency a year earlier set his sights comparatively low. He began the 105th talking about the need to formulate a national energy policy that would incorporate agricultural sources of energy, such as ethanol. And he busied himself with relatively minor agricultural issues, including a reauthorization of research programs.

In contrast, Lugar had positioned himself on the front lines of political battles during the 104th Congress, scoring an impressive legislative victory even as he endured a humbling electoral rejection in the GOP presidential primaries. The veteran senator achieved a longtime legislative goal by winning approval of a sweeping farm bill that scaled back decades-old federal subsidies, moving agriculture toward the free market.

The GOP takeover of Congress in 1995 signaled the possible death knell of the Democratic-written farm subsidy and land-idling programs, which dated to the Great Depression. Lugar, himself a corn and soybean farmer who found the government programs too confining, led the charge early in 1995. With provisions of the 1990 farm bill expiring at the end of 1995, Lugar proposed cutting subsidies and export programs by as much as \$15 billion over five years, thereby greatly reducing the government's role.

His own committee, stacked with farm program advocates of both parties, responded coolly to the idea. But Lugar's tactical thrust threw farm-state senators on the defensive, and he kept hammering away with various proposals to reduce agriculture spending. Faced with intense partisan and regional divisions on his committee, he nevertheless cobbled together a package that cut subsidies but won committee approval on a 9-8 vote, with one opponent voting present.

Lugar continued to demonstrate his deal-making prowess over the next several months. The farm bill repeatedly appeared doomed, especially after President Clinton vetoed the deficit-cutting budget reconciliation bill that had included key agricultural provisions. But Lugar revitalized the process by adopting much of the House farm bill, known as "Freedom to Farm," and split Senate Democratic resistance by adding conservation and nutrition provisions at the behest of ranking Agriculture Democrat Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont. The combination ultimately won overwhelming congressional approval in March 1996.

"From now on, the federal government will stop trying to control how much food, feed and fiber our nation produces," he said. "Farmers will be producing for the market, rather than restricted by federal government supply controls, for the first time since the Great Depression."

The legislation's eventual success was especially notable, given that Lugar's attention often seemed to be elsewhere during the 104th. He began the Congress by deciding that, after years of deferring to fellow Indianan and former Vice President Dan Quayle, the time had come for a presidential campaign of his own. But Lugar's bid seemed ill-fated from the start — his formal announcement was made on April 19, 1995, when the nation was focused on the bombing of the federal office building in Oklahoma City.

Lugar's speeches were applauded by journalists as meaty and serious. But they were also plodding and colorless, and they failed to ignite the electorate. At times, the candidate seemed to go out of his way to tell voters what they did not want to hear, such as indicating to an unemployed father of five in Maine that there wasn't much the

government could do to help parents. After failing to surpass single-digit support in the key early contests, Lugar withdrew in March 1996 and endorsed his fellow senator, Bob Dole of Kansas, the eventual nominee.

The failed campaign was the most recent in a series of political setbacks for Lugar on the national stage. The senator 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 had acknowledged White House interest as far back as the early 1970s, when he was mayor of Indianapolis. And while he and Quayle had been friendly, the senior senator had to swallow hard to see his junior colleague promoted over him. That setback came on the heels of another. In 1987, after the Democrats had taken 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 Leahy. He also remained available to President Bush and to the news media on foreign affairs, acting as his party's spokesman on Capitol Hill during the Persian Gulf conflict of 1990-91 and 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 next year was honored for his contributions to foreign policy by Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

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 performed abortions.

Yet, he is not adverse to departing from the party line. He is 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 semiautomatic assault-style weapons.

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. With Lugar's support, the 1996 farm bill expanded many conservation programs.

Lugar's stand on nutrition issues frustrated some of his more conservative colleagues in the 104th Congress. With some reluctance, he agreed to deep cuts in the food stamp program as part of a sweeping welfare overhaul bill that was ultimately signed by Clinton. But he dug in his heels over the politically sensitive school lunch program, successfully staving off an attempt by House Republicans to turn over partial control of those programs to state officials.

On foreign policy as well, Lugar often charted a centrist course. He has supported foreign aid for the former Soviet Union, and expressed skepticism over revamping America's relationship with the United Nations. Even during the heat of the 1996 presidential race, Lugar backed Clinton's decision to send troops to Bosnia. And in the 105th, Lugar voted for the Chemical Weapons Convention that sought to outlaw the use of chemical weapons. The Senate adopted the measure, 74-26, in April 1997.

Despite his interest in foreign policy, Lugar's main focus in recent years has been on the Agriculture panel. He and Leahy, who swapped positions in 1995, long viewed farm subsidies with distaste. The two lawmakers 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 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 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. He spoke frequently, in the Senate and to the media, 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 downfall were not met; instead, the Iraqi strongman used what military might he had left to crush revolts

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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 concluded that Marcos was stealing the election, and he privately implored Reagan to denounce Marcos. Reagan instead argued there was fraud on both sides. Lugar persisted. Eventually the administration pressured Marcos to quit, in what came to be regarded as one of Reagan's chief foreign policy achievements. But in 1989, Aquino gave Lugar the credit. "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 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 Jontz to 54 percent in the Democratic primary, the Democrat'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 bor-

ders on lecturing. But he has always impressed 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 carried him past his Democratic foe, 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 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 them Democrats. He was a spokesman for Nixon administration policies, and 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 Bayh to become the logical contender in 1976 against Hartke. Hartke had nearly lost 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 took 59 percent.

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

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	
Approve farm bill	Y
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	Y
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	Y
Approve welfare overhaul	Y
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	N
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	Y
1995	
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	Y
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	Y

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1994			
Lugar (R)	\$3,122,705	\$727,662 (23%)	\$4,063,703
Jontz (D)	\$488,714	\$214,424 (44%)	\$472,788
Barton (NA)	\$8,279	0	\$9,926

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	31	68	88	10	92	8
1995	26	67	88	7	79	16
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

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	5	n/a	85	95
1995	5	0	100	77
1994	10	0	90	76
1993	10	0	100	72
1992	10	17	100	85
1991	10	17	90	76

MARYLAND

Barbara A. Mikulski (D)

Of Baltimore — Elected 1986, 2nd term

Biographical Information

Born: July 20, 1936, Baltimore, Md.

Education: Mount Saint Agnes College, B.A. 1958; U. of Maryland, M.S.W. 1965.

Occupation: Social worker.

Family: Single.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Baltimore City Council, 1971-77; Democratic nominee for U.S. Senate, 1974; U.S. House, 1977-87.

Capitol Office: 709 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-4654.

Committees

Appropriations

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

Labor & Human Resources

Aging (ranking); Public Health & Safety

Democratic Conference Secretary



In Washington: Mikulski was the first woman elevated to a leadership post in the Senate, but she decided early in the 105th Congress not to seek to climb another rung on the ladder.

Currently secretary of the Democratic Conference, Mikulski announced in March 1997 that she

would not try to succeed Wendell H. Ford of Kentucky (who is retiring in 1998) as minority whip. She said she wanted to concentrate on her 1998 campaign for a third Senate term. Then again, while she will be a strong favorite to win that contest, a bid for whip might have been an uphill fight.

Mikulski entered the leadership ranks after the 1992 elections, when she became assistant floor leader. Top Senate Democrats, sensitive about the lack of diversity in their leadership ranks, turned to Mikulski, the dean of the chamber's five Democratic women. She also got another new responsibility: a seat on the Ethics Committee.

Her assignment was an outgrowth of negative public reaction to the all-male Judiciary Committee's handling of sexual harassment allegations that arose in the process of confirming Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court in 1991. As the ethics panel began considering the sexual harassment allegations leveled against then-Sen. Bob Packwood of Oregon, Senate leaders made a priority of finding a woman to serve on Ethics.

Mikulski was the first member of the Ethics panel to call for public hearings in the Packwood case. "Unless the Senate has public hearings, the public will never believe [that] what we recommend has credibility," she said in March 1995. "The public mood and the whole idea of congressional accountability calls for public hearings."

Other Democrats joined her, and Sen. Barbara Boxer, D-Calif., said in July of that year that she would offer an amendment on the Senate floor calling for public hearings if the Ethics Committee refused to go that route. That led to a

threat from Ethics Committee Chairman Mitch McConnell, R-Ky. During one of the panel's closed-door meetings, McConnell told Mikulski to tell Boxer that Republicans would offer companion amendments calling for public hearings into ethics matters involving Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., and Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass.

