

*Illinois - 21st District*

## 21 Melvin Price (D)

**Of East St. Louis — Elected 1944**

**Born:** Jan. 1, 1905, East St. Louis, Ill.  
**Education:** Attended St. Louis U., 1923-25.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1943-44.  
**Occupation:** Journalist.  
**Family:** Wife, Geraldine Freelin; one child.  
**Religion:** Roman Catholic.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 2110 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5661.



**In Washington:** Price owes his Armed Services chairmanship to a revolt by junior members against his two autocratic predecessors, and he has rarely tried to be a forceful leader. He plays a moderator's role while other members take the lead on major issues. Each passing year seems to take him farther from any position of political importance.

Before Price, in the days of Chairmen L. Mendel Rivers and F. Edward Hebert, junior members were told what to do and when to do it, rarely even getting the opportunity to question witnesses. Since he was installed by the Democratic Caucus in 1975 to replace Hebert, Price has bent over backward to be fair to all, even at the risk of diluting his influence. He has established temporary subcommittees and handed them over to those lowest in seniority. He even set one up for Ronald V. Dellums, the California Democrat whose harangues against militarism have made him an outcast on the committee.

He also offers all committee members large doses of foreign travel. Price has led dozens of committee junkets to China, the Soviet Union, the Middle East, Africa and Europe. Flying on well-stocked Air Force jets, often taking congressional spouses, the Price delegations have met with both civilian and military leaders in the countries they have visited.

A former baseball writer who has always been awkward and halting as a public speaker, Price still finds it more comfortable to talk about the St. Louis Cardinals than the defense budget. He does not appear on television interview programs. He does not often grant interviews to newspaper reporters. He relies on staff-written speeches in the committee and on the House floor, rarely speaking extemporaneously, and his staff often guides him through legislative debate. Price gives his aides wide authority to act for him; essentially they run the committee.

Throughout the prolonged controversy over President Reagan's proposals for a military buildup, Price has played no conspicuous role on either side of the issue. He did warn the Joint Chiefs of Staff at a committee hearing against the administration's first MX basing idea, which was to place the missile in existing silos that would be hardened. Later, when Reagan proposed the "dense pack" plan to group the missiles in Wyoming, Price voted with the administration and against most House Democrats on the floor.

After 38 years in Congress, Price remains a labor liberal on domestic issues, one who tries harder than most Democrats on his committee to be a party loyalist. But he is in the hawkish Armed Services tradition. In the early 1970s he supported the war in Vietnam long after it was politically popular to do so. In the late 1970s, before most other Democrats, he decried the expansion of Soviet military power. Until 1980, his committee consistently approved more military spending than the rest of the Congress was willing to pay for.

Price likes to support all presidents on military issues, especially Democrats. But his inclination to increase military spending brought him into conflict with Jimmy Carter. In 1978, Price was particularly hurt when Carter vetoed a military authorization bill, criticizing Congress' insistence on building a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. Uncharacteristically, Price fired back at the president. "The burden of your message is that Congress does not have a place in defense policy-making except insofar as it is prepared to rubber stamp recommendations of the executive branch," he wrote. "I reject that philosophy."

Price urged the House to override Carter. "I have always worked to strengthen our national security," he said, "and I have worked in

*Melvin Price, D-Ill.***Illinois 21**

The 21st is dominated by the grimy industrial region across the Mississippi River from St. Louis. Steel, petroleum refining and glass are the dominant industries, although they are in serious decline. Southern St. Clair County has an active coal industry, with major strip-mining operations. East of the river are rural areas devoted to dairy farming, wheat, soybeans and corn.

East St. Louis is still the largest city in the district, but it is a shell of its former self. Abandoned by manufacturing firms, the city is also losing most of its remaining retail stores. About 21 percent of its population moved away in the 1970s, leaving the city about the size it was in 1910.

Blacks make up 95 percent of the population in East St. Louis, while neighboring Belleville to the south and Granite City to the north are predominantly white. Of the three blue-collar communities, Belleville is the most viable; many of its residents commute to work in St. Louis. Farther north is the old river port of Alton, now an indus-

**Southwest —  
East St. Louis; Alton**

trial community producing steel.

Previously composed only of St. Clair County and half of neighboring Madison, the 21st was expanded significantly in redistricting to make up its population deficit. It now includes all of Madison and Bond, all but two townships in St. Clair and sections of Montgomery and Clinton counties.

Thanks largely to St. Clair County, the 21st remains the best Democratic district in the state outside the Chicago area. St. Clair was one of just three Illinois counties that voted for Carter in 1980, and it gave Adlai E. Stevenson III 55 percent of its vote in his losing 1982 gubernatorial bid.

Madison County can usually be depended upon to deliver a Democratic vote. Bond usually favors the GOP.

Population: 521,036. White 439,188 (84%), Black 76,733 (15%). Spanish origin 5,779 (1%). 18 and over 367,291 (71%), 65 and over 62,217 (12%). Median age: 30.

this area with every president since Harry Truman. It is not pleasant for me to have to oppose a president now. If this veto is overridden, as I hope it will be, I will greet the result not with any sense of joy, but only with the belief that we in the House have performed our duty." But Price could not convince his colleagues. He did not even get a majority for the override, let alone the two-thirds required, losing 191-206.

If Price is less than aggressive on the issues, he is a zealous protector of his committee's turf. When other House committees wanted to exercise control over the nation's naval petroleum reserves, Price quickly told them to stay out. He has made sure that other committees have no say in siting military bases and facilities. When he was chairman of the now-defunct Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Price regularly deflected efforts by some of the more environmentally oriented committees to consider bills affecting nuclear power.

Price has been one of the strongest congressional supporters of atomic power, both for military weapons and civilian purposes. He was House sponsor of the Price-Anderson Act, passed in 1957, which gave the civilian nuclear industry the subsidy it needed to get off the

ground — financial liability limitation in case of accident. Price successfully fought for the controversial law's reauthorization in 1975, arguing that the nuclear industry needed the protection.

Unlike past chairmen of the Armed Services Committee, Price has not loaded his district with military bases. He has, however, been most protective of Scott Air Force Base, the only installation in the district. Scott is headquarters for the Air Force's airlift command; Price has been a powerful advocate for more transport planes, such as the C-5A.

Price's reputation for fairness led to his appointment in 1967 as chairman of the first permanent House committee on ethics. The panel was set up under public pressure in the wake of the decision to expel New York Democrat Adam Clayton Powell Jr. on charges of misusing public funds. Speaker John W. McCormack believed a committee was needed, but did not trust the chamber's most militant ethics crusader, Florida Democrat Charles E. Bennett.

Price had the perfect credentials: a reputation for integrity but a commitment to protecting the members and avoiding much controversy. The panel was relatively quiet during his

**Illinois - 21st District**

seven years as chairman, ending in 1975 when he took over Armed Services.

**At Home:** One of three House members who served in Congress when Franklin D. Roosevelt was president, the quiet Price long ago ensconced himself in southern Illinois' only solidly Democratic district. Even though he was 77 and slowing down considerably in 1982, he still had only nominal competition.

It was not that way in the beginning. In 1944 he won his first term by fewer than 3,000 votes; two years later, in a poor Democratic year, he held on by 2,004 votes. But a combination of redistricting and demographic change has kept him in office without much effort ever since.

Price came to Washington in 1933 as secretary to the district's new Democratic congressman, Edwin Schaefer. Schaefer had been elected in the Roosevelt landslide as the first Democrat from the district since 1912. Price had been a journalist, working for St. Louis area newspapers covering sports and politics.

He served as Schaefer's secretary until his boss retired in 1942.

Republican Calvin Johnson won the seat that year; Price briefly went back to reporting and then joined the Army. He was still in uniform in 1944 when the local Democratic organization decided to run him for Congress. He was told of his election while on K. P. duty.

After the first two close victories, Price's district was redrawn to make it more Democratic. From then on, he has had no electoral problems. Twice — in 1952 and 1960 — he vanquished Republican Phyllis Schlafly, later to become nationally known as an anti-abortion and anti-Equal Rights Amendment crusader. In 1980 and 1982, Price won re-election with 64 percent, somewhat below the margins he has enjoyed in the last 30 years, but scarcely a threat to him.

The real problem for Price would be a strong Democratic challenge, which he has so far been able to escape. If one materializes in 1984, he may find it difficult to retain his seat.

**Committees**

**Armed Services (Chairman)**  
Research and Development (chairman); Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials.

**Elections****1982 General**

Melvin Price (D)	89,500	(64%)
Robert Gaffner (R)	46,764	(33%)

**1982 Primary**

Melvin Price (D)	39,318	(82%)
Floyd Fessler (D)	4,484	( 9%)
Sandra Climaco (D)	4,462	( 9%)

**1980 General**

Melvin Price (D)	107,786	(64%)
Ronald Davinroy (R)	59,644	(36%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:**

1978 (74%)	1976 (79%)
1974 (81%)	1972 (75%)
1970 (74%)	1968 (71%)
1966 (72%)	1964 (76%)
1962 (74%)	1960 (72%)
1958 (76%)	1956 (68%)
1954 (69%)	1952 (65%)
1950 (65%)	1948 (70%)
1946 (51%)	1944 (51%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	93,309 (45%)	D	120,941 (56%)
R	104,414 (50%)	R	92,047 (43%)
I	8,437 ( 4%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Price (D)	\$44,880	\$28,475 (63%)	\$24,472
Gaffner (R)	\$21,153	\$1,850 ( 9%)	\$19,546

478

**1980**

Price (D)	\$19,669	\$16,830 (85%)	\$21,747
Davinroy (R)	\$24,056	\$4,150 (17%)	\$23,683

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	57	38	80	15	48	47
1981	51	37	73	23	53	41
1980	79	15	92	5	24	71
1979	76	19	85	7	25	67
1978	74	24	82	15	24	74
1977	57	25	71	8	18	58
1976	33	67	89	11	23	77
1975	44	51	81	10	24	68
1974 (Ford)	50	50				
1974	55	45	88	11	29	71
1973	33	66	94	5	20	80
1972	70	30	89	11	17	83
1971	72	21	79	16	37	57
1970	66	29	61	22	20	68
1969	60	36	85	13	33	64
1968	86	9	89	4	6	86
1967	93	6	97	1	9	89
1966	91	5	98	1	3	95
1965	95	3	97	0	0	100
1964	98	2	97	0	8	92
1963	90	4	98	2	7	93
1962	98	2	100	0	0	100
1961	92	6	97	3	9	91

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	?

Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981) N  
 Index income taxes (1981) N  
 Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982) Y  
 Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982) N  
 Delete MX funding (1982) N  
 Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982) N  
 Adopt nuclear freeze (1983) Y

1978  
 1977  
 1976  
 1975  
 1974  
 1973  
 1972  
 1971  
 1970  
 1969  
 1968  
 1967  
 1966  
 1965  
 1964  
 1963  
 1962  
 1961

45  
 45  
 60  
 58  
 43  
 72  
 69  
 59  
 56  
 53  
 83  
 73  
 88  
 84  
 92  
 -  
 100  
 100

23  
 12  
 14  
 15  
 13  
 12  
 17  
 23  
 17  
 19  
 4  
 4  
 0  
 4  
 0  
 0  
 0  
 -

85  
 100  
 96  
 100  
 100  
 100  
 91  
 100  
 100  
 100  
 100  
 100  
 100  
 -  
 100  
 -  
 -

22  
 6  
 25  
 12  
 10  
 18  
 0  
 -  
 0  
 -  
 -  
 10  
 -  
 10  
 -  
 -  
 -  
 -

**Melvin Price, D-III.**

**Interest Group Ratings**

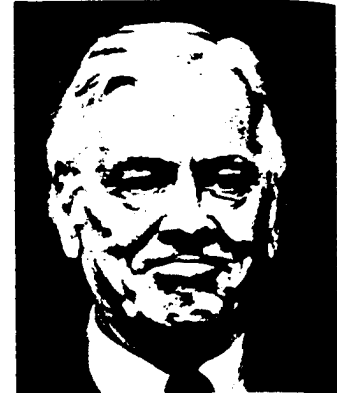
Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	55	32	94	35
1981	50	27	7	88
1980	56	13	89	67
1979	68	12	84	22

**Florida - 3rd District**

### 3 Charles E. Bennett (D)

**Of Jacksonville — Elected 1948**

**Born:** Dec. 2, 1910, Canton, N.Y.  
**Education:** U. of Fla., B.A., J.D. 1934.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1942-47.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Jean Fay; three children.  
**Religion:** Disciples of Christ.  
**Political Career:** Fla. House, 1941.  
**Capitol Office:** 2107 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2501.



**In Washington:** Bennett has spent more than 30 years in the House insisting that he does not consider himself better or purer than his colleagues, and finding them a little reluctant to believe him.

Bennett's sense of duty seems to set him apart from most other politicians, and most other people. He answered 3,808 consecutive House roll calls over a quarter century despite having to wear a leg brace that makes it difficult for him to walk. He has returned more than \$200,000 worth of wartime disability checks. He began making financial disclosure statements in the 1950s, long before disclosure was a political issue.

But it is not Bennett's personal principles that have raised questions about him in the House. It is the fear that he would like to apply them to others.

While Bennett is chairman of the Armed Services Seapower Subcommittee and a likely chairman of the full committee in the future, he is not known to other members primarily for his expertise in sea power. He is known by his reputation as an ethical purist.

Bennett is the author of the current code of ethics for federal employees that, among other things, asks them to report to their superiors on the misdeeds of co-workers. He was the driving force behind creation of a House ethics committee in 1967, and then failed to win a place on it — because House leaders were afraid of what he might do there. It was not until 1979 that Bennett became ethics chairman, and presided as the committee recommended censure for two members and expulsion for another.

Bennett takes great pains to say that he avoids moral judgments about his colleagues, and claims he feels subject to the same temptations that distract them. To some, however, his mere preoccupation with moral issues makes him different.

No one can dispute the basic fact that Bennett is the model of propriety. "I don't drink, smoke or run around," he once said matter-of-factly. "I'm a pretty simple guy."

Bennett was so simple when he first came to Congress, in fact, that he returned some of his federal pay to the U.S. Treasury. He said he was a bachelor and did not need all the money. Interviewed about this, he told a reporter, "I don't talk about it very much ... I'm afraid fellow congressmen will consider me such a goody-goody or pantywaist they won't speak to me."

So far as is known, no one has ever refused to speak to Bennett. Trusting him as an ethical watchdog has been another matter.

During his early years in the House, Bennett introduced dozens of resolutions calling for an ethics committee to police congressional behavior. In 1957, following scandals in the Eisenhower administration, Bennett drafted his ethics code for government workers. It remained in force through the 85th Congress, then lay dormant for 20 years — until Bennett introduced legislation requiring that it be posted in prominent places in all federal office buildings. That bill became law in 1980.

There was little movement toward a congressional ethics committee until 1966, when controversy over the spending habits of New York Democratic Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. led Speaker John W. McCormack to set up a select panel to study the issue. Bennett was placed in charge. To no one's surprise, the committee promptly recommended the establishment of a permanent ethics panel.

The next year, the House voted to create a permanent new Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. When Bennett was left off, he called it the "heaviest rebuke ever given in the Congress." Melvin Price of Illinois, a man much

*Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla.*

## Florida 3

The 3rd was Florida's slowest growing district during the 1970s; population increased by less than 4 percent. This has not caused much alarm in Jacksonville, whose business and political leaders seem to prefer steady if unspectacular economic expansion based on the city's traditional economic foundations — shipping, insurance, banking and defense.

One sign that this strategy is working can be seen at the harbor, where hundreds of thousands of imported automobiles are unloaded and prepared for overland shipment. By touting its fine harbor and ready access to rail lines and roads that lead to dealers in the lucrative Southeastern market, Jacksonville has become the East Coast's leading port of entry for foreign vehicles. When Japan bowed to U.S. pressure and agreed to curtail shipments of autos to the United States, Jacksonville was not hurt; the Japanese decided to abandon other smaller ports and consolidate their business in Jacksonville, where most of it had already been.

Workers handling cargo and building and repairing ships form a large segment of

## Northeast — Jacksonville

Jacksonville's blue-collar community. Prudential, Independent Life and Gulf Life are among the prominent white-collar employers in the city, which has headquarters or regional offices for two dozen insurance companies. Four of Florida's top 25 financial institutions are based in Jacksonville; only Miami has a larger share. The city's three naval air stations contribute more than \$500 million annually to the local economy.

People of Deep South origin dominate the work force and give Jacksonville an ambience quite different from that of Florida cities that have witnessed large-scale migrations of Northerners or Cubans. The 3rd is a traditional southern Democratic district. Jimmy Carter carried it both in 1976 and 1980.

---

Population: 512,692. White 364,251 (71%), Black 139,997 (27%), Asian and Pacific Islander 5,086 (1%). Spanish origin 9,195 (2%). 18 and over 362,272 (71%), 65 and over 49,479 (10%). Median age: 29.

closer to the Democratic leadership, was placed in charge of the committee.

Another eight years passed before Bennett finally was named to the committee, not as chairman, but at the bottom of the list behind senior members known to be loyal to House leaders. In two more years, however, after some retirements and surprise election defeats, Bennett found himself installed as chairman.

At that point, House leaders amended the rules to set two-term limits for ethics committee members. By 1981, Bennett was off the committee again after having performed, as expected, in a strict manner that resulted in a series of reprimands, two censures and an expulsion.

The committee's performance cannot fairly be attributed to any personal attitude of Bennett; his chairmanship coincided with rising public attention to congressional ethics, and a newly zealous approach by federal prosecutors toward taking on public officials, symbolized by Abscam. In fact, many House Republicans accused Bennett of being too soft

when he recommended censure — rather than expulsion — for Michigan Democrat Charles C. Diggs Jr., convicted on kickback charges in federal court.

But Bennett did prove by far the toughest ethics chairman in House history. When he left the committee in 1981, Speaker O'Neill replaced him as chairman with Louis Stokes, an Ohio Democrat who had opposed some of the committee's actions under Bennett as unfair to the accused.

Bennett's legislative work has focused primarily on the Armed Services Committee. Now second-ranking behind 78-year-old Melvin Price, Bennett is likely to become chairman of the committee after Price retires.

As head of the Seapower Subcommittee, Bennett plays an important role in determining long-term naval policy. He has supported a Navy built around large ships, especially nuclear-powered submarines and aircraft carriers of the sort advocated by retired Admiral Hyman G. Rickover. Bennett and Rickover have maintained a close relationship over the

**Florida - 3rd District**

years, and other naval officers of senior rank continue to influence the subcommittee's regular decisions.

In 1981, Bennett listened attentively to Adm. Thomas B. Hayward, the chief of naval operations, when Hayward argued for reactivation of the mothballed aircraft carrier *Oriskany*. Most subcommittee members initially wanted to oppose authorizing any money for the ship, but Hayward persuaded Bennett to argue the other side in full committee, and Armed Services approved \$139 million for reactivating the *Oriskany*. Eventually Congress provided \$503 million for the project.

The following year, Bennett was most visible on the House floor arguing for Trident II, a newly developed submarine missile. The missile's critics said its speed might force the Soviets into a hasty and dangerous nuclear response. That argument did not impress Bennett. "If the Russians are real worried about the Trident II," he said, "that is a pretty good indication that perhaps we ought to get it." The anti-Trident move was beaten, 312-89.

Bennett's most dramatic appearance of the 97th Congress, however, was on a much different issue — drugs. His son died of an overdose several years ago, and Bennett remains preoccupied with the issue, often introducing it into conversations about other subjects. In 1981 he inserted into a defense authorization bill a provision that would have allowed military personnel to conduct searches and make arrests in civilian drug cases. Then he went to the Judiciary Committee, which had ultimate jurisdiction over the issue, and argued that "my oldest son is dead today because of drugs." But the amendment did not become law in the 97th Congress.

Though he has continually complained that defense has been shortchanged in competition with domestic programs, Bennett is careful to point out that he is no militarist. He likes to talk of the work he did toward creation of an arms control agency in the 1950s. On his office wall is one of the pens President Kennedy used to create such an agency in 1961.

Bennett speaks in terms of national priorities rather than pork for his constituents, but in fact he has served his Florida district well on Armed Services. The Jacksonville harbor has been deepened, three Navy bases have been expanded, the Atlantic fleet has been berthed and federal money has been poured into a dozen hospital and health facilities. The list of

federal projects for Bennett's district is several pages long.

When the 98th Congress began, Bennett decided he wanted to broaden his knowledge for a possible full committee chairmanship in the future. He put in a bid for the chairmanship of the Procurement Subcommittee, and as No. 2 Democrat on Armed Services, he expected to get it. But Samuel S. Stratton of New York, the incumbent subcommittee chairman, launched an all-out personal campaign to keep his job, and Bennett did little in his own behalf. The result was an embarrassing 16-13 defeat for Bennett.

**At Home:** If World War II had not intervened, Bennett might now be serving his 21st term in Congress, rather than just his 18th. He launched his first House campaign in late 1941, hoping to build on his political base as a state representative from Jacksonville. But he abandoned the race in 1942 to enlist in the infantry as a private, ignoring the draft deferment granted to legislators.

When he returned home to practice law five years later, he was a war hero, leader of 1,000 guerrillas in the Philippines. But he was also crippled, a victim of polio he contracted during the jungle and mountain fighting.

He was no less determined to run for Congress. In 1948, he challenged Democratic Rep. Emory H. Price, who had been elected instead of him in 1942. Bennett ran on a platform of support for a military draft and opposition to the Truman civil rights program. He won the primary by less than 2,000 votes out of more than 75,000 cast, and took the general election with 91 percent.

Price challenged Bennett in the 1950 primary, but his comeback attempt fell short. That year and throughout the 1950s, Bennett had no general election opposition.

Republicans fired their best shot in 1964, when prominent Jacksonville businessman William T. Stockton Jr. opposed Bennett. Stockton drew 27 percent of the vote, higher than any GOP percentage before or since, but low enough to convince the party to forget the idea after that.

Bennett was mentioned twice as a possible Senate candidate. In 1956 there was talk he would oppose first-term Democrat George A. Smathers. When Smathers retired in 1968, Bennett was again considered as a successor. Neither rumor lasted long; his sphere has never been statewide.

Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla.

**Committees**

Armed Services (2nd of 28 Democrats)  
Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials (chairman); Research and Development.

**Elections****1982 General**

Charles E. Bennett (D) 73,713 (84%)  
George Grimsley (R) 13,921 (16%)

**1980 General**

Charles E. Bennett (D) 104,672 (77%)  
Harry Radcliffe (R) 31,208 (23%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (100%) 1976 (100%)  
1974 (100%) 1972 (82%) 1970 (100%) 1968 (79%)  
1966 (100%) 1964 (73%) 1962 (100%) 1960 (83%)  
1958 (100%) 1956 (100%) 1954 (100%) 1952 (100%)  
1950 (100%) 1948 (91%)

**District Vote For President**

1980 1976  
D 69,230 (53%) D 80,412 (64%)  
R 58,864 (45%) R 44,850 (35%)  
I 2,655 (2%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Bennett (D)	\$90,699	\$40,950 (45%)	\$31,592
Grimsley (R)	\$18,957	0	\$16,464
<b>1980</b>			
Bennett (D)	\$37,325	0	\$32,775

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	65	35	55	45	81	19
1981	59	41	48	52	80	20
1980	59	41	56	44	89	11
1979	57	43	47	53	79	21
1978	48	52	42	58	79	21
1977	59	41	37	63	71	29
1976	57	43	36	64	78	22
1975	47	53	50	50	58	42
1974 (Ford)	37	63				

1974	62	38	53	47	68	31
1973	43	57	47	53	62	38
1972	57	43	37	63	79	21
1971	53	47	55	45	61	39
1970	58	42	39	61	70	30
1969	51	49	40	60	82	18
1968	64	36	37	63	76	24
1967	57	43	38	62	87	13
1966	57	43	44	56	76	24
1965	55	45	39	60	90	10
1964	52	48	44	56	92	8
1963	73	27	67	33	73	27
1962	68	32	82	18	37	63
1961	83	17	78	22	39	61

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981) Y  
Legal services reauthorization (1981) Y  
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981) Y  
Index income taxes (1981) N  
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982) Y  
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982) Y  
Delete MX funding (1982) Y  
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982) Y  
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983) N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	40	74	45	64
1981	25	58	40	58
1980	22	42	47	62
1979	42	54	50	50
1978	30	85	25	61
1977	15	70	52	59
1976	25	86	26	63
1975	37	57	57	24
1974	35	60	45	40
1973	36	70	45	64
1972	13	78	45	60
1971	32	59	42	-
1970	24	68	43	70
1969	20	82	50	-
1968	17	78	0	-
1967	13	66	25	70
1966	6	63	15	-
1965	5	68	-	80
1964	32	74	64	-
1963	-	28	-	-
1962	63	17	82	-
1961	60	-	-	-

*New York - 23rd District*

## 23 Samuel S. Stratton (D)

**Of Amsterdam — Elected 1958**

**Born:** Sept. 27, 1916, Yonkers, N.Y.

**Education:** U. of Rochester, A.B. 1937; Haverford College, M.A. 1938; Harvard U., M.A. 1940.

**Military Career:** Navy, 1942-46 and 1951-53.

**Occupation:** Broadcast journalist; college instructor.

**Family:** Wife, Joan Wolfe; five children.

**Religion:** Presbyterian.

**Political Career:** Schenectady City Council, 1950-56; mayor of Schenectady, 1956-59; unsuccessful Democratic nominee for N.Y. Assembly, 1950.

**Capitol Office:** 2205 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5076.



**In Washington:** Stratton is one of the last of the Cold War liberals — a labor Democrat who believes in wage and price controls at home but remains ferocious in his opposition to communism and his support for a strong military. He is one of the Pentagon's most combative spokesmen in Congress and a tireless critic of civilian budgeteers who meddle with military planning.

He is an advocate rather than a legislative tactician, one who often seems just as satisfied arguing against the odds as plotting to improve them. During the Pentagon's long years in the national doghouse after Vietnam, he was a relatively lonely but undaunted lobbyist for higher defense budgets.

Stratton has had a sympathetic audience at the Reagan White House, although he remains isolated within his own party in Congress. He was the main Democratic co-sponsor of the weakened Reagan version of a nuclear freeze proposal in 1982. He conferred on the issue repeatedly with House Republicans and presidential aides. The Reagan position — against a freeze at current weapons levels — prevailed by two votes on the House floor.

Throughout the 97th Congress, Stratton spoke up loudly for nearly all the weapons systems the Reagan administration favored, including the B-1 bomber, the neutron bomb and the MX missile. When the MX was debated in the House in the summer of 1982, he and his allies placed scale drawings of advanced weapons on easels just outside the House chamber. It showed the superiority of the Soviet SS-18 to anything on U.S. drawing boards.

In budget arguments, Stratton makes up his mind primarily on defense numbers; he is

inclined to vote for whichever budget is more generous to the military. "If you're on a ship crossing the ocean, and it strikes an iceberg," he said in 1982, "you don't worry about improving the cuisine. You plug the leak." The previous year, Stratton had introduced his own tax bill calling for a smaller reduction than Reagan wanted. He was worried that too large a revenue loss might lead to cuts in defense in order to keep the deficit down.

On broader issues, the liberalism Stratton brought with him to the House in 1958 remains — to a greater extent than many who watch him realize. He no longer scores high in ratings by the Americans for Democratic Action, but that is mainly a result of his defense views and his pro-development energy policy, which he argues is essentially a vote for national security.

In the 96th Congress, Stratton voted for hospital cost controls and a national minimum welfare payment and against an anti-busing amendment to the Constitution. He cosponsored a resolution calling for wage and price controls. In the 97th Congress, he joined the Conservative Democratic Forum, the strategy group of the party's right in the House, but opposed the Reagan budget while virtually all forum members were supporting it.

But Stratton rarely attracts attention these days on anything but defense issues. He ranks third on Armed Services in the 98th Congress, and he fits in well with the panel's ideas. He wants senior military officers to tell him what they need without reference to budget or domestic politics.

As a member of Armed Services, he is a tireless inquisitor. In recent years, his questioning has been more and more strident, with witnesses who offer polite testimony often find-

*Samuel S. Stratton, D-N.Y.*

## New York 23

The focus of the 23rd is on the declining industrial towns that line the banks of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers. The blue-collar vote combines with that of the state government community in Albany to make the district safe for Democrats.

The 23rd's identity was reinforced in redistricting by the addition of Troy, the mid-19th century industrial museum piece that makes shirts, contains Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and leans Democratic. Like most of the 23rd's industrial cities, Troy lost about 10 percent of its population over the 1970s.

Amsterdam never has recovered from the closing of its Mohawk Carpet plant in the early 1960s. It hangs on economically with the help of small industries, such as video game manufacturing. Schenectady remains a one-company town. Almost a third of its people work for General Electric, assembling turbines and generators among other products. Italian-Americans in both communities have GOP sympathies that boost Republicans in local politics.

In Albany, however, Republicans are not so fortunate. Party registration in the state capital goes 10-to-1 against them. Albany has had Democratic congressional representation for all but four years since 1922.

## Hudson and Mohawk Valleys — Albany, Schenectady

It was one of just four upstate counties to back Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential balloting. Democrat Erastus Corning, boss of one of the nation's few remaining political machines, chaired the Albany County party until his death in May 1983.

The 14-year rule of the late GOP Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller created a corps of Republican stalwarts, many still working for the state, who live in the Albany suburbs of Colonie, Guilderland and Bethlehem. But the Democratic strength elsewhere in the district regularly overwhelms them.

State government is the 23rd's largest employer. It increasingly has been concentrated in downtown Albany since the opening of the mammoth state office complex — the Rockefeller Empire State Plaza — in the 1970s.

The Albany area retains heavy industry, producing steel, machine tools and defense-related equipment and a thriving port, providing ample blue-collar jobs.

Population: 516,943. White 482,010 (93%), Black 27,101 (5%), Asian and Pacific Islander 4,061 (1%). Spanish origin 6,432 (1%). 18 and older 389,983 (75%), 65 and over 73,332 (14%). Median age: 32.

ing themselves subject to long tirades from Stratton. Some of Stratton's hawkish allies on the committee make a deliberate point of showing unusual courtesy to these unlucky witnesses to compensate for the chairman's conduct.

Early in 1983, Stratton survived an unusual challenge to his chairmanship of the Procurement Subcommittee, which he took over at the start of the 97th Congress. The challenge came from Charles E. Bennett of Florida, who is second in line on the full Armed Services Committee to 78-year-old chairman Melvin Price of Illinois, and who wanted to take over the subcommittee to broaden his knowledge for the day Price retired.

Stratton launched an intensive personal campaign to keep the job, driving to Andrews Air Force Base late on the Sunday evening before the vote just to catch three committee members on their return from abroad and lobby for their support. Bennett did little cam-

paigning. The vote was Stratton 16, Bennett 13.

Stratton's most impressive performance at Armed Services came in 1977, when he was Investigations chairman. He used the panel to touch off the alarms that ultimately led President Carter to reverse himself on U.S. troop withdrawals from Korea.

Within weeks of his inauguration in 1977, Carter directed the Joint Chiefs of Staff to plan for a withdrawal of the roughly 32,000 U.S. ground troops over a period of four or five years.

When Major Gen. John K. Singlaub, the third ranking U.S. Army officer in Korea, was quoted by *The Washington Post* as predicting that the withdrawal would lead to war, Carter fired him from his job, and Stratton exploited the issue.