In September 1995, she joined in the committee's unanimous vote to recommend Packwood's expulsion. "We all had a chance to reflect on this matter and were able to come to a speedy conclusion," she said. The meeting was over so quickly that Mikulski had time the same evening to attend the record-breaking 2,131st consecutive game played by Baltimore Orioles infielder Cal Ripken Jr.

Like most other Democratic women on the Hill, she is a strong supporter of abortion rights. In August 1995, during Senate floor consideration of the fiscal 1996 Treasury-Postal Service spending bill, she fought unsuccessfully against a provision preventing women who are covered under federal health care plans from obtaining abortions through those plans. The House voted to ban abortions except when the life of the woman was threatened. That was too strict a standard for the Senate, which first voted, 52-41, to affirm an Appropriations Committee decision to drop the stricter House-passed language from the bill. Don Nickles, R-Okla., then offered an amendment to ban federal funding of abortions except in cases of rape or incest or to protect the life of the woman. That was adopted 50-44.

After Nickles' amendment was adopted, Mikulski offered an amendment to allow abortions "determined to be medically necessary." Mikulski said this would create a narrow exemption to permit abortions needed to protect a woman's health. Nickles countered that it would permit abortion on demand; the amendment failed, 45-49.

Always pressing for better job opportunities for minorities and women, Mikulski in the 104th criticized the Architect of the Capitol for not doing enough to diversify the large Hill work force under his control. In February 1995, the

architect said he would retire rather than seek renomination, a process that would have brought an airing of Mikulski's charges.

In February 1997, she and Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., introduced legislation prohibiting health plans from denying coverage and payment for emergency room visits. "Personal health is not something to take chances with," she said. "That's why many people seek emergency assistance when they think something may be seriously wrong with their health. But when the problem turns out to be a non-emergency, the insurance company denies payment. No family should have to second-guess getting the care they need because they are worried about being stuck with an enormous bill."

Mikulski is the ranking minority member of the Aging Subcommittee of the Labor and Human Resources Committee. In May 1996, the panel took up proposed revisions to the Older Americans Act. Republicans said their changes would consolidate food, transportation and employment programs for the elderly by giving states more flexibility in providing services and encouraging competition among groups vying for federal grants in job training and employment services.

Mikulski did not like the way the GOP proposed divvying up the federal funds available under the act. She offered an amendment to retain the existing formula for determining how much money would go to the states. She said a formula change would "cause a serious disruption in services" for those states that would lose funding. But Daniel R. Coats, R-Ind., argued that the new bill updated the formula with new population figures and made payments to the states more equitable for taxpayers. Committee members rejected Mikulski's amendment by a vote of 5-11.

In December 1995, Mikulski helped kill a constitutional amendment prohibiting flag desecration when she decided at the last minute to oppose the measure. The resolution failed by just three votes. She said she did not oppose flag protection but was reluctant to amend the Constitution. "I believe we can and should have a law to end the desecration of our flag," Mikulski said. But amendments to the Constitution should be used "to expand democracy, and not to constrict it," she said.

From her place on the Senate Appropriations Committee — where she is ranking minority member on the VA, HUD and Independent Agencies subcommittee — Mikulski has not been shy about obtaining federal funds for her home state. In July 1995, for example, she successfully proposed an amendment in committee to the fiscal 1996 defense spending bill to continue Baltimore's status as a Navy homeport. It reversed a decision by Navy Secretary John Dalton that effectively eliminated Baltimore's right to compete for short-term Navy repair work. Her measure allowed Baltimore to continue bidding for maintenance contracts.

Mikulski has helped lead the defense of another controversial spending item: NASA's space station. In September 1996, she opposed efforts by Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., who introduced an amendment to the fiscal 1997 VA-HUD spending bill to kill the space station. His amendment was tabled, 60-37. Mikulski argued that medical research with life-saving potential can be performed on the space station.

During a 1993 floor debate on an amendment to kill the space station, Mikulski argued that it had been slimmed down sufficiently by the Clinton administration. "We have cut the cost of the space station without cutting its ability to do significant science," she said. Mikulski's side won the vote 59-40.

With NASA providing thousands of high-paying jobs to Maryland, Mikulski has also been an ardent defender of another "big science" program — the Mission to Planet Earth, a long-term project with a multibillion-dollar price tag that involves using unmanned satellites to collect environmental data about Earth.

She has been one of the Senate's leading advocates of Clinton's AmeriCorps program, trying to fend off Republican attempts to kill it. She voted against the fiscal 1996 VA-HUD appropriations bill in September 1995 because it did not include funding for AmeriCorps. "I believe national service creates an opportunity structure — community service in exchange for a college education," she said. "It fosters the spirit of neighbor helping neighbor that has made our country great."

Mikulski is not above praising Republicans, even though the party's 1995 takeover of the Senate deprived her of the Appropriations subcommittee chairmanship she held in the 103rd Congress. In July 1996, VA-HUD Subcommittee Chairman Christopher S. Bond, R-Mo., proposed a non-controversial spending bill that passed the subcommittee and full committee by voice votes. The measure received lavish praise from Mikulski. "I think you've done a very outstanding job," she told Bond.

She agreed with Republicans who want to streamline the regulatory process at the Food and Drug Administration, speeding up review of new drugs and medical devices. "We have worked to come up with a sensible, moderate plan," Mikulski said in July 1996.

At Home: When she ran to succeed retiring GOP Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. in 1986, many questioned whether the pudgy, 4-foot-11 Mikulski would strike voters as "senatorial." But then-Rep. Mikulski proved her skills, easily outrunning Rep. Michael D. Barnes and outgoing Gov. Harry R. Hughes in the Democratic primary, then drubbing Republican Linda Chavez with 61 percent of the vote.

A self-described "blue-collar senator," Mikulski earned broad popularity with her strong personality and gritty demeanor. In her 1992 reelection campaign, Mikulski took 71 percent of the vote, trouncing Alan L. Keyes, a black conser-

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vative activist who had run against Democratic Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes in 1988.

The granddaughter of Polish immigrants, Mikulski first gained a following by discussing the plight of the "forgotten" ethnic residents of America's cities. Mikulski also organized a fight against a highway that would have leveled several Baltimore neighborhoods. She won a City Council seat in 1971 and became prominent in the feminist movement.

In 1974, Mikulski challenged the heavily favored GOP Sen. Mathias and drew 43 percent of the vote. She was well positioned in 1976, when then-Rep. Sarbanes vacated his Baltimore House seat for his first Senate campaign. Mikulski had no trouble winning the Democratic House primary, and she breezed through five general elections.

With Mathias retiring in 1986, Mikulski's vibrant style was a big asset in the Senate primary against two well-known but colorless Democratic rivals. She won by more than 112,000 votes over Barnes; Hughes was a distant third.

Mikulski then had to overcome conservative Chavez, a staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights under President Ronald Reagan. Though never more than a long shot, Chavez did not go quietly, describing Mikulski as a "San Francisco style" liberal. Mikulski resisted the bait to brawl with an opponent who was no electoral threat and coasted to victory.

Maintaining high approval ratings and compiling a large campaign treasury, Mikulski deterred the most prominent Maryland Republicans in 1992. The GOP nomination went to Keyes, a State Department official during the Reagan presidency who had gained attention for his eloquent opposition to the liberal orthodoxy of most black leaders. When Keyes took 38 percent against Sarbanes, he called it a springboard for a future contest.

But his challenge to Mikulski got off on the wrong foot when it was disclosed that Keyes was paying himself \$8,500 a month from his campaign treasury. The practice was legal, but politically dubious in a recession year.

Mikulski played a featured role at the Democratic National Convention, conducting a program featuring female candidates and nominating Tennessee Sen. Al Gore for vice president. Keyes, meanwhile, clashed with the organizers of the Republican National Convention; when they were slow to offer him a speaking slot during TV's prime time, Keyes accused the party of racism. In October, the National Republican Senatorial Committee, citing Keyes' poor showing in opinion polls, cut off funding to his campaign; Keyes declared himself an "independent Republican."