Calling Singlaub before the Investigations Subcommittee only a few days after he was fired, Stratton tried to show that Carter had ordered the withdrawal without consulting his

### **New York - 23rd District**

senior military advisers and that intelligence reports showed North Korean military strength much greater than had been estimated.

Ultimately, the new intelligence assessment was the rock on which Carter's policy foundered. It took a couple of years — during which Stratton tried unsuccessfully to block the withdrawal by legislation — but in 1979, Carter canceled virtually the entire pullout, pending a reconsideration in 1981.

**At Home:** Stratton was something of a phenomenon when he took this seat in 1958. He was the first Democrat elected from his Schenectady-Amsterdam district since 1916 and the only Democrat in the entire upstate New York House delegation outside Albany and Buffalo.

From such a precarious beginning, Stratton gradually has placed a lock on his seat. He has been re-elected 12 times and has become dean of the New York congressional delegation. To do so, he had to survive several redistrictings and make peace with the crusty old Albany Democratic organization.

Stratton's 1958 election was the culmination of a long political ascent against the odds. Elected to the Schenectady City Council as an anti-organization Democrat in 1949, he had to battle both the entrenched Democratic machine and a strong Republican Party. He suffered a stinging defeat in 1950 when he ran for the Assembly against GOP speaker Oswald D. Heck, one of the most powerful politicians in the state.

Stratton was re-elected to the City Council in 1953 by 125 votes, then won the mayoralty in 1955 by 282 votes, promising to "clean up" Schenectady. He fought gambling, corruption and inefficiency in the city. Because the pay from his political posts was small, Stratton supplemented his income by working for local radio and television stations, becoming a well-known announcer and newscaster. He once played a character called "Sagebrush Sam," dressed up in cowboy clothes and playing a harmonica.

In 1958 Stratton again challenged the local powers by declaring for Congress. The Democratic organizations in his old five-county district supported Schenectady County Clerk Carroll "Pink" Gardner, who had run twice before. But in the primary, Stratton carried every ward and town in Schenectady County, defeating Gardner by more than 2-to-1 and humiliating the organization. In November, Stratton upset

the traditional Republican supremacy by beating Schenectady County GOP Chairman Walter Shaw by 10,000 votes.

In 1962, Stratton went through his first major redistricting. Republicans were determined to defeat him. They eliminated his district, combining Schenectady County with Albany County, where Stratton would have had little chance of defeating longtime Democratic Rep. Leo O'Brien, who was backed by the Albany regime. So he moved to another district, one stretching from Amsterdam, a small industrial city on the Mohawk River, through central New York to include the Finger Lakes cities of Auburn and Canandaigua. The area had not elected a Democrat to the House in the 20th century. But Stratton campaigned energetically and won. He held the seat until the next major reshuffling of boundaries in 1970.

Meanwhile, Stratton attempted to expand his career to statewide politics. But his unorthodox political background and lack of an urban Democratic base doomed his efforts. In 1962, he fought for the gubernatorial nomination, but the Democratic power brokers gave it to U.S. Attorney Robert Morgenthau. In 1964 chances looked brighter for a possible U.S. Senate nomination, but U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy entered the race at the last minute and Democratic leaders flocked to him. Stratton was bitter at Kennedy's entrance and insisted on fighting him to the last vote. On the first ballot at the state convention, Kennedy smothered Stratton 968 to 153. Relations between the two were sour from then on.

In 1970, New York was forced by court order to redraw its congressional district lines once again. Stratton's district was again dismembered, and he had to look for a new one. By then, Stratton's interests and those of the Albany political machine coincided. O'Brien had retired in 1966, and in a reform sweep, Republican Daniel Button was elected in his place. The Albany Democratic bosses — Mayor Erastus Corning and nonagenarian party leader "Uncle Dan" O'Connell — needed a respectable Democrat to overthrow Button. Stratton got the nomination, moved back to his old home territory and defeated Button.

The 1980 redistricting was not traumatic. Stratton's district changed very little. It kept its Democratic character, and Stratton drew more than three-quarters of the vote in the 1982 election.

Samuel S. Stratton, D-N.Y.

## Committees

Armed Services (3rd of 28 Democrats)  
Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems (chairman); Investigations.

## Elections

<b>1982 General</b>			
Samuel S. Stratton (D)	164,427	(76%)	
Frank Wicks (R)	41,386	(19%)	
<b>1982 Primary</b>			
Samuel S. Stratton (D)	35,594	(75%)	
John Dow (D)	13,495	(25%)	
<b>1980 General</b>			
Samuel S. Stratton (D)	164,088	(78%)	
Frank Wicks (R)	37,504	(18%)	
<b>Previous Winning Percentages:</b>			
1974 (81%)	1972 (80%)	1970 (66%)	1968 (69%)
1966 (66%)	1964 (64%)	1962 (55%)	1960 (62%)
1958 (54%)			

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	120,535 (48%)	D	121,113 (47%)
R	98,824 (40%)	R	133,750 (52%)
I	24,591 (10%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Stratton (D)	\$77,636	\$30,210 (39%)	\$72,899
<b>1980</b>			
Stratton (D)	\$57,212	\$23,622 (41%)	\$30,635

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	51	38	56	35	70	23
1981	47	42	59	38	75	23
1980	58	36	62	31	52	40
1979	48	51	56	43	72	27
1978	54	39	52	43	51	45
1977	62	32	54	43†	61	35†
1976	43	43	64	27	50	44
1975	51	47	66	31	48	51
1974 (Ford)	59	31				
1974	58	34	61	32	47	47

1973	52	38	57	37	52	44
1972	78	16	62	37	51	48
1971	67	25	57	34	52	42
1970	49	22	57	24	32	36
1969	64	34	65	31	44	53
1968	62	19	43	27	35	45
1967	64	4	53	28	35	41
1966	57	18	45	29	32	51
1965	83	12	80	12	4	86
1964	80	4	87	6	17	83
1963	92	3	93	0	0	100
1962	85	7	84	5	19	75
1961	89	9	84	14	13	87

S = Support

O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	X
Index income taxes (1981)	X
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	35	45	70	45
1981	30	26	67	37
1980	17	43	58	66
1979	26	38	65	56
1978	15	44	50	47
1977	30	41	81	35
1976	25	38	81	50
1975	42	44	83	41
1974	35	36	100	20
1973	36	31	100	27
1972	38	22	82	13
1971	41	40	89	-
1970	48	21	80	13
1969	40	24	90	-
1968	42	32	75	-
1967	33	35	45	25
1966	35	48	92	-
1965	79	12	-	20
1964	92	5	91	-
1963	-	0	-	-
1962	88	5	100	-
1961	90	-	-	-

Alabama - 3rd District

## 3 Bill Nichols (D)

Of Sylacauga — Elected 1966

**Born:** Oct. 16, 1918, Becker, Miss.  
**Education:** Auburn U., B.S. 1939, M.A. 1941.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1942-47.  
**Occupation:** Fertilizer and cotton gin executive.  
**Family:** Wife, Carolyn Funderburk; three children.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** Ala. House, 1959-63; Ala. Senate, 1963-67,  
**Capitol Office:** 2407 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-3261.



In Washington: A huge, hard-working, slow-talking Alabama farmer, Nichols emerged from the back benches of the Armed Services Committee in recent years to become an important voice on the sensitive issue of military pay.

In 1983, after four years worth of controversy over pay issues as chairman of the Military Personnel Subcommittee, Nichols made a switch, taking over the more wide-ranging Investigations panel. That left the Military Personnel chairmanship for Les Aspin of Wisconsin — a change that the subcommittee members and staff may need some time to get used to. Aspin is as quick and irreverent as Nichols is serious and deliberate.

Nichols does not make up his mind quickly, but he does not change it easily. In the 97th Congress, as chairman of the Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Personnel, he developed strong opinions about the new G. I. bill written by one of his best friends, Mississippi Democrat G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery.

Montgomery, the Veterans' Affairs Committee chairman, wanted generous new federal subsidies for veterans attending college, similar to the ones provided after World War II. Nichols felt the estimated cost of \$1.2 billion by 1990 would make such a bill impossible to sell. "I would be in a very difficult position," Nichols said, "coming to the floor trying to present a new entitlement program at a time when recruits are coming out of everyone's ears." He felt the bill needed to be scaled down and the program aimed at specialties in short supply.

Nichols won the argument. His subcommittee voted 7-6 for his more modest bill over Montgomery's, and the full Armed Services Committee approved it 40-1. But the legislation never reached the floor. It fell victim to the opposition of the Reagan administration, which thought even Nichols' version would cost too much, and the lukewarm attitude of orga-

nized veterans' groups, who felt the new G. I. Bill might have to be paid for out of money previously earmarked for older veterans.

Despite his opposition to Montgomery's G. I. Bill, however, Nichols generally has supported across-the-board pay increases for the volunteer army, defending them against some efforts to target pay raises to higher ranks. He fought off such a targeting amendment on the House floor in 1981.

The year before, in his first term as a subcommittee chairman, Nichols was enraged by President Carter's veto of his bill to increase bonuses for military doctors.

Nichols had worked nearly two years to pass that legislation. He had negotiated a compromise bonus bill acceptable to the Senate and to the Pentagon. But its passage came immediately after the administration announced its election-year austerity drive. Carter said it was too generous.

Nichols, who had thought his bill was supported by the White House, was privately devastated by the veto. But characteristically, he did not challenge or criticize the president in public. Instead of trying to override the veto, as many of his colleagues suggested, Nichols went back to work and modified the bill the following month. Carter signed it.

While supporting pay increases, Nichols has been reluctant to reform the military's complex pay system, as has been suggested by the last several administrations and the General Accounting Office. In 1977, for example, he opposed a floor amendment to change the military retirement system, saying his committee was studying the issue. It still is. The uniformed services, which have vehemently opposed change, have appreciated this.

Nichols' old subcommittee also dealt with U.S. troop levels abroad, and like most Armed

Bill Nichols, D-Ala.

## Alabama 3

**East — Anniston;  
Auburn**

Taking in the eastern side of the state from the outskirts of Montgomery to the hilly Piedmont Plateau, the 3rd is a conservative rural stronghold.

Textile mills dot the 3rd's landscape, reflecting the traditional prominence of cotton in the area's agricultural economy. Some of the textile workers have been unionized.

There is heavy industry in Anniston, the seat of Calhoun County. With a population of 30,000, Anniston is the district's largest city. It is also home to the district's largest employer, the Anniston Army Depot, which repairs heavy equipment and small arms. Almost all the Army's tanks and transport vehicles are repaired in the depot, which employs 4,700 civilians.

Auburn University, located in Lee County near the Georgia border, grew from a small land grant agricultural college to become the largest university in the state. Its veterinary school and agricultural experimentation station have provided valuable services to local farmers, who raise cotton and cattle. Not far from Auburn is the Lee County seat of Opelika, site of a large Uniroyal rubber factory.

Southwest of Lee is Macon County, home of Tuskegee Institute, founded in 1881 by Booker T. Washington as one of the nation's first black colleges. In 1968 the city

of Tuskegee elected the first black sheriff in the South and the first two black members in the Alabama legislature. But Macon County, which is 84 percent black, is the only county in the 3rd with a black majority. Blacks comprise 28 percent of the population districtwide.

The towns in the southern part of the district, particularly in Elmore County, serve as bedroom communities for the state capital of Montgomery, just across the district line.

Although nearly all the voters here consider themselves Democrats, and send only Democrats to the state legislature, statewide Republican candidates can do fairly well — especially in the more urbanized areas, such as Anniston in the north and Auburn and Opelika in the south. Ronald Reagan and Republican Sen. Jeremiah Denton carried all three of these communities in 1980.

The central part of the district has always been strong Wallace country and still is. Any national Democrat who stops short of outspoken liberalism can expect to win in these rural counties by a decent margin.

Population: 555,321. White 395,332 (71%), Black 156,665 (28%). Spanish origin 5,232 (1%). 18 and over 390,418 (70%), 65 and over 61,108 (11%). Median age: 28.

Services members, he has aimed more than a few jibes at European countries he thinks are stingy about paying for their own defense. "Maybe it's time to whistle up the dogs, put the chairs in the wagon and tell the troops to go home," he said in 1982, sounding more like an Alabama cotton grower than a military personnel specialist. But when Democrat Patricia Schroeder of Colorado actually offered a floor amendment to cut U.S. overseas troop strength in half, Nichols led the opposition.

Nichols lost a leg in combat as a World War II Army officer. His fervent patriotism has led him to support a series of presidents on military issues, regardless of party. He supported the Vietnam War under both Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon far longer than most other members of Congress.

Outside his compensation issues, Nichols is

no legislative activist, even on Armed Services. But he has always been comfortable within the panel's conservative, pro-military environment. He has had no other major assignment, although he pays close attention to farm issues. He was involved in an Armed Services junket controversy in 1976, when it was reported that legislators and Pentagon officials had been entertained by defense contractors at Maryland hunting lodges. Nichols had been a lodge guest of the Northrop Corp.

**At Home:** Of the seven new Southern Republicans elected to previously Democratic congressional seats in the 1964 Goldwater landslide, only one was defeated for re-election the next time out. That one was in the Alabama 3rd, recaptured for the Democrats by Nichols. The GOP has not threatened there since then.

Nichols was a star football player at Au-

**Bill Nichols, D-Ala.**

burn University, before the war in Europe cost him his left leg. After the war he returned to his hometown of Sylacauga, started farming, and became an officer in local gin and fertilizer companies.

He made his political debut in 1958 by winning a seat in the state House. Four years later he was elected to the state Senate, where he became a floor leader for Gov. George C. Wallace. Nichols handled education and farm bills and gained widespread attention by promoting a plan to provide free textbooks.

Nichols was well-known across eastern Alabama when he ran for Congress in 1966, and he had little trouble winning the seat. In the Democratic primary he easily defeated a labor-backed opponent, Public Service Commissioner Ed Pepper. In the general election, he ousted one-term Republican Glenn Andrews with 58 percent of the vote. When Andrews tried to regain his seat in 1970, Nichols embarrassed him by nearly 6-to-1. In the last five elections, Republicans have not even bothered to field a candidate.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (4th of 28 Democrats)  
Investigation (chairman); Readiness.

**Elections****1982 General**

Bill Nichols (D) 100,864 (96%)  
Richard Landers Jr. (LIB) 3,920 (4%)

**1980 General**

Bill Nichols (D) Unopposed

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (100%) 1976 (99%)  
1974 (96%) 1972 (76%) 1970 (84%) 1968 (81%)  
1966 (58%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	86,753 (50%)	D	90,034 (58%)
R	80,051 (46%)	R	62,198 (40%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Nichols (D)	\$86,768	\$39,220 (45%)	\$17,621
<b>1980</b>			
Nichols (D)	\$76,088	\$40,970 (54%)	\$25,003

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	52	38	46	43	88	7
1981	68	24	36	58	88	8
1980	49	44	34	52	82	4
1979	36	55	32	60	90	6
1978	32	59	29	60	84	5

1977	44	46	31	62	88	7
1976	49	37	30	59	82	6
1975	48	47	32	62	84	11
1974 (Ford)	46	39				
1974	51	40	28	57	82	7
1973	52	38	36	58	91	4
1972	35	22	27	34	52	6
1971	65	19	28	60	86	3
1970	45	37	39	43	66	2
1969	40	47	27	49	71	9
1968	32	42	18	54	65	4
1967	45	43	34	62	91	4

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	68	28	48
1981	10	78	43	67
1980	17	59	26	67
1979	11	73	45	61
1978	5	83	25	67
1977	5	74	26	76
1976	5	84	33	82
1975	5	81	17	59
1974	4	64	25	75
1973	8	74	36	82
1972	0	92	17	89
1971	3	72	33	-
1970	8	73	29	70
1969	7	82	30	-
1968	0	86	0	-
1967	7	66	17	60

Virginia - 5th District

## 5 Dan Daniel (D)

Of Danville — Elected 1968

**Born:** May 12, 1914, Chatham, Va.

**Education:** Attended Danville H.S.

**Military Career:** Navy, 1944.

**Occupation:** Textile company executive.

**Family:** Wife, Ruby McGregor; one child.

**Religion:** Baptist.

**Political Career:** Va. House, 1959-69.

**Capitol Office:** 2368 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4711.



**In Washington:** Daniel has been a quiet, courtly hawk at Armed Services, voting unobtrusively for the highest possible level of defense funding. In recent years he has begun to take on a new role, as critic of Pentagon budgeting practices.

In 1978 he took over as chairman of a select subcommittee to examine "NATO standardization," the drive of Ford and Carter administration officials to reduce the number of different kinds of equipment being used to defend Europe.

The next year, his panel issued a report complaining that standardization was forcing American troops in the field to depend on inferior European equipment and that the Pentagon should insist on top quality purchases regardless of cost.

That led Daniel to the issue of readiness. During the 96th Congress, he and Democrat Bob Carr of Michigan, one of the committee's handful of Pentagon critics, teamed up to demand more funds for basic maintenance in the defense budget. They argued that money was being diverted from maintenance to pay for new weapons.

In 1980, Congress enacted a Daniel-sponsored requirement that maintenance be given its own separate section in each defense authorization bill. In 1981 Daniel became chairman of a new Armed Services subcommittee established to handle that part of the bill.

Daniel has favored letting the Pentagon buy planes and missiles in large lots spread over several years. In the past, it has contracted separately for each year's batch of weapons. Pentagon officials have asked for the multi-year approach, arguing it would lower the cost of weapons, and Daniel has backed them up. His support for multi-year procurement has brought him into conflict with Jack Brooks of Texas, the Government Operations chairman, who feels that approach essentially removes an

important tool of congressional control.

Daniel rarely talks about subjects outside the military field. Despite a friendly personal relationship with Speaker O'Neill, he seldom gives the Democratic leadership a vote on any major issue. He backed all of President Reagan's economic programs in the 97th Congress.

The one non-military initiative Daniel has mounted in recent years dealt with loyalty to the U.S. government. A constituent of Daniel's who was a member of the Communist Workers' Party applied for a federally funded job under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Daniel offered an amendment to two budget resolutions banning CETA employment for anyone advocating the violent overthrow of the federal government. The woman insisted she did not personally advocate such a thing, but the restriction became law.

**At Home:** Daniel is more comfortable philosophically with his Republican colleagues in the Virginia delegation than the new breed of Democrats elected in 1982. He admits that his Democratic seniority is the main reason he has not joined the GOP himself.

Daniel has come a long way. The son of a sharecropper, he started his career at a Danville textile mill as a blue-collar worker and ended it as assistant to the chairman of the board.

While he is not a dynamic force in Congress, he has cut a large figure in state and national civic organizations, serving as president of the Virginia state Chamber of Commerce and national commander of the American Legion.

A Dixiecrat in many respects, Daniel was a leader in the state's short-lived resistance to desegregation in the 1950s. In the following decade, he was a Byrd machine stalwart in the state Legislature.

Dan Daniel, D-Va.

**Virginia 5****South — Danville**

The 5th is in the heart of Virginia's rural "Southside," a largely agricultural region that more closely resembles the Deep South than any other part of the state. It is relatively poor and has a substantial black population. Tobacco and soybeans are major crops, but this region lacks the rich soil of the Tidewater.

Though the 5th continues to support conservative Democrats like Daniel, it has long refused to vote for more liberal Democratic candidates at the state and national level. It was one of only two districts in Virginia to back George C. Wallace in 1968 and has not supported a Democrat for president in more than a quarter-century. Barry Goldwater carried it in 1964 with 51 percent of the vote.

In the closely contested U.S. Senate race in 1982, the district went narrowly for Republican Rep. Paul S. Trible Jr. over Democratic Lt. Gov. Richard J. Davis.

The district's largest city is Danville, (population 45,642), a tobacco market and textile center on the North Carolina border. Ronald Reagan received 61 percent of the vote in Danville in 1980. The residents of

the city and those of surrounding Pittsylvania County, which Reagan took by 2-to-1, make up about one-fifth of the district's population.

Most of the people in the 5th are scattered through farming areas and a few factory towns. Most of these areas normally vote Republican at the statewide level. The best area for Democratic candidates is Henry County; with nearly 58,000 residents, it is the second most populous county in the district after Pittsylvania, its eastern neighbor. Jimmy Carter won it with 49 percent in 1980. In the 1982 Senate race, Davis took the county with 53 percent of the vote.

To the north, the district takes in part of Lynchburg. That section of Lynchburg and its southern neighbor, Campbell County, are strongly conservative areas where Reagan won two-thirds of the 1980 vote.

Population: 531,308. White 398,091 (75%), Black 131,482 (25%). Spanish origin 3,753 (1%). 18 and over 382,312 (72%), 65 and over 63,859 (12%). Median age: 32.

Daniel came to Congress in 1968, when veteran Democratic Rep. William M. Tuck, a former governor and staunch conservative, retired and endorsed him. While George C. Wallace was carrying the district in the year's

presidential balloting, Daniel easily outdistanced his Republican and black independent opponents with 55 percent of the vote. He faced a feeble GOP challenge in 1970 and no one has filed against him since.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (5th of 28 Democrats)  
Readiness (chairman); Investigations.

**Elections**

**1982 General**  
Dan Daniel (D) Unopposed

**1980 General**  
Dan Daniel (D) Unopposed

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (100%) 1976 (100%)  
1974 (99%) 1972 (100%) 1970 (73%) 1968 (55%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	73,569 (42%)	D	77,138 (48%)
R	97,203 (55%)	R	78,306 (49%)
I	3,660 (2%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Daniel (D)	\$74,954	\$51,965 (69%)	\$24,084
<b>1980</b>			
Daniel (D)	\$20,383	\$18,010 (88%)	\$7,747

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	70	19	19	76	88	4
1981	78	20	15	81	93	4
1980	37	62	27	70	93	3
1979	30	69	15	82	94	4
1978	22	75	16	81	95	2

1569

**Dan Daniel, D-Va.**

1977	33	66	19	81	97	3
1976	75	25	12	88	98	1
1975	70	30	15	84	98	1
1974 (Ford)	56	44				
1974	64	36	16	84†	93	6
1973	66	34	19	81	100	0
1972	57	41	17	80	94	6
1971	77	23	25	74	97	2
1970	64	36†	24	74	91	—
1969	45	55	20	76	96	2

S = Support O = Opposition

†Not eligible for all recorded votes.

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	?
Delete MX funding (1982)	N

Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982) N  
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983) N**Interest Group Ratings**

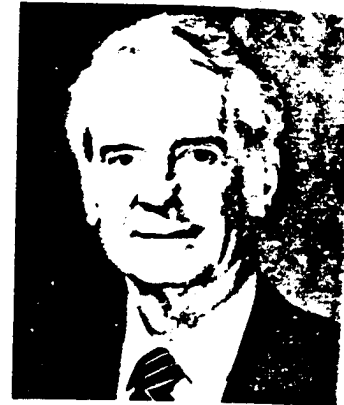
Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	77	11	71
1981	0	83	13	89
1980	6	82	11	82
1979	5	100	10	100
1978	0	96	5	89
1977	0	93	9	94
1976	5	96	13	88
1975	0	100	4	88
1974	0	80	0	90
1973	4	85	18	100
1972	0	100	10	100
1971	3	93	8	—
1970	0	79	14	100
1969	7	94	20	—

Mississippi - 3rd District

## 3 G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D)

Of Meridian — Elected 1966

**Born:** Aug. 5, 1920, Meridian, Miss.  
**Education:** Miss. State U., B.S. 1943.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1943-46; National Guard, 1946-80, active duty 1951-52.  
**Occupation:** Insurance executive.  
**Family:** Single.  
**Religion:** Episcopalian.  
**Political Career:** Miss. Senate, 1956-66.  
**Capitol Office:** 2184 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5031.



In Washington: Party loyalty — and disloyalty — are as much a matter of style as substance. When President Reagan's economic program moved through the House in 1981, Sonny Montgomery was nearly as important a White House ally as Phil Gramm, the Texas Democrat who later was stripped of his Democratic seat on Budget and decided to join the GOP.

Many of the strategy sessions in which conservative Democrats decided to back Reagan were held in Montgomery's office. During the roll calls, the Mississippi Democrat spent much of his time on the Republican side of the aisle, monitoring GOP computers and lobbying for pro-Reagan votes.

But the only price Montgomery paid was a less than resounding 179 to 53 vote re-electing him Veterans' Affairs Committee chairman at the start of the 98th Congress.

Unlike the flamboyant and abrasive Gramm, Montgomery does his disagreeing politely — and quietly. Though he has been voting against his party leaders consistently ever since he came to Congress, he rarely says a word on the floor against them or their program. He was part of the leadership himself in the 97th Congress as an assistant whip for three Southern states, and he conscientiously reported to Speaker O'Neill on whether his delegations were staying loyal for important votes, even though he almost never stayed loyal himself.

Montgomery is a member whom colleagues usually listen to, not necessarily because they agree with him but because they like him. Firmly within the tradition of soft-spoken Southern grace, Montgomery is rarely unpleasant even to those who cannot accept his hard-line approach on defense issues. Many of his

friendships were developed on the paddle-ball court in the House gym; others on Washington's dinner party circuit, where Montgomery long has been a bachelor much in demand.

Like most Mississippi Democrats, Montgomery came to Washington with the firm belief that the national Democratic Party had moved too far to the left for him to support it very often.

He was one of only three House diehards to stick by President Nixon even after the House Judiciary Committee voted in favor of impeachment. These days he votes with his leadership only about a third of the time, and House Republicans refer to him casually as "one of us."

At times in the past, GOP members interested in building a bipartisan conservative coalition to take formal House control have sought him out as a potential leader. But he has never talked seriously of bolting the Democratic Party — not so long as it controls the levers of power in the House. When 53 Democrats voted in 1983 against his Veterans' chairmanship, an obvious reaction to his support for Reaganomics in 1981, he reassured them about his ultimate intentions. "We got the message," Montgomery said. "I like being a Democrat."

A few weeks later, he went further. "I think we might have gotten carried away with the White House," he said of the 1981 experience. "We weren't working enough with the Democratic leadership." Montgomery did, however, oppose the 1983 Democratic budget alternative, on the grounds that the defense outlays were too low.

Vietnam has dominated Sonny Montgomery's congressional career, not only during the fighting, but since the cease-fire as well. Few

G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery, D-Miss.

## Mississippi 3

## South Central — Meridian

The 3rd is mostly agricultural, but it includes a burgeoning timber industry, outlying suburbs of Jackson and a major Air Force base at Columbus.

In the 1970s the district extended west into the Mississippi Delta, but redistricting centered it in the Hill Country at the eastern end of the state. The rural hill counties are still reliably Democratic, but the district's suburban and small-city vote has been tilting in a Republican direction.

Lauderdale County, on the Alabama border, is the district's major population center. Meridian (population 46,577), the seat of Lauderdale County, is an increasingly Republican industrial town with Lockheed and General Motors facilities. The Meridian Naval Air Station is a training center for naval pilots.

Another population center is Laurel, population 21,897. The seat of Jones County on the district's southern edge, Laurel is home to a timber-related industry fueled by its proximity to Mississippi's Piney Woods. Oil and gas drilling in southern Mississippi has spawned oil-related industries in the area. Laurel also has been shifting in a Republican direction in recent national elections.

Northwest of Jones County is Smith

County, the home of the National Tobacco Spitting Contest, which annually attracts curious spectators and serious expectorators. Neighboring Rankin County is more cosmopolitan; it is home to more than 50,000 suburbanites oriented toward the state capital of Jackson. One of the fastest growing areas in the state, Rankin went for Ronald Reagan in 1980 by a 2-to-1 margin and was one of only two counties in the state carried by Haley Barbour, the 1982 GOP challenger to Democratic Sen. John C. Stennis.

At the far northern end of the district is Columbus, another Republican stronghold. The seat of Lowndes County, Columbus has a significant population of military-related residents from the North and the Midwest. These voters add considerably to the Republican presence in the district. The local Air Force base offers basic training for prospective Air Force pilots.

Population: 503,763. White 340,460 (68%), Black 157,473 (31%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 3,649 (1%). Spanish origin 4,120 (1%). 18 and over 346,476 (69%), 65 and over 59,092 (12%). Median age: 28.

members devote much time to the issue these days; Montgomery seems preoccupied with it.

Montgomery ran for Congress in 1966 pledging to "bring the boys home" in honor. He spent every Christmas for the next several years visiting soldiers at the front. When the conflict finally drew to a close, he served on two committees seeking facts about men missing in action. Now, as chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, he has to struggle with the question of benefits for those who served in Vietnam.

It is the career focus for which his personal life prepared him. He spent most of his adult years in the military on active duty in World War II and Korea and in the Mississippi National Guard until 1980. He headed immediately for Veterans' Affairs as a House freshman in 1967 and added a place on Armed Services four years later.

Montgomery began traveling to Vietnam in his first year on Capitol Hill, initially at

Agriculture Committee expense, inspecting Food for Peace programs. Later, he went on Veterans' Committee business, reviewing Veterans Administration facilities. But mostly, Montgomery went because he wanted to see the military and the war firsthand.

As a result, he became an acknowledged expert on the war, although his support for it drove him far from majority opinion in the House in the early 1970s. "The time is past when we can discuss whether this is the wrong war," he said in 1967. "Our flag is committed." Three years later, he was still defending the ability of American troops to help the South Vietnamese win the war. "The morale of the American fighting man is quite high," he said then. "The one thing that seems to disturb him most is the continued anti-war demonstrations."

But while the House moved far from Montgomery's hawkish approach in the ensuing years, it saw him as the logical man after the

*Mississippi - 3rd District*

war to set up a committee to find out whether U.S. servicemen were being held prisoner by the North Vietnamese.

Montgomery's committee, known formally as the Select Committee on U.S. Involvement in Southeast Asia, went to Vietnam and to Europe to meet with representatives of the communist regime in Hanoi. It finally concluded, in December 1976, that there were no Americans still imprisoned in North Vietnam.

Montgomery resisted pleas from fellow conservatives to continue pressing Hanoi for more information. He was the bearer of bad news: There was no hard evidence, he said, that any of the missing men were still alive.

Again the next year, Montgomery was called for Vietnam duty when President Carter sent a special commission to Vietnam, headed by labor leader Leonard Woodcock. Again Montgomery presented a report that did not please his conservative colleagues. He and the commission advised the president to explore the possibility of normal diplomatic relations with what had become the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

On the Armed Services Committee, Montgomery has spoken for years in behalf of military Reserve units and the National Guard. It is a subject other members treat with only intermittent attention, but Montgomery has made a specialty of it, does his homework and often gets his way. He is largely responsible, for example, for the new planes the Air National Guard is able to obtain in each year's defense authorization. In 1983, as Armed Services was cutting back personnel in most branches of the service, Montgomery persuaded the panel to add 35,000 new positions for the Reserves.

Montgomery has been less successful in his long fight to reinstate the draft. As someone who worries about the ability of American forces to fight a protracted war, he has continually questioned the merits of the all-volunteer Army. Most members of the Armed Services Committee agree with him, but they have made little progress in moving the House toward a peacetime draft, although peacetime registration was reinstituted in 1980.

Montgomery's crusade as Veterans' Affairs chairman in the 97th Congress was to enact a new G.I. Bill similar to the one that financed a college education for millions of World War II veterans. But the effort failed.

At the start of 1981, Montgomery introduced his own bill to provide \$300 a month over 36 months for today's crop of young veterans seeking a college degree. He felt it would make Army recruiting easier and that it would be a sure winner once it reached the House floor. "I

think the name will carry it through," he predicted confidently in 1981. "I wouldn't want to go back home and say I voted against the G.I. bill."