Mikulski ended up carrying all but one of Maryland's counties. Although Maryland was Clinton's best state after Arkansas, Mikulski outran him there by 21 percentage points.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1992 General		
Barbara A. Mikulski (D)	1,307,610	(71%)
Alan L. Keyes (R)	533,688	(29%)
1992 Primary		
Barbara A. Mikulski (D)	376,444	(77%)
Thomas M. Wheatley (D)	31,214	(6%)
Walter Boyd (D)	26,467	(5%)
Don Allensworth (D)	19,731	(4%)
Scott David Britt (D)	13,001	(3%)
James Leonard White (D)	12,470	(3%)
B. Emerson Sweatt (D)	11,150	(2%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1986 (61%) 1984* (68%)
1982* (74%) 1980* (76%) 1978* (100%) 1976* (75%)

* House elections

KEY VOTES

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	
Approve farm bill	N
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	N
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N
Approve welfare overhaul	Y
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	N
1995	
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1992			
Mikulski (D)	\$2,940,047	\$876,062 (30%)	\$3,161,104
Keyes (R)	\$1,185,385	\$31,150 (3%)	\$1,175,682

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	90	10	92	8	32	68
1995	85	11	82	12	33	56
1994	89	6	89	9	28	69
1993	93	4	92	8	39	61
1992	23	77	87	10	24	74
1991	33	67	91	8	33	65

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	23	0
1995	90	100	39	4
1994	85	75	33	0
1993	85	100	27	4
1992	100	92	0	0
1991	90	83	20	10

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: Navy, 1944-47; Naval Reserve, 1947-66.

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

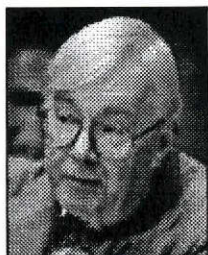
Finance (ranking)

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

Rules & Administration

Joint Library

Joint Taxation



In Washington: Two framed magazine covers hang on the wall of Moynihan's Russell Building office. One is a 1979 issue of *The Nation*, titled "Moynihan: The conscience of a neoconservative." The other is a 1981 issue of *The New Republic*. Its headline: "Pat Moynihan, neo-liberal."

Moynihan, easily one of the sharpest intellects in the Senate, always has been a puzzle.

A seer on welfare — which many years ago led to his being branded a racist — he was a lonely voice in opposition while President Clinton and the Republicans who control Congress enacted massive welfare overhaul legislation in the 104th Congress.

"I fear we may be now commencing the end of the Social Security system. The one thing not wrong with welfare was the commitment of the federal government to help with the provision of aid to dependent children," Moynihan said during the debate on the welfare bill. "We are abandoning that commitment today."

Only 21 senators voted against the final version of the welfare bill, and Moynihan was one of them. He bristled at Clinton's decision to sign the measure, having urged the president to veto any bill that eliminated a poor family's entitlement to cash assistance.

"If this administration wishes to go down in history as one that abandoned, eagerly abandoned, the national commitment to dependent children, so be it," Moynihan said. "I would not want to be associated with such an enterprise."

It was ironic that Moynihan was among the dissenters when Congress and the president enacted the historic 1996 welfare legislation. Moynihan, after all, had been the chief architect of the last major welfare overhaul, in 1988. And he had been the intellectual father of President Richard M. Nixon's unsuccessful 1969 plan for overhauling the system.

The 1969 proposal would have replaced Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the main

federal welfare program, with the Family Assistance program, which would have provided the unemployed with \$1,600 a year for a family of four, plus food stamps valued at \$800. The working poor would have qualified for benefits, too. The unemployed would have been required to take job training or lose their portion of the benefit. The proposal passed the House but died in the Senate.

And it was Moynihan who foresaw the growth in single-parent families in inner cities. Writing in his 1965 report, "The Negro Family," he argued that this trend would deepen poverty and intensify anti-social behavior and that it would be preferable for the government to practice "benign neglect" than pursue destructive welfare programs. At the time, Moynihan was vilified as a racist and his social views created a gulf between him and some minority-group leaders.

In the end, Moynihan was sadly vindicated. "To be as candid as can be," he told the Syracuse Herald American shortly before being renominated for the Senate in 1994, "I wish it had turned out I was wrong. We have such awful problems about all kinds of families."

On other issues as well, Moynihan continues to go his own way. He was the only Democrat to oppose holding public hearings on the sexual misconduct charges against then-Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore. The Senate voted narrowly against the hearings in August 1995, but Packwood resigned the following month.

He was one of six members of Congress to go to court to challenge the legality of the line-item veto law, which permits presidents to strike specific expenditures, entitlements and narrowly focused tax breaks while otherwise signing a measure into law. A federal judge in April 1997 ruled the veto unconstitutional.

Though usually a supporter of abortion rights, he voted to ban a particular abortion technique that opponents call "partial birth" abortion, legislation vetoed by Clinton.

And he is a strong advocate of adjusting the Consumer Price Index, which he says overstates inflation. "If we fail to make this correction, it will cost the Treasury a trillion dollars in

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the next 12 years," Moynihan said. "If we do it, we can move out of this protracted fiscal crisis that is so draining on the country."

No surprise, then, that his brief tenure as chairman of the Finance Committee during the 103rd Congress was noteworthy as much for the fits it gave the new Clinton administration as for its legislative achievements — enactment of a \$500 billion deficit-reduction bill and two massive trade measures: NAFTA (which Moynihan opposed) and GATT.

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 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 would in large part determine the outcome of the president's agenda.

Strange, then, that at times Clinton seemed to ignore Moynihan. The senator had made it clear to New Yorkers that his top priority in any health care bill was to change the federal reimbursement formula for Medicaid, which paid half of New York's costs but paid a higher percentage of the costs incurred by many other states. Clinton's proposed health care bill did not change the formula. Moreover, it contained another provision that, in seeking to increase the supply of general practitioners in comparison to specialists, would have hurt New York's many teaching hospitals. Moynihan, who despite his scholarly manner can be rhetorically zealous, characterized the proposal's effect on those hospitals as "a sin against the Holy Ghost."

Moynihan struck back. During a discussion of health reform, he proclaimed, "We don't have a health care crisis. We DO have a welfare crisis." 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. And while Clinton later told a group of Texas supporters that he raised taxes too much in the bill, Moynihan was unrepentant.

"The president may in retrospect think that he made a mistake," Moynihan said. "I think we did the right thing."

Moynihan's success in shepherding through the budget bill should not have been that much of a surprise. While he is best known and much appreciated for his high oratory, he has demonstrated considerable ability to turn bills into law.

On the 1991 Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, he cut deals over the state allocation of highway money with a facility that belied his reputation as a deep thinker who was not practical enough to be 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.

And Moynihan still can demonstrate a tin ear for what is politically achievable. In 1990 and 1991, he proposed to cut Social Security taxes to stop the building of surpluses 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.

At Home: It is said that a New Yorker sees Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato for a passport and Moynihan for a history of immigration. Moynihan may not have the populist appeal of his earthier colleague, but his unique style 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 and now state parks commissioner, was outspent by more than 3-to-1. Moynihan did feel the tug of the year's big GOP vote: His 55 percent tally was his lowest-ever reelection score. Still, he beat Castro by 13 percentage points.

He had drawn a more-noticed, but even less successful, primary challenger: black activist and 1992 Senate candidate Al Sharpton. Beyond New York City, Sharpton went nowhere, losing 3-1 statewide.

Moynihan's election results powerfully attest to his political popularity. After unseating Republican Sen. James L. Buckley in 1976, Moynihan found the Republicans unable to attract any first-tier candidates in 1982. He won 65 percent of the vote against little-known state Rep. Florence Sullivan. In 1988, he defeated

Republican lawyer 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. His father, a hard-drinking journalist, walked out on the family when the senator was 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 and became one of the few officials to serve at the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet level in four successive presidential administrations. He worked in the Labor Department for Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, and as an urban affairs expert for 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.

He fared far better as ambassador to India and to the United Nations under Nixon and President

Gerald R. Ford. 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 militancy 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, polling 54 percent.

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	(75%)
Al Sharpton (D)	178,231	(25%)

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

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1994			
Moynihan (D)	\$5,245,823	\$1,260,776 (24%)	\$5,784,736
Castro (R)	\$1,582,667	\$25,923 (2%)	\$1,581,901

KEY VOTES

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	
Approve farm bill	Y
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	N
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N
Approve welfare overhaul	N
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	Y
1995	
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	78	19	87	10	18	79
1995	75	16	84	12	19	79
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

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	90	n/a	31	10
1995	90	100	22	0
1994	100	88	20	0
1993	90	91	27	4
1992	100	83	10	0
1991	95	92	10	0

Paul S. Sarbanes (D)

Of Baltimore — Elected 1976, 4th term

Biographical Information

Born: Feb. 3, 1933, Salisbury, Md.

Education: Princeton U., A.B. 1954; Oxford U., B.A. 1957; Harvard U., LL.B. 1960.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Christine Dunbar; three children.

Religion: Greek Orthodox.