But no floor vote ever took place. The bill cleared both the Veterans' and Armed Services panels, but it lost the support of the Reagan administration with its estimated price tag of \$1.2 billion a year by 1990. Montgomery lobbied hard to persuade the Pentagon to back the bill, arguing at one point that President Reagan was not being fully informed about the situation, but the Pentagon never budged. In addition, veterans' organizations never gave Montgomery the help he expected; older veterans feared some of the funding would come at the expense of their World War II benefits.

**At Home:** For years Montgomery has had the best of both worlds — personal popularity in Congress and bipartisan support back home.

Not since 1968 has he won a primary or general election with less than 90 percent of the vote. "Sonny Montgomery votes with us," explained former state Republican Chairman Clarke Reed in 1974. "We don't have any issues against him except party."

Montgomery was a state senator and prominent National Guard officer when he first ran for the House in 1966. The 3d District had gone Republican on a fluke in 1964, electing little-known chicken farmer Prentiss Walker, the only Republican who had bothered to file for Congress anywhere in the state that year. Barry Goldwater carried Mississippi easily in his 1964 presidential campaign, and he carried Walker into office with him. Two years later Walker ran unsuccessfully for the Senate — he would have been beaten for re-election to the House anyway — and Montgomery found the field clear.

There were three other candidates for the Democratic House nomination in 1966, but Montgomery won with little difficulty. He drew 50.1 percent of the primary vote, avoiding even the necessity of a runoff.

His general election campaign was easier. Describing himself as "a conservative Mississippi Democrat," Montgomery said he opposed the new, big-spending Great Society programs but favored older ones like Social Security and rural electrification. He claimed that his Republican opponent, state Rep. L. L. McAllister Jr., was against all federal programs, and he linked McAllister with the national GOP, which he called the "party of Reconstruction, Depression and 'me-too' liberalism." Sweeping every county, Montgomery won the seat with 65 percent of the vote.

He had little trouble holding it in 1968,

**G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery, D-Miss.**

drawing 85 percent of the primary vote against a black civil rights activist and 70 percent in the fall against Prentiss Walker, who was trying to regain the seat. The Republican had lost his Senate race to veteran Democrat James O. Eastland by a margin of more than 2-to-1, and

ran almost as poorly in his comeback attempt against Montgomery. He carried only one county.

That crushing defeat seemed to remove any remaining Republican interest in contesting Montgomery.

**Committees**

**Veterans' Affairs (Chairman)**

Oversight and Investigations, chairman.

**Armed Services (6th of 28 Democrats)**

Military Installations and Facilities; Military Personnel and Compensation.

**Elections****1982 General**

G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D) 114,530 (93%)  
James Bradshaw (I) 8,519 (7%)

**1982 Primary**

G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D) 26,988 (92%)  
James Parker (D) 2,223 (8%)

**1980 General**

G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D) Unopposed

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (92%) 1976 (94%)  
1974 (100%) 1972 (100%) 1970 (100%) 1968 (70%)  
1966 (65%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	74,295 (41%)	D	76,461 (48%)
R	102,116 (57%)	R	77,617 (49%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Montgomery (D)	\$92,153	\$37,220 (40%)	\$49,804
<b>1980</b>			
Montgomery (D)	\$15,895	\$7,568 (47%)	\$9,909

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	74	23	29	66	90	5
1981	78	21	26	68	97	3

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1980	45	53	31	68
1979	30	65	19	75
1978	30	65	23	73
1977	33	56	20	71
1976	73	27	13	84
1975	57	37	17	77
1974 (Ford)	57	37		
1974	70	23	20	73
1973	60	39	24	74
1972	57	41	20	71
1971	70	18	14	60
1970	46	29	24	58
1969	38	40	15	73
1968	41	58	24	74
1967	41	52	21	73

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	?
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

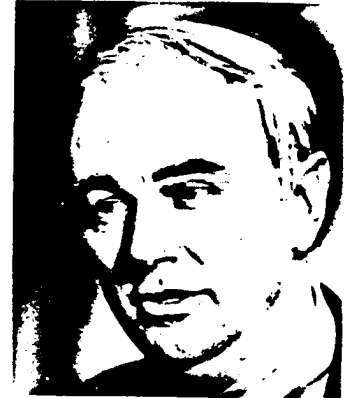
Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	91	5	73
1981	0	79	13	83
1980	0	58	6	73
1979	5	87	5	100
1978	5	85	15	78
1977	0	92	14	93
1976	5	100	13	88
1975	0	89	9	88
1974	0	86	0	90
1973	4	85	18	91
1972	0	100	11	100
1971	0	78	27	-
1970	0	87	20	78
1969	7	86	10	-
1968	0	87	0	-
1967	0	81	0	90

Wisconsin - 1st District

# 1 Les Aspin (D)

Of East Troy — Elected 1970

**Born:** July 21, 1938, Milwaukee, Wis.  
**Education:** Yale U., B.A. 1960; Oxford U., England, M.A. 1962; M.I.T., Ph.D. 1965.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1966-68.  
**Occupation:** Professor of economics.  
**Family:** Divorced.  
**Religion:** Episcopalian.  
**Political Career:** Sought Democratic nomination for Wis. treasurer, 1968.  
**Capitol Office:** 442 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-3031.



In Washington: Aspin's long record of hostility to the Pentagon leaves him isolated from his senior Armed Services Committee colleagues, but he has managed to make his mark on defense policy without them.

His mimeograph machine and his instinct for a good news story have given his opinions national press attention for more than a decade. More important, his knowledge of military issues has forced administrations of both parties to use him as a source of information, even if they disagree with him.

In the 98th Congress, for the first time, he has the advantage of chairing an Armed Services subcommittee, on Military Personnel and Compensation. That subject fits his penchant for press releases as well as any other; over 12 years in the House, he has probably criticized the Pentagon more often about personnel matters than he has about strategy or cost overruns.

Aspin has launched dozens of attacks on military manpower policies, particularly the retirement system, which he claims is far too generous. In 1977, to dramatize the pension problem, Aspin offered a less-than-serious floor amendment to put servicemen under the congressional retirement program. He drew a surprising 148 votes for his proposal. Two years later, however, when the Carter administration sought changes in the retirement system, Aspin was preoccupied as chairman of an intelligence oversight subcommittee and did not play a leading role.

Aspin regularly criticizes the perquisites of the Pentagon brass. In 1973 Aspin charged Alexander M. Haig with "illegal money grabbing" when Haig began serving as Richard Nixon's White House chief of staff but delayed his resignation from the military to draw a bigger pension. Two years later, after Aspin

disclosed that Haig's dog, Duncan, had been shipped around Europe by military plane, Haig reimbursed the government for those costs.

This hounding of the Pentagon elite has been balanced somewhat by Aspin's support for rank-and-file soldiers. In 1979 the House adopted his floor amendment to secure special allowances for low-ranking servicemen stationed overseas.

Aspin came to Congress at the high point of national opposition to the Vietnam War. Having served as a Pentagon economist for Robert S. McNamara, he fought successfully for a seat on Armed Services, where he soon began his dispute with the panel's pro-military leadership.

In 1973, after Aspin issued a press release berating the Navy for its problems building a new ship, the late Armed Services Chairman F. Edward Hebert publicly blasted him, telling him to "put up or shut up." Aspin responded by saying that he would be happy to share his information with Hebert and that he was glad the chairman had noticed him. "It's a sign that the system is really opening up when the chairman gets into a dialogue with a very junior member," Aspin said.

Earlier in 1973, Aspin had embarrassed Hebert with a floor amendment reducing the annual defense budget by about 4 percent. Hebert and the Armed Services Committee were rarely defeated on the House floor, but Aspin put together an unlikely coalition of Democratic liberals and Republican fiscal conservatives and won adoption of the amendment, 242-163. At the beginning of the next Congress, in early 1975, Aspin was a ringleader in a House coup that dumped Hebert as committee chairman.

Aspin has kept up his parade of press releases in recent years, to the continued an-

*Les Aspin, D-Wis.*

## Wisconsin 1

Although it is dominated by four industrialized cities, the 1st is far from a Democratic stronghold.

Until Aspin's election in 1970, Democratic candidates had won this district only twice in the 20th century — in 1958 and 1964. Both were defeated after serving single terms. No Democratic presidential candidate has carried the 1st since Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964.

The district's two largest cities are sandwiched between Milwaukee and Chicago on the Lake Michigan shore. Racine, originally settled by Danish immigrants, manufactures a wide range of Johnson's Wax products, from Agree shampoo to Pledge furniture polish.

Racine County gave Aspin 56 percent of the vote in his competitive 1980 election, but otherwise the county has gone Republican: Democratic Sen. Gaylord Nelson narrowly lost it to Republican Bob Kasten in 1980, and Ronald Reagan defeated Jimmy Carter there that year, 50 to 42 percent.

Kenosha's economic base is not as diversified as Racine's. The city, which boasts a sizable Italian community and a branch of the University of Wisconsin, has suffered lately because of declining employment at its huge American Motors Corp. (AMC) plant.

Although AMC has invested about \$60 million to retool its Kenosha facility, in-

## Southeast — Racine; Kenosha

creased reliance on labor-saving robots and demand for smaller cars guarantee that the heyday of automobile-manufacturing employment in this area has passed.

In the west-central part of the district are the smaller industrial cities of Janesville and Beloit, both in marginally Republican Rock County. Janesville's General Motors plant has been retooled to build smaller cars, but there are nearly 2,000 former auto workers who will not find places in the scaled-down operation. Perched on the Illinois border just 8 miles south of Janesville, Beloit was settled by a group of immigrants from New Hampshire that founded Beloit College in 1847. The city makes heavy machinery, such as backup engines for nuclear submarines.

The strongest Republican vote in the 1st comes from Walworth County, between Janesville and Racine-Kenosha. Resort complexes around Lake Geneva and Lake Delavan cater to wealthy vacationers from Milwaukee and Chicago. Soybeans grow so well in the farming sections of Walworth County that the Japanese Kikkoman soy sauce company built a plant in Walworth to brew and bottle its product.

Population: 522,838. White 491,746 (94%), Black 21,956 (4%). Spanish origin 13,173 (3%). 18 and over 366,924 (70%), 65 and over 56,852 (11%). Median age: 29.

noyance of committee leaders, but there has been a subtle evolution in his role and image on military strategy questions.

During his first few House terms, he was seen by colleagues not only as anti-Pentagon but anti-defense; much like Democrats Ronald V. Dellums of California and Patricia Schroeder of Colorado, who joined Armed Services as dissidents around the same time. But Aspin tends now to be identified more with military "reformers" who question the effectiveness of defense programs rather than the need for them.

In the 97th Congress, Aspin warned some of his liberal allies that it would be impossible to save much money in the short run by cutting the defense budget. The reason he gave was that most of the increased spending under the

Reagan buildup was for new weapons systems whose cost would not show up until later years. Aspin said a substantial cutback in defense for 1983 would only interfere with badly needed funds earmarked for personnel and maintenance expenses. He singled out several "efficiency" cuts that could be made at once, in fields such as contract consulting and commissaries, but said those reductions would net only about \$1.4 billion a year.

Aspin also surprised some House liberals with his initial skepticism toward a nuclear freeze. He argued early in 1982 that a better approach would be ratification of the SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union, which would not only freeze weapons but reduce their number. In addition, he said an immediate freeze would deprive U.S. arms negotiators of a bargaining

**Wisconsin - 1st District**

chip they might need in future talks with the Soviets. But Aspin ended up voting for a freeze on the House floor; he also opposed production of the MX missile.

Aspin used some of his press release skills in 1981 to promote the issue of contributions by U.S. allies to the mutual defense cause. He believes Japan and Western Europe ought to be paying far more for their own defense. "The money Japan and others save on defense," he said, "is being used to whip us in the free market that our defense is preserving for them."

Meanwhile, Aspin was broadening his legislative activity beyond the defense issue, something he had been reluctant to do in earlier terms. As a member of the Budget Committee in 1981, he appeared interested in moving beyond traditional New Deal approaches to economic policy. When Speaker O'Neill seemed slow to appreciate the need for such changes, Aspin issued a release charging that the Speaker was "in a fog" and "has no idea where to go."

In 1982 Aspin did some budget writing of his own, joining with a bipartisan group to offer a full-scale alternative not only to the budget President Reagan favored but also to the House Democratic leadership's spending plan. Aspin's approach was to cut defense spending beyond the levels of either competing budget, while falling in between them in tax rates, domestic spending and the overall deficit. The idea was to split off a sizable moderate Republican vote, but the effort failed. Aspin's budget drew only 29 Republican votes, and since most Democrats preferred the leadership product, Aspin was defeated, 137-289.

**At Home:** Aspin can carry on his crusade against the Pentagon with impunity back home; his district contains no military bases and few defense contractors. "I am a product of my constituency just as much as they are of theirs," Aspin once said, referring to Pentagon supporters whose districts are loaded with military installations.

Aspin insists the voters of Racine and Kenosha support his battles with the Defense Department. But his continuing electoral success probably has more to do with his local staff work and efforts to revive the area's sagging economy. He is the only Democrat ever to be elected to more than one term from the 1st District.

When the 1970 campaign year began, few would have predicted such success for a Marquette University economics professor who had just moved into the district. Aspin's academic credentials were impressive, and he had been

active in statewide politics, but his ties to the district were few.

Two years earlier he had been signed up by the White House to head President Johnson's re-election effort in Wisconsin. When that effort evaporated just before the state's primary, Aspin switched to Robert F. Kennedy's campaign. That September Aspin was defeated in his first try at elective office, losing the Democratic primary for state treasurer.

Shortly afterward, he moved his family into the 1st District and became the district's Democratic chairman. The 1970 House election looked promising for an eager challenger because the incumbent Republican, Henry C. Schadeberg, had won his last two elections with just 51 percent of the vote.

To get at Schadeberg, Aspin first had to defeat former Democratic Rep. Gerald T. Flynn and chemistry Professor Douglas LaFollette in the primary. Flynn posed a slight problem. But LaFollette appealed to the same liberal constituency as Aspin and had a more attractive name — he was a distant relative of the state's legendary governor and U.S. senator, Robert LaFollette. Aspin appeared to lose the primary but demanded a recount and won by 20 votes.

The general election offered a clear philosophical choice. Schadeberg emphasized a "return to America's heritage of order, discipline and hard work." Aspin appealed to peace and ecology groups and, when talking with the larger middle-class segment of the electorate, stressed the need to reduce unemployment in the district. With substantial contributions from organized labor and a well-run campaign, Aspin retired Schadeberg by winning 61 percent.

Two years later Aspin ran against Republican Merrill Stalbaum, whose brother had once held the district as a Democrat. Stalbaum called Aspin a "phony environmentalist" and attacked his campaign against the Pentagon. But by then, the Democratic incumbent had solidified his support. He won easily.

The 1978 campaign was Aspin's worst political experience of the decade. Some \$27,000 in campaign contributions disappeared, stolen by his campaign chairman, who later confessed he took it. And Republican William Petrie, whom Aspin had beaten easily two years before, waged a surprisingly strenuous campaign, coming within 13,000 votes of defeating him — closer than any previous challenger.

The election in 1980 turned out not to be so harrowing. Petrie refused to run for a third time without a pre-primary endorsement from the GOP, and when he bowed out, the Republi-

**Les Aspin, D-Wis.**

can nomination went to a surprise primary winner, Kathryn H. Canary. For the second consecutive election, Aspin lost the rural area, but his vote in Racine and Kenosha improved, and his margin was up to 30,000 votes.

In 1982, with Democrats strong throughout Wisconsin, and the defense establishment newly suspect, Aspin had little to worry about. His vote moved above 60 percent for the first time since 1976.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (7th of 28 Democrats)  
Military Personnel and Compensation (chairman); Investigations

**Budget** (8th of 20 Democrats)  
Task Forces: Economic Policy and Growth (chairman); Budget Process; Capital Resources and Development; Tax Policy.

**Elections****1982 General**

Les Aspin (D) 95,055 (61%)  
Peter Jansson (R) 59,309 (38%)

**1980 General**

Les Aspin (D) 126,222 (56%)  
Kathryn Canary (R) 96,047 (43%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (54%) 1976 (65%)  
1974 (71%) 1972 (64%) 1970 (61%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	98,916 (42%)	D	107,718 (48%)
R	117,710 (50%)	R	108,964 (49%)
I	16,478 (7%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
<b>1982</b>				
Aspin (D)	\$184,394	\$77,947 (42%)		\$170,837
Jansson (R)	\$115,175	\$18,575 (16%)		\$114,161
<b>1980</b>				
Aspin (D)	\$149,455	\$59,985 (40%)		\$152,364
Canary (R)	\$75,866	\$18,200 (24%)		\$75,766

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	42	48	77	15	41	53
1981	26	67	80	11	25	68
1980	82	13	85	9	21	77
1979	77	20	81	14	26	68
1978	81	12	84	10	11	85
1977	68	20	80	8	12	75
1976	29	59	80	8	13	76
1975	38	57	79	11	13	79
1974 (Ford)	39	43				
1974	42	53	78	13	7	80
1973	24	65	84	9	7	84
1972	46	43	83	11	13	83
1971	35	58	84	10	3	87

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	85	30	90	24
1981	75	17	86	7
1980	67	25	65	61
1979	74	13	75	22
1978	60	12	85	28
1977	70	4	71	18
1976	75	8	81	23
1975	95	23	91	7
1974	96	7	100	25
1973	88	12	90	27
1972	94	0	82	10
1971	86	11	83	-

California - 8th District

## 8 Ronald V. Dellums (D)

Of Oakland — Elected 1970

**Born:** Nov. 24, 1935, Oakland, Calif.

**Education:** San Francisco State U., B.A. 1960; U. of Calif., Berkeley, M.S.W. 1962.

**Military Career:** Marine Corps, 1954-56.

**Occupation:** Psychiatric social worker.

**Family:** Wife, Leola Higgs; three children.

**Religion:** Protestant.

**Political Career:** Berkeley City Council, 1967-71.

**Capitol Office:** 2136 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2661.



**In Washington:** Dellums has expressed the outrage of the left for more than a decade in the House, offering visions of world peace and charges of racism while presenting a personal image of elegance and high fashion. His late-'60s rhetoric often sounds out of place in the early '80s, but he still offers it the way he did in the beginning: with a great deal of vigor, flashes of eloquence and a casual disregard for orderly procedure. It is the oratorical flourishes of the floor that have attracted him, rather than the tedious work of committee business.

In his first year on Capitol Hill, Dellums ignored the niceties of congressional politics and staged his own "unofficial" hearings into charges of atrocities in Vietnam and racism in the military. He was not yet a member of the Armed Services Committee, but he blithely challenged its old pro-war leadership. He made it as a committee member in 1973, and he has been the angriest outsider at Armed Services ever since.

In 1982, when the committee refused to pay for a visit to Cuba Dellums wanted to make, he went anyway, paid for the trip himself and obtained an interview with Fidel Castro. He did not report publicly on what Castro told him. Later in the year, Dellums joined as a plaintiff in a suit accusing the U.S. government of violating the War Powers Act by sending military personnel to El Salvador.

By the start of the 98th Congress, Dellums had 10 years of committee seniority, easily enough to qualify for a subcommittee chairmanship. The Armed Services leadership had no way of denying him one, but it did keep him away from the sensitive Investigations panel, which was vacant at the time. Conservative Democrat Bill Nichols of Alabama, who was senior to Dellums, moved over to Investigations. Dellums became chairman of the Military Installations Subcommittee.

Every year, Dellums makes a futile but

flamboyant effort to cut the defense authorization. He does this emotionally and at enormous length, repeatedly exceeding his allotted time but obtaining unanimous consent to go on. He always puts on an impressive show.

In 1982 it was a better show than ever. Perhaps inspired by the growing nuclear freeze movement, Dellums presented his case in more detail and more effectively than he had in the past. He went far beyond his usual amendment to eliminate funding for the MX missile, presenting a substitute for the entire defense authorization his committee had brought to the floor.

Dellums' substitute defense bill would have cut military spending by more than \$50 billion for fiscal 1983, reducing U.S. troop strength 5 percent and canceling not only the MX but the Cruise, Trident and Pershing nuclear missile programs. "Anyone believing we can fight, survive and win a nuclear war," Dellums said, "is living in a never-never land."

His proposal drew only 55 votes, about a third of them provided by the Black Caucus, which supported Dellums as a bloc. But it generated a debate on broader defense questions that has been rare in recent years on the House floor.

Later in the year, when the House considered a nuclear freeze resolution, Dellums all but accused colleagues of hypocrisy. "How can you vote for a quarter-of-a-trillion-dollar military budget that brings us close to the brink of nuclear disaster," he said, "and then vote for a piece of paper and assume you have saved the planet from destruction?"

Speeches and amendments are the core of Dellums' participation on Armed Services matters. Badly outnumbered at the committee, he has never played an effective role in its deliberations.

Dellums' speeches on social issues are

Ronald V. Dellums, D-Calif.

## California 8

The Black Panther Party, the "free-speech movement" and the Symbionese Liberation Army all were born within this district, a mixture of poverty and intellectual ferment. The East Bay cities of Oakland and Berkeley cast about 60 percent of the vote and form the economic, philosophical and political base. To many of the left-wing activists who live and work in this area, the term "liberal" has long been considered pejorative.

The enormous University of California campus in Berkeley has provided an active political force in the area for decades, although in recent years it has been far less vocal than in the 1960s and early 1970s. It has been augmented by thousands of loyally Democratic black voters in Oakland, Berkeley's larger neighbor to the south. Oakland, 47 percent black, is one of the poorest cities in the state.

The 8th was expanded in redistricting to include some of the poorest black and Hispanic sections of Oakland, near the Alameda County Coliseum and the Oakland International Airport. The only part of the city not now included in the 8th District is an integrated middle-class area placed in the 9th.

The district also was pushed farther into the upper-class conservative areas of Contra Costa County that adjoin Alameda

## Northern Alameda County — Oakland; Berkeley

County. The Lafayette-Moraga section of Contra Costa County has never given Dellums more than 40 percent of the vote; the San Ramon Valley communities newly added will not support him with any greater enthusiasm.

But even with the changes in the district lines, more than 70 percent of the vote still comes from the Alameda County portion of the 8th. Alameda was one of only five counties that Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. carried in his unsuccessful 1982 Senate bid. Of the four redrawn East Bay congressional districts, the 8th was the only one Jimmy Carter carried in his 1980 presidential campaign.

The 8th also is fertile ground for candidates claiming to present alternatives to the two-party system. Third party candidates John B. Anderson and Barry Commoner took a combined 15 percent of the vote in the district — the highest in the Bay Area outside of San Francisco. In Berkeley, Anderson and Commoner together outpolled Ronald Reagan by 10,400 votes to 7,900.

Population: 525,927. White 318,239 (61%), Black 139,571 (27%), Asian and Pacific Islander 43,116 (8%). Spanish origin 34,375 (7%). 18 and over 409,493 (78%), 65 and over 63,994 (12%). Median age: 32.

studded with references to "brothers and sisters" and pleas for the unity of minority groups in America: "I hear you scream in outrage and despair and as a black man I understand outrage and despair. . . ."

He has urged protest politics by the disadvantaged of all kinds: "America is a nation of niggers. If you're black, you're a nigger. If you're an amputee, you're a nigger. Blind people, the handicapped, radical environmentalists, poor whites, those too far to the left are all niggers."

In 1979 Dellums acquired a new forum — the chairmanship of the District of Columbia Committee. That panel no longer dominates D.C. affairs as it once did, but it still has some leverage over the city's politics and its chairman attracts valuable attention in the local media. Upon becoming chairman, Dellums laid out an agenda aimed at eventual full autonomy

for the city. It included federal payments to help meet the District's huge pension liability, authority for city officials to impose a commuter tax on suburbanites who work in the District and an end to congressional review of the D.C. budget.

Those ideas are no closer to enactment than they were in 1979, but Dellums continues to be a forceful advocate on D.C. issues. In 1981, heavily pressured by New Right organizations, the House repealed a relatively permissive city ordinance liberalizing the treatment for some sexual offenses. Dellums said the action proved that home rule was "a sham and a fraud."

Dellums' relations with other black House members have sometimes been strained. He served as vice chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, but was rejected for chairman of the group in 1979 because some felt he was too

**California - 8th District**

militantly independent.

Such problems have never slowed Dellums down or quenched his ambitions. The nation could do worse, he has said, than to have him as president or vice president. In 1976 he was touted briefly for president by the National Black Political Assembly. In 1980 he offered himself to the Democratic National Convention as a symbol of protest — a “desperate attempt,” he said, to raise issues he thought needed to be discussed.

**At Home:** Dellums was a social worker in San Francisco, managing federally assisted poverty programs, when friends convinced him to pursue his ideas about poverty and discrimination by running for the Berkeley City Council in 1967. He has won every race since.

He will never satisfy the conservative elements of his district, but he has always had more than enough of a constituency to get himself elected without them. In six elections, Dellums has never won more than 40 percent of the vote among his upper-income Contra Costa County constituents. But in the much larger Alameda County portion of the district, which includes Berkeley and most of Oakland, he has won well over 60 percent since 1974.

In 1970, when Dellums launched his primary challenge to six-term Democratic Rep. Jeffery Cohelan, the East Bay region was in a state of turmoil. Student protest over the war in Vietnam was becoming increasingly violent and the Black Panther movement was gaining strength in Oakland's ghettos. Although his credentials as a liberal were solid, Cohelan was considered “old-fashioned” in his approach to politics. Dellums, by contrast, was usually described in the press as “angry and articulate” or “radical and militant.”

Dellums put together the coalition of blacks, students and left-leaning intellectuals that has been the core of his support ever since. His major issue was Cohelan's tardiness in opposing the Vietnam War. Dellums registered nearly 15,000 new voters in the district and easily ousted Cohelan with 55 percent of the vote.

In the general election, attacks by Vice President Spiro T. Agnew only brought out more support for Dellums among the district's Democrats, and he easily defeated a 25-year-old political neophyte.

That victory ushered in a decade of political quiet in the district. Dellums rarely encountered more than token opposition in either party. But things changed after a little-noticed Republican opponent held Dellums to 56 percent in 1980.

Former bank president Claude B. Hutchison Jr., the son of an ex-Berkeley mayor, felt the 1980 vote showed that Dellums was finally weakening. He launched a well-funded effort to unseat Dellums in 1982, using former business associates to help finance his campaign and pulling in more than \$250,000 from donors eager to see Dellums retired. With support among Republicans virtually guaranteed, Hutchison tried to win over moderate Democrats, scarcely mentioning his GOP ties and taking positions similar to Dellums in favor of funding for public education and against tuition tax credits for private schools.

Dellums fought back. Attacking “the madness of Reagan and Reaganomics,” he drew on an impressive array of national left support to swamp Hutchison in raising funds. He nearly doubled his opponent's receipts and put together an extensive direct-mail campaign.

In the end, the results were similar to those of previous years — Hutchison easily won the Contra Costa County portion of the district, and Dellums just as handily made up the deficit in Oakland and Berkeley. But Hutchison's modest inroads among Democrats may prompt a primary challenge to Dellums in the future.

Dellums wanted to be a professional baseball pitcher when he grew up, but he has said that encounters with racial prejudice spoiled that dream, leaving him with little ambition after high school. After two years in the Marines, he went to college with the help of the GI Bill and six years later took a degree in psychiatric social work.

Ronald V. Dellums, D-Calif.

**Committees**District of Columbia (chairman)  
Fiscal Affairs and Health.

Armed Services (8th of 28 Democrats)

Military Installations and Facilities (chairman); Research and Development.

**Elections****1982 General**

Ronald Dellums (D)	121,537	(56%)
Claude Hutchison (R)	95,694	(44%)

**1982 Primary**

Ronald Dellums (D)	67,613	(76%)
Andreas Varnis (D)	21,193	(24%)

**1980 General**

Ronald Dellums (D)	108,380	(56%)
Charles Hughes (R)	76,580	(39%)
Tom Mikuriya (LIB)	10,465	(5%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (57%) 1976 (62%)  
1974 (57%) 1972 (56%) 1970 (57%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	116,652 (52%)	D	123,993 (59%)
R	74,370 (33%)	R	84,206 (40%)
I	23,973 (11%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Dellums (D)	\$958,080	\$23,100 ( 2%)	\$922,427
Hutchison (R)	\$565,998	\$71,561 (13%)	\$513,131
<b>1980</b>			
Dellums (D)	\$356,661	\$32,605 ( 9%)	\$312,378
Hughes (R)	\$83,969	\$7,400 ( 9%)	\$83,423

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	17	81	90	5	4	96
1981	21	86	83	6	8	87
1980	61	30	79	10	8	84
1979	72	17	83	5	1	89
1978	76	17	83	6	5	86
1977	73	25	85	10	5	90
1976	24	73	86	9	8	85
1975	30	70	87	8	5	91
1974 (Ford)	35	61				
1974	32	57	84	6	1	87
1973	23	72	86	9	6	91
1972	49	49	88	7	2	91
1971	14	74	82	9	2	87

S = Support      O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	85	0	95	18
1981	95	10	80	0
1980	100	23	89	36
1979	95	4	95	6
1978	95	8	95	19
1977	95	19	86	12
1976	100	11	87	0
1975	100	11	95	24
1974	96	7	90	0
1973	92	11	91	0
1972	88	9	100	10
1971	97	11	83	0

Colorado - 1st District

# 1 Patricia Schroeder (D)

Of Denver — Elected 1972

**Born:** July 30, 1940, Portland, Ore.  
**Education:** U. of Minn., B.A. 1961; Harvard U., J.D. 1964.

**Occupation:** Lawyer; law instructor.  
**Family:** Husband, James Schroeder; two children.  
**Religion:** Congregationalist.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 2410 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4431.



In Washington: Schroeder came to town riding the waves of the New Politics and has remained to stake her claim to the fruits of the Old Politics — seniority, a safe seat and a subcommittee chairmanship.

Along the way she has been outrageous and outspoken, a political gadfly with a sharp irreverence and a sense of humor that some find refreshing and others find annoying.

Schroeder's good looks and coquettish manner have sometimes made it difficult for her to prove herself to older male colleagues. And that has made her angry. She has always demanded to be judged on her credentials as a Harvard-trained lawyer and on her accomplishments in the House. But that effort has been undermined somewhat by her frequent temptation to make fun of the entire process, even at the risk of seeming a little goofy.

It was Schroeder who staged a "sit-in" with a colleague to protest closed-door conference sessions on defense spending, and Schroeder who wore a rabbit suit during an Armed Services trip to China at Eastertime and handed out jelly beans and candy eggs to the startled Chinese. In 1981 it was Schroeder who proposed on the House floor, in a mock assault on Ronald Reagan, that no president should be allowed to seek congressional votes by handing out cufflinks or hosting barbecues. Schroeder tried to withdraw the amendment, explaining that it was meant as a joke, but Republicans blocked her, and the amendment was shouted down.

When she arrived in Washington in 1973, Schroeder asked for and received assignment to the Armed Services Committee. She wanted to protest the war in Vietnam and the pro-military thinking that dominated defense spending decisions in Congress.

She joined a small band of doves on the committee who wanted to influence it in their direction, but who over the years have failed to do much more than offer dissenting views to

the majority decisions.

In 1980 she was one of three dissenters as Armed Services recommended a \$53.1 billion weapons procurement bill. "The military budget has become the tool of vested economic interests," she said. The following year, she tried unsuccessfully to cut a \$136 billion defense authorization by \$8 billion. "That \$8 billion barely registers on the scale," Schroeder said. "It is just a little teeny bit."

In 1982 she argued for a 5 percent reduction in defense appropriations. The House, responding to increased skepticism about military spending, agreed to cut 1 percent. Another Schroeder amendment that year would have cut in half U.S. troop commitments abroad by 1986. Seen as drastic even by many Pentagon critics, it drew 87 votes.

Schroeder also has fought the draft. In 1979, when Armed Services wrote a bill providing for a registration system for 18-year-olds, she offered a floor amendment to take the provision out and won decisively. The next year, however, President Carter endorsed a similar system himself. Schroeder remained opposed to it, but it passed the House and became law.

If Schroeder remains a dissenter on the major military questions, however, she has had some victories on smaller ones. She persuaded the House to agree to language directing the president at least to identify \$8 billion in possible targets for defense savings. And she helped promote the proposal of Democratic Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia to force the Pentagon to report weapons cost overruns on a regular basis.

Given her minority position on Armed Services, however, she has been able to accomplish more at the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, normally a secondary assignment but one she has seized on to pursue subjects

*Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo.*

## Colorado 1

### Denver

The 1st District, home to virtually all of Denver's half-million residents, is one of the few Democratic congressional strongholds in the Rocky Mountain region. Hispanics and blacks together comprise about one-third of the district population, and there is a strong liberal white-collar element.

A heavy Democratic vote in Denver often bails out the party's statewide candidates. In 1980 Sen. Gary Hart won the city by 50,000 votes, allowing him to lose the rest of the state by more than 30,000 and still survive.

But with Denver's highly mobile population and the historic absence of a political machine, party roots are not deep and Democratic majorities are not always reliable. No Democratic presidential candidate has drawn more than 50 percent of the Denver vote since 1964. Ronald Reagan captured the city in 1980.

Unlike its sprawling suburbs, Denver has ceased growing — it lost 4.5 percent of its population in the 1970s, partly because middle-class families sought to escape the impact of a federal court busing order that applied within the city limits. But Denver's commercial importance increased during the decade as regional energy operations joined federal government agencies in centralizing Rocky Mountain business affairs there.

Despite its scenic locale and casual, attractive lifestyle, Denver has serious problems. It is bedeviled by racial tensions, a

substantial crime rate, serious air pollution and chronic water shortages.

Republican strength is concentrated in the middle- and upper-income neighborhoods of southeast Denver. Farther in that direction are newer subdivisions built in the hills along the Valley Highway (Interstate 25). Republicans also draw some votes downtown, where condominiums have mushroomed in the vicinity of Civil War-era Larimer Square.

Other parts of the city are reliably Democratic. Capitol Hills, perched on the eastern fringe of the downtown area, is home to a mixed population of students, young professionals and senior citizens. To the east and north are heavily black neighborhoods. Westward on the hills beyond the stockyards and the South Platte River live most of the city's Hispanics. The 1st also includes about 6,000 residents who live in Arapahoe County enclaves found within the Denver city limits. The major one is Glendale, a small community of shopping centers, office buildings and faddish bars and discos.

Population: 481,672. White 357,775 (74%), Black 59,330 (12%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 3,845 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 7,000 (2%). Spanish origin 91,194 (19%). 18 and over 373,579 (78%), 65 and over 61,524 (13%). Median age: 30.

that interest her.

She now is chairman of the Civil Service Subcommittee. Government employee problems are important to her home district — Denver is the regional headquarters for many federal agencies. She has held hearings on racial bias in civil service exams and the excessive use of consultants on federal projects. She was a militant critic of Reagan administration efforts to cut back federal retirees' cost-of-living allowances.

But when it comes to denouncing the excesses of the federal bureaucracy, Schroeder has come to sound a little bit like conservatives on the other side of the aisle, and this has alienated some of the liberal pressure groups

that backed her initially. She has been denounced regularly by consumer activist Ralph Nader for her refusal to back legislation creating an independent consumer protection agency.

One of Schroeder's achievements on the committee was a law to liberalize pension rights of foreign service spouses. She has broadened that effort to argue for pension rights for divorced spouses of military personnel. The Armed Services Committee opposed liberalizing military pension rules in that way, but Schroeder defeated the committee leaders on the floor in 1981 and won her point.

Like most female members elected to Congress in the 1970s, she pursues the women's

*Colorado - 1st District*

rights issue on all her committees and on the House floor. When the Army wanted to slow down its increase in the recruitment of women in order to study the impact of the previous generation of recruits, she tried to stop it with a floor amendment. When the Equal Rights Amendment died in mid-1982, she was among the first to reintroduce it and claimed that "a phenomenal, nationwide grass-roots movement will be behind it."

In the 97th Congress, she took a new legislative assignment, at the Judiciary Committee, where she helps the committee and House leadership fight anti-abortion bills. She co-chairs the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, which now includes men among its 85 members.

Schroeder also spent much of the 97th Congress arguing against increased pay and benefits for her colleagues — which did not endear her to many of them.

When the House quietly passed a bill in 1981 granting members an automatic \$75-a-day tax deduction for their living expenses in Washington, Schroeder led the fight to repeal it. She was on the right side politically; by the following spring, the public outcry against the legislation was so great that her move was virtually guaranteed success. She offered a motion on the House floor to accept a Senate-passed repeal, and it carried by 356-43.

A few months later, though, Alaska Sen. Ted Stevens secured passage of a plan to allow a federal commission to recommend a salary increase shortly after the 1982 elections. Schroeder fought that as well, arguing that if the performance of past commissions held true, members might be given a politically embarrassing raise of more than \$30,000 a year.

By then, some angry colleagues were charging that not everyone was in Schroeder's personal situation — married to a successful lawyer with a considerable income of his own. "I haven't seen any of these guys selling apples on the street corner," Schroeder responded. The commission idea fell through, but House members did vote themselves an annual raise of more than \$9,000 shortly after the elections.

**At Home:** Schroeder was in the vanguard of the Democratic resurgence in Colorado in

the early 1970s, scoring upset victories in the 1972 primary and general election to wrest the Denver House seat from Republican control.

Although she had been a practicing attorney and women's rights activist, Schroeder was a political neophyte at the time. She was encouraged to make the race by her lawyer husband, who had unsuccessfully sought a state House seat himself in 1970.

Cultivating support from liberals in Denver and feminists and environmentalists at the national level, Schroeder put together an effective grass-roots organization. She drew 55 percent of the vote against state Senate Minority Leader Arch Decker in the primary, and 52 percent in the general election to oust one-term GOP Rep. James "Mike" McKeivitt. McKeivitt had been (and still is) the only Republican winner in the 1st District since 1950.

The GOP has fielded a variety of candidates against Schroeder since 1972 — an anti-busing leader, a veteran state legislator, a wealthy political newcomer, a woman school board member and a prominent ex-Democrat.

The legislator, state Rep. Don Friedman, came the closest, in 1976. Friedman sharply criticized the incumbent's liberal voting record and put together a campaign treasury that exceeded Schroeder's. He held her to 53 percent of the vote.

Since then, the Republican threat has subsided. Redistricting and population changes have tilted the district toward minority voters, and Schroeder has been able to draw on a coalition of liberals, young professionals, blacks and Hispanics.

Her political career came full circle in 1982 when she faced Decker, her primary opponent in her first campaign 10 years earlier. Decker had left the Legislature and switched parties, but he had no better luck running against Schroeder as a Republican.

The dean of Colorado's congressional delegation, Schroeder has been mentioned as a possible Senate candidate against Republican incumbent William L. Armstrong in 1984. But although she has indicated interest in the race, she has expressed doubts that she could raise the money needed to offer a successful challenge.

**Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo.****Committees****Armed Services** (9th of 28 Democrats)  
**Military Personnel and Compensation; Research and Development.****Judiciary** (11th of 20 Democrats)  
**Civil and Constitutional Rights; Courts, Civil Liberties and Administration of Justice.****Post Office and Civil Service** (4th of 15 Democrats)  
**Civil Service (chairman).****Select Children, Youth and Families** (3rd of 16 Democrats).**Elections****1982 General**  
Patricia Schroeder (D) 94,969 (60%)  
Arch Decker (R) 59,009 (37%)**1980 General**  
Patricia Schroeder (D) 107,364 (60%)  
Naomi Bradford (R) 67,804 (38%)**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (62%) 1976 (53%)  
1974 (59%) 1972 (52%)**District Vote For President**

	1980		1976
D	81,640 (42%)	D	101,957 (48%)
R	81,196 (41%)	R	101,458 (48%)
I	27,128 (14%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Schroeder (D)	\$247,396	\$87,691 (35%)	\$205,871
Decker (R)	\$268,518	\$20,404 (6%)	\$267,179
<b>1980</b>			
Schroeder (D)	\$180,788	\$55,650 (31%)	\$181,299
Bradford (R)	\$138,522	\$40,109 (29%)	\$129,243

**Voting Studies**

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	29	65	75	19	16	82
1981	29	70	76	21	12	85
1980	59	34†	53	36†	30	60†
1979	61	34	60	34	33	62
1978	68	27	75	23	19	81
1977	65	35	75	24	19	81
1976	27	71	76	21	24	73
1975	31	67	76	22	24	74
1974 (Ford)	31	54				
1974	40	60	80	9	7	89
1973	29	71	87	11	5	90

S = Support O = Opposition

†Not eligible for all recorded votes.

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	90	9	84	25
1981	95	26	80	6
1980	94	25	56	55
1979	79	42	65	35
1978	85	37	85	33
1977	90	22	65	35
1976	65	22	65	25
1975	84	25	77	18
1974	96	7	91	0
1973	96	20	91	18

Maryland - 6th District

## 6 Beverly B. Byron (D)

Of Frederick — Elected 1978

**Born:** July 27, 1932, Baltimore, Md.  
**Education:** Attended Hood College, 1963-64.  
**Occupation:** Civic leader.  
**Family:** Widow of Rep. Goodloe Byron; three children.  
**Religion:** Episcopalian.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 1216 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-2721.



**In Washington:** Like her late husband Goodloe, whom she succeeded, Beverly Byron is one of the most conservative Northern Democrats, voting with Republicans as often as with her own party. Her record is not a carbon copy of his; when Democratic leaders issue an appeal for party loyalty on a close vote in the House, she is a little more likely to go along than he was. But the difference is not dramatic. She was one of only nine Democrats to side with President Reagan on five key economic votes in 1981 and 1982.

Byron challenged Reagan in 1982, however, by offering an amendment with Nicholas Mavroules, D-Mass., to eliminate funds for producing the first nine MX missiles. The effort failed by three votes. Byron insisted she was in favor of the missile, but thought it wasteful to spend \$1.14 billion to build them before deciding where to base them. A later House vote endorsed her view.

Ordinarily, though, Byron supports defense spending. She took her husband's place on Armed Services when she arrived in 1979 and worked hard to learn the ropes (even test flying a half-dozen new planes). She has pressed for additional funds for a new anti-tank fighter, the A10, which is assembled at Hagerstown, in her district, and also has become interested in preserving the Army's veterinarian corps, which has been involved in chemical warfare research in Fort Detrick, Md.

Byron had two significant floor amendments adopted in her first term. One banned the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) from inspecting a workplace if a state health and safety inspector had visited the same business within the previous six months. Byron argued that small businesses frequently are caught in a squeeze between state and federal inspectors. The other banned routine OSHA inspections in businesses with fewer than 10 employees in "safe" industries.

**At Home:** Family history repeated itself in 1978 when Byron won her husband's House seat after his death shortly before the election.

In 1941 Goodloe Byron's father, U.S. Rep. William D. Byron, was killed in an airplane crash. The elder Byron's widow won the election that year to fill out his term.

Goodloe Byron, who had a heart condition but was a physical fitness buff, collapsed while jogging along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal near Washington. He was 49 years old. District Democratic leaders instantly offered Beverly Byron the nomination and she accepted it within 24 hours.

The daughter of a wartime naval aide to Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, Mrs. Byron met her husband while she was in high school. She got into politics when he first ran for the Maryland House of Delegates in 1962 because, she said, "it meant I either stayed at home by myself or joined him." In addition to helping organize Byron's campaigns, she shared his interest in physical fitness and the national park system.

Winning the 1978 election posed little problem for her. Republican officials had not offered an opponent against her husband, letting a perennial office-seeker, Melvin Perkins, win the GOP line. A self-described pauper, Perkins spent part of the fall campaign in jail in Baltimore County, where he had been charged with assaulting a woman bus driver. Mrs. Byron won by nearly 9-to-1.

Two years later, Byron's constituent work and conservative voting record proved effective in defusing serious opposition. She triumphed easily over a lackluster primary field, and in the general election registered a landslide victory over her conservative Republican challenger, state Rep. Raymond E. Beck.

Beverly B. Byron, D-Md.

**Maryland 6**

Stretching from the Baltimore and Washington suburbs over rolling farm land to the Appalachian Mountains, this elongated district is lopsidedly Democratic by registration. But in most elections, it displays a Republican voting pattern that its population growth has reinforced. Ronald Reagan rolled up a 58-percent share of the vote there in 1980, his best in the state.

Most of the growth during the 1970s occurred in the district's outer suburban belt in Howard, Frederick and Carroll counties. So many people moved to those counties that the 6th was overpopulated by more than 100,000 for redistricting.

The major town in the part of the district closest to Baltimore and Washington is Frederick, an 18th century museum piece that has begun to arrest its economic decline by courting a new identity as a restaurant and boutique center.

Just east of Frederick, Baltimore's suburban sprawl has moved out Interstate 70

**West — Hagerstown; Cumberland**

into Carroll County, bringing a surge of subdivisions to once sleepy towns. Growth was less brisk in Washington County on Frederick's western border, where blue-collar Hagerstown has been troubled by recession. The A-10 fighter plane, perennially under fire from budget cutters, is made in Hagerstown's Fairchild-Republic defense plant.

Economic woes also beset Allegany County in the Appalachian foothills, the only county in the district that lost population in the 1970s. Much of the loss came in the manufacturing city of Cumberland, which industry has been leaving. Employment has plummeted at the Celanese textile fiber factory on which the city depends.

Population: 528,168. White 502,767 (95%), Black 19,829 (4%). Spanish origin 3,983 (1%). 18 and over 376,405 (71%), 65 and over 54,034 (10%). Median age: 31.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (12th of 28 Democrats)  
Military Personnel and Compensation; Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems.

**Interior and Insular Affairs** (16th of 25 Democrats)  
Mining, Forest Management and Bonneville Power Administration; Public Lands and National Parks.

**Select Aging** (15th of 38 Democrats)  
Housing and Consumer Interests.

**Elections****1982 General**

Beverly Byron (D) 102,596 (74%)  
Roscoe Bartlett (R) 35,321 (26%)

**1982 Primary**

Beverly Byron (D) 35,110 (74%)  
William McMahon (D) 11,506 (24%)

**1980 General**

Beverly Byron (D) 146,101 (70%)  
Raymond Beck (R) 62,913 (30%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978 (90%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	64,800 (35%)	D	71,206 (44%)
R	108,821 (58%)	R	91,657 (56%)
I	11,896 (6%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Byron (D)	\$152,612	\$76,275 (50%)	\$116,412

	Bartlett (R)				
1980	\$17,054	0			\$17,054
Byron (D)	\$171,170	\$69,665 (41%)			\$163,168
Beck (R)	\$76,819	\$8,300 (11%)			\$76,816

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	56	40	44	49	79	15
1981	62	33	38	56	83	4
1980	55	41	41	53	83	13
1979	40	55	40	58	85	10

S = Support O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	30	50	45	52
1981	15	62	50	65
1980	22	65	32	73
1979	16	58	45	78

Massachusetts - 6th District

## 6 Nicholas Mavroules (D)

Of Peabody — Elected 1978

**Born:** Nov. 1, 1929, Peabody, Mass.  
**Education:** Attended M.I.T., 1949-50.  
**Occupation:** Personnel supervisor.  
**Family:** Wife, Mary Silva; three children.  
**Religion:** Greek Orthodox.  
**Political Career:** Peabody City Council, 1958-61 and 1964-65; mayor of Peabody, 1968-79; unsuccessful candidate for Peabody City Council, 1955; unsuccessful candidate for mayor of Peabody, 1961.  
**Capitol Office:** 1204 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-8020.



**In Washington:** The "team player" instincts that Mavroules learned as a minor league shortstop and small-town Massachusetts mayor helped him adjust to life in Congress in 1979, when Speaker O'Neill asked him to take a place on the Armed Services Committee.

Massachusetts wanted representation on the committee to protect its defense contracting interests, and Mavroules drew the assignment. It was not his first choice, but he accepted it with the cooperative spirit of a man who plays by the rules.

In his second term, though, after enduring some complaints at home that he was too pliant a leadership loyalist, Mavroules began striking out on his own. During debate on the 1983 defense authorization bill, he led the opposition to the MX missile, and came within three votes of winning on the House floor. After the 1982 elections, MX critics got another chance on a defense appropriations bill. Mavroules helped New York Democrat Joseph P. Addabbo win victory for his amendment deleting funding for production of the missile.

That effort fit in well with the cost-conscious approach Mavroules had already been taking as a member of the Armed Services Committee. "The MX program as it exists now," he said, "represents a 'build first, justify later' mentality this nation can no longer afford." Earlier he had opposed a \$1.5 billion across-the-board increase in defense outlays in the 1983 budget resolution, saying it is "terribly, terribly irresponsible" to spend money before knowing where it is to go.

Mavroules is an old-style Massachusetts politician. He looks after constituents personally and spends much of his week back home, where he holds office hours on Mondays and Fridays.

He has been able to use his Armed Services seat to benefit his district's largest defense

contractor, General Electric, whose plant in Lynn makes engines for the Navy's F-18 attack fighters. Mavroules backed funding for that plant in a House floor vote the same day he fought to cut funding for the MX. He also pushed through a bill directing the Defense Department to use more renewable energy technologies, including solar energy. The city of Beverly, in his district, has been the site of a photovoltaic demonstration project.

Mavroules survived a brush with scandal in 1979 that dates back to his days as mayor of Peabody. An FBI informer claimed he had given Mavroules a \$25,000 bribe to clear away legal obstacles to a restaurant liquor license. Federal prosecutors investigated the allegations, however, and found nothing to them.

**At Home:** Mavroules' 58 percent of the vote in 1982 was the lowest of any re-elected House member from Massachusetts. But it represented a clear victory for him — the first comfortable margin he had achieved in three campaigns for Congress.

Running for a second term in 1980, Mavroules had demonstrated limited appeal beyond the old factory towns — Peabody, Salem and Lynn — that were responsible for his initial election. Only a 20,000-vote plurality in those three cities allowed him to overcome a strong Republican vote in 1980 along the more conservative North Shore. But in 1982, running against the same aggressive challenger, he performed well enough throughout the district to be able to win even without the votes from his home base.

Mavroules is an old-fashioned urban-oriented Democrat who has little in common with the Yankee elite that populates so much of his district. He learned his politics in Peabody's City Hall, where he served a total of 16 years, first on the City Council and later as mayor.

In 1978, Mavroules sensed that Democratic

*Nicholas Mavroules, D-Mass.*

## Massachusetts 6

## North Shore — Lynn; Peabody

The 6th offers chronically depressed mill towns, workaday factory cities, comfortable suburbs, pockets of aristocratic wealth and scenic ocean-front villages. Its vote-heavy areas are at the southern end of Essex County and are strongly Democratic. But the district's strong 1980 vote for independent John B. Anderson helped Ronald Reagan carry the 6th, and Essex County as a whole, with a plurality.

Lynn, historically a shoe-manufacturing center but now home of a large General Electric aircraft engine plant, has suffered a 13 percent population loss since 1970, but remains the 6th's largest city. Lynn gave Jimmy Carter only a 3,800-vote margin in 1980, about half the edge it had given conservative Democrat Edward J. King in the 1978 governor's race. Nearby Peabody, once the largest leather-processing city in the world, gave Carter a 600-vote edge in 1980, also far less than King's margin. Similarly Democratic is Salem, on the northern end of this industrial tier.

North of Salem in Essex County, the aristocratic Yankee tradition provides GOP votes, but these regions now tend to favor liberal Republicans. Suburban Wenham was

one of only three towns in the state where Anderson outpolled Carter in 1980.

On the northern coast, maritime interests are central to Gloucester, home of the Fisherman's Memorial landmark, and Rockport, a historic fishing village deluged with tourists and artists in the summer. Newburyport, whose 19th century clipper ship economy gave way to light manufacturing, is the "Yankee City" singled out for study by sociologists in the 1920s. In the past decade it has attracted some emigrants from urban areas and was one of the few Bay State cities to grow, albeit slowly, during the 1970s.

Haverhill, on the New Hampshire border, won the dubious distinction in a 1981 survey of being the nation's metropolitan area with the least desirable "quality of life." The town's economic base in the shoe industry has long since disappeared and there has been no comparable successor.

Population: 518,841. White 508,101 (98%), Black 5,084 (1%). Spanish origin 5,898 (1%). 18 and over 383,191 (74%), 65 and over 68,157 (13%). Median age: 33.

Rep. Michael J. Harrington had lost his rapport with working-class Democrats. There was a feeling Harrington had spent too much of his career on human rights in Chile rather than unemployment in Lynn. So Mavroules entered the primary.

Harrington, however, decided to retire rather than fight for a fifth full term. Mavroules went on to win the Democratic nomination against a state representative from Lynn and an Essex County commissioner who had Harrington's endorsement, but little else. Mavroules' victory margin was nearly equal to the plurality he won in his hometown of Peabody.

In the 1978 general election, Mavroules faced William E. Bronson, a conservative airline pilot who was eager for a second try after holding Harrington under 55 percent in 1976. With stronger party backing, Bronson reduced his 1976 deficit of 30,000 votes to fewer than 14,000. But the seat went to Mavroules.

Although Bronson wanted still another chance in 1980, he lost the Republican primary

narrowly to Tom Trimarco, a moderate lawyer with Italian ethnic support. Viewed as the strongest candidate Republicans had put up in a decade, Trimarco worked hard to tie Mavroules to the Carter administration. The incumbent survived, but by only 8,200 votes.

Trimarco decided to try again in 1982, and he put together a better-funded and more solidly organized campaign than his first. He geared his pitch to the blue-collar cities that had helped Mavroules hang on in 1980. Trimarco stressed his working-class origins and tried to put some distance between himself and the Reagan administration.

But Mavroules was stronger than before. His work in the House against the MX missile system had helped him shake his reputation as an old-fashioned party loyalist who initiated little on his own. He also used GOP economic policies effectively against Trimarco, winning back Democrats who had defected or sat out the 1980 election. His showing seemed to signal the end of his days as a shaky incumbent.

**Massachusetts - 6th District****Committees**

**Armed Services** (13th of 28 Democrats)  
Investigations: Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems.

**Small Business** (13th of 26 Democrats)  
Energy, Environment and Safety Issues Affecting Small Business

**Elections**

**1982 General**  
Nicholas Mavroules (D) 117,723 (58%)  
Thomas Trimarco (R) 85,849 (42%)

**1982 Primary**  
Nicholas Mavroules (D) 75,788 (79%)  
James Carrille (D) 20,025 (20%)

**1980 General**  
Nicholas Mavroules (D) 111,393 (51%)  
Thomas Trimarco (R) 103,192 (47%)

**Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (54%)**

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	94,549 (38%)	D	132,384 (53%)
R	109,933 (44%)	R	109,094 (44%)
I	41,896 (17%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Mavroules (D)	\$445,818	\$139,279 (31%)	\$435,310
Trimarco (R)	\$271,066	\$39,099 (14%)	\$269,913

**1980**

Mavroules (D)	\$351,578	\$83,480 (24%)	\$354,950
Trimarco (R)	\$260,034	\$30,812 (44%)	\$250,061

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	40	56	85	7	25	70
1981	36	63	84	14	28	72
1980	64	26	74	10	15	65
1979	74	21	78	16	31	66

S = Support      O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	80	13	100	19
1981	80	17	87	16
1980	72	15	78	61
1979	63	8	95	18

*Florida - 1st District*

# 1 Earl Hutto (D)

**Of Panama City — Elected 1978**

**Born:** May 12, 1926, Midland City, Ala.  
**Education:** Troy State U., Ala., B.S. 1949.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1944-46.  
**Occupation:** High school English teacher; advertising executive; sportscaster.  
**Family:** Wife, Nancy Myers; two children.  
**Religion:** Baptist.  
**Political Career:** Fla. House, 1973-79.  
**Capitol Office:** 330 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-4136.



**In Washington:** Hutto will never be able to bring his district as much new military hardware as his predecessor, longtime Military Construction Chairman Robert L. F. Sikes, if only because he would have a hard time finding a place to put it. But he has shown some of Sikes' skill at helping the Pentagon help Florida.

Early in Hutto's first term, it seemed likely that the Defense Department would close the helicopter training school at Pensacola, in the 1st District, and merge it with one in Alabama. Hutto, who did not have burdensome committee assignments in his first year, devoted much of his time to making the case for keeping the program at Pensacola. Personally popular among his fellow freshmen, he was able to bring most of them around to his side in a dispute peripheral to their interests. Even Democrats who preferred less defense spending were willing to agree that if the Navy was going to train helicopter pilots, it might as well do it in Florida.

By the time the fiscal 1980 Military Construction Appropriations bill came to a vote in committee, Hutto had won his fight. The committee bill made no mention of the transfer. When Alabama Republican William L. Dickinson tried to add it on the House floor, he was beaten on a 244-131 vote.

Since then, as a member of the Armed Services Military Installations subcommittee, Hutto has tried to keep sending defense dollars into his district. The 1982 military construction bill contained nearly \$20 million for projects in the 1st District that were not requested by the president.

Hutto had wanted a place on Armed Services when he came to the House in 1979, but did not get one, and instead was temporarily sidetracked to Public Works and Merchant

Marine. On Merchant Marine, he spoke for the sport fishermen who operate off the Florida Gulf Coast and bring money into the district.

**At Home:** Before his election to the state Legislature in 1972, Hutto was a television sportscaster in both Panama City and Pensacola, at opposite ends of the 1st District. So when he began his 1978 congressional campaign, aiming to succeed the retiring Sikes, his face was already familiar to much of the constituency.

That was an enormous help to him in the Democratic primary against Curtis Golden, prosecuting attorney in Escambia County (Pensacola), which casts about 40 percent of the district vote. Rated no higher than third out of four candidates before the voting, Hutto finished a comfortable first in the initial primary, then dispatched Golden easily in the runoff.

With Sikes out of the picture, Republicans were optimistic that their candidate, former Pensacola Mayor Warren Briggs, could take the district in the fall. But Hutto gave Briggs no opening on the right. The two men matched vows to protect the district's military facilities, and Hutto stressed strict law enforcement and economy in government.

Hutto's involvement in Baptist church affairs was of special help in the district's rural areas, where Briggs' identification with Pensacola business interests was not an advantage. Hutto won 63 percent.

Briggs protested afterward that he was hampered by a late start in 1978. So he decided on a second campaign in 1980, and began it nearly two years in advance. But Hutto was untouchable. Even though Ronald Reagan won the district's presidential vote, Briggs improved his showing only 2 percentage points. Hutto won again easily in 1982.

Earl Hutto, D-Fla.

## Florida 1

The 1st is packed with military bases, among them Pensacola's Naval Air Station, Tyndall Air Force Base in Panama City and Eglin Air Force Base, which spans three counties. Their political influence is significant: The bases provide jobs for civilians, and many of the enlisted personnel remain in the area after they leave the service.

This area has found little to love in the recent policies of the national Democratic Party. But like their neighbors in Alabama, many voters here still feel a twinge of guilt when they desert Old South traditions of voting Democratic. Hutto's Democratic conservatism suits the district perfectly.

In Pensacola, the district's largest city, the military's contribution to the economy is complemented by manufacturing of chemicals, plastics, textiles and paper. Despite its large natural harbor, Pensacola's potential as a trading port is restricted because close-by Mobile and New Orleans have a lock on most of the gulf trade.

The 100-mile stretch of beach from

## Northwest — Pensacola; Panama City

Pensacola to Panama City, dubbed the "Miracle Strip" by civic boosters, has also been called the "Redneck Riviera" because it attracts a large number of visitors from nearby Georgia, Alabama and other Southeastern states. Along the coastal strip, military retirees have settled in Fort Walton Beach and Destin (Okaloosa County), which are just a few miles from Eglin Air Force Base. Okaloosa County gave Ronald Reagan 70 percent in 1980.

Inland, the sparsely settled rural areas of the 1st are occupied mostly by soybeans, corn, tomatoes, cantaloupes, cattle and pine trees.

Population: 512,821. White 428,075 (83%), Black 71,661 (14%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 3,156 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 6,195 (1%). Spanish origin 8,863 (2%). 18 and over 362,491 (71%), 65 and over 43,293 (8%). Median age: 29.

### Committees

**Armed Services** (14th of 28 Democrats)  
Military Installations and Facilities; Readiness; Research and Development.

**Merchant Marine and Fisheries** (12th of 25 Democrats)  
Coast Guard and Navigation; Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment.

### Elections

**1982 General**  
Earl Hutto (D) 82,482 (75%)  
J. Terry Bechtol (R) 28,285 (25%)

**1980 General**  
Earl Hutto (D) 119,829 (61%)  
Warren Briggs (R) 75,939 (39%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978 (63%)

#### District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	67,301 (35%)	D	79,481 (48%)
R	117,902 (61%)	R	85,395 (51%)
I	5,268 (3%)		

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Hutto (D)	\$129,545	\$9,250 (7%)	\$90,329

1980	Hutto (D)	Briggs (R)	1980	Hutto (D)	Briggs (R)
\$86,190	\$24,550 (28%)	\$63,945	\$109,434	\$8,096 (7%)	\$109,316

### Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	62	34	54	43	89	10
1981	74	25	46	53	93	5
1980	56	39	57	39	85	15
1979	48	39	53	40	81	15

S = Support O = Opposition

### Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	55	32	71
1981	10	63	40	78
1980	22	48	50	81
1979	21	36	35	56

Missouri - 4th District

## 4 Ike Skelton (D)

Of Lexington — Elected 1976

**Born:** Dec. 20, 1931, Lexington, Mo.  
**Education:** U. of Missouri, B.A. 1953; LL.B. 1956.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Susan Anding; three children.  
**Religion:** Christian Church.  
**Political Career:** Chairman, Lafayette County Democratic Committee, 1962-66; Mo. Senate, 1971-77.  
**Capitol Office:** 2453 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2876.



**In Washington:** Searching for an issue to use in building a legislative career, Skelton quickly found one in civil defense, and he has spent most of his six congressional years working on it.

There are 150 reasons why that is a good issue for Skelton — 150 Minuteman missiles that fan out from Whiteman Air Force Base through the hills and cornfields of his district. For Skelton, civil defense is constituent service.

"Western Missouri is a potential holocaust," he warned in 1979. "These people didn't ask to have missiles put in their backyards ... to be sitting ducks for the benefit of 200 million other Americans."

Skelton began trying for a place on the Armed Services Committee soon after he arrived in Washington, hoping to use it as a forum for his civil defense campaign. The assignment he got — Agriculture — limited his role on that issue. Late in 1980, however, a place on Armed Services finally opened up for him.

Every chance he gets, Skelton lobbies for a national plan that would include either local blast shelters able to withstand nuclear attack or a sophisticated new evacuation system. His success so far has been mixed.