Political Career: Md. House, 1967-71; U.S. House, 1971-77.

Capitol Office: 309 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-4524.

Committees

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs (ranking)

Budget

Foreign Relations

African Affairs; European Affairs; International Economic Policy, Export & Trade Promotion (ranking); Near Eastern & South Asian Affairs

Joint Economic



In Washington: When asked a question, Sarbanes is apt to fold his arms, furrow his brow and slip into quiet reflection, sometimes for a very long while. When deliberating thusly, he is rarely deciding where to stand — Sarbanes almost always comes out on the liberal side of debate.

Instead, the meditation reflects his methodical and reserved personality.

"It is quite true I don't make decisions off the top of my head," he once explained. "I don't think important decisions ought to be made that way."

Legislatively, Sarbanes' agenda meshes with his style: He concentrates on important, if obscure, details, whether it be the global consequences of Third World debt or the intricacies of deliberations by the Federal Reserve's policy-making committee.

Politically, Democratic leaders turn to Sarbanes when they need a spokesman resistant to partisan fire: In 1987, he was selected for the panel investigating the Iran-contra scandal. In 1995, he was ranking minority member of the Senate Whitewater Committee, where he challenged Republican Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato of New York at every opportunity. For example, before the White House agreed to turn over notes from a meeting, the Senate had voted along party lines to send the matter to federal court. Sarbanes argued that such a move would be unnecessary.

"They're trying to be forthcoming," he said of the administration. "They're trying to meet the demands of the committee without waiving their attorney-client privilege. We ought not to provoke a constitutional confrontation."

Sarbanes offered a substitute resolution directing the Whitewater Committee to exhaustively explore ways of getting the notes without going to court. It was rejected on a party-line vote. And he argued that the committee hearings into the death of Deputy White House Counsel Vincent W. Foster Jr. and the conduct of the White House staff produced no evidence of wrongdoing.

Sarbanes had hoped to take over the reins of the Banking Committee in the 104th, after the retirement of Donald W. Riegle Jr. of Michigan. But the GOP's takeover of the Senate relegated him to the role of ranking member. In that role, he dissented from Republican-led efforts designed to curb frivolous investor lawsuits. He said the bill went too far.

"Instead of the bill being a stone around the neck of lawyers who fleece investors, it will be a noose around the neck of shareholders with legitimate claims," he said.

On a range of issues, he regularly follows the liberal line against the Republican majority. He voted against the line-item veto, against capping punitive damages in product liability cases, against repealing the national 55 mph speed limit and against overhauling the federal welfare system.

In the past, Sarbanes' painstaking approach and penchant for a narrow legislative focus have frustrated his admirers, who feel he should be more of a leader. One of the Senate's most penetrating intellects, he has the skills to leave opponents sputtering, but he is not a provocateur.

On occasion, Sarbanes does stand in the forefront. In 1991, at the behest of Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, he took the lead on a foreign aid authorization bill and managed to steer a foreign aid conference report through the Senate for the first time since 1985. It was no fault of Sarbanes' that the bill was killed in the House.

Still, Sarbanes often vexes colleagues by targeting minor issues, leading some to conclude that his judgment on the importance of subjects does not always equal his thoroughness in examining them. When he spars at length with witnesses over technicalities, he sometimes seems to miss the big picture by nitpicking minutiae.

For a man who has made politics his life's work, Sarbanes has a curious, if refreshing, distaste for publicity. When he does make headlines, it is generally because he has unearthed a detail offensive to his good-government sensibilities. This was the case in 1989, when Sarbanes held up the consideration of ambassadorial nominees

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who were major contributors to the GOP. Acknowledging that the practice of rewarding political supporters with ambassadorships has a long bipartisan history, Sarbanes argued that the Bush administration had pursued the practice to excess. (He later would warn President Clinton that his concerns about ambassadorships were bipartisan.)

The nomination of Florida real estate magnate Joseph Zappala to be ambassador to Spain was Sarbanes' test case. "We propose to send as ambassador to Spain [a man] with no particular interest [in] or knowledge of Spain," he said, adding that Mr. Zappala's \$145,000 in contributions "appear to be the sole reason" for his selection. While many senators concurred that Zappala's résumé was thin, Foreign Relations narrowly approved his nomination, as did the full Senate.

When Donald P. Gregg was nominated to be ambassador to South Korea, Sarbanes dwelt not on political connections, but on the Iran-contra affair. Sarbanes grilled Gregg, the former national security adviser to Vice President George Bush, about his knowledge of the diversion of funds to the contras. But after a heated debate, the Senate approved his nomination 66-33.

On the select committee investigating the Iran-contra affair in 1987, Sarbanes' performance drew mixed reviews in part because expectations for him were high. His cool, legalistic approach seemed perfect to untangle the complex web of evidence. Many recalled his critical role in the 1974 hearings to impeach President Richard M. Nixon; then a member of the House Judiciary Committee, Sarbanes drafted the most important article of impeachment, charging the president with obstruction of justice.

But what was overlooked about Sarbanes' role in the Watergate hearings was that he had taken center stage for a time precisely because of his cautious nature. The case he built against Nixon was tightly constructed and cogently argued, but he was elected for the job in part because he had avoided the spotlight and withheld an opinion until the committee's work was well under way.

On Foreign Relations and as former chairman of the Banking Subcommittee on International Finance and Monetary Policy, Sarbanes developed a reputation as an expert on the problem of Third World debt and its relationship to U.S. banking and trade. In the 102nd Congress, he managed measures to reauthorize the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. In the 103rd, he was charged with the relatively thankless task of trying to reshape a 33-year-old law governing the international assistance program.

Also in the 103rd, he joined the Budget Committee and assumed the chairmanship of the Banking Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs, where he could more directly attempt to influence federal spending on urban needs. He and Budget Chairman Jim Sasser of Tennessee

were the first to propose an urban aid-fiscal stimulus bill in early 1992, at a time when the economy appeared mired in recession. But their idea for adding \$55 billion to the federal deficit found few supporters.

Though he voted in 1993 for Clinton's deficit reduction plan, which included tax increases on the wealthy, he was among the Clinton allies in early 1994 who attempted to quash suggestions that Congress take more action to reduce the deficit. "Sometimes if you take too much medicine too quickly, you don't get better; you get worse," he said.

He tried to steer through housing legislation, with mixed success. He played a key role in passage of a law giving the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) more flexibility to dispose of apartment buildings that had fallen to the government through foreclosures. But a broader bill that would have given HUD and local authorities more say over a range of housing programs died on the Senate floor.

Although Sarbanes may never match Maryland's junior senator, Barbara A. Mikulski, when it comes to bringing home the bacon — she chaired an Appropriations subcommittee when Democrats controlled the Senate — he nonetheless makes an effort to tout his role as leader of the state delegation.

In the 102nd Congress, he won enactment of a bill enlarging the Assateague Island National Seashore. In the 101st, he was the chief Senate sponsor of legislation to clean up the Chesapeake Bay. In 1986, he launched the first filibuster of his career over legislation that would have transferred control over two major Washington, D.C.-area airports from the federal government to a regional authority. Marylanders saw the bill as an economic threat to their state's major airport. Sarbanes talked for five days, with an uncharacteristic enthusiasm that won concessions aimed at providing some protection for Maryland's interests.

At Home: The son of Greek immigrant parents, Sarbanes grew up on Maryland's Eastern Shore, attended Princeton, won a Rhodes scholarship and graduated from Harvard University Law School magna cum laude.

After settling in Baltimore to practice law, Sarbanes entered politics and won a state House seat in 1966. Having developed the quiet, meticulous approach to problem-solving that would mark his Washington career, Sarbanes left the legislature in 1970 to challenge veteran Democratic Rep. George H. Fallon. Running as an anti-war, anti-machine insurgent, Sarbanes defeated the aging chairman of the House Public Works Committee for the Democratic nomination in Baltimore's multiethnic then-4th District. With Democrats enjoying nearly a 4-to-1 registration advantage in the 4th, he had no general-election trouble.

Two years later, redistricting threw him together with another old-time Democrat, Rep. Edward

Garmatz, but Garmatz retired.

By 1976 Sarbanes was ready to move to the Senate, and he did so by unseating one-term Republican J. Glenn Beall Jr. Sarbanes first parried a primary comeback attempt by former Democratic Sen. Joseph D. Tydings, deflecting Tydings' charges that Sarbanes was too liberal.

There were early signs that his 1982 re-election campaign might be more difficult. Emboldened by their 1980 successes, Republicans put Sarbanes on their target list. The National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) launched a half-million-dollar advertising attack in 1981.