In 1982 he encountered a verbal barrage from proponents of a nuclear weapons freeze, who argued that civil defense is unworkable. The leader of the pro-freeze forces in the House, Edward J. Markey, D-Mass., called civil defense plans "a Band-Aid over the nuclear holocaust." Barney Frank, D-Mass., said that civil defense proponents who insisted the United States create a system equal to the Soviets' complex preparedness schemes were suffering from "Brezhnev envy," adding "just because the Russians act stupidly is no reason for us to act stupidly as well."

But Skelton was undaunted. Whether or not the Russian plan works makes no differ-

ence, he said. "If they believe it works, they feel that they have a strategic advantage over us." Skelton managed to convince a clear majority of his colleagues, and the House kept full funding — \$252 million — for civil defense. However, a Senate committee cut the figure to \$145 million, and a House-Senate conference placed the final figure at \$152 million.

In the previous Congress, Skelton was able to win House approval of a proposed \$990 million, five-year civil defense plan. But that program also was substantially modified.

As have other legislators from rural Missouri, Skelton has voted much like a Southern Democrat on many issues. On party-line votes, he is as apt to vote against his party as with it. He voted for President Reagan's budget plans in 1981 and 1982, but against the administration's 1981 tax cut.

Skelton grew incensed in 1980 at the behavior of some of the Cuban refugees in the United States, and offered a resolution calling for the expulsion of any Cubans who participated in riots. A coalition of members from both ends of the political spectrum warned Skelton that the vagueness of the resolution might lead to the arrest of innocent people. He finally agreed to limit it to those who had been convicted of specific crimes, but even the milder version failed to win approval.

A childhood polio victim who went on to graduate from a military academy, Skelton has strongly backed military education. He added funding to a 1981 military pay bill increasing ROTC scholarships for the Navy and Air Force; the next year, he put through a requirement that ROTC students complete their education. He has also backed efforts to encourage the study of engineering, on national defense grounds.

Given his heavily rural district, however,

*Ike Skelton, D-Mo.*

## Missouri 4

Sprawling across west-central Missouri, the 4th is an amalgam of rural farmland, scenic tourist resorts, and blue-collar suburban turf outside Kansas City.

Much of the area is given over to small farming. The 4th's cattle business is focused toward its southern end; corn, soybeans, pork and dairy production are important districtwide. Pockets of rural poverty — especially in parts of Texas County — stand in contrast to the economic climate enjoyed by comfortable landowners living in Lafayette and Pettis counties at the 4th's northern end.

Tourism has supplemented the district's agriculture in recent years. Winding around Camden County's northern border is the Lake of the Ozarks, a stretch of water that draws boaters, swimmers and skiers from around the state and nurtures a growing restaurant and motel trade.

Roughly 40 miles northeast of the lake lies Jefferson City, all but a sliver of which falls within the 4th's boundaries. Missouri's capital since 1826, it has never developed into a city of much size or sophistication. State government is the largest employer.

The district reaches into the Kansas City area to pick up some 80,000 constitu-

## West — Kansas City Suburbs; Jefferson City

ents, many of whom commute to work in Kansas City factories. Other population centers in the 4th include Sedalia, a historic rail town and site of the annual Missouri State Fair, and Warrensburg, a grain and livestock center that is home to Central Missouri State University.

Between those two cities is Whiteman Air Force Base, whose Minuteman missiles make civil defense a paramount concern. In addition, the Richards-Gebaur Air Force Base (near Kansas City) and the Army's Fort Leonard Wood (Pulaski County) are located here.

Redistricting bolstered GOP strength in the 4th, bringing in eight counties that voted Republican in the 1980 presidential and Senate contests. The district retained some solidly Democratic areas of Jackson County east of Kansas City, but votes from this region have not been sufficient to overcome the GOP margins districtwide in recent elections for state and national office.

Population: 546,637. White 524,772 (96%), Black 14,950 (3%), Asian and Pacific Islander 2,602 (1%). Spanish origin 5,503 (1%). 18 and over 390,415 (71%), 65 and over 70,341 (13%). Median age: 30.

he has not abandoned farm issues. He sponsored provisions of the 1981 farm bill protecting farmers in case of a grain embargo and establishing a fund for agricultural exports.

**At Home:** Redistricting forced a 1982 contest between Skelton and freshman Republican Rep. Wendell Bailey, but map makers gave Skelton a head start in the race.

When Bailey's old 8th district was dismembered, the largest single bloc of his constituents — about 178,000 people in seven counties — was added to Skelton's 4th. So Bailey decided that was the place to seek a second term. But for every one of his old constituents in the new district, there were nearly two of Skelton's.

Numerous political action committees and nationally known politicians came into the 4th and billed the Skelton-Bailey match as a test of the popularity of Reaganomics in the rural heartland. The candidates responded with appropriate rhetoric: Skelton called Bailey a "rubber stamp" because he supported nearly

all the president's budget and tax proposals, and Bailey countered that Skelton's mixed record of support for Reaganomics showed him to be a liberal who occasionally waffled to appease conservatives.

Bailey, known as one of Missouri's most effective Republican campaigners, was relying on the gregarious, hard-charging style he developed as a car salesman to help him pull Democrats away from the less dynamic Skelton, who has the earnest, low-key manner of a small-town lawyer.

But in the end, all the discussion over Reaganomics and the differing styles of the two candidates probably was not decisive. A majority of voters seem to have chosen the man most familiar to them.

Of the seven counties that had been part of Bailey's old 8th district, Bailey carried six. But Skelton had represented 13 counties, and managed to carry 12 of them. That brought the Democrat home nearly 18,000 votes ahead, with

**Missouri - 4th District**

55 percent districtwide.

Skelton was a rural state legislator with a narrow political base when he began his 1976 campaign to succeed retiring Democratic Rep. William Randall. Only two counties in his state Senate district were within the borders of the 4th district as it was then drawn. His major rivals for the Democratic nomination, Jack Gant and Don Manford, were state senators from the Kansas City suburbs, which cast about 40 percent of the district vote.

Skelton chose to emphasize that he was the only major candidate from the rural part of the district, and campaigned actively for farm and small-town support. It was a successful strategy. He ran third in the suburbs, but his rural vote brought him the nomination with 40 percent overall.

Independence Mayor Richard A. King was the Republican nominee. A protégé of Republican Gov. Christopher Bond, King tied his general election campaign to the GOP ticket of Bond and senatorial candidate John C. Danforth, hoping to benefit from their coattails. Skelton continued to emphasize his farm background and fiscal conservatism. He said his vote against a pay raise for state legislators illustrated his frugality.

King was not greatly helped by the top of the Republican ticket; Danforth carried the 4th, but Bond lost it. Skelton defeated King by 24,350 votes.

In the next two elections, Republicans had a difficult time finding a strong challenger. Real estate broker Bill Baker did not win even a third of the vote in both 1978 and 1980.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (15th of 28 Democrats)  
Military Personnel and Compensation; Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems.

**Select Aging** (28th of 38 Democrats)  
Health and Long-Term Care.

**Small Business** (10th of 26 Democrats)  
Energy, Environment and Safety Issues Affecting Small Business (chairman).

**Elections****1982 General**

Ike Skelton (D)	96,388	(55%)
Wendell Bailey (R)	79,565	(45%)

**1980 General**

Ike Skelton (D)	151,459	(68%)
William Baker (R)	71,869	(32%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (73%) 1976 (56%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	90,030 (40%)	D	97,502 (48%)
R	125,179 (56%)	R	103,436 (51%)
I	6,185 (3%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
<b>1982</b>				
Skelton (D)	\$443,493	\$199,435 (45%)		\$451,043
Bailey (R)	\$432,826	\$143,250 (33%)		\$329,850
<b>1980</b>				
Skelton (D)	\$131,957	\$56,215 (43%)		\$115,981
Baker (R)	\$5,826	0		\$9,080

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	48	34	40	41	73	14
1981	58	39	45	45	91	5
1980	60	32†	59	34	69	23
1979	54	37	57	35	72	21
1978	48	41	49	44	60	27
1977	62	33	55	39	67	27

S = Support O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	?
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	?
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	55	50	63
1981	25	48	67	37
1980	17	42	58	66
1979	32	26	56	50
1978	20	68	61	28
1977	30	56	71	53

Texas - 11th District

# 11 Marvin Leath (D)

Of Marlin — Elected 1978

**Born:** May 6, 1931, Henderson, Texas.  
**Education:** U. of Texas, B.B.A. 1954.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1954-56.  
**Occupation:** Banker.  
**Family:** Wife, Alta Neill; one child.  
**Religion:** Presbyterian.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 336 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-6105.



**In Washington:** On the first day of every Congress, Leath declares himself a member of the majority party for purposes of selecting a speaker and organizing the House. It is about the only important vote he casts in agreement with the national Democratic Party. He is a Republican in all but the nominal sense.

When the two parties were in disagreement during 1982, Leath backed the Republican position two times out of three. Only a handful of other Democrats now serving had lower party unity scores — and two of them switched to the Republican side shortly afterward.

Leath is a quiet member of the House who casts his conservative votes with a minimum of speechmaking. He backed all of President Reagan's major economic initiatives in the 97th Congress, and opposed the Democratic leadership budget early in 1983. He has differed with the administration on one significant issue however: Reagan proposed contracting out a variety of federal government services to private businesses; Leath felt that was an unwise move. As a member of both the Armed Services and Veterans' Affairs committees, he sought to limit the new practice in the Defense Department and Veterans' Administration. He was successful on both counts.

In the 98th Congress, Leath has a new responsibility — chairman of the Veterans' Education and Training Subcommittee. Leath has sponsored veterans' job training legislation, which would provide an incentive for employers to hire and train unemployed veterans. He also plans to act on a new GI Bill, which cleared the committee in 1982 but was not considered by the full House.

Leath is a devoutly religious Presbyterian, one who has shown an interest in spreading Christian gospel. Colleagues who visit Leath's home on social occasions are sometimes introduced to active evangelicals, such as Bill Bright, founder of the Campus Crusade for Christ.

**At Home.** When Democratic Rep. W. R. Poage retired in 1978 after 21 terms in the House, Republicans thought they had a good chance of winning his district. But Leath's conservative campaign neutralized the GOP offensive in this traditionally Democratic constituency. He won by a narrow margin in 1978 and since then has faced no significant opposition in either primary or general election balloting.

Leath displays the conservatism of a self-made man. Born into a poor East Texas family during the Depression, he went to work at the age of 12, washing dishes, driving mules and working on pipelines in the nearby oil fields. Later he won a football scholarship to the University of Texas. After graduation he became a small-town banker, specializing in the financial needs of the farming and ranching communities of central Texas. He supported Barry Goldwater for president in 1964, but never left the Democratic Party. He still displays an antipathy to the Eastern financial community that seems at odds with his conservatism but fits in with his small-town banker roots.

Leath came to Washington in 1972 to work in Poage's office, concentrating on constituent problems and acquiring federal grants for the district. He also managed Poage's last three re-election campaigns.

When Poage decided to retire, Leath jumped into the crowded Democratic primary field. Spending heavily out of his own pocket, he ran second in the primary and qualified for the runoff. His opponent, former state Rep. Lane Denton, was a populist critic of utility rates who two years earlier had built high-name recognition in an unsuccessful race for the state railroad commission.

Consolidating the right and again spending heavily, Leath won the runoff by a comfortable

1473

Marvin Leath, D-Texas

**Texas 11****Central — Waco**

Most voters here are like Leath — Democratic in name, but more loyal to a philosophy than a party label. When the Democratic nominee meets local conservative standards, he can carry the 11th. But if the Democrat is tainted with liberalism, the electorate here can cross over about as easily as Leath does on the House floor.

The areas most prone to flirt with Republicanism are the district's urbanized counties — McLennan County (Waco) and Bell County (Killeen and Temple). Jimmy Carter carried both counties in 1976, but his margins were unimpressive. Both went for Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Waco, with slightly more than 100,000 people, is sometimes called the "Baptist Rome." It is the home of the largest Baptist-affiliated university in the world, Baylor University. Waco's economy has ridden through recessionary times fairly well because of university-related employment and the city's diversified manufacturing base — products range from jeans and tires to candy bars and solar collectors.

Efforts are underway to revitalize the downtown Waco business district, which never recovered from a devastating 1953 tornado that killed 114 and did \$41 million in damage. After the tornado, many businesses decided to relocate on Waco's outskirts instead of rebuilding in the city-center. They have yet to return.

Southwest of Waco, in Bell County, are

rapidly growing Temple and Killeen; during the last decade, the two matured from oversized towns into small cities pushing toward 50,000 in population. The federal government's contribution to the Bell County economy is immense — more than \$800 million — because Fort Hood, the second largest Army base in the country, is located there. The base covers 339 square miles in Bell and Coryell counties and has a combined military and civilian staff of about 70,000 people.

Traditional conservative Democrats hold sway in most of the district's 11 rural counties, where 40 percent of the vote is cast. Though Reagan performed well in the rural areas in 1980, two years later most voters there returned to the party fold to help Democrat Mark White defeat incumbent GOP Gov. William Clements.

At the eastern end of the 11th, the fertile Blackland Prairie soil grows feed grains, cotton, hay and other crops. Livestock-raising — beef cattle, sheep and hogs — is a major income-producer all across the 11th, especially in the hillier western sections.

Population: 527,382. White 417,065 (79%), Black 74,581 (14%), Asian and Pacific Islander 5,509 (1%). Spanish origin 49,181 (9%). 18 and over 381,013 (72%), 65 and over 65,385 (12%). Median age: 28.

margin. He carried all but two of the district's 19 counties.

In the general election, Leath faced Jack Burgess, a Waco oil products distributor who two years earlier had surprised Poage by drawing 43 percent of the vote. Leath's candidacy deprived Republicans of an effective strategy. The GOP had hoped that Denton would be the Democratic nominee, permitting Burgess to make an issue of Denton's liberalism.

Burgess tried to undermine Leath's Democratic support by charging that the Democrat

had failed to disclose his 1964 vote for Barry Goldwater instead of Texan Lyndon Johnson. Leath acknowledged that he voted for Goldwater, but said he returned to the Democratic Party immediately afterward.

The election was close. Burgess carried McLennan County (Waco) by nearly 5,000 votes, but Leath swept virtually all of the district's smaller counties and won with 51.6 percent. Altogether, his campaign cost nearly \$600,000, one of the most expensive congressional efforts in 1978.

## Texas - 11th District

## Committees

Armed Services (16th of 28 Democrats)  
Investigations; Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems;  
Readiness.

Veterans' Affairs (6th of 21 Democrats)  
Education, Training and Employment (chairman); Compensation, Pension and Insurance.

## Elections

1982 General  
Marvin Leath (D) 83,236 (96%)  
Tom Kilbride (LIB) 3,136 (4%)

1982 Primary  
Marvin Leath (D) 52,029 (82%)  
Jay Larsen (D) 11,383 (18%)

1980 General  
Marvin Leath (D) Unopposed

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978 (52%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	71,042 (45%)	D	83,552 (56%)
R	84,251 (53%)	R	63,788 (43%)
I	2,872 (2%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982 Leath (D)	\$213,258	\$57,443 (27%)	\$108,010

1980

Leath (D) \$257,048 \$52,531 (20%) \$171,978

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	66	30	31	64	88	4
1981	68	28	30	65	91	7
1980	33	58	21	65	80	4
1979	27	68	21	74	96	1

S = Support

O = Opposition

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	81	16	67
1981	0	82	21	78
1980	0	71	19	73
1979	5	84	25	94

Oklahoma - 4th District

## 4 Dave McCurdy (D)

Of Norman — Elected 1980

**Born:** March 30, 1950, Canadian, Texas.  
**Education:** U. of Okla., B.A. 1972, J.D. 1975.  
**Military Career:** Air Force Reserves, 1968-72.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Pamela Plumb; two children.  
**Religion:** Lutheran.  
**Political Career:** Okla. asst. state attorney general, 1975-77.  
**Capitol Office:** 313 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-6165.



**In Washington:** With as many military bases as McCurdy has in his district, he could vote unflinchingly for just about any increase in the defense budget and provoke very little criticism from constituents. But as a member of Armed Services, he has taken a relatively skeptical approach toward much of what the Pentagon tells Congress.

On the House floor in 1981, McCurdy said, "We have a lot of catching up to do" before achieving military balance with the Soviet Union. But then he added: "We owe it to the taxpayers to hold the Defense Department's feet to the fire to bring order and discipline to the procurement process."

McCurdy's interest in procurement policies earned him a spot on a special Armed Services panel set up in 1981 to study that subject. He was chosen chairman of the panel and presided over testimony from more than 100 witnesses during 18 days of hearings.

In 1982 McCurdy sponsored a floor amendment requiring the Defense Department to report to Congress on any weapon system with a cost increase of 15 percent or more.

President Reagan's popularity exerted a rightward pull on McCurdy in the 97th Congress, but he did break occasionally from the White House and the Boll Weevils to vote as a national Democrat. He opposed the Reagan budget in 1981. "A lot of people say this vote is political suicide for me," McCurdy conceded before casting it.

Liberal Democrats hope McCurdy's convincing 1982 re-election will embolden him to move closer to the party's center. But he will still be likely to display the sort of Sun Belt conservatism that led him in 1982 to propose the "Lobster Profit Sharing Act" in response to an oil severance tax offered by the Northeast-Midwest coalition.

The coalition wanted to levy the tax on

domestically produced crude and use the money to help rebuild aging cities in energy-poor areas. McCurdy said the plan was "nothing short of proclaiming civil war" on oil-producing states like Oklahoma, and he countered with a tongue-in-cheek plan to tax the lobster industry in northeastern coastal states and send the money to the lobster-starved Southwest and other areas.

**At Home:** When McCurdy began his 1980 campaign, he was unknown throughout most of his district. A former assistant attorney general with a law practice in Norman, he had never run for office before and had not been active in Democratic Party affairs.

But what McCurdy lacked in political experience he made up for in hustle. Enlisting help from several longtime backers of retiring Democratic Rep. Tom Steed, he built his own grass-roots organization. That network and his appeal as a "fresh face" enabled McCurdy to come within 5,000 votes of veteran state Rep. James B. Townsend in the primary, and overtake him in the runoff.

The general election race was just as tight. The GOP nominated Howard Rutledge, a retired Navy captain and former prisoner of war in Vietnam whose calls for strengthening defense capability endeared him to the district's sizable community of military employees and retirees. But McCurdy held on, winning enough support for his conservative economic themes to win by 2,906 votes.

Seeking revenge, Rutledge returned in 1982, claiming he had done his "homework" by tracking conservative Democrats who might be persuaded to cross party lines. Rutledge commercials painted McCurdy as a profligate liberal. But McCurdy carried all 12 counties in the 4th, firmly establishing his hold on the district with 65 percent of the vote.

Dave McCurdy, D-Okla.

## Oklahoma 4

This slice of southwestern Oklahoma maintains a military presence that no politician can afford to forget for very long. In addition to Altus Air Force Base and the Army's Fort Sill, near the Texas border, map makers stretched the boundaries in 1981 to take in Tinker Air Force Base, just east of Oklahoma City. With a combined civilian and military staff of 24,000, Tinker is Oklahoma's largest single-site employer. Its inclusion reinforces the 4th's conservative sentiment.

Despite the military orientation, Democratic candidates usually carry the 4th; Sen. David Boren polled 72 percent of its vote — his best showing statewide — in his 1978 Senate bid. But two years later Ronald Reagan carried the district and helped Republican Senate nominee Don Nickles take the 4th by a narrow margin. The GOP's surest foothold lies at the district's northern end, in the Oklahoma City suburbs of Moore and Midwest City.

In recent years, Oklahoma's energy boom has brought new oil and gas busi-

## Southwest — part of Oklahoma City

nesses to the many of the district's southwestern counties. Map makers increased the district's share of cotton and cattle territory, bringing in farmland in Garvin, Stephens, Jefferson and Cotton counties. Economic growth also is occurring at the 4th's northern end in Norman, where the University of Oklahoma is drawing high-technology industries.

Much of the district's 24 percent population growth in the past decade came in the counties close to Oklahoma City, including Cleveland, McClain and Grady. With 80,000 people, Lawton (Comanche County) is the 4th's largest city and a commercial center of southwest Oklahoma; Fort Sill is located nearby.

Population: 505,869. White 441,346 (87%), Black 31,953 (6%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 15,603 (3%), Asian and Pacific Islander 5,256 (1%). Spanish origin 16,368 (3%). 18 and over 356,658 (71%), 65 and over 47,534 (9%). Median age: 27.

### Committees

**Armed Services** (17th of 28 Democrats)  
Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems; Readiness.

**Science and Technology** (16th of 26 Democrats)  
Energy Development and Applications; Science, Research and Technology.

**Select Intelligence** (9th of 9 Democrats)  
Program and Budget Authorization.

### Elections

#### 1982 General

Dave McCurdy (D)	84,205	(65%)
Howard Rutledge (R)	44,351	(34%)

#### 1980 General

Dave McCurdy (D)	74,245	(51%)
Howard Rutledge (R)	71,339	(49%)

#### District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	58,544 (36%)	D	82,330 (54%)
R	95,129 (60%)	R	67,060 (44%)
I	6,778 (4%)		

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
McCurdy (D)	\$333,815	\$112,564 (34%)	\$315,203
Rutledge (R)	\$207,008	\$22,550 (11%)	\$181,220

#### 1980

McCurdy (D)	\$232,293	\$39,900 (17%)	\$229,248
Rutledge (R)	\$164,589	\$21,340 (13%)	\$163,351

### Voting Studies

	Presidential Support	Party Unity	Conservative Coalition
Year	\$ O	\$ O	\$ O
1982	58 36	48 43	79 19
1981	57 42	55 43	88 12

S = Support      O = Opposition

### Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	25	64	28	62
1981	35	57	60	37

1241

Pennsylvania - 1st District

# 1 Thomas M. Foglietta (D)

Of Philadelphia — Elected 1980

**Born:** Dec. 3, 1928, Philadelphia, Pa.

**Education:** St. Joseph's College, B.A. 1949; Temple U., J.D. 1952.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Single.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** Philadelphia City Council, 1955-75; Republican nominee for mayor of Philadelphia, 1975.

**Capitol Office:** 1217 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-4731.



**In Washington:** Foglietta has a street-smart quality that suggests his native South Philadelphia, and a reputation for independence in the House. Outspokenly liberal even though he spent most of his life as a Republican, he also has a reformist streak that sets him apart from his state's large faction of machine Democrats.

Late in 1982, when Democrat Charles E. Schumer of New York tried to amend the automobile "domestic content" bill in the face of intense opposition from industrial state colleagues, Foglietta came to Schumer's aid on the House floor. Foglietta was one of the few Democrats from the Northeast willing to modify the labor-backed bill — and the only one from Pennsylvania.

Foglietta was more in tune with labor when he introduced "runaway shops" legislation in 1982. His bill would require businesses leaving a community to notify their workers in advance and to help them find new employment. The bill, although less stringent in its provisions than language some unions called for, had strong labor backing. It died in committee.

As a member of Armed Services, Foglietta has kept a balance, casting most votes with the panel's pro-Pentagon majority while breaking ranks on some conspicuous occasions. He backed the 1981 effort by Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., to direct President Reagan to find \$8 billion in waste in the Pentagon budget. He also supported efforts to cut funding for the civil defense program, calling it a "deception."

Foglietta's seat on Armed Services has allowed him to look after the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, which is in his district. In addition to securing funds for construction projects at the base, Foglietta fought for a moratorium on contracting with private firms to perform security and firefighting services at

military bases. The practice, Foglietta argued, leaves the bases subject to strikes. His move, which came as an amendment to the fiscal 1982 defense appropriations bill, was defeated by two votes on the House floor.

Foglietta has been a strong supporter of a nuclear freeze and an ally of Massachusetts Democrat Edward J. Markey, the leading freeze advocate, on other nuclear-related issues. He spoke up for a Markey amendment in 1981 that would have blocked the United States from selling enriched uranium to other countries. The following year, Foglietta argued for reversing a decision to sell Argentina nuclear technology.

"America," he said, "should never be in the business of adding members to the nuclear club."

**At Home:** A veteran of more than two decades on the Philadelphia City Council, Foglietta abandoned a lifelong loyalty to the Republican Party in 1980 and emerged from a complicated political situation with a seat in Congress.

To make it, he had to run as an independent, normally a guarantee of failure. But Democratic incumbent Michael "Ozzie" Myers, indicted in the Abscam bribery scandal, had managed to win renomination, leaving anti-Myers Democrats without a candidate in the general election. Foglietta became that candidate.

When Myers was convicted on bribery charges and expelled from the House Oct. 2, Foglietta gained the strength he needed to win. Once elected, he acknowledged his political debt by voting with Democrats to organize the 97th Congress.

To gain a second term as a Democrat in 1982, Foglietta had to work his way through a tough primary that forced him to fight not only

*Thomas M. Foglietta, D-Pa.*

## Pennsylvania 1

William Penn's statue atop City Hall, the highest point in Philadelphia, looks out on a city of distinct ethnic neighborhoods, each with the clannishness and occasional suspicion of outsiders more commonly associated with small towns. The diversity is most apparent in the 1st, which takes in the wealthy liberals of Center City, the Italians of South Philadelphia, the Irish and Poles of the "river wards" and the blacks along North Broad Street. While Ronald Reagan did well among the white ethnics in 1980, Jimmy Carter nevertheless won the 1st.

Blue-collar South Philadelphia holds most of the city's piers and the Philadelphia Navy Yard, as well as its huge sports complex — the Spectrum and Veterans and JFK stadiums. The area went for Carter in 1980 on the strength of its black vote, although the white wards voted for Reagan. The law-and-order appeal of former Mayor Frank Rizzo, who grew up here and walked its streets as a patrolman, is strong among the dock and factory workers.

The one ward west of the Schuylkill River included in the 1st has most of the liberal academic community of Drexel University and the University of Pennsylvania. Other centers of liberal Democratic activity are Society Hill and Olde City, the sites of

## South and Central Philadelphia

many of the city's historic landmarks and now affluent restoration areas. The gentrification of nearby Queen Village and Fairmount is displacing ethnic whites who esteem Rizzo-style politics with young professionals who disdain it.

Running north from Center City, the Frankford El railway binds together the river wards, a grimy part of town where factories and warehouses sit cheek-by-jowl with row houses. Carter carried these wards in 1980; his showing among white ethnic voters in South Philadelphia was worse due in large part to its traditional Italian Republican vote, born of resentment against the city's Irish Democratic leadership. Still, the river wards have matched South Philadelphia in their backing for Rizzo.

Blacks make up about 32 percent of the new 1st. They are clustered in the rundown neighborhoods extending into North Philadelphia on either side of North Broad Street. The academic enclave of Temple University sits along Broad Street as well.

Population: 515,145. White 310,738 (60%), Black 164,862 (32%), Asian and Pacific Islander 9,429 (2%). Spanish origin 50,440 (10%). 18 and over 374,046 (73%), 65 and over 65,470 (13%). Median age: 29.

another incumbent but also the organization of former Philadelphia Mayor Frank L. Rizzo, still a powerful figure in Foglietta's home territory. Foglietta had been the Republican mayoral nominee against Rizzo in 1975.

Still allied in city politics with "reform" forces hostile to the ex-mayor, Foglietta was paired in redistricting with Joseph F. Smith, an old-line machine Democrat and Rizzo loyalist. Rizzo's support helped make Smith competitive in heavily Italian South Philadelphia. But it also brought out a large vote for Foglietta from blacks and Center City liberals disdainful of Rizzo's law-and-order politics. Mayor William J. Green, a Foglietta ally suffering a popularity slump, wisely stayed clear of the 1982 primary.

Smith's majorities in his home "river wards" were not heavy enough for him to win districtwide. Overall, Foglietta won 13 wards to Smith's 10 — even though Smith had the

backing of most of the ward leaders.

In the 1982 general election, Foglietta was challenged aggressively by Michael Marino, a well-financed young Republican who aired television spots accusing the incumbent of poor attendance in the House. One Marino commercial complained about Foglietta voting for a House pay raise but failing to show up for a roll call on jobs legislation.

A month before Election Day, the 25-year-old challenger seemed to be closing in on Foglietta, and the incumbent himself told reporters he might be in trouble. "I assumed he was just a nice kid," Foglietta said. "I was very wrong."

As it turned out, Foglietta was overreacting. A few days later, a newspaper disclosed that Marino had been caught trying to pay for help on a college exam. By Election Day the challenge had collapsed. Foglietta was returned with 72 percent of the vote.

## Pennsylvania - 1st District

## Committees

**Armed Services** (18th of 28 Democrats)  
Military Installations and Facilities; Readiness; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials.

**Merchant Marine and Fisheries** (14th of 25 Democrats)  
Coast Guard and Navigation; Merchant Marine; Panama Canal and the Outer Continental Shelf.

## Elections

**1982 General**  
Thomas Foglietta (D) 103,626 (72%)  
Michael Marino (R) 38,155 (27%)

**1982 Primary**  
Thomas Foglietta (D) 33,683 (52%)  
Joseph Smith (D) 31,277 (48%)

**1980 General**  
Thomas Foglietta (I) 58,737 (38%)  
Michael Myers (D) 52,956 (34%)  
Robert Burke (R) 37,893 (24%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	117,737 (61%)	D	137,596 (66%)
R	60,347 (31%)	R	67,057 (32%)
I	11,420 (6%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Foglietta (D)	\$420,489	\$142,763 (34%)		\$345,162

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Foglietta (D)	\$420,489	\$142,763 (34%)		\$345,162
1980				
Foglietta (I)	\$145,050	\$14,450 (10%)		\$142,835
Myers (D)	\$44,156	\$19,900 (45%)		\$45,926

## Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	32	56	81	5	18	77
1981	25	58	80	8	13	73

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	?
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	85	19	100	20
1981	90	21	87	11

Maryland - 1st District

## 1 Roy Dyson (D)

Of Great Mills — Elected 1980

**Born:** Nov. 15, 1948, Great Mills, Md.

**Education:** Attended U. of Baltimore, 1970-71; U. of Maryland, 1971-72.

**Occupation:** Lumber company executive.

**Family:** Single.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** Md. House, 1975-81; Democratic nominee for U.S. House, 1976.

**Capitol Office:** 224 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-5311.



**In Washington:** When the House voted down three separate budget proposals on a single day in mid-1982, few members enjoyed the experience. But Dyson may have been the most disappointed. He was the only one in the House to back all three, voting with the Budget Committee Democrats, the Republican leadership and a bipartisan group of moderates trying to craft a compromise.

Dyson explained that the economy could not begin to recover without quick passage of something. "There's no light at the end of the tunnel as long as there's no budget," he said.

But Dyson's unusual combination of votes also reflected the tough spot he found himself in for much of his first term — trying to please his conservative constituents while still maintaining some identity as a national Democrat. Concerned about a comeback attempt by rightist Republican Robert Bauman, whom he had beaten in 1980, Dyson had little room to maneuver.

Under intense pressure to support President Reagan's economic proposals, Dyson went along with Reagan on the 1981 budget and tax bills. But he gave the Democratic leadership several well-chosen votes. He agreed with more liberal Democrats in trying to keep specific budget cuts from affecting Social Security and other social programs. He voted for emergency jobs legislation in 1982.

Dyson is a bottom-rung member of the Armed Services Committee, and he has had little opportunity to make a name for himself there. He wanted to give up his seat on the committee in 1983 in exchange for one on Appropriations, but his pro-Reagan votes in 1981 were no help to him in that effort. The appropriations slot went to Steny Hoyer, a fellow Maryland Democrat junior to him.