But by early 1982, Sarbanes' opponents had lost their confidence. Many felt the NCPAC campaign had backfired: The Democrat had stepped up his schedule of personal appearances, lashed out at NCPAC as "an alien force" and raised money aggressively.

State GOP leaders failed to enlist a big-name challenger, a problem they would continue to have. That year the nomination went to Prince George's County Executive Lawrence J. Hogan — a former House member who had a chilly relationship with many state GOP activists, stemming from his Watergate-era criticisms of Richard M. Nixon. Hogan carried only three counties.

In 1988, wealthy businessman Thomas L. Blair spent freely and easily won the GOP nomination, only to withdraw in May, citing business obligations. The party conservatives' choice to replace Blair was Alan L. Keyes, a former State Department official who had served as a top assistant to U.N. Representative Jeane J. Kirkpatrick.

Though Keyes had not previously been active in the state party, he drew attention as one of two black Senate contenders in 1988, and he campaigned aggressively. But Keyes also exhibited an independence that alienated some Republicans and never attracted Sarbanes voters.

In 1994, Republicans nominated another Maryland outsider: William Brock, a former Tennessee senator, national GOP chairman and member of the Cabinet under President Ronald Reagan. Brock bumbled questions about when his Maryland residency had begun and never escaped the carpetbagger label. More important, he never gave voters a compelling reason to vote for him.

Brock made the usual "stealth senator" charges about Sarbanes, who tends to keep a low profile in non-election years. But Brock's campaign was equally low-key. Despite heavy personal spending aided by his wealth from the family's candy fortune, Brock managed only 41 percent of the vote.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General			
Paul S. Sarbanes (D)	809,125	(59%)	
William Brock (R)	559,908	(41%)	
1994 Primary			
Paul S. Sarbanes (D)	382,115	(79%)	
John B. Liston (D)	52,031	(11%)	
Dennard A. Gayle Sr. (D)	30,665	(6%)	
Leonard E. Trout Jr. (D)	19,393	(4%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: **1988** (62%) **1982** (64%)
1976 (57%) **1974*** (84%) **1972*** (70%) **1970*** (70%)

* House elections

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	90	10	94	6	18	82
1995	90	10	95	4	9	89
1994	95	5	98	2	13	88
1993	96	4	97	2	12	88
1992	27	73	96	4	11	89
1991	30	70	96	4	13	88

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N	
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y	
1996		
Approve farm bill	N	
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	N	
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N	
Approve welfare overhaul	N	
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y	
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	N	
1995		
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N	
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N	

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expend- itures
1994			
Sarbanes (D)	\$2,702,116	\$932,500 (35%)	\$2,698,928
Brock (R)	\$3,204,925	\$186,718 (6%)	\$3,201,650

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	23	0
1995	100	100	21	0
1994	95	88	20	0
1993	95	91	18	0
1992	100	92	10	0
1991	100	92	10	0

Gordon H. Smith (R)

Of Pendleton — Elected 1996, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: May 25, 1952, Pendleton, Ore.

Education: Brigham Young U., B.A. 1976; Southwestern U., J.D. 1979.

Occupation: Frozen food company executive; lawyer.

Family: Wife, Sharon; three children.

Religion: Mormon.

Political Career: Ore. Senate, 1993-97, president, 1995-97; Republican nominee for U.S. Senate, 1996 special election.

Capitol Office: 359 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-3753.

Committees

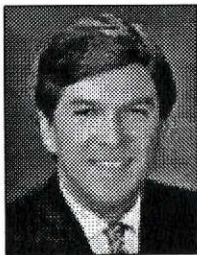
Budget

Energy & Natural Resources

Energy Research Development Production & Regulation; Forests & Public Land Management; Water & Power

Foreign Relations

European Affairs (chairman); International Operations; Near Eastern & South Asian Affairs



The Path to Washington: A millionaire businessman from northeastern Oregon, Smith had an arduous climb to Congress, running two separate Senate campaigns in 1996.

He started the year by narrowly losing to Democratic Rep. Ron Wyden in a special election to fill the

seat left vacant by Republican Bob Packwood, who resigned from the Senate in September 1995 after allegations of ethical and sexual misconduct.

But Smith got a second chance when Oregon's other veteran Republican senator, Mark O. Hatfield, announced he would retire at the end of the 104th Congress. Since Smith had just made himself known to voters statewide, most Republicans saw him as a logical choice to defend the seat for the party.

Owner of a frozen foods packaging company in Pendleton, Smith first entered politics in 1992, winning a seat in the state Senate. When Republicans won control of the chamber in 1994, he was elected Senate president.

In that post he showed a penchant for conciliation and deal-making. He was instrumental, for instance, in crafting a compromise in 1995 that provided state money for expansion of Portland's light-rail commuter system. Smith also was a key Republican player in the establishment of Oregon's state health care plan for low-income residents, an initiative that included funding for abortion services — even though Smith opposes the procedure except in cases of rape, incest or danger to the life of the woman.

But Smith is a staunch conservative on fiscal issues, and some of his votes in the state Senate gave Democrats an opening to portray him as too extreme. For instance, he was one of only a handful of lawmakers to vote against a measure aimed at toughening sanctions against employers who violate minimum wage laws.

Using ammunition such as that, Democrats in both Senate campaigns portrayed Smith as out-

side Oregon's mainstream. Wyden repeatedly attacked Smith during the special election for receiving support from the Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA), which has waged high-profile battles against abortion and homosexuals' rights.

Smith also came under heavy criticism for environmental violations at his food plant, and for his personal spending — including such things as a million-dollar collection of antique Scottish golf clubs.

After putting out an estimated \$2 million of his own money trading negative television commercials with Wyden, Smith narrowly lost.

When Hatfield announced his retirement, Smith initially said he would not run again in 1996. But national Republicans, anxious to prevent Democrats from picking up a second seat previously held by the GOP, assured Smith he would not have to invest more of his personal fortune in another attempt.

Smith returned to the campaign trail, redoubling his efforts to portray himself as a reasonable centrist. Despite his opposition to abortion in most instances, he said he would not pursue a constitutional amendment banning abortion if elected to the Senate. And he pledged not to allow his views on abortion or other contentious issues to prevent him from seeking the "greater good."

Such rhetoric sparked a challenge to Smith in the Republican primary from Lon Mabon, chairman of the conservative Oregon Citizens Alliance. Mabon said he was taking on Smith to make sure conservatives had a voice in the election.

But Mabon's message failed to attract even 10 percent of the primary vote, as Smith breezed to nomination against Mabon and three others with a 78 percent tally.

That set the stage for a fall campaign pitting Smith against Democrat Tom Bruggere, himself a millionaire and successful businessman.

Although Bruggere, a founder and former chief executive officer of the Portland-area high-tech firm Mentor Graphics, was making his first bid for elected office, he came highly touted by state and national Democrats as a fresh face with deep pockets.

Bruggere cruised through the primary season to

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grab the Democratic nomination and then took aim at Smith by recycling charges first used by Wyden that the Republican was too far right on issues such as the environment and abortion rights.

But with the experience of the previous campaign under his belt, Smith deftly blunted most of Bruggere's criticisms, promising to work for a balance between economic development, job creation and environmental protection.

When Bruggere charged that Smith was a "chronic corporate polluter" in eastern Oregon, Smith responded with charges that his opponent was digging for damaging information about Smith's wife and her relatives for use in the campaign.

In the closing days of the race, Smith reached out to moderate voters in the highly populous Portland metropolitan area by vowing to support federal funding for abortions for low-income women in cases of rape or incest or when necessary to save the woman's life. He won with 50 percent, 4 percentage points ahead of Bruggere.

In his second month in the Senate, Smith voted for the early release of \$385 million for interna-

tional family planning programs — a move supporters said would keep open dozens of family planning clinics in poor countries around the world.

The 53-46 vote to release the funds March 1 — four months earlier than scheduled under legislation passed in the 104th — was a victory for abortion-rights advocates, but most supporters framed the issue in terms of family planning rather than abortion. That argument, advanced by Republican abortion-rights supporter Olympia J. Snowe of Maine, convinced at least one Republican abortion opponent, Smith, to vote for the early release of the money.

He said he believed that in four months' time, family planning services would prevent enough unwanted pregnancies to prevent 1.6 million abortions from being performed. "Like Mr. Hatfield I am pro-life," Smith said. "I will vote yes" to the release.