Dyson has used his seat on Armed Services largely to lobby for district interests. His post

on the Military Installations Subcommittee allows him to secure funds for construction projects on bases within his district, and he has stressed Navy contracts as a way to help the depressed shipbuilding industry through hard times. Dyson did have one Armed Services-related success on the House floor in the 97th Congress: He managed the House version of a successful bill declaring "National POW/MIA Day" in 1982.

On the Merchant Marine Committee, Dyson has agitated against Reagan's proposal to impose Coast Guard user fees and worked to funnel research and maintenance dollars to projects on the Chesapeake Bay.

**At Home:** Part of a family whose roots date back 300 years into Maryland history, Dyson comes from a long line of politicians. Eight members of his family had preceded him as state legislators when he launched his political career.

Dyson made no secret of his desire to follow family tradition, leaving Maryland after only two years of college to work in Washington on the Democratic National Committee's 1972 voter registration drive. Shortly thereafter, Dyson became a legislative assistant to a House Education and Labor Subcommittee, but he returned home in 1974 to win a berth in the House of Delegates.

Dyson was known there as a back bencher, solid in his service to his rural southern Maryland constituency but quiet on most issues of statewide import. His most visible action during his two-term stint in the Legislature was his sponsorship of a controversial bill to create a statewide hazardous waste disposal siting board. He also attracted some attention by supporting a constitutional amendment to grant voting representation in Congress to the District of Columbia, a unique stand among the

Roy Dyson, D-Md.

## Maryland 1

The stubborn, independent Chesapeake Bay watermen symbolize the conservatism of the 1st District and Maryland's Eastern Shore. Chronically opposed to government limits on their catches, they set off every day in ancient boats to bring back bushels of crabs and oysters from the bay.

Sitting on either side of Chesapeake Bay, this Southern-oriented district has a 3-to-1 Democratic registration, but its deep-seated conservatism generally gives it to the GOP in federal elections. Jimmy Carter lost the district in both 1976 and 1980, and the area sent Republicans to the House from 1962 until 1980.

The once isolated Eastern Shore has experienced substantial growth in the 30 years since the Chesapeake Bay Bridge linked it conveniently to the rest of Maryland, but on the whole it remains farm country. The shore raises tomatoes, strawberries and poultry. Frank Perdue houses the headquarters of his chicken business there.

The area of fastest growth is along the Atlantic Ocean. Condominium towers give Ocean City, which tripled in population during the 1970s, a Miami Beach appearance. Tourism animates the beach towns' economy, although there has been an increase in year-round residence.

Blacks, many of whom work on the farms, make up a sizable proportion of the residents in most counties of the district.

## Eastern Shore; Southern Maryland

But while they comprise nearly 20 percent of the population districtwide, they are rarely a decisive force politically.

Southern Maryland, on the western side of Chesapeake Bay, has the same rural ambiance as the Eastern Shore. Tobacco farming predominates throughout this region. Charles County, though, is gradually being drawn into the orbit of suburban Washington, D.C. Shopping centers and subdivisions have sprung up in Waldorf. The largest town in Charles County, Waldorf doubled in population during the last decade.

On either side of the bay, shellfish have a special place in Maryland life — and politics. The Chesapeake's yield makes possible that celebrated Maryland event, the crab feast, conducted around long tables covered with paper and laden with crustaceans, corn on the cob and beer. Crab feasts are vital stops for local politicians.

The district also contains the rural eastern half of fast-growing Harford County, home of the Aberdeen Proving Grounds. There are two other military installations — the Patuxent Naval Air Center and the Indian Head Naval Ordnance Station, both in southern Maryland.

Population: 526,206. White 422,847 (80%), Black 97,779 (19%). Spanish origin 5,170 (1%). 18 and over 369,721 (70%), 65 and over 54,049 (10%). Median age: 30.

state's rural legislators.

Two years into his first term as a delegate, Dyson made his move for a seat in Congress, challenging Bauman, the brilliant but acerbic conservative who was the leading GOP parliamentary strategist on the House floor.

The 1st had a solid Democratic advantage in registration, but its conservative voters had not sent a Democrat to the House since 1960. Dyson appealed to party loyalty and tried to tie the incumbent to federal bureaucratic growth under GOP presidents Nixon and Ford. Dyson reduced the normal rate of Democratic defections, but Bauman won with 54 percent of the vote.

When Dyson set his sights on Bauman again in 1980, few gave him a chance of unseating the incumbent. But in early October, Bau-

man was charged with soliciting sex from a teen-age boy. Dyson surged ahead in the polls overnight. Skirting the morality issue, he painted the incumbent as an oil company stooge, and held on to win by 6,000 votes as Bauman struggled to redeem himself to the voters.

The Democrat had barely taken office on Capitol Hill when local GOP leaders began preparing to unseat him in 1982. But Dyson built a good constituent service operation and went to great lengths to publicize his conservative voting record. He also staved off an attempt by state legislators to remove his hometown from the 1st in redistricting.

It appeared for a time that the 1982 contest would be a rematch between Dyson and Bauman. The Republican re-emerged telling

**Roy Dyson, D-Md.**

voters he had overcome the drinking problem he said had triggered his homosexuality, and he urged voters to replace Dyson with a more experienced legislator.

But Bauman drew a Republican primary challenge from former state Sen. C. A. Porter Hopkins, and the strain proved too much for him. He dropped out of the contest in mid-

summer, accusing Hopkins of resurrecting the homosexuality issue.

Hopkins proved as sharp-tongued as Bauman, but not as capable of drawing votes. With the GOP vote split between Hopkins supporters and diehard Bauman loyalists, Dyson buried the Republican in November by better than 2-to-1, carrying every county in the district.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (19th of 28 Democrats)  
Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials.

**Merchant Marine and Fisheries** (16th of 25 Democrats)  
Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment; Merchant Marine.

**Elections****1982 General**

Roy Dyson (D)	89,503	(69%)
C. A. Porter Hopkins (R)	39,656	(31%)

**1980 General**

Roy Dyson (D)	97,743	(52%)
Robert Bauman (R)	91,143	(48%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	75,300 (42%)	D	76,207 (49%)
R	94,343 (52%)	R	78,180 (51%)
I	9,912 (6%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Dyson (D)	\$204,999	\$130,387 (64%)	\$192,984
Hopkins (R)	\$227,557	\$7,965 (4%)	\$222,069

**1980**

Dyson (D)	\$166,794	\$87,157	(52%)	\$167,558
Bauman (R)	\$364,613	\$76,907	(21%)	\$358,058

**Voting Studies**

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	55	43	68	29	62	37
1981	61	39	52	48	92	8

S = Support      O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	35	39	70	43
1981	30	58	80	47

*Michigan - 14th District*

## 14 Dennis M. Hertel (D)

**Of Detroit — Elected 1980**

**Born:** Dec. 7, 1948, Detroit, Mich.

**Education:** Eastern Mich. U., B.A. 1971; Wayne State U., J.D. 1974.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, Cynthia S. Grosscup; four children.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** Mich. House, 1975-81.

**Capitol Office:** 218 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-6276.



**In Washington:** Hertel is one of the few new members of Armed Services in recent years who has taken a skeptical view of large increases in defense spending. He says that he simply questions the excesses and that his views are somewhere between the panel's pro-military majority and its dissident forces. But committee hawks tend to lump him in with the lonely group of Pentagon critics.

It did not take long for the Armed Services leadership to begin wondering about Hertel. Worried that the 1981 supplemental defense authorization was spending too much money too soon, he cast the only vote in committee against reporting it to the floor.

It was a strikingly independent move for a junior member, and it left Hertel isolated from the mainstream of committee activity. As the 97th Congress wore on, however, sentiment grew for limiting defense spending, and Hertel found himself with more company. He introduced a floor amendment to the 1983 defense authorization bill requiring a report to Congress on the unit cost of each major defense system. Eventually he withdrew it in favor of a similar, but less rigid measure pushed by another committee member.

Hertel's streak of independence has shown up on non-defense matters as well, and it has caused him some problems. In the 97th Congress, he voted against a congressional pay raise and President Reagan's 1982 tax increase, opposing the Democratic leadership on both issues.

Tolerant of Democrats who differ with it out of political necessity, the leadership was less so with Hertel, whose seat is considered safe. When Hertel decided to try for a place on the Energy and Commerce Committee in 1983, he had to do it without any high-level backing; his bid went nowhere.

**At Home:** The three Hertel brothers dominate politics on the northeastern side of De-

troit. Dennis Hertel spent six years in the state Legislature. His older brother, a former state senator, is a Wayne County commissioner and his younger brother was elected to Dennis' state House seat in 1980.

The political success of the Hertel family is a reflection of the way their moderate, labor-oriented politics fits the ethnically diverse area. It also is a tribute to their grass-roots organization.

Running for the seat given up by Democratic Rep. Lucien N. Nedzi in 1980, Dennis Hertel assembled a volunteer force 2,500 strong to counter the money and polish of his Republican opponent, Vic Caputo. A former television news anchorman and host of a morning talk show on Detroit's CBS affiliate, Caputo made up for his lack of political experience with oratorical polish and districtwide prominence. With help from the national GOP, he mounted a high-spending effort that relied largely on the media to push his candidacy across to voters.

Hertel's strategy was simpler. Lacking the money and the flair of his opponent, he concentrated on personal visits with voters, wearing out four pairs of shoes walking through the precincts. He pointed to his successful drive to outlaw double-bottom tankers on Michigan's highways, and passage of his bill to require mandatory jail sentences for criminals who use handguns.

The Democratic organization on the east side galvanized its supporters to get out the vote, and on Election Day, Hertel walked off with a comfortable 53-46 percent victory.

"If Vic Caputo can't win that district," the state GOP chairman had said during the campaign, "I don't know if a Republican ever can." No GOP candidate even challenged Hertel in 1982.

Dennis M. Hertel, D-Mich.

## Michigan 14

The 14th is a 15-mile corridor with an ethnic and social diversity that takes in the rumbling auto plants of Warren, the graceful old mansions of the Grosse Pointes, the kielbasa of Hamtramck and the *pétanque* games of Detroit's Belgian neighborhoods.

At the district's far eastern end, the mansions and estates lining Lake Shore Drive in Grosse Pointe Shores and Grosse Pointe Farms — the Ford family estate is among them — offer the kind of Republicanism associated with corporate board rooms and casual access to political power.

To the west stretches northeast Detroit, an ethnic quilt of solid working-class neighborhoods where a Democrat stumping for votes can spend his time productively at the corner bar. Poles, Germans, Italians and Belgians all settled here, drawn by the auto industry.

The center of Polish activity is Hamtramck, a city-within-a-city. Its neat seas of two-story frame houses, broken only by the spires of Catholic churches, were once home

## Detroit Suburbs — Warren

to 50,000 people. Most of them worked at the huge Dodge plant at the southern end of town. Now down to 21,000, Hamtramck is dependent these days on jobs at smaller factories, turning out auto parts, steering wheels and toilet seats.

North of Detroit the 14th takes in a small part of Oakland County and southwestern Macomb County, and these areas have nearly half the district residents. Middle-class ethnics live in East Detroit, Hazel Park and northern Warren, and lower middle-class Appalachians reside in the shadow of steel plants and auto parts factories in southern Warren. The combination makes this area the socially conservative heart of Democratic strength in the northeastern Detroit suburbs.

Population: 514,559. White 478,987 (93%), Black 25,311 (5%), Asian and Pacific Islander 5,610 (1%). Spanish origin 4,993 (1%). 18 and over 372,422 (72%), 65 and over 58,019 (11%). Median age: 31.

## Committees

**Armed Services** (20th of 28 Democrats)  
Military Installations and Facilities; Readiness; Research and Development.

**Merchant Marine and Fisheries** (15th of 25 Democrats)  
Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment; Panama Canal and Outer Continental Shelf.

**Select Aging** (29th of 38 Democrats)  
Health and Long-Term Care.

## Elections

**1982 General**  
Dennis M. Hertel (D) 116,421 (95%)  
Harold Dunn (LIB) 6,175 (5%)

**1980 General**  
Dennis M. Hertel (D) 90,362 (53%)  
Vic Caputo (R) 78,395 (46%)

### District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	97,621 (43%)	D	99,782 (46%)
R	114,356 (50%)	R	114,792 (53%)
I	13,568 (6%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Hertel (D)	\$80,162	\$47,750 (60%)	\$53,154

### 1980

	Hertel (D)	Caputo (R)	White	Black	Hispanic	Median Age
	\$162,355	\$221,214	478,987 (93%)	25,311 (5%)	5,610 (1%)	31

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	32	64	80	9	21	68
1981	25	64	80	12	27	73

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	75	14	100	15
1981	80	29	79	6

Tennessee - 3rd District

### 3 Marilyn Lloyd (D)

Of Chattanooga — Elected 1974

**Born:** Jan. 3, 1929, Fort Smith, Ark.  
**Education:** Attended Shorter College, 1958-60 and 1962-63.

**Occupation:** Radio station owner and manager.

**Family:** Divorced; nine children.

**Religion:** Church of Christ.

**Political Career:** No previous office.

**Capitol Office:** 2334 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-3271.



**In Washington:** Thrust into politics overnight when her husband was killed in an airplane crash while campaigning for Congress, Lloyd has developed gradually into a clever protector of her district's interests, limited in her goals but good at achieving them.

She spent most of the Carter administration defending Tennessee public works projects against White House assaults and rarely lost. This was partly because of the influence of her more senior Democratic allies, but it was partly through her own legislative infighting.

The most important project has been the Clinch River nuclear breeder reactor, which is in her district. President Carter wanted to terminate the project — he said it was too expensive and would lead to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. He tried twice to end it, but both times was turned down, with Lloyd lobbying for Clinch River both in the Science Committee and on the floor.

When Carter left office, she felt she had little to fear, not only because Ronald Reagan backed Clinch River, but also because she became chairman of the Science Subcommittee that authorizes its funding. In May of 1981, however, she ran into an ambush in the full committee, as environmentalists teamed with fiscal conservatives in a vote to kill the \$3.2 billion project, forcing her to try to reverse the decision on the House floor.

At the same time, Lloyd was drawn into the budget battle as both Democrats and Republicans, knowing of her Clinch River interest, promised her they would fund it. She voted for the first Reagan budget plan but switched and voted later with the Democrats on specific spending cuts, saying she objected to Reagan reductions in social services.

In 1982, with deficits climbing, the full House for the first time voted to kill the project. In the Senate, funding survived by one vote, and most, though not all, of the Clinch River money was restored in conference. This

time, credit for keeping the reactor alive went not to Lloyd, but to Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn.

Equally important to Lloyd has been the Tellico Dam, once halted by the Endangered Species Act because it threatened the tiny snail darter fish. Despite President Carter's threat to veto any legislation providing for further work on Tellico, the House insisted on voting money for it, and in 1979 Carter signed the bill authorizing that the dam be finished, snail darter or no snail darter. That was in large part the result of floor lobbying by Lloyd and other Tennessee and Alabama Democrats, who offered votes on other issues to members who would back them on the dam.

Protecting the nuclear facilities in her district, Lloyd steered a nuclear waste bill through her subcommittee, the first bill to reach that far in the 97th Congress. Her bill did not address some of the more controversial waste disposal issues; it mainly created a new waste disposal test facility. Critics called her bill too narrow in scope, but she showed little patience with them. "We've got to get this bill moving," she told one Democrat. "I've gone as far as I can. It's about time you started working with me."

Shortly after that, though, she wrote a broader bill, one that had a better chance of clearing the full Science Committee. The Commerce and Interior Committees also wrote nuclear waste bills, and the three panels, along with Rules, negotiated until late in the 1982 session, finally emerging with a bill that included Lloyd's provision calling for a test facility. It became law at the end of the Congress.

Experience on the nuclear waste bill gave her some background in defense issues, and when a Democratic vacancy on Armed Services opened up in late 1982, because Bob Stump of Arizona had switched to the Republican party,

*Marilyn Lloyd, D-Tenn.*

## Tennessee 3

Although the 3rd usually votes Republican in state and national elections, Lloyd has proven that it can be friendly territory for a conservative local Democrat willing to stand up for nuclear power.

A pro-nuclear stance is a must for any legislator representing this constituency. Many jobs are tied to the nuclear research and production facilities at Oak Ridge, to the Clinch River breeder reactor and to the Sequoyah nuclear plant in northern Hamilton County.

The population center of the 3rd is Chattanooga, a heavily industrialized city producing iron, steel and textiles. Chattanooga and surrounding Hamilton County hold 56 percent of the 3rd District's residents. There has been some racial tension between Chattanooga's working-class whites, many of whom come from rural backgrounds, and blacks, who make up about one-third of the population — a high percentage by East Tennessee standards.

Hamilton County has voted Republican in all but one presidential contest since 1952. In 1968 George C. Wallace finished first there and Republican Richard M.

## Southeast — Chattanooga; Oak Ridge

Nixon second. In 1980 Democrat Lloyd managed to run even with Ronald Reagan in Hamilton County, taking 56 percent of the vote. She matched that in 1982.

The district's most loyally Democratic counties are Anderson and Roane in the northern part of the 3rd. That area's major city is Oak Ridge. Nearly 18,000 people work at Union Carbide's three Oak Ridge plants, which build weapons components and enrich uranium for use in reactors.

The government workers and scientific intelligentsia at Oak Ridge have traditionally been the most consistent Democratic voting bloc in East Tennessee, but that is changing as the GOP takes the leading role in promoting nuclear energy. In 1976, Jimmy Carter won 56 percent in both Anderson and Roane counties, but in 1980 he averaged only 38 percent there. His attempt to shut down the Clinch River breeder reactor was widely unpopular.

Population: 516,692. White 449,455 (87%), Black 63,870 (12%). Spanish origin 3,701 (1%). 18 and over 370,457 (72%), 65 and over 55,994 (11%). Median age: 31.

Lloyd took it. She had to give up her seat on the Public Works Committee.

Lloyd is at home on the House floor among the southern Democrats who gather at the back of the chamber. She votes with them on most issues, and she has a tongue salty enough to make her "one of the boys." Her conservative record has disappointed the AFL-CIO, which provided considerable help in her early campaigns, but it has been no problem at all in her district.

**At Home:** Marilyn Lloyd's husband Mort, a well-known Chattanooga newsman, had little trouble winning the 3rd District Democratic nomination in 1974. When he died a few weeks later in a plane crash, the district's county chairmen chose his widow as the nominee.

She had owned and operated a radio station with her husband, but had no political experience. It was generally assumed that Mort Lloyd's death ended any Democratic hopes of denying GOP Rep. Lamar Baker a third term.

But Marilyn Lloyd turned out to be surprisingly aggressive, and she found a successful

combination of issues in the Watergate election year: opposition to busing, more rights for women and criticism of President Ford's pardon of former President Nixon. She unseated Baker with 51 percent of the vote.

In her first term, Lloyd built a following with question-and-answer town hall meetings and covered-dish suppers. Baker tried a comeback in 1976, but Lloyd defeated him by a margin of more than 2-to-1. After the 1978 election, in which she drew nearly 90 percent of the vote, Lloyd married Joseph P. Bouquard, a Chattanooga engineer. They were divorced in 1983.

In both 1980 and 1982, Lloyd's Republican opponent was dentist and physician Glen M. Byers. Byers tied his 1980 campaign closely to Ronald Reagan and asked voters to reject the Carter-Lloyd ticket. But while Reagan was carrying the 3rd District with 56 percent of the vote, Lloyd won 61 percent — lower than the other Tennessee Democrats, but still a comfortable margin. She dispatched Byers with greater ease in 1982, winning 62 percent.

## Tennessee - 3rd District

## Committees

Armed Services (21st of 28 Democrats)  
Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials.

Science and Technology (7th of 26 Democrats)  
Energy Research and Production (chairman); Energy Development and Applications.

Select Aging (10th of 38 Democrats).  
Health and Long-Term Care.

## Elections

## 1982 General

Marilyn Lloyd (D)	84,967	(62%)
Glen Byers (R)	49,885	(36%)

## 1982 Primary

Marilyn Lloyd (D)	48,002	(82%)
Stephen Roberts (D)	10,437	(18%)

## 1980 General

Marilyn Lloyd (D)	117,355	(61%)
Glen Byers (R)	74,761	(39%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (89%) 1976 (68%)  
1974 (51%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	74,677 (41%)	D	85,514 (51%)
R	101,094 (56%)	R	79,510 (48%)
I	4,202 (2%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Lloyd (D)	\$221,317	\$90,550 (41%)	\$221,898
Byers (R)	\$75,582	\$3,850 (5%)	\$64,323

## 1980

Lloyd (D)	\$136,283	\$48,910 (36%)	\$159,440
Byers (R)	\$43,834	\$1,788 (.041%)	\$43,236

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	47	47	56	38	73	22
1981	57	36	55	41	83	12
1980	53	42	46	52	86	14
1979	49	47	51	46	83	12
1978	37	46	36	50	73	7
1977	58	42	40	60	88	12
1976	41	59	44	56	84	16
1975	29	71	53	47	74	26

S = Support

O = Opposition

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	25	50	60	52
1981	30	50	67	37
1980	22	54	53	72
1979	21	40	37	71
1978	15	68	53	50
1977	10	63	52	65
1976	10	61	65	50
1975	32	64	65	35

Virginia - 4th District

## 4 Norman Sisisky (D)

Of Petersburg — Elected 1982

**Born:** June 9, 1927, Baltimore, Md.  
**Education:** Va. Commonwealth U., B.S. 1949.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1945-46.  
**Occupation:** Beer and soft drink distributor.  
**Family:** Wife, Rhoda Brown; four children.  
**Religion:** Jewish.  
**Political Career:** Virginia House, 1974-82.  
**Capitol Office:** 1429 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-6365.



**The Path to Washington:** After a decade of intraparty friction and under-financed campaigns, Democrats united behind the wealthy Sisisky in 1982 to win a House seat they felt should have been theirs all along. Sisisky combined a large campaign treasury and an affable campaign style to oust veteran GOP Rep. Robert W. Daniel Jr.

The son of Lithuanian immigrants, Sisisky was born in Baltimore. But his family moved during the Depression to Richmond, where his father found work in a delicatessen. Sisisky was raised in the Virginia capital and attended a local college.

During the campaign, Sisisky described himself as a self-made businessman. Critics said he simply married into a wealthy Petersburg family and took over management of its soft drink company. But regardless of how he got his start, Sisisky is a natural salesman who turned the operation into one of the most successful Pepsi-Cola distributorships in the country. He has served as chairman of the board of the National Soft Drink Association.

Sisisky has also been a local philanthropist. Many of the high school football stadiums in the Petersburg area have been built with funds raised through the sale of soft drinks provided at little or no charge by Sisisky's company. He developed ties to the black community by serving on the board of visitors of predominantly black Virginia State University.

After years as a pillar of Petersburg's business community, Sisisky entered politics in 1973 by winning a seat in the state House. With Virginia politics then in a state of flux, Sisisky ran as an independent. But he caucused with the Democrats in Richmond and in 1975 ran for re-election as a Democrat.

Sisisky was actively involved in child advocacy legislation, sponsoring a measure that established a children's agency within state government. But he was best known as a master

compromiser, the man for legislators to see when putting together a coalition. He often served as an intermediary between conservative Southside legislators and their more liberal northern Virginia counterparts.

Sisisky was widely recognized as his party's strongest potential challenger against Daniel in 1982, but his candidacy was almost blunted. Eight years earlier, black activist Curtis W. Harris had run as an independent, drawing enough black votes to re-elect Daniel. When Harris announced in early 1982 that he might run as an independent again, Sisisky threatened to pull out of the race. Only when Harris promised to step aside did Sisisky resume his campaign.

Once Sisisky got moving, however, he was indefatigable. He campaigned non-stop for six months, logging more than 25,000 miles. On election eve he claimed that he had lost his voice and 30 pounds. He also had lost part of his fortune. Of a \$520,000 campaign budget, nearly \$350,000 was provided by personal loans from the candidate.

Daniel, a millionaire plantation owner himself, accused Sisisky of trying to buy the election. Sisisky contended that since he was not well-known outside the Petersburg area, he had to spend heavily on media in order to be competitive.

Sisisky charged that Daniel's pro-Reagan administration record did not represent blacks (who comprise 40 percent of the district's population), farmers or the blue-collar workers of the industrial Tidewater area. He chided Daniel for opposing extension of the Voting Rights Act.

Daniel countered that his opponent was too liberal for the district, but any voters with lingering worries seemed reassured by Sisisky's personality. While Daniel was schol-

Norman Sisisky, D-Va.

**Virginia 4**

With Portsmouth's large black population and blue-collar work force joining die-hard rural Democrats, the 4th is solidly Democratic on paper. It was the only Virginia district to give Jimmy Carter a majority in 1980. Democrat Charles S. Robb won 60 percent here en route to election as governor in 1981. But there are enough Republicans and Byrd-style independents to keep it close in many elections.

Portsmouth is 45 percent black and casts about a quarter of the district vote. The city is oriented toward the naval and shipbuilding economy of Norfolk, Hampton and Newport News. The neighboring city of Chesapeake, slightly larger than Portsmouth, is less black and less industrial; Ronald Reagan managed to carry it in 1980. Many who work in Portsmouth's shipyards and factories have homes in Chesapeake.

There is some industry in the smaller cities of the 4th, which together make up another 20 percent of the district's population. Suffolk processes peanuts, Petersburg makes tobacco products and Hopewell calls

**Southeast — Chesapeake; Portsmouth**

itself the chemical capital of the South. Of these towns, Carter lost only Hopewell in 1980. The most reliably Democratic of the smaller cities is black-majority Petersburg, which gave Sisisky a margin of nearly 4,000 votes over Republican incumbent Robert W. Daniel Jr. in 1982.

Peanuts and tobacco are the important crops in the farm lands of the 4th, where more than one-third of district's residents live. Democratic ties are still strong there. Sussex County, for example, gave Lt. Gov. Richard J. Davis 58 percent as the Democratic Senate nominee in 1982. Rural population exodus, a trend that has virtually ended elsewhere in Virginia, still plagues this area; four agricultural counties lost population in the 1970s.

Population: 533,703. White 317,266 (59%), Black 212,598 (40%), Asian and Pacific Islander 3,170 (1%). Spanish origin 5,735 (1%). 18 and over 377,071 (71%), 65 and over 53,225 (10%). Median age: 30.

arly and introverted, Sisisky was exuberant and outgoing. "He's like a friendly bear," one reporter said.

Sisisky carried 15 out of 20 jurisdictions in the district, but built up most of his margin in Petersburg and the blue-collar city of Portsmouth, where he established his headquarters

and campaigned extensively. The coattails of Lt. Gov. Richard J. Davis, the unsuccessful Democratic Senate candidate, provided Sisisky a big boost in the populous eastern portion of the district. A former Portsmouth mayor, Davis carried the 4th by 25,000 votes, almost double the size of Sisisky's districtwide margin.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (22nd of 28 Democrats)  
Military Installations and Facilities; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials

**Select Aging** (35th of 38 Democrats)  
Retirement, Income and Employment.

**Small Business** (19th of 26 Democrats)  
Export Opportunities and Special Small Business Problems; General Oversight and the Economy

**Elections****1982 General**

Norman Sisisky (D)	80,695	(54%)
Robert Daniel Jr. (R)	67,708	(46%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	91,716 (50%)	D	96,396 (56%)
R	83,955 (46%)	R	69,501 (41%)
I	4,589 (3%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Sisisky (D)	\$528,142	\$55,530 (11%)	\$523,960
Daniel (R)	\$327,318	\$113,479 (35%)	\$307,311

**Key Vote**

Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)

N

Georgia - 3rd District

## 3 Richard Ray (D)

Of Perry — Elected 1982

**Born:** Feb. 2, 1927, Fort Valley, Ga.  
**Education:** Attended U. of Ga.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1944-45.  
**Occupation:** Exterminator; Senate aide.  
**Family:** Wife, Barbara Elizabeth Giles; three children.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** Perry City Council, 1962-64; mayor of Perry, 1964-70.  
**Capitol Office:** 514 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-5901.



**The Path to Washington:** Over a decade as administrative assistant to Democrat Sam Nunn, now Georgia's senior senator, Ray established himself as the quintessential detail man. He read each letter ready to go out and rejected any with the smallest imperfection. Nunn's large staff lived by the manual Ray wrote, detailing everything from permissible dress to procedure for turning the lights out.

A demanding supervisor and a devout Christian, Ray once made an effort to stop an aide from swearing. His office always was clean at day's end, and he seldom appeared without a jacket and tie.

In many ways, Ray's personal values and discipline suggest a similarity to Jimmy Carter, who lives in the 3rd District and who campaigned for him in 1982. But unlike the former president, Ray has been modest on ambition, spending most of his career working diligently in the shadow of another public figure.

Ray and Nunn both come from Perry, a town of just under 10,000 in central Georgia. As mayor of the town in the 1960s, Ray appointed Nunn, a local lawyer, to an advisory panel on race relations. Nunn grew to admire Ray's organizational abilities, and when he ran for the U.S. Senate he enlisted Ray as one of his top campaign aides. Ray served on Nunn's transition team in Washington and likes to recount that the first time he heard he would be in charge of the staff was the occasion Nunn mentioned it to reporters.

The product of a family farm, Ray tried agriculture for a while before going into the pest-control business. His company expanded until Getz, the Atlanta-based exterminating concern, bought it out. He worked as the firm's southeastern regional manager before signing on with Nunn.

Ray is a conservative Democrat in the mold of retired Democrat Jack Brinkley, his

predecessor. He favors a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget and a hard-line stand on crime. To demonstrate his law-and-order views, Ray aired a campaign commercial that showed him slamming shut a jail cell door.

When the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee passed word to him that a condition for receiving national money was to be a "loyal" — i.e., non-Boll Weevil — Democrat, he publicly denounced such a quid pro quo. The campaign committee ended up giving him just \$250. Early in 1983, as a member of the House, Ray was one of just six first-term Democrats to vote against his party's budget.

Ray's religious background is an important part of his personality. Shortly after joining Nunn in Washington, he set up the U.S. Senate Staff Prayer Fellowship Group. During the 1982 campaign, he read the Bible every night. But he was careful not to appear sanctimonious in public; he turned down campaign advice that he make more of his Christianity. Troubled by the Moral Majority's social agenda, he criticized the fundamentalist group for its zealotry.

Ray's connection to Nunn, a power on the Senate Armed Services Committee, allowed him to claim the mantle of Pentagon-protector that is traditional in the 3rd, where Fort Benning and Robins Air Force Base are important to the local economy. The political action committees of such defense contractors as Lockheed and General Dynamics gave to the Ray campaign.

As Nunn's administrative assistant, Ray dealt mainly with work flow and constituent service. Because he had little to do with policy, he admitted during his House campaign that he was weak on national issues. Still, he had established firm ties to local officials in the 3rd and, when he announced his candidacy, was

Richard Ray, D-Ga.

## Georgia 3

The 3rd District's most prominent citizen is former President Carter, whose hometown of Plains is in Sumter County on the district's southern border. Carter won 61 percent of his home county's vote in 1980, a substantial decrease from his 1976 showing, when he took 72 percent.

The 3rd, like other Georgia districts, has a formidable black population — 34 percent — and is influenced by the military and textiles. The district is heavily agricultural, although its output lags behind textiles and the federal military payroll in its share of the district's annual gross product.

The dominant cities in the 3rd are Columbus (Muscogee County) and Warner Robins (Houston County), located at either end of the district. Both are closely tied to local military installations.