Smith sits on the Foreign Relation Committee and serves as chairman of the Subcommittee on European Affairs. He also has seats on the Budget Committee and on Energy and Natural Resources.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Gordon H. Smith (R)	677,336	(50%)
Tom Bruggere (D)	624,370	(46%)
Brent Thompson (REF)	20,381	(1%)
Gary Kutcher (PACIFIC)	14,193	(1%)
1996 Primary		
Gordon Smith (R)	224,428	(78%)
Lon Mabon (R)	23,479	(8%)
Kirby Brumfield (R)	15,744	(5%)
Jeff Lewis (R)	13,359	(5%)
Robert J. Fenton (R)	8,958	(3%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Smith (R)	\$3,840,273	\$757,905 (20%)	\$3,764,272
Bruggere (D)	\$3,318,883	\$406,731 (12%)	\$3,301,736

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty		Y

Robert C. Smith (R)

Of Tuftonboro — Elected 1990; 2nd term

Biographical Information

Born: March 30, 1941, Trenton, N.J.

Education: Trenton Junior College, A.A. 1963; Lafayette College, B.A. 1965; California State U., Long Beach, 1968-69.

Military Service: Navy, 1965-67.

Occupation: Real estate broker; high school teacher.

Family: Wife, Mary Jo Hutchinson; three children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Gov. Wentworth Regional School Board (Wolfeboro, N.H.), 1978-84; sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 1980; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1982; U.S. House, 1985-90.

Capitol Office: 307 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-2841.

Committees

Armed Services

Acquisition & Technology; Seapower; Strategic Forces (chairman)

Environment & Public Works

Superfund, Waste Control & Risk Assessment (chairman); Transportation & Infrastructure

Governmental Affairs

Investigations; International Security, Proliferation & Federal Services

Select Ethics (chairman)



In Washington: Smith, a bedrock conservative, has seen his influence ebb and flow in recent years with the shifting ideological tides of the country and Congress.

The burly former high school teacher with the sharp tongue and aggressive political style has never quite made it into the Senate's clubby inner circle. In 1993, the combination of a new Democratic president and a Democratic Congress confined Smith to the political margin. But the Republican sweep of 1994 brought the mainstream closer to Smith's views.

The 1996 elections resulted in a more conservative Senate under the leadership of Mississippian Trent Lott. It remains to be seen whether Smith can turn his strong beliefs into effective legislative action. To date, his trademark has been passionate advocacy on a few heartfelt causes.

In the 104th Congress, Smith sponsored legislation to outlaw a certain late-term abortion procedure that opponents call "partial-birth" abortion. In a floor speech, Smith described in detail the particulars of the method, calling it "grisly" and "disgusting." Smith has called abortion "one of the great issues of the day, much as slavery was 100 years ago."

In foreign affairs, too, Smith has exhibited an unyielding style. When Republican Sen. John McCain of Arizona, a former prisoner of war in Vietnam, helped lead the Senate to vote in favor of normalizing diplomatic relations with Vietnam, Smith vehemently resisted.

He said no improvement should be contemplated until Vietnam came forward with more information about Americans missing or dead from the seven-year war. Smith, also a Vietnam veteran, gained national attention for his work seeking information about prisoners of war and those listed as missing in action.

Although he signed on to a 1993 report that found "no compelling evidence" of POWs still

alive in captivity, Smith gained the support of some family and veterans' groups by arguing that the possibility must be thoroughly investigated. In January 1994, when the Senate supported President Clinton on lifting the economic embargo against Vietnam, Smith said the move was "equivalent to getting down on your knees and hoping and praying that the Vietnamese will give us all this information."

Smith also railed against Clinton's policy on Bosnia. In 1994, he voted for lifting the arms embargo to help supply Bosnia's Muslims in their civil war against the Bosnian Serbs. But when Clinton brokered a fragile peace in the region in late 1995, Smith passionately argued against sending U.S. troops to enforce the agreement:

"American soldiers, air crews, Marines and sailors will now be placed in harm's way because this administration failed to do what so many of us urged — permit the legal government of Bosnia, permit the people of Bosnia to defend their country, and their lives."

As a member of the Armed Services Committee, Smith supported higher levels of defense spending, while seeking to freeze or cut the federal budget in virtually every other area. In December 1994, when Clinton proposed adding \$25 billion to his defense spending plan over six years, Smith scoffed.

"The president sees the political handwriting on the wall with the Republican control of Congress," Smith said. "He knows we are going to seize this issue of inadequate defense spending and give him no mercy, and he is trying to counter it. But it is not enough. It is a Band-Aid where you need a tourniquet."

Smith's unswerving advocacy of increased defense spending is one instance where he abandons strict fiscal conservatism. Another is on protecting businesses from costs associated with the superfund hazardous waste law.

Smith used his chairmanship of the Environment and Public Works Subcommittee on Superfund, Waste Control and Risk Assessment to advance the view that businesses should not be held to "retroactive liability" for causing pollution. In

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the 104th, he sponsored legislation to strike the part of the superfund law that holds polluters liable for dumping hazardous wastes before the law took effect in 1980.

Smith said the revisions could increase the government's share of the cost of the program from \$1.5 billion to as much as \$2.2 billion. He conceded that finding that much funding would be difficult, but argued that it was unfair to make businesses liable for waste disposed of legally before superfund was enacted.

On some occasions, Smith's down-the-line conservatism gives way to regional priorities. For example, while classic conservative support for free trade dictated a yes vote on NAFTA, Smith opposed it, out of a desire to protect local industries whose jobs might be threatened by competition south of the border.

And while generally pro-business when it comes to curbing environmental regulation, Smith joined with environmentalists on acid rain. In New Hampshire, where lakes and streams show signs of damage from the pollution problem, the issue cuts across party and ideological lines.

Notwithstanding his opposition to NAFTA, Smith has received consistently low grades from organized labor for his voting patterns. In May 1995, Smith sponsored an amendment to a routine highway bill that would have exempted highway projects from the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act, a favorite target of Smith's that is considered sacrosanct by organized labor.

The law requires the government to pay the "prevailing wage" on contracts in whatever region of the country it is doing business. Smith argued that repeal of the Davis-Bacon Act would save taxpayers up to 15 percent on federal highway projects. In 1994 Smith opposed including Davis-Bacon Act wage thresholds in a defense procurement reform bill. Two months earlier, a Senate panel rejected a Smith amendment that would have repealed the Davis-Bacon Act as it applied to sewage treatment plant construction.

Smith came to the Senate in 1990, filling the seat of Republican Gordon J. Humphrey, who retired. In succeeding Humphrey, he brought his obstreperous brand of conservatism — which often caused him trouble in the House — to a chamber more accustomed to individualism and to accommodating members with iconoclastic views.

In the Senate, Smith was able to get a seat on the Armed Services Committee, where he could team up with other conservative ideologues on defense and foreign policy issues. Smith was one of only four senators — all Republicans — who voted against the 1991 treaty signed by President George Bush that reduced conventional forces and called for the destruction of weapons by the United States and the Soviet Union. He was one of three Republican senators who criticized the 1992 defense authorization bill as cutting too much of the funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative.

In the House, Smith was a vocal opponent of

congressional pay raises. When the House voted in February 1989 to block a proposed 51 percent salary increase for members of Congress, Smith was both a big winner and a big loser.

He was a winner because he helped lead the fight against a procedure that would have allowed the raise to be enacted without a House vote.

"Would I like to have a \$45,000 raise? You're damned right I would," Smith said. "But that's not the way to get it. If we can't convince the American people we should have a raise, then we shouldn't have it."

While such statements did not always make Smith the most popular representative in the cloakroom, they have served him very well in fiscally conservative New Hampshire, a state that has a 98 percent white population, that has neither an income nor sales tax, and that prides itself on its bare-bones state and local governments.

At Home: But the same pay raise issue that helped Smith elevate his political profile enough to win the Senate seat in 1990 gave his 1996 opponent, former Democratic Rep. Dick Swett, an opening that almost made Smith a one-term senator.

Swett hammered Smith for hypocrisy in voting for a Senate pay raise in 1991 after saying he would not. He accused Smith of voting to cut funding for environmental protection and claimed that Smith's views on issues such as abortion are too far to the right even in New Hampshire, a traditional Republican stronghold. Swett said his "centrist positions" were more in line with those of state voters.

Smith's campaign relied on a formidable fundraising base and a consistent message to counter Swett's charges. He revisited the gun control issue that helped Republican Charles Bass defeat Swett in the 1994 House race: Swett's vote in 1994 for a ban on certain assault weapons, which he cast despite a promise to oppose the legislation.