Located on the Alabama border, Columbus (population 169,441) is the district's commercial center, with textiles the mainstay of the local economy. Columbus' history as a manufacturing center dates back to the Civil War, when it supplied uniforms, arms and food to the Confederate Army.

## West Central — Columbus

These days the city's military ties are to the Army's Fort Benning, which is a national basic training center and employs about 5,000 civilians.

Warner Robins, on the district's eastern border, is home to Robins Air Force Base, a major air transport and Air Force supply center. The base employs a total of 19,000 civilian and military personnel.

Reagan showed considerable strength within Columbus and Warner Robins in 1980, but still lost both Houston County and Muscogee County to Carter.

Outside the cities, the land gives way to the peanut, peach and pecan farms characteristic of west-central Georgia. The traditionally Democratic, heavily black counties here remained loyal to their favorite son in 1980, allowing him to draw 60 percent of the vote districtwide.

Population: 540,865. White 347,373 (64%), Black 185,763 (34%). Spanish origin 8,810 (2%). 18 and over 376,128 (70%), 65 and over 53,146 (10%). Median age: 28.

clearly formidable. Other Democratic aspirants folded their plans to run for the seat.

Republicans, however, figured they had a good chance to elect a successor to Brinkley. The GOP candidate, lawyer Tyron Elliott, was smoother and better spoken than Ray, and received ample financing from the national party, which sent in several big-name Republi-

cans to help him.

Yet the area's sagging farm economy, Nunn's active campaigning for Ray and the natural Democratic inclinations of the 3rd (which is 34 percent black) conspired to give Elliott a drubbing. Ray swept every county, including Muscogee (Columbus), where Elliott had expected to do well.

## Committees

**Armed Services** (23rd of 28 Democrats)  
Investigations; Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems.

**Small Business** (26th of 26 Democrats)  
General Oversight and the Economy.

## Elections

### 1982 General

Richard Ray (D)	74,626	(71%)
Tyron Elliott (R)	30,537	(29%)

### 1982 Primary

Richard Ray (D)	50,346	(63%)
James Cantrell (D)	23,677	(30%)
E. J. "Bud" Bagley (D)	5,733	(7%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	85,268 (60%)	D	92,186 (70%)
R	52,307 (37%)	R	39,699 (30%)

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Ray (D)	\$467,294	\$95,002 (20%)	\$320,630
Elliott (R)	\$205,409	\$36,550 (18%)	\$212,291

## Key Vote

Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N
-----------------------------	---

South Carolina - 5th District

## 5 John M. Spratt Jr. (D)

Of York — Elected 1982

**Born:** Nov. 1, 1942, Charlotte, N.C.  
**Education:** Davidson College, A.B. 1964; Oxford U., M.A. 1966; Yale U., LL.B. 1969.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1969-71.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Jane Stacy; three children.  
**Religion:** Presbyterian.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 1118 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-5501.



**The Path to Washington:** With three academic degrees and a background as a bank president, Spratt is not the obvious representative for a district made up mostly of poor textile towns and dusty farms. But if his career provided ammunition for his 1982 opponents, it did not bother the voters. On Election Day they gave Spratt 68 percent, more than any candidate with major opposition had received in this district since 1968.

Spratt, in fact, worked hard to turn his elitist credentials into an asset. "People are glad to see a candidate with these qualifications," he said. "That's my come-on." If his style on the stump remained somewhat scholarly and his answers to questions detailed, no one but his advisers seemed to mind.

Besides his degrees from Yale and Oxford, Spratt has an 830-acre farm, a legal practice that includes York County among its clients and the presidency of the bank of Fort Mill, S.C. But in the time it took to amass those prizes, a political career was never far from his mind.

When Democratic Rep. Ken Holland announced his decision to retire just a week before the filing deadline in April of 1982, Spratt jumped for the Democratic nomination. He was joined by three others, including John Winburn, a former aide to Holland, and state Rep. Ernie Nunnery.

Nunnery noted that he was the only one with a record in elective office, while Winburn, referring to his Capitol Hill years, called himself "the congressman you won't have to train." Spratt stressed that he had spent the last 11 years at home in York County, practicing law. When Winburn called him "a millionaire banker, lawyer and hobby farmer" who could not relate to ordinary people, Spratt said his work with small-town clients and depositors had given him an understanding of their cir-

cumstances. "I wouldn't have kept my job if I couldn't relate to these people," he said.

Winburn inherited Holland's organizational contacts, and Nunnery had a strong base in Chester County, but Spratt was able to match them by calling on friends made during his work for 1974 gubernatorial candidate Charles D. Ravenel. In addition, his banking interests and his law practice — through which he helped York County reorganize its government — gave him strong connections in political and business circles throughout the 5th. By the end of the primary, large portions of the party leadership were quietly behind him.

The primary was a cliffhanger — but not for Spratt. He took 38 percent of the vote, leading both Winburn and Nunnery by nearly 9,000 votes. The question was who would come in second and earn a runoff berth. Eventually, Winburn's 312-vote lead over Nunnery was allowed to stand. But it made little difference; Spratt won the runoff with 55 percent.

In the general election, Republican John Wilkerson, a longtime friend and legal client of Spratt, criticized the Democrat's opposition to constitutional amendments promoting school prayer and a balanced budget. Wilkerson accused Spratt of being too liberal for the district. But Spratt appealed to the district's partisan loyalties, saying that he was "in the mainstream of the Democratic Party."

Spratt had a clear organization edge. When he visited county courthouses, rural areas and factories, he often had a locally popular political figure close at hand. Wilkerson had fewer contacts; one source described his supporters as "the country club boys — the fellows who put ice in their whisky."

In the final weeks of the campaign, unable to rely on a county-by-county apparatus, Wilkerson turned to a set of negative ads on

1382

John M. Spratt Jr., D-S.C.

## South Carolina 5

Touching on four distinct regions of South Carolina, the 5th sprawls from the hills of Cherokee County to the low country around Sumter, lacking a geographic center or a clear political identity. To command a districtwide media presence, a candidate has to buy time in four cities outside the district — Greenville, Columbia, Florence and Charlotte, N.C.

The area is largely dependent on yarns and cloth. The largest employer in the 5th is Springs Mills, with plants in Lancaster, Kershaw and Chester; the huge Du Pont synthetic fibers plant in Camden runs a close second. Most of the counties in the central section of the district have at least one town whose name ends in "Mills," and millworkers form the base of the area's labor-oriented Democratic vote.

The district's southern and eastern counties remain primarily agricultural. Chesterfield and tiny Lee County grow soybeans, corn, cotton and melons; their politics, centered around the courthouses in Chesterfield and Bishopville, are rigidly Democratic.

The largest city in the district is Rock Hill, a declining textile town in York

## North Central — Rock Hill

County, some 25 miles from Charlotte, N.C. The county's last cotton mill, located in Rock Hill, closed early in 1982. Rock Hill remains a blue-collar town, however, with a strong Democratic loyalty. In the 1980 presidential balloting it gave Jimmy Carter 67 percent of its vote.

The rest of York County has been growing quickly, and several suburban Charlotte communities have sprung up near the North Carolina border. Their residents provide one of the few firm blocs of Republican strength in the district.

The 5th's other GOP pockets are in Sumter and Kershaw counties. Shaw Air Force Base in Sumter has been a major source of federal dollars and conservative votes. Kershaw's county seat of Camden is the home base of some of South Carolina's most prominent Democratic politicians, but its Du Pont executives and other wealthy business people who live outside the city back Republican candidates.

Population: 519,716. White 347,770 (67%), Black 168,599 (32%). Spanish origin 4,563 (1%). 18 and over 357,907 (69%), 65 and over 51,693 (10%). Median age: 29.

television that implied that Spratt, during Ravenel's 1974 campaign, had tried to buy votes.

The commercials galvanized Spratt supporters, and caused grumbling even among Re-

publicans. After the ads were broadcast, Wilkerson canceled all his engagements and took to the road for a final round of personal campaigning, but to no benefit.

### Committees

**Armed Services** (24th of 28 Democrats)  
Military Installations and Facilities; Military Personnel and Compensation.

**Government Operations** (23rd of 25 Democrats)  
Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs; Manpower and Housing.

### Elections

<b>1982 General</b>		
John Spratt (D)	69,345	(68%)
John Wilkerson (R)	33,191	(32%)
<b>1982 Primary Runoff</b>		
John Spratt (D)	30,859	(55%)
John Winburn (D)	25,302	(45%)
<b>1982 Primary</b>		
John Spratt (D)	28,472	(38%)
John Winburn (D)	19,865	(27%)

Ernie Nunnery (D)	19,522	(26%)
Bill Horne (D)	6,729	(9%)

### District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	74,745 (53%)	D	80,255 (59%)
R	63,496 (45%)	R	54,153 (40%)

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Spratt (D)	\$379,941	\$47,400 (12%)	\$374,515
Wilkerson (R)	\$237,696	\$28,460 (12%)	\$231,960

### Key Vote

Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y
-----------------------------	---

Texas - 27th District

## 27 Solomon P. Ortiz (D)

Of Corpus Christi — Elected 1982

**Born:** June 3, 1937, Robstown, Texas.

**Education:** Attended Del Mar College, 1966-67.

**Military Career:** Army, 1960-62.

**Occupation:** Law enforcement official.

**Family:** Divorced; two children.

**Religion:** Methodist.

**Political Career:** Nueces County Constable, 1964-68;

Nueces County Commissioner, 1968-76; Nueces

County Sheriff, 1976-82.

**Capitol Office:** 1524 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-7742.



**The Path to Washington:** For almost 20 years, Ortiz has been a ground-breaker for Hispanics in South Texas politics, holding a succession of offices previously closed to Mexican-Americans. And he has managed to compile an unbroken string of victories that dates back to his election as a constable in 1964. He became Nueces County's first Hispanic commissioner in 1968, and its first Hispanic sheriff in 1976, when he took two-thirds of the vote.

Ortiz has been known for his tough law enforcement stance and his efforts to modernize the sheriff's office. Besides upgrading the patrol division and training academy, Ortiz organized a ten-county drug task force and a regional enforcement network. The effort made him popular in an area that has become a bypass route for national drug traffic.

As soon as it was clear that reapportionment would grant Texas three new House seats for 1982, there was general agreement that one of them would be in south Texas and that it would have a Hispanic majority. As drawn by the Legislature and then adjusted by a three-judge federal panel, the new 27th offered an excellent opportunity for a Mexican-American Democrat. Its overall Hispanic population exceeded 60 percent.

Five candidates filed for the Democratic primary, and four of them were Mexican-Americans. The one who attracted the most outside attention was Jorge Rangel, a 34-year-old Harvard-educated lawyer whose conservative economic views made him a favorite of business political action committees in Washington as well as in Texas. But Rangel's business connections were suspect to more traditional Democrats in the Hispanic community, and as a first-time candidate, he had no established political base. Ortiz had the loyal backing of the poorer Hispanics in Corpus Christi who had sustained

his long political career, and that was enough to bring him in first with 26 percent of the primary vote and earn him a spot in the June runoff.

The second runoff position went to the one non-Hispanic candidate in the contest, Joseph Salem, a Corpus Christi jeweler and former state representative. Despite his Lebanese background, Salem spoke fluent Spanish, had good ties to Mexican-Americans in his city and was a favorite of organized labor throughout the new 27th District.

The runoff thus had a different flavor from the first primary. With Rangel out of the contest, oil and other business interests turned to Ortiz in an effort to stop Salem, whom they regarded as too liberal. Meanwhile, some of the more militant young Hispanics in the area chose to ignore ethnic ties and side with Salem on ideological grounds.

The decisive runoff votes were cast in Brownsville, at the opposite end of the district from Corpus Christi. Salem had some initial appeal to the Hispanic majority there, but Ortiz scored a coup by gaining the support of state Pardon and Parole Chairman Ruben M. Torres, who had been Brownsville's choice in the first round of primary voting. Thanks to Torres' support, Ortiz won about 60 percent of the Cameron County (Brownsville) runoff vote, allowing him to draw 52 percent of the vote districtwide.

The general election simply ratified the primary result. All major Hispanic groups united behind Ortiz against Republican Jason Luby, a former Corpus Christi mayor who had already lost two previous congressional bids. Ortiz ran as a law-and-order advocate, reiterating his earlier statements calling crime the nation's major problem. Election Day brought Ortiz 64 percent of the vote.

Solomon P. Ortiz, D-Texas

**Texas 27**

The newly created 27th looks tidy and compact: four whole counties and the bulk of a fifth lined up along the Gulf Coast in far southern Texas with the region's two largest cities at either end.

But when the boundaries of the 27th were released by federal judges, there were grumblings in Brownsville, a Mexican border city in the Rio Grande Valley that has never had a great deal of contact with Corpus Christi, its much larger competitor for tourists and seaport trade. Since about 55 percent of the district's population lives in the Corpus Christi area, some Brownsville residents worry that their interests may be overshadowed by Corpus Christi's in the new district.

Among Texas ports, Corpus Christi is second only to Houston in tonnage handled yearly. The city has large petrochemical and aluminum plants and seafood processing facilities. Manufacturers of clothing and oil drilling equipment are also important employers. Tourists are drawn to Corpus Christi by its mild climate and direct access

**Gulf Coast — Corpus Christi; Brownsville**

to the Padre Island National Seashore.

By comparison, Brownsville offers more of a south-of-the-border flavor. Corpus Christi's Nueces County is not quite half-Hispanic, but in Brownsville and Cameron County, nearly 80 percent of the residents are Hispanic. Export-import trade with Mexico is vital to the Brownsville economy, and the bounteous harvests of the Rio Grande Valley keep many workers employed processing fruits and vegetables.

Nueces and Cameron behave similarly at the polls, as reflected in the 1982 gubernatorial results. Democrat Mark White carried both counties, 59-40 percent in Cameron, 60-39 percent in Nueces. Democrats generally win districtwide, although their margins statewide were higher in the mid-1970s than they have been recently.

Population: 526,988. White 417,540 (79%), Black 14,443 (3%). Spanish origin 324,120 (62%). 18 and over 341,512 (65%), 65 and over 46,546 (9%). Median age: 26.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (27th of 28 Democrats)  
Military Personnel and Compensation; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials.

**Merchant Marine and Fisheries** (24th of 25 Democrats)  
Fisheries, Wildlife Conservation and the Environment; Merchant Marine; Panama Canal and Outer Continental Shelf.

**Select Narcotics Abuse and Control** (14th of 16 Democrats)

Joe Salem (D)	18,784	(25%)
Jorge Rangel (D)	14,008	(19%)
Arnold Gonzales (D)	13,072	(17%)
Ruben Torres (D)	10,302	(14%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	72,902 (51%)	D	86,991 (61%)
R	69,306 (47%)	R	54,623 (38%)

**Elections****1982 General**

Solomon P. Ortiz (D)	66,604	(64%)
Jason Luby (R)	35,209	(34%)

**1982 Primary Runoff**

Solomon P. Ortiz (D)	24,539	(52%)
Joe Salem (D)	23,082	(48%)

**1982 Primary**

Solomon P. Ortiz (D)	19,497	(26%)
----------------------	--------	-------

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Ortiz (D)	\$319,940	\$89,800 (28%)	\$279,622

**Key Vote**

Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N
-----------------------------	---

**George W. Darden (D-Ga.) 1st Term\***



**Biog.:** D. NOV. 22, 1943, Hancock Co., Ga.; Atty.; Meth.; m. Lillian Budd; 2 children; U. Ga., A.B., J.D.; home, Marietta.

**Dist.:** 7th, Pop., 545,913; Maj. Cities, Marietta, Rome; Offices, Marietta (Mary Hall, 404/422-4482); Rome (Kathryn Padgett, 404/291-7777).

**Com'tees:** ARMED SVS. (Rsch.-Dev't; Readiness).

**Aides:** Adm., Diane Pickett; Press, Deborah Spector.

\* Replaced Larry McDonald Nov. 8, 1983.

**Georgia**

Georgia State Rep. George W. "Buddy" Darden easily defeated Democrat Kathryn McDonald in a Nov. 8 special House election runoff.

Darden replaced Democratic Rep. Larry P. McDonald, Kathryn's husband, who died aboard the Korean Air Lines jet shot down by a Soviet fighter plane Sept. 1. Kathryn McDonald echoed her husband's militant conservatism and his hostility to the national Democratic Party. Darden took a more moderate approach.

Darden was the first candidate in a decade to challenge successfully the coalition of national conservative organizations, local John Birch Society adherents and rural conservatives that sparked Larry McDonald's campaigns. An ally of powerful state House Speaker Tom Murphy, Darden was able to pick up the support of a range of elected Democrats and party officials despite the official neutrality of the party itself.

The face-off between McDonald and Darden was set up Oct. 18, when they finished first and second, respectively, in the first round of the non-partisan special election. McDonald's 30.6% of the vote in the initial round was far less than her supporters had hoped for, and it signaled trouble for her campaign.

McDonald's initial weakness stemmed in part from voters' doubts about her suitability to succeed her husband. Originally from California, she had spent most of her time after their marriage in Washington, D.C., and seemed to have little in common with the voters of northwest Georgia. Moreover, some tradition-minded voters questioned whether a widow with two young children should be in Congress.

Darden campaigned as a "responsible conservative" and labeled McDonald an extremist. The McDonald campaign attacked Darden as a liberal for his support for the Equal Rights Amendment and his financial backing from organized labor.

Although McDonald carried the four northern counties in the district — traditionally her husband's stronghold — Darden picked up most of the vote in those counties that had gone to other candidates on the first round.

Official results:

<b>George W. "Buddy" Darden</b>	56,267	59.1%
<b>Kathryn McDonald</b>	38,949	40.9%

**Albert G.  
Bustamante**  
(D-23rd District)



**Election:** Succeeds Democratic Rep. Abraham Kazen Jr., whom he defeated in the primary.  
**Born:** April 8, 1935, Asherton, Texas.  
**Education:** Sul Ross State College, B.A. 1961.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1954-56.  
**Occupation:** Teacher.  
**Family:** Wife, Rebecca Pounders; three children.  
**Religion:** Roman Catholic.  
**Political Career:** Bexar County Commissioner, 1972-78; Bexar County Judge, 1978-82.

**Background:** Bustamante's election, guaranteed when he ousted veteran Democratic Rep. Abraham Kazen Jr. in a primary last May, marks another step in southwest Texas Hispanics' march to wrest key offices from traditional "Anglo" control.

Bustamante grew up as a migrant laborer, picking fruit and grain crops. Kazen, who is of Lebanese descent, comes from a family associated with the Anglo establishment that has long dominated many of southwest Texas' border towns.

Ethnicity was not the overt subject of the primary campaign between them. Bustamante spent most of his time trying to paint Kazen as an inaccessible and ineffective representative; Kazen played up his seniority and cited signs of his influence.

But it was clear that Bustamante's primary chances would depend on his ability to rally fellow Hispanics. "Help me on Cinco de Mayo [May 5, a Mexican national holiday as well as Texas' primary date] to declare our independence from an old political family who has controlled the destiny of this area," Bustamante told a mostly Mexican-American audience during the campaign.

Sufficient numbers of Hispanics heeded that cry to enable Bustamante to score an impressive 59 percent of the primary vote in the 23rd, where 1983 redistricting changes boosted the Mexican-American population to more than 53 percent of the district's total. Bustamante's victory made him one of only three challengers to oust an incumbent in a 1984 primary.

He had no opposition in the general election, and in December was elected president of the incoming Democratic freshman class.

Bustamante got his first full-time job in politics in 1968, when he signed on as an assistant to U.S. Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, a pioneer among Hispanic Democrats in Texas politics. Bustamante held that job for three years before his own political ambitions caused a conflict with his boss. After Gonzalez dismissed him from the staff, Bustamante ran successfully for a seat on the Bexar County (San Antonio) Commission in 1972.

Bustamante took an active role in presidential politics, attending the 1976 Democratic National Convention as one of six Texas delegates pledged to the state's own Sen. Lloyd Bentsen. He advanced his own career by abandoning his commission post after one five-year term and won a Bexar County judgeship in 1978.

Bustamante developed a reputation as a tough-minded judge, fond of publicity and unabashed in tangling with other public officials. During negotiations over a suit filed to force improvements in the local prison system, Bustamante threatened to go to jail to protest what he viewed as excessive funding demands. He later backed a bond issue to raise money for a new jail.

---

## ARKANSAS

---

**Tommy Robinson**  
(D-2nd District)



**Election:** Succeeds Republican Rep. Ed Bethune, who ran unsuccessfully for the Senate.

**Born:** March 7, 1942, Little Rock, Ark.

**Education:** U. of Arkansas at Little Rock, B.A. 1976.

**Military Career:** Navy, 1959-63.

**Occupation:** Law enforcement officer.

**Family:** Wife, Carolyn; six children.

**Religion:** Methodist.

**Political Career:** Pulaski County (Little Rock) sheriff, 1980-84.

**Background:** Flamboyance and a populist pitch made Robinson one of Arkansas' best-known politicians, but moderation marked his congressional campaign. He is not prone to predictability, and many wonder what he will be like as a congressman.

When the overcrowded state prison system delayed removing its prisoners from his county jail, Sheriff Robinson handcuffed prisoners to a fence at the state prison. He also made headlines for arresting the Pulaski County judge and comptroller in a dispute over funding for the sheriff's department. That swashbuckling, tough-guy approach dismayed some of Little Rock's more urbane residents, but made him a folk hero in working-class areas of Pulaski County and in the seven mostly rural counties that surround Pulaski. Those counties carried Robinson to victory; he did not carry Pulaski in the primary, runoff, or general elections.

The son of a fireman, Robinson served in the Navy after high school, then spent 16 years working his way up in law enforcement, winning election as Pulaski County sheriff in 1980. He was easily re-elected two years later, and in 1984 Robinson entered the 2nd District race, surprising Democratic Secretary of State Paul Riviere, who had been building an organization for a year. GOP Rep. Ed Bethune vacated the 2nd District seat to run for the Senate.

Robinson borrowed hundreds of thousands of dollars to finance his campaign, and he found an issue to seize on: When a federal judge ordered consolidation of three public school districts in Pulaski County, Robinson promised to work in Congress to limit judges' power. Robinson shrugged off attacks on his finances, explaining that a common man like himself lacked the money to run for Congress and had to rely on friends for help.

Robinson won the primary and runoff easily. Republicans nominated state Rep. Judy Petty. With nomination in hand, Robinson shifted from right to center to attract disaffected moderate-to-liberal Democrats. He said in August that he himself "may be a liberal Democrat" on issues such as the Equal Rights Amendment and GOP-proposed cuts in aid for the young and the elderly. Petty, meanwhile, hewed to the GOP line, and there was negative fallout from her speech at the national convention in which she defended the party's foreign policy platform saying, "There are some things worse than war."

Reagan carried Arkansas easily, but Robinson won by more than 12,000 votes.

Alabama - 2nd District

## 2 William L. Dickinson (R)

Of Montgomery — Elected 1964

**Born:** June 5, 1925, Opelika, Ala.  
**Education:** U. of Ala. Law School, LL.B. 1950.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1943-46; Air Force Reserve.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer, judge, railroad executive.  
**Family:** Wife, Barbara Edwards; four children.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** Opelika city judge, 1951-53; Lee County Court of Common Pleas and Juvenile Court judge, 1954-58; 5th Judicial Circuit judge, 1958-63.  
**Capitol Office:** 2406 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2901.



**In Washington:** Viewed over most of his career as a talented but lackadaisical member of the Armed Services Committee, Dickinson seemed to take on a new seriousness after he became that committee's ranking Republican member in 1981.

He worked closely with John G. Tower of Texas, the GOP chairman of Armed Services in the Senate, and took a sympathetic but sometimes critical view of the Reagan military buildup. Early in 1981, he warned the administration not to assume a permanent national consensus for higher defense spending. "We will only be able to retain public support," he said, "if we can show that the funds are spent wisely."

When the fiscal 1983 defense authorization bill came to the House floor, Dickinson played the most visible role of his career, putting up a common front with committee Democrat Samuel S. Stratton — with whom he had sometimes quarreled in the past — to defend the MX missile, chemical weapons and other controversial programs against sustained attack.

Dickinson can be a tough, sarcastic debater; when critics of chemical warfare tried to argue that world opinion was against it, he remarked, "If the Soviets start to roll and use their chemical agents, we will hit them with an opinion poll. That will stop them in their tracks."

The Alabama Republican was effective on a heavily lobbied issue, the proposed use of reconditioned 747 airplanes rather than C-5A cargo planes for international troop transport. Dickinson took the lead for Armed Services in backing the C-5A, arguing his case in a rambling but convincing speech that provided some of the more entertaining moments of the defense bill debate. "The whole idea of using 747s comes from somebody who is trying to peddle

airplanes," he said. In the end, his side won easily.

Dickinson's performance on the defense bill erased some of the earlier perceptions of him as a man who did not work hard enough to win on important issues. He had suffered a significant defeat in 1980, when he launched one of his periodic drives to merge all military helicopter training into one program — at Fort Rucker in his district. Many Armed Services specialists conceded the logic of this approach, and Dickinson was thought to have a good chance in 1980. But he lost a lobbying fight to the obscure Earl Hutto, a freshman Democrat from Florida whose district stood to lose under the change and who simply outthrust Dickinson.

Dickinson has used his Armed Services position to travel around the world and to direct federal military spending into his district. As a traveler, he achieved distinction early. In his first six years in Congress, he visited 29 countries. He has managed to keep up the pace since then.

As for his district, Dickinson takes pride in the comprehensive five-year development plan for Maxwell-Gunter Air Force complex in Montgomery and in the millions of dollars that have gone into flight training at Fort Rucker, even though the long-sought helicopter training expansion has never taken place.

Dickinson also is the senior Republican in years of service on the House Administration Committee. Under party rules, however, he could only be "ranking" on one panel, so he yielded that position on House Administration to Bill Frenzel of Minnesota.

Outside his committee assignments, Dickinson tries to involve himself in measures of interest to the cotton and peanut farmers of his district. He sometimes testifies at the Agricul-

William L. Dickinson, R-Ala.

## Alabama 2

Most of the 2nd District, which covers the southeast corner of the state, is rural. But half the population is concentrated in two urban centers at opposite corners of the district.

At the northwest edge is Montgomery County, with just under 200,000 people. The city of Montgomery has long been a national Republican stronghold in Alabama, voting for GOP presidential candidates as far back as 1956.

Montgomery was the first capital of the Confederacy, and to many the city represents the Fort Sumter of the civil rights movement. In 1955 a black woman named Rosa Parks refused to give up her bus seat to a white man, and her arrest resulted in a boycott led by Martin Luther King Jr. and the end of bus segregation.

With the state capitol crucial to its economy, Montgomery is largely a white-collar town with a government-oriented work force. Nearby Maxwell and Gunter Air Force bases employ more than 6,000 people.

At the southeastern corner of the district, near the Florida and Georgia borders, is the Houston County seat of Dothan, a city of nearly 50,000. Originally a cotton and peanut market town, Dothan grew rapidly after World War II — especially in the 1970s — by attracting new industries, in-

## Southeast — Montgomery; Dothan

cluding large plants run by Michelin and Sony. Largely non-union, the Dothan plants represent most of the heavy industry in the 2nd District.

Although fiercely loyal to George C. Wallace, Houston County has been voting regularly for conservative Republicans in other contests over the last decade.

Fort Rucker, where many Army and Air Force helicopter pilots and crews are trained, is northwest of Dothan in Dale County. More than 11,000 military and civilian personnel work at Fort Rucker.

Between these two population centers are the Piney Woods of Alabama and a portion of the state's Black Belt. Sparsely populated, the area grows more peanuts than almost any region in the country, although cotton is still cultivated. As a testament to the success of peanuts, the town of Enterprise in Coffee County erected a monument to the boll weevil, the insect whose destruction of the cotton crop in the early part of the century convinced farmers to switch to peanuts.

Population: 549,505. White 376,259 (68%), Black 168,913 (31%). Spanish origin 5,731 (1%). 18 and over 383,150 (70%), 65 and over 64,624 (12%). Median age: 29.

ture Committee in favor of peanut price-support programs.

Dickinson's good-natured personal style does not always come through in his rhetoric. During his early years in Congress, strong words caused him a considerable amount of trouble.

In his first term, Dickinson took to the House floor and denounced civil rights marchers in his home state as "human flotsam" and "communist dupes," stirred up by outside agitators and a biased press. Some members, offended at the tone of his remarks, pointedly walked out of the House chamber as he spoke. His hometown newspaper criticized him publicly; Dickinson conceded he may have erred.

Dickinson chooses his words a little more carefully these days, at least in public, but his basic political conservatism remains solid.

He warns against the spread of international communism and speaks out for the na-

tionalist Chinese government on Taiwan. And, as he has noted in his own list of accomplishments, Dickinson "fights radical liberal efforts to further lower moral standards in the U.S. with such schemes as abortion on demand and so-called homosexual 'civil rights.'"

In the 97th Congress Dickinson renewed his attack on the federal judiciary, introducing a constitutional amendment requiring Senate confirmation of federal judges every six years. He said such a procedure would be "bound to keep them a little more honest."

**At Home:** Like fellow Republican Jack Edwards in the neighboring 1st District, Dickinson has worked his 1964 upset victory into a long-term congressional career.

But while Edwards has had an easy time holding his seat, Dickinson has rarely escaped serious opposition. Six times he has won reelection with less than 60 percent of the vote; four times, he has been held under 55 percent.

**Alabama - 2nd District**

Dickinson represents a primarily rural, traditionally Democratic area of Alabama. Some of his conservative Democratic opponents have drawn the active support of former Gov. George C. Wallace, whose original home base is Barbour County, at the eastern end of the 2nd District.

Dickinson has embellished his conservative credentials with blessings from prominent figures like Jerry Falwell, the national leader of the Moral Majority, and has been able to establish a solid base of support in the population centers, Montgomery and Dothan.

Dickinson's urban base, however, was barely enough in 1982. As Wallace's former press secretary and president of the state Public Service Commission, Democratic challenger Billy Joe Camp had excellent name identification.

Camp was not an aggressive campaigner and did not have much money. But he benefited from Wallace's presence on the ballot as gubernatorial nominee. That and a double-digit unemployment rate were nearly enough to send him to Congress. With Camp carrying nine of the district's 13 counties, Dickinson had to run more than 10,000 votes ahead in the Montgomery and Dothan areas to eke out a 1,386-vote victory. It was the smallest margin of his House career.

A Democratic circuit judge in Lee County for four years, Dickinson quit the bench in 1963 to become assistant vice president of the Southern Railroad. But his stay in the business world was brief. He filed for the House just as Barry Goldwater was launching his presidential campaign, and when Goldwater swept Alabama in November 1964, Dickinson easily unseated Democratic Rep. George M. Grant.

Grant had a conservative record, but Dickinson managed to associate him with the national Democratic ticket, which not only was unpopular in the state but was excluded from an official position at the top of the ballot.

Dickinson has had a series of close re-election campaigns since then. The strongest challenger until Camp was state Sen. "Walking" Wendell Mitchell, who ran in 1978.

Mitchell said Dickinson had done little for the district and had missed too many House roll calls. Dickinson was held to 54 percent of the vote.

In the following two years, the Republican devoted increased attention to his constituency. From his position on the Armed Services Committee, he was able to win increased funding for Maxwell-Gunter. In 1980, with Republicans running well statewide in Alabama, Dickinson won re-election with a comfortable 61 percent of the vote.