Smith also cast his opponent as a liberal. One of Smith's early television ads claimed that the Clinton administration's health care overhaul plan, which Swett cosponsored during the 103rd Congress, would have allowed "the federal government to take over health care" and "could have prohibited you from choosing your own doctor" — claims long denied by supporters of the failed legislation.

In the end, the vote was close enough that several TV networks declared Swett the winner on Election Night. Later returns reversed the fortunes, and Smith returned to serve a second Senate term.

A small-town real estate agent and one-time teacher, New Hampshire's senior senator has cultivated the image of a real-life "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." But he also exhibited a good bit of political savvy in 1990 in navigating his crossing from one side of Capitol Hill to the other.

In three terms of representing New Hampshire's 1st District, Smith had forged a repu-

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tation as an ardent Congress-basher and hard-right conservative immersed in few issues other than accounting for Vietnam MIAs.

But when Humphrey announced in early 1989 that he would not seek re-election, Smith moved quickly to assume the mantle. He announced his candidacy, wrapped up the support of key Republican leaders and began to project a more moderate position on several key issues.

In the Republican primary, Smith's well-heeled campaign rolled up nearly two-thirds of the vote against Tom Christo, a wealthy lawyer specializing in computer law who was backed by the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League. Smith ran just as well in the general election, crushing the comeback bid of former Democratic Sen. John A. Durkin (1975-80).

Durkin tried hard, mocking Smith as "Bumbling Bob" and the "abominable no-man" and portraying him as a simplistic ideologue who would be intellectually over his head in the Senate. But Smith was able to give as good as he got, accusing Durkin of being a tax-and-spend liberal who supported the federal bailout of New York City but opposed the Kemp-Roth tax cut.

Heavily outspent, Durkin was in no position to compete effectively in the final days of the campaign. In Republican New Hampshire, the result was a rout, as Smith took nearly two-thirds of the vote.

Smith's early campaigns were far more modest: short on money, long on Rotary Club luncheons. But they gave him a chance to demon-

strate his persistence. On his first House try, in 1980, Smith lost in the Republican primary. On his second try, in 1982, he won the primary but lost the general election to Democratic Rep. Norman E. D'Amours (1975-85). On his third try, in 1984, when D'Amours ran for the Senate, Smith finally won the seat.

In beating the highest-ranking Democrat in state government, Executive Councilor Dudley Dudley, he returned the eastern New Hampshire House seat to the GOP for the first time in a decade.

Unlike D'Amours, whose roots were in ethnic Manchester, Smith reflected small-town Yankee New Hampshire. It was there that he wrote his brief political resume as a member and chairman of the Wolfeboro School Board. In private life, he was a civics and gym teacher at the local junior high school.

Rather than embellish his modest credentials when he ran for the House, Smith presented himself as a citizen-politician who understood New Hampshire's common-sense values. Each campaign played up the down-home manner of the big, burly baseball coach and emphasized his fervent conservatism.

It is a combination that has played well for Smith with the voters. Dismissing Dudley in 1984 as "Dudley Dudley, Liberal Liberal," Smith was elected to the House by a margin of nearly 3-to-2. A pair of comfortable re-election victories followed before Smith mounted his successful Senate campaign in 1990.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Robert C. Smith (R)	242,257	(49%)
Dick Swett (D)	227,355	(46%)
Ken Blevens (LIBERT)	22,261	(5%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (65%) 1988* (60%)
1986* (56%) 1984* (59%)

* House elections

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Smith (R)	\$1,708,376	\$875,951 (51%)	\$1,718,413
Swett (D)	\$1,759,089	\$348,388 (20%)	\$1,558,563

KEY VOTES

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty	N
1996	
Approve farm bill	Y
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	Y
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	Y
Approve welfare overhaul	Y
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	N
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	Y
1995	
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	Y
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	29	71	94	4	92	8
1995	18	82	97	3	91	7
1994	19	79	95	4	88	13
1993	11	87	94	4	90	10
1992	73	27	92	8	89	11
1991	85	14	93	6	85	15

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	5	n/a	92	100
1995	0	0	100	100
1994	5	14	80	100
1993	15	9	91	100
1992	5	25	90	96
1991	10	17	70	90

Ted Stevens (R)

Of Girdwood — Elected 1970; 5th full term
Appointed to the Senate 1968.

Biographical Information

Born: Nov. 18, 1923, Indianapolis, Ind.

Education: U. of California, Los Angeles, B.A. 1947; Harvard U., LL.B. 1950.

Military Service: Army Air Corps, 1943-46.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Catherine Ann Bittner; six children.

Religion: Episcopalian.

Political Career: U.S. attorney for Alaska, 1953-56; Republican nominee for U.S. Senate, 1962; Alaska House, 1965-68, majority leader and speaker pro tempore, 1967-68; sought Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, 1968.

Capitol Office: 522 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-3004.

Committees

Appropriations (chairman)

Commerce, Justice, State & Judiciary; Defense (chairman); Foreign Operations; Interior; Legislative Branch; VA, HUD & Independent Agencies

Commerce, Science & Transportation

Aviation; Communications; Oceans & Fisheries; Science, Technology & Space; Surface Transportation & Merchant Marine

Rules & Administration

Joint Library



In Washington: Stevens has served a long time in the Senate, so long that he is now the chamber's second-most senior Republican, with 28 years' service. And his patience paid off in a big way at the start of the 105th Congress, as he became chairman of the Appropriations Committee,

a job that came open with the retirement of Oregon's Mark O. Hatfield.

Two years before, in 1995, the story had been different for Stevens. Although his party was then taking control of Congress after eight years in the minority, the only full committee chair available to Stevens was on Rules and Administration — perhaps the lowest-profile gavel in the Senate.

Also in the 104th, Stevens returned to the chair of Appropriations' Defense Subcommittee (he was chairman of that panel when Republicans last held the Senate majority in the 1980s). In that role he helped boost Pentagon spending while preserving its allocations from a White House hungry for more domestic funds. Stevens also continued his longstanding efforts to funnel domestic dollars home to Alaska.

Stevens' committee assignments in recent years have resembled the child's game of "Chutes and Ladders." In the summer of 1994, he was lobbying colleagues to support his bid to leapfrog over South Dakota Sen. Larry Pressler for the top GOP spot on the Commerce Committee. Pressler had more seniority on the committee, but Stevens had been in the Senate a decade longer and enjoyed a reputation as more of a legislative heavyweight than Pressler. But with Stevens' sharp mind comes a hot temper, and he could not overcome the simple fact that too many colleagues considered him difficult to work with at times. Pressler became Commerce chairman, and Stevens had to be satisfied with chairing Rules, the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee and two other lower-profile subcommittees. (Pressler

was turned out of the Senate in the 1996 election.)

When Finance Committee Chairman Bob Packwood, R-Ore., resigned in disgrace in October 1995, his gavel fell to William V. Roth Jr., R-Del. Roth gave up the helm at Governmental Affairs, and Stevens got that chairmanship.

Stevens gave administration officials a preview of what his tenure as Appropriations chairman might be like during endgame negotiations over the fiscal 1997 Interior spending bill. Minutes after negotiators called Stevens into the chairman's office in September 1996, the Alaskan was shouting, red-faced, at Leon E. Panetta, President Clinton's chief of staff. Stevens was determined to force the White House to drop restrictions that limited use of a special fund for out-of-work Alaskan timber workers. Stevens told Panetta that he had just told a roomful of Senate Republicans that they could not trust Panetta because his word was no good.

But after Panetta produced documents that bolstered his case, Stevens immediately shook hands as though nothing unusual had happened and left. Longtime Stevens watchers say they have often watched Stevens throw a fit and then exit the room with a wink. "I believe in using my emotions, not losing my emotions," Stevens said in a 1996 interview. "Once you've done that, you walk out the door and go over and have a drink with the opposing [party]."

Stevens publicly bragged on his combative style at the first Appropriations Committee markup over which he presided. "Sen. Hatfield had the patience of Job and the disposition of a saint. I don't," Stevens announced. "The watch has changed. I'm a mean, miserable SOB."

But for all his bluster, Stevens remains a throwback to the clubby pragmatism that once permeated the Senate and its spending committee; he generally gets along well with ranking Appropriations Democrat Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia. Stevens takes a different tack on a number of issues, from abortion to arts spending, than the younger generation of Republicans now regnant in the Senate. But he has swallowed his

ALASKA

reservations on a number of votes since the GOP took power, and he actively campaigned for lots of Senate candidates in 1996 to help shore up support for his bid to chair Appropriations.

Stevens has been a steadfast defender of congressional perks and privileges and of federal workers' pay and pensions generally. Nevertheless, on assuming the Governmental Affairs chairmanship, Stevens pledged that he would continue GOP efforts to reform the civil service system.

In 1995, he switched his vote from the year before to support passage of a balanced-budget constitutional amendment. (He had also voted for the amendment in 1986.) When Hatfield came under attack within the Republican Conference for being the lone Republican to oppose the move (at the cost of its passage), Stevens rushed to his defense, saying it wasn't a "healthy concept to think everyone has to fit into the same keyhole to belong to the Republican Party."

He has opposed efforts to change the campaign finance system, and in the 103rd he opposed legislation to impose more restrictions on lobbying. He said that blocking lobbyists from spending money on members and staff "is going to harm this town. The Kennedy Center will fold up if they don't buy these tickets," he said. "You are going to close 90 percent of the restaurants in Washington." The lobby reform bill died at the end of the session, but similar measures, which Stevens supported, passed the Senate unanimously in July 1995.

Stevens' work for increased congressional salaries and benefits helped make him popular enough in the 1970s and early 1980s to hold the post of party whip for eight years, and in December 1984, he ran a strong race for majority leader, losing to Bob Dole of Kansas by only three votes, 28-25. For years afterward, he harbored ambitions to be party leader, but time seems to have precluded that possibility.

He voted in 1995 for passage of the Congressional Compliance Act, which was designed to end Congress' exemption from prominent labor laws, but he questioned the Congressional Budget Office's estimates of its expense. "If it costs so little to apply to Congress, why are private businesses complaining so loudly [about regulations]?" he asked.

The bill's progress was held up for several months near the end of the 103rd Congress as Stevens, who was then the ranking member on Rules, underwent and recovered from back surgery. Stevens had surgery for prostate cancer in August 1991, an experience that played a part in him helping push through legislation establishing a prostate cancer research center within the National Cancer Institute.

Stevens is a vociferous defender of Alaska's needs, and in 1995 he cosponsored fellow Alaskan Sen. Frank H. Murkowski's legislation to lift the ban on exporting Alaskan oil. They had less success with proposals to spur timber harvesting in

the Tongass National Forest and to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling because of the firm opposition of the Clinton White House. Accusing the Clinton administration of conducting a "war on the West," Stevens said, "We insist we're going to stop these dictatorial actions."

In February 1995, Stevens was granted the dubious honor of the "Alaskan Pipeline Award" by Citizens Against Government Waste, which claimed he had funneled some \$30 million in pork to his state over the past year.

He breaks with some conservatives on another issue important to Alaska, funding for public broadcasting. Because of the state's sparse population, public radio is an important community bulletin board, and for Stevens that supersedes any ideological concerns about the liberal leanings of public radio. He has criticized public broadcasting for "testing the limits of public acceptance," but he remains a supporter. "The people who need this system are not extreme," he said. Stevens fought behind the scenes to preserve public broadcasting funding in 1995, but admitted he won less than he had hoped for.

As ranking member and now chairman of Defense Appropriations, Stevens has been determined to establish the panel as an independent voice on military programs, rather than merely a bursar for the programs authorized by the Armed Services Committee. In doing so, he has faced opposition both from Armed Services and from the subcommittee's traditionally more powerful House counterpart.

In 1995, he praised Defense Secretary William J. Perry's efforts to reshape the U.S. military, but complained that the rest of Clinton's team regarded U.S. forces more as an international relief corps than as a combat force. He also expressed concern that in the absence of the Soviet threat, the public is too eager for defense moneys to shift to domestic programs. "There are so many areas out there that members of the public put ahead of maintaining our defenses," he complained.

At Home: Stevens' careful defense of Alaska's interests has made him invulnerable at the polls. Although he has not had his way on every issue, he always seems to have the right political approach — stubborn but pragmatic.

He easily turned back a primary challenge in 1996 by former state Rep. Dave W. Cuddy, a banking millionaire who hoped to find a weak incumbent underbelly. But conservatives who did not love Stevens were willing to stick with him because of his clout, and Cuddy's late-season attacks accusing Stevens of misusing campaign funds for personal trips were disproved by the Senate Ethics Committee and backfired. Democrats had a large but weak field of political unknowns, and the eventual nominee, Theresa Nangle Obermeyer, spent part of the campaign year in jail for charges that grew out of her "stalking" of Stevens. Even the state's Democratic governor announced for Stevens, and Obermeyer fin-

ished third behind the Green Party nominee.

Until he hit Alaska at age 29, Stevens had been something of a nomad. Born in Indianapolis in 1923 to parents who divorced at the start of the Great Depression, he eventually moved to live with an aunt in California, where he went to high school and learned to surf. After flying C-46 transports throughout China during World War II and earning the Distinguished Flying Cross, he graduated from the University of California, Los Angeles, and worked his way through law school, in part by selling his blood and tending bar, according to a revealing profile in the Anchorage Daily News.

Stevens, who had been majority leader in the Alaska House, got to Washington by appointment when Democratic Sen. E.L. Bartlett died in 1968. The appointment came from GOP Gov. Walter J. Hickel. Stevens would soon be in the Senate arguing for Hickel's confirmation as secretary of the Interior under President Richard M. Nixon.

Stevens had begun his pursuit of a Senate seat not long after Alaska became a state in 1959. He got the party's nomination for the job in 1962 but managed just 41 percent against Democrat Ernest J. Gruening that fall. He tried for the nomination again in 1968 but was defeated in the primary. The party's nominee, however, lost that November to Democrat Mike Gravel, and when Bartlett died in December, Hickel turned to Stevens.

Once in Washington, Stevens began digging in

politically. In the 1970 contest to fill the final two years of Bartlett's term, he won with 60 percent (even as the GOP was losing the governorship). In that campaign, against liberal Democrat Wendell P. Kay, Stevens favored greater oil and mineral development; Kay was a firm conservationist.

Despite his record as a GOP loyalist, Stevens' focus on the economy and defense policy and lack of zeal on social issues has alienated some of the staunch conservatives — including a number of religious fundamentalists — in the Alaska Republican Party. He was denied the chairmanship of the Alaska delegation to the 1980 Republican National Convention. After compiling a strongly pro-Reagan voting record before the 1984 convention, he was named delegation chairman, but he has not held that title since.

Stevens' electoral strength daunted prominent Democrats from challenging him in 1990. But the fact that he was practically unchallenged did not stop the minority of Alaskans who had a gripe with Stevens from voting for his obscure challengers. In the primary, Robert M. Bird, a teacher and anti-abortion activist, took 25 percent of the Republican vote against Stevens. And in the general election, Stevens' 66 percent share of the vote was actually smaller than it had been in 1984. This was notable mainly because his Democratic opponent was Michael Beasley, a political gadfly who had run in statewide primaries without ever receiving more than 9 percent of the vote.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Ted Stevens (R)	177,893	(77%)
Jed Whittaker (GREEN)	29,037	(13%)
Theresa Nangle Obermeyer (D)	23,977	(10%)
1996 Primary *		
Ted Stevens (R)	71,043	(59%)
Dave W. Cuddy (R)	32,994	(28%)
Theresa Nangle Obermeyer (D)	4,072	(3%)
Jed Whittaker (GREEN)	3,751	(3%)
Joseph A. "Joe" Sonneman (D)	2,643	(2%)
Michael J. Beasley (D)	1,968	(2%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (66%) 1984 (71%)
1978 (76%) 1972 (77%) 1970† (60%)

† Special election

* In Alaska, all primary candidates are listed on one ballot and the winners from each party meet in the general election.

KEY VOTES

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	
Approve farm bill	Y
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	Y
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	Y
Approve welfare overhaul	Y
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	N
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	Y
1995	
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	Y
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	Y

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Stevens (R)	\$3,271,582	\$1,203,797 (37%)	\$2,711,710

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	44	54	89	9	87	8
1995	30	66	86	10	88	5
1994	45	42	69	25	84	13
1993	31	65	80	18	88	7
1992	78	20	80	18	84	11
1991	83	14	78	20	85	10

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	20	n/a	85	80
1995	5	8	94	73
1994	25	43	67	77
1993	25	55	91	80
1992	20	33	80	74
1991	10	42	60	76

Corporate

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

Regional

☐	AFR
☐	EAP
☐	ECA
☐	LAC
☐	MNA
☐	SAS

Central

☐	CPS
☐	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:**File Location**

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