**Committees**

**Armed Services (Ranking)**  
Military Installations and Facilities; Military Personnel and Compensation; Research and Development.

**House Administration (2nd of 7 Republicans)**  
Services (ranking); Office Systems.

**Elections****1982 General**

William L. Dickinson (R)	83,290	(50%)
Billy Joe Camp (D)	81,904	(49%)

**1980 General**

William L. Dickinson (R)	104,796	(61%)
Cecil Wyatt (D)	63,447	(37%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (54%) 1976 (58%)  
1974 (66%) 1972 (55%) 1970 (61%) 1968 (55%)  
1966 (55%) 1964 (62%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	83,720 (44%)	D	88,208 (53%)
R	99,283 (53%)	R	75,528 (46%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Dickinson (R)	\$300,186	\$135,099 (45%)	\$281,971
Camp (D)	\$145,214	\$55,600 (38%)	\$140,047

**1980**

Dickinson (R)	\$175,225	\$60,979 (35%)	\$116,504
Wyatt (D)	\$23,496	\$3,600 (15%)	\$23,492

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	75	14	76	11	89	4
1981	72	16	77	14	81	7
1980	32	56	80	11	79	5
1979	20	72	82	11	88	5
1978	21	62	74	12	84	5
1977	32	56	74	12	81	4
1976	76	18	88	6	92	1
1975	64	27	78	10	85	4
1974 (Ford)	50	33				
1974	60	28	77	8	82	2
1973	70	22	78	14	89	3
1972	43	24	74	8	77	2
1971	74	19	82	12	93	3
1970	52	32	71	18	89	-
1969	60	32	73	18	82	2
1968	35	48	67	9	78	2
1967	28	51	76	4	74	2
1966	15	46	61	0	59	0
1965	22	66	79	3	80	2

S = Support O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	X

**William L. Dickinson, R-Ala.**

Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N	1980	11	83	10	81
Index income taxes (1981)	Y	1979	5	88	6	93
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y	1978	5	96	16	81
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y	1977	5	92	23	100
Delete MX funding (1982)	N	1976	0	96	17	100
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y	1975	5	89	9	100
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N	1974	4	92	0	88
		1973	4	96	9	100
		1972	0	95	0	100
		1971	3	86	17	-
		1970	8	94	0	89
		1969	0	69	0	-
		1968	0	96	0	-
		1967	0	96	0	100
		1966	0	100	0	-
		1965	0	96	-	100

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	0	95	0	84
1981	5	76	27	100

Virginia - 2nd District

## 2 G. William Whitehurst (R)

Of Virginia Beach — Elected 1968

**Born:** March 12, 1925, Norfolk, Va.  
**Education:** Washington and Lee U., B.A. 1950; U. of Va., M.A. 1951; W.Va. U., Ph.D. 1962.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1943-46.  
**Occupation:** History professor; broadcast journalist.  
**Family:** Wife, Jennette Franks; two children.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 2469 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4215.



**In Washington:** Whitehurst combines strong support for a higher military budget with a passion for saving the lives of animals. His defense views flow naturally out of his Norfolk constituency, which includes a dozen military facilities; his concern for animals has been fostered by his wife, Jennette, who specializes in the issue as his unpaid legislative assistant.

Whitehurst was described as a political moderate in his early days in Congress, but he has gradually, almost imperceptibly, inched to the right in recent years to meet the conservatism of his party and his constituents.

In his first term, Whitehurst endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment and referred to himself as a "Hatfield Republican." In the 1970s, though, he became identified with different sorts of causes. He became a leader in the campaign against busing and a consistent opponent of foreign economic aid. He was the only Virginian to earn a zero from the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) in 1980; in 1982 he drew an ADA rating of 5.

Because of the military dominance in his district, Whitehurst gravitated to the Armed Services Committee in 1969 and is now the panel's second ranking Republican member. He is senior GOP member of its Readiness Subcommittee, which is headed by another Virginian, Rep. Dan Daniel.

Whitehurst is not one of the more aggressive members at Armed Services, but he has pursued military issues as a founding member of the Military Reform Caucus, and as its chairman in the 97th Congress. The caucus is made up of about 50 members of Congress of varying ideological viewpoints who worry that the Pentagon places bureaucratic politics above strategic concerns.

Most of the caucus members tend to be liberal Democrats; Whitehurst's chairmanship

gave the group credibility it needed on the conservative side. One of the main themes of the caucus has been that the United States spends too much on acquiring expensive weaponry and not enough on maintaining what it has.

Whitehurst was highly critical of Navy readiness after the helicopter carrier USS *Guam* broke down in the Philadelphia River in 1981, following a \$23 million overhaul. "The Navy just does not get a reasonable job done in overhauls for the money expended," he said. He insisted his comments were unrelated to the fact that the *Guam* was repaired in the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, rival to a repair firm in his area.

Meanwhile, Whitehurst has been one of the more outspoken defenders of U.S. funding for chemical warfare, including the highly lethal binary munitions program, which he says is needed to counter a major Soviet effort in that area.

In 1982, when chemical warfare critics said world opinion would not support U.S. binary munitions development, Whitehurst argued that it seemed to tolerate Soviet use of chemical weapons in Laos and Cambodia. "Has world opinion rushed to our side?" Whitehurst asked. "I barely heard a peep."

For a weapons specialist, Whitehurst found himself embroiled in an unusual argument in 1982 — against the Gun Owners of America. The group sent out a fund-raising letter that described itself as an "Official Congressional District Survey on Violent Crime" and used the official congressional seal as part of an appeal against gun control legislation. Whitehurst accused the group of "alarmist language" and "scare tactics," and asked the Justice Department to investigate the use of the seal.

G. William Whitehurst, R-Va.

## Virginia 2

## Norfolk; Virginia Beach

The 2nd is composed of adjacent cities: the fast-growing residential and resort municipality of Virginia Beach and the unionized port city of Norfolk, which lost 13 percent of its population during the 1970s.

The two cities present a stark political contrast. Norfolk, which is 35 percent black, gave Jimmy Carter a 52-41 percent edge in 1980. Virginia Beach, which is 86 percent white, went to Ronald Reagan by nearly 2-to-1. In the closely fought 1982 Senate race, Democrat Richard J. Davis carried Norfolk with 62 percent, and Republican Paul S. Trible Jr. won Virginia Beach with 59 percent of the vote.

Like the southern portion of the 1st District, the 2nd is heavily dependent on the massive concentration of naval installations, shipbuilders and shipping firms in the Hampton Roads harbor area, which ranks first in export tonnage among the nation's Atlantic ports and is the biggest coal shipper in the world. There is a Ford truck assembly plant in Norfolk, and the city also processes seafood and makes fertilizer and farm implements.

During the 1970s, many military families, business people and retirees settled in

Virginia Beach, changing its earlier identity as a summer tourist center. The city's retail and service trade has boomed in response to this influx of affluence. After growing 52 percent in the 1970s, Virginia Beach reached 263,000 residents in the 1980 census, just 4,000 people short of supplanting Norfolk as Virginia's largest city.

One key to Democrat Charles S. Robb's successful 1981 gubernatorial campaign was his unusually strong showing in the 2nd District. It was Robb's second best district in the state, giving him 59 percent of the vote.

The 2nd was slightly expanded by redistricting in 1981. It picked up 35,000 people in the southern part of Virginia Beach who had been in the 4th District. Whitehurst's newly-acquired territory is a solidly Republican and rural area into which suburbia is encroaching.

Population: 529,178. White 389,088 (74%), Black 120,278 (23%), Asian and Pacific Islander 13,719 (3%). Spanish origin 11,234 (2%). 18 and over 383,036 (72%), 65 and over 36,388 (7%). Median age: 26.

That effort does seem consistent with Whitehurst's second legislative role, as a friend of animals. Whitehurst has taken the lead on enactment of the Animal Protection Act (aimed at setting humane standards for both zoos and research labs) and the Horse Protection Act (banning the practice of "soring" the hoofs of Tennessee walking horses). The Whitehursts also have worked on a bill to create a National Zoological Foundation.

**At Home:** Whitehurst stepped directly into Congress from the dean's office at Norfolk's Old Dominion College, bypassing any normal political apprenticeship.

A supporter of Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson for president in 1964, Whitehurst had not even been active behind the scenes in Republi-

can politics before his congressional bid. But he was well-known in the Norfolk area as a news analyst on a local television station.

Whitehurst might not have made it without a bitter primary in the opposing party. Veteran Democratic Rep. Porter Hardy retired in 1968, and his allies backed conservative John Rixey as his successor. But when Rixey was defeated in the Democratic primary by the liberal Frederick T. Stant, numerous conservative Democrats voted for Whitehurst in the fall, and the district went Republican with 54 percent of the vote.

Democrats have never come close to reclaiming the seat. Whitehurst's position was solidified in 1972, when redistricting removed Portsmouth and added Virginia Beach. He has not had Democratic opposition since 1976.

## Virginia - 2nd District

## Committees

**Armed Services** (2nd of 16 Republicans)  
 Readiness (ranking): Military Installations and Facilities.  
**Select Intelligence** (2nd of 5 Republicans)  
 Legislation (ranking).

## Elections

## 1982 General

G. William Whitehurst (R) Unopposed

## 1980 General

G. William Whitehurst (R) 97,319 (90%)  
 Kenneth Morrison (LIB) 11,003 (10%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (100%) 1976 (66%)  
 1974 (60%) 1972 (73%) 1970 (62%) 1968 (54%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	60,013 (41%)	D	65,119 (49%)
R	75,443 (52%)	R	62,692 (47%)
I	8,163 (6%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Whitehurst (R)	\$76,900	\$35,835 (47%)	\$64,740
<b>1980</b>			
Whitehurst (R)	\$52,162	\$17,650 (34%)	\$43,672

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	69	22	78	16	90	4
1981	70	25	85	12	91	7
1980	38	50	76	12	93	0

1979	37	59	80	16	95	3
1978	34	62	78	17	89	7
1977	34	54	74	17	81	8
1976	71	20	77	13	84	8
1975	61	38	81	13	87	9
1974 (Ford)	41	33				
1974	75	21	75	9	87	6
1973	72	26	79	16	84	9
1972	73	24	83	8	89	5
1971	86	14	74	16†	87	9†
1970	65	26	53	38	75	7
1969	53	38	76	15	96	2

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

S = Support O = Opposition

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	?
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	87	16	76
1981	10	82	0	100
1980	0	87	12	74
1979	16	88	11	88
1978	15	89	25	78
1977	0	75	14	88
1976	5	84	19	82
1975	5	82	9	82
1974	4	93	0	70
1973	0	88	18	100
1972	6	86	0	80
1971	17	79	36	-
1970	16	50	43	75
1969	7	67	30	-

South Carolina - 2nd District

## 2 Floyd Spence (R)

Of Lexington — Elected 1970

**Born:** April 9, 1928, Columbia, S.C.

**Education:** U. of S.C., A.B. 1952, J.D. 1956.

**Military Career:** Navy, 1952-54.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Widowed; four children.

**Religion:** Lutheran.

**Political Career:** S.C. House, 1957-63; S.C. Senate, 1967-71, minority leader 1967-71; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1962.

**Capitol Office:** 2466 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2452.



**In Washington:** Spence arrived in the House determined to serve on the Armed Services Committee, not only to protect the national security but to look after all the military installations scattered over South Carolina by the committee's longtime chairman, L. Mendel Rivers of Charleston. He got the place, but he soon had to pay for it by taking another assignment he would have preferred to avoid — the Ethics Committee.

More than a decade later, as the Ethics Committee's senior Republican, Spence likes to joke about the way Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford told him ethics was a prestigious committee that would look good on his record, and it rarely met.

At the time, Ford was telling the truth. But in the changed political climate of the past few years, the committee has met frequently and has handled one difficult assignment after another, including the Korean influence-buying scandals, the censure of two members on kick-back charges and the Abscam bribery affair. Spence stays in his seat every Congress as most of the committee membership changes around him. No one else on the current committee has been there even two terms.

Remarkably, given his seniority, Spence is not a dominant influence on the panel. A pleasant man with shiny golden hair and a soft-spoken manner, he is no leader in strategy or debate. Still, he has played a useful role. Well-liked and trusted by House Republican colleagues, he has supported most of the tougher actions of the committee and added a measure of bipartisanship to them on the House floor.

In 1981, when some Democratic leaders proposed splitting the ethics panel in two — one group to bring charges against members and the other to hear them — Spence was a dissenter. He said the committee was function-

ing perfectly well as it was.

The Democratic side of the committee did change dramatically in the 97th Congress, and new chairman Louis Stokes of Ohio took less of an activist approach toward pursuing errant colleagues. But Spence remained cooperative and brought some "institutional memory" to a committee that badly needed it.

Meanwhile, Spence also has been building seniority on the Armed Services Committee, where he is now ranking Republican on the Seapower Subcommittee. He works easily on Seapower with Chairman Charles E. Bennett of Florida, who was also his ethics chairman in the 96th Congress. Spence generally follows Bennett's lead on naval issues and rarely challenges him with Republican alternatives.

The Armed Services Committee offers Spence a chance to look after the major military installation in his district, Fort Jackson, one of the Army's largest basic-training centers.

Reluctant to engage in debate either in committee or on the floor, Spence does not often stake out specific positions on weapons controversies. But on the overall issue of defense spending, he is a consistent hawk. In 1982, when liberal Democrats challenged the massive increases in the defense authorization bill, Spence chided them with a bit of uncharacteristic sarcasm. "Anything we do to defend ourselves is provocative and destabilizing," he said, "and could upset our adversaries to the extent that they might want to have some kind of confrontation with us."

**At Home:** Spence has won seven terms by margins that are comfortable but not overwhelming. With a strong base in the Columbia suburbs and nearby Lexington County, he has been able to withstand several serious Demo-

1373

Floyd Spence, R-S.C.

## South Carolina 2

## Central — Columbia

Perched in the center of South Carolina, the 2nd is a diverse — some would say polarized — district. It lumps together the state capital of Columbia and its fast-growing suburbs with three largely rural, black-majority counties. Republicans in Lexington County and neighboring Richland County, which has Columbia at its western edge, dominate the constituency. The votes from these areas easily outstrip the margins given Democrats in the rural, southern portion of the district.

Lexington County provided nearly half the district's growth in the 1970s. Lexington's new inhabitants are a mix of retirees, white-collar workers who left increasingly black Columbia, and employees of the glass, cement and synthetic fiber companies that have moved to the county in recent years.

Whatever brought them there, Lexington County residents are overwhelmingly white, middle class and Republican. Lexington is one of only three counties in the state with a population less than 10 percent black. Ronald Reagan carried the county by a better than 2-to-1 margin in the 1980 presidential contest. Four years earlier, when almost all of the rest of South Carolina was lining up behind Jimmy Carter, Lexington gave Gerald R. Ford 59 percent of its presidential vote.

Neighboring Richland County is far

more balanced both politically and racially. The county has the largest black population in the state, most of it concentrated in Columbia, which is 40 percent black. State employees and the 28,000 students and faculty at the University of South Carolina join with blacks to give much of the city a politically liberal hue and strong Democratic presence. But this influence is offset by the suburban Republican vote, much of it cast by military personnel and retirees settled around Fort Jackson.

The southern portion of the district has its political and geographic center at Orangeburg, which is the site of South Carolina State College, the traditional academic center for the state's blacks. The middle-class black community that has grown up around the college has proved a potent force in local politics, and Orangeburg County and its two rural neighbors — Calhoun and Bamberg counties — have consistently gone Democratic at local and national levels. Whites in the area, reflecting the districtwide tendency, generally vote Republican.

Population: 522,688. White 335,548 (64%), Black 181,061 (35%). Spanish origin 6,623 (1%). 18 and over 372,290 (71%), 65 and over 41,898 (8%). Median age: 27.

cratic challenges.

A star athlete at the University of South Carolina and later a practicing lawyer, Spence launched his political career by winning a state legislative seat as a Democrat. But he quit the Democratic Party in 1962, complaining that it was too liberal, and immediately began campaigning for Congress as a Republican.

Stressing his opposition to the "socialistic" Kennedy administration, Spence was a consensus choice for the 1962 GOP nomination in the open 2nd District. But he lost in the fall to an equally conservative Democrat, state Sen. Albert W. Watson, who edged him by 4,202 votes.

Watson himself switched parties in 1965, and in 1970 ran for governor as a Republican. At that point, Spence made his second cam-

paign for Congress, stressing his opposition to the busing decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court. He defeated Democrat Heyward McDonald by 6,088 votes to keep the seat in Republican hands.

Spence has never really been on the ropes since then, but he has never drawn 60 percent of the vote against a Democratic opponent. In 1974 he took 56 percent against Matthew Perry, the first black to be nominated for Congress by South Carolina Democrats. In 1982 his challenger was Ken Mosely, a physical education teacher at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg. Mosely carried black-majority Bamberg and Orangeburg counties, but Spence's large majorities in the rest of the district gave the incumbent 59 percent overall.

## South Carolina - 2nd District

## Committees

Armed Services (3rd of 16 Republicans)  
Readiness, Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials  
(ranking)

Standards of Official Conduct (Ranking Republican)

## Elections

1982 General

Floyd Spence (R) 71,569 (59%)  
Ken Mosely (D) 50,749 (41%)

1980 General

Floyd Spence (R) 92,306 (56%)  
Tom Turnipseed (D) 73,353 (44%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (57%) 1976 (58%)  
1974 (56%) 1972 (100%) 1970 (53%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	52,255 (43%)	D	70,231 (51%)
R	66,522 (54%)	R	66,194 (48%)
I	2,261 (2%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Spence (R)	\$190,813	\$75,275 (39%)	\$183,897
Mosely (D)	\$49,780	\$9,425 (19%)	\$49,780
1980			
Spence (R)	\$274,344	\$110,297 (40%)	\$272,010
Turnipseed (D)	\$77,344	\$28,176 (36%)	\$74,588

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	74	26	84	15	93	5
1981	74	26	92	8	96	4

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	43	56	87	12
1979	32	68	88	11
1978	30	68	80	18
1977	37	61	87	7
1976	75	25	87	11
1975	53	42	83	14
1974 (Ford)	48	48		
1974	70	26	89	9
1973	68	30	86	12
1972	62	35	82	8
1971	72	19	74	12

S = Support

O = Opposition

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	0	87	5	86
1981	0	92	13	89
1980	11	83	16	79
1979	5	96	5	94
1978	15	89	20	72
1977	0	88	17	88
1976	5	93	22	88
1975	11	89	22	76
1974	9	93	0	100
1973	0	85	18	100
1972	0	95	11	100
1971	0	92	13	-

Maryland - 4th District

## 4 Marjorie S. Holt (R)

### Of Severna Park — Elected 1972

**Born:** Sept. 17, 1920, Birmingham, Ala.  
**Education:** Jacksonville U., B.A. 1945; U. of Fla., LL.B. 1949.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Husband, Duncan Holt; three children.

**Religion:** Presbyterian.

**Political Career:** Circuit Court Clerk, Anne Arundel County Court, 1966-72.

**Capitol Office:** 2412 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-8090.



**In Washington:** Holt's field of vision has been unusual for a woman who came to Congress direct from a county clerk's office in Maryland. She is always telling colleagues that they are not looking at problems broadly enough.

On the Budget Committee during the 95th and 96th Congresses, she argued for starting with national aggregate figures on revenue and spending, then dividing the money up by category. She introduced a bill requiring that procedure in 1978. The committee never agreed to do it.

Holt also produced the first full-scale Republican substitute budget on the House floor, and came within five votes of seeing it passed in 1978. She never had the votes to pass one during Jimmy Carter's presidency, but she continued to offer them, and by 1980 the substitutes had become part of a national GOP political strategy.

By the end of 1980, when she left the Budget Committee to concentrate on Armed Services, Holt had had a measurable impact on the budget process. And it seemed to have had a significant impact on her.

Identified in her first two terms as a hard-right crusader on social issues such as busing and abortion, Holt seemed to grow more pragmatic and less ideological as she specialized in economics.

While most House Republicans made a policy of voting against all budget resolutions during the pre-Reagan years, Holt swung back and forth, occasionally voting for a Democratic product if she thought the alternative seemed worse.

Holt's budget work reflected the interest in defense that she brought with her in 1973, when she signed up for Armed Services as a freshman. She went to the Budget Committee in 1977 to be the Armed Services spokesman on

it, and kept up that role for four years.

In 1977 the Budget Committee cut President Carter's defense request by \$2.3 billion. Holt offered a floor amendment to put back \$1 billion in outlays and narrowly lost. In later years, she argued for more money to pay and house the volunteer army, citing low re-enlistment rates and substandard living conditions she said she had seen at military bases around the world.

Holt has promoted those same issues at Armed Services itself, to a considerably more sympathetic audience. She has sometimes pushed the committee to pay more attention to the budget process, asking for higher defense allotments even if it is clear the Budget Committee will chop them down. "Where are we going to get additional budgetary authority," she once chided Armed Services colleagues, "if we don't ask for it?"

In 1981, freed of budget responsibilities, Holt moved back to a line-item concentration on the weapons systems and other Pentagon requests the Armed Services Committee considers. She is ranking Republican on the subcommittee on Procurement and Nuclear Systems, chaired by Samuel Stratton, the temperamental New York Democrat. She seems to have a better knack for getting along with Stratton than most other committee members. Holt has been a strong supporter of the MX missile and B-1 bomber. She also argued in 1982 against a nuclear weapons freeze.

In her early terms in the House, Holt had a reputation as a conservative militant, especially on busing. In 1974 she won House passage of an amendment prohibiting the federal government from withholding funds from a school district to make it comply with desegregation standards. She called the Justice Department's desegregation policy "the new racism." The

Marjorie S. Holt, R-Md.

## Maryland 4

The 4th unites suburbs of Baltimore with those of Washington, D.C. In spite of its 3-to-1 Democratic registration advantage, it has a volatile political nature.

Anne Arundel County is the core of the district, with 70 percent of the population. Annapolis, the county seat and capital of Maryland, has an electorate tilted toward state government workers. It also contains a large black community, which has been there three centuries and composes a third of the town; Kunta Kinte, Alex Haley's forebear in the book *Roots*, landed there as a slave. Annapolis has a growing population of young professionals who find the quaint old seaport a chic place to live.

Just north of Annapolis, suburban Baltimore begins and the Republican vote increases. The GOP is in firm control in Severna Park, where corporate executives live in homes fronting Chesapeake Bay. Farther inland, the new town of Crofton, a bedroom community founded in the late 1960s, stays loyally Republican as well. Spiro Agnew moved there after his resignation from the vice presidency.

Closest to Baltimore, the suburbs are

## Ann Arundel, Southern Prince George's Counties

not as wealthy. Glen Burnie and Linthicum, near Baltimore-Washington International Airport, are middle-income suburbs that often favor Republicans. A band of blue-collar Democratic towns occupies the northernmost end of the district.

Southern Prince George's County, with a large contingent of federal workers and blacks, is the more liberal part of the 4th. The blacks here have moved out of the District of Columbia over the last decade, settling in such suburbs as Oxon Hill and Hillcrest Heights. The ensuing racial tensions have turned some of the whites more conservative.

In 1982 redistricting, Holt fought successfully to keep Andrews Air Force Base in the 4th; the military vote, concentrated outside Andrews in Camp Springs, tends to go Republican.

Population: 525,453. White 404,506 (77%), Black 108,571 (21%), Asian and Pacific Islander 8,046 (2%). Spanish origin 7,393 (1%). 18 and over 372,900 (71%), 65 and over 32,775 (6%). Median age: 29.

amendment was watered down in conference with the Senate and had little practical effect.

After that, Holt was quiet on the issue until 1979, when she stepped in to modify and try to save an anti-busing amendment to the Constitution. Brought to the floor by Ohio Democrat Ronald Mottl, it was clumsily drafted and appeared to ban long-distance busing for any purpose — even simple transportation. Holt cleaned up the language, but the amendment fell far short of the two-thirds majority it needed for passage.

Holt worked her way into the Republican leadership after only one term, taking over the Republican Study Committee, a legislative think tank for conservatives.

In preparation for a campaign for the chairmanship of the Republican Policy Committee, the third-ranking leadership position, which fell vacant in 1981, Holt made an early announcement of her interest in the post. For most of 1980 she had no opposition, and she made little effort to persuade colleagues to vote for her. It was a fatal mistake.

Dick Cheney of Wyoming, a highly re-

garded freshman, entered the contest in the fall of 1980 and outcampaigned his senior opponent. By the time of the balloting in December, it was clear that Holt had let the office slip away from her. She carried the contest to a roll-call vote, but lost by an embarrassingly wide 99-68 margin.

**At Home:** Although Holt held the insignificant-sounding office of Anne Arundel County Court Clerk when she ran for the House in 1972, she had earned her chance through long, hard work in the GOP vineyards.

Holt had been active in Republican politics for 13 years before running for Congress, working up from precinct leader to a key role in the Anne Arundel County campaigns of President Nixon and the late Rep. William O. Mills.

Having proved herself a good vote-getter in the 1966 and 1970 clerk elections, Holt ran with the blessing of the local party organization in 1972. She did not encounter the skepticism that party leaders had voiced when she had contemplated a congressional race a decade earlier. Nor was she hindered by other Republican contenders. "In 1972 I saw the perfect

**Marjorie S. Holt, R-Md.**

district — the timing was right," she said. "I started early, amassed support and muscled them out."

Holt overwhelmed nominal primary opposition, and in the general election benefited from the Nixon landslide to defeat her liberal Democratic opponent, former state Rep. Werner H. Fornos, by nearly 28,000 votes.

Both candidates opposed busing, an emotional issue in Prince George's County. But Holt peppered Fornos as an ally of George McGovern, whose plans for cutting the defense budget she termed "a sellout of the American people." Holt described herself as "a conservative, except where people are involved."

With her base in Anne Arundel County — the most populous part of the district — and a voting record tailored to one of Maryland's

more conservative constituencies — Holt has had little difficulty winning re-election.

After the 1980 election, she announced that she was considering a race for Democrat Paul S. Sarbanes' Senate seat in 1982. But a year of political soundings convinced her that a Senate campaign was not a good risk. She concluded that as a conservative Republican, she could not pry loose enough votes in heavily Democratic Baltimore city to have a chance statewide.

That decision was the mark of the shrewd politician that Marjorie Holt always has been. Larry Hogan, the former U.S. representative who did finally get the GOP nomination, drew only 36 percent against Sarbanes. Holt would have done much better, but she almost certainly would not have unseated Sarbanes.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (4th of 16 Republicans)  
Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems (ranking); Military Personnel and Compensation.

**District of Columbia** (4th of 4 Republicans)  
Fiscal Affairs and Health (ranking); Judiciary and Education.

**Joint Economic**  
Investment, Jobs and Prices; Monetary and Fiscal Policy

**Elections**

**1982 General**  
Marjorie Holt (R) 75,617 (61%)  
Patricia Aiken (D) 47,947 (39%)

**1980 General**  
Marjorie Holt (R) 120,985 (72%)  
James Riley (D) 47,375 (28%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (62%) 1976 (58%)  
1974 (58%) 1972 (59%)

**District Vote For President**

	1980		1976
D	73,667 (41%)	D	80,239 (50%)
R	89,510 (50%)	R	80,601 (50%)
I	12,927 (7%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Holt (R)	\$178,417	\$51,393 (29%)	\$180,743
Aiken (D)	\$8,382	\$264 (3%)	\$9,292
<b>1980</b>			
Holt (R)	\$160,908	\$46,245 (29%)	\$147,170
Riley (D)	\$9,225	\$510 (6%)	\$9,225

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	66	17	69	19	81	11
1981	75	21	75	14	84	3
1980	36	49†	78	11	77	9
1979	23	68	85	8	87	4
1978	21	77	85	11	90	7
1977	30	57	86	8	92	3
1976	71	24	83	10	89	6
1975	58	39	89	10	94	6
1974 (Ford)	44	54				
1974	60	38	84	15	88	12
1973	69	30	85	14	94	5

S = Support

O = Opposition

†Not eligible for all recorded votes.

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	76	11	81
1981	10	82	29	84
1980	6	86	16	72
1979	0	100	16	100
1978	5	85	20	72
1977	5	85	23	94
1976	5	84	18	76
1975	5	82	4	88
1974	13	93	0	90
1973	4	93	27	91

Indiana - 5th District

## 5 Elwood Hillis (R)

Of Kokomo — Elected 1970

**Born:** March 6, 1926, Kokomo, Ind.

**Education:** Ind. U., B.S. 1949, J.D. 1952.

**Military Career:** Army, 1944-46.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, Carol Hoyne; three children.

**Religion:** Presbyterian.

**Political Career:** Ind. House, 1967-71; candidate for Howard County prosecutor, 1954.

**Capitol Office:** 2336 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5037.



**In Washington:** One of the more anonymous House members for a decade, Hillis has been making considerably more noise lately as a spokesman for the auto industry, on which his district depends.

Chrysler produces transmissions in Kokomo, and when the Chrysler loan guarantee came to the floor in 1979, Hillis was active in rounding up votes for it — work he does not normally specialize in.

He also became co-chairman of the Congressional Auto Task Force, made up of members who, like Hillis, need the industry for their constituents' livelihood and their own political security. In 1980 Hillis and Democratic Rep. William Brodhead of Michigan called a press conference to release the group's 64-page study of the industry's problems.

The study recommended federally imposed limits on Japanese auto imports and relaxed environmental and safety regulations. Hillis and Brodhead introduced a bill to place a five-year quota on imports from Japan.

In 1981 Hillis joined Michigan Democrat Bob Traxler in promoting revisions in the Clean Air Act that would ease anti-pollution standards for new cars. Officials of the auto companies admitted the bill was an "industry wish list"; among its provisions was a sharp increase in the amount of carbon monoxide the cars could produce.

"A laid-off auto worker will tell you he wants to protect the environment," Hillis said. "but you can't eat it or spend it or send your kids to school with it." The changes in carbon monoxide standards were considered and rejected by a Senate committee. They were approved in the House by the Energy and Commerce Committee, but no clean air bill of any sort reached the floor.

Hillis also has worked to help the auto-makers by adding "buy American" amend-

ments to defense bills. His 1981 proposal, to prohibit the U.S. Army from purchasing foreign cars, passed the House but died in conference. A slightly different amendment passed in 1982 and became law. The main purpose is to prevent the Army from buying Japanese pickup trucks for use in Europe.

Hillis has spent more than a decade on Armed Services, his major committee, but has not been a central player there. He has been a strong supporter of a military draft — as early as 1978, he introduced an amendment to beef up the Selective Service by reopening local draft offices. "Our military is currently unable to fight a protracted conventional war," Hillis warned. "Either we will lose the war, or it will go nuclear."

The amendment was defeated on the floor. But President Carter recommended draft registration in 1980, and it was reinstituted later in the year.

Hillis has shown some skepticism about increasing defense spending to the levels the Reagan administration wants. In 1982 Hillis said the annual rate of increase should be about 5 to 6 percent, roughly half what the administration was proposing.

Hillis' voting record has usually responded to the unions in his district, especially but not only the United Auto Workers. In 1975, for instance, he voted for the common-site picketing bill, to expand labor's right to picket construction projects. President Ford later vetoed the legislation. In 1977 Hillis joined the majority of his Republican colleagues in voting against it.

**At Home:** Quiet though he is in Washington, Hillis has built up a nearly invulnerable position in Indiana — as he proved in 1980, when he easily beat back what had been billed as his strongest Democratic challenge in a de-

*Elwood Hillis, R-Ind.*

## Indiana 5

The 5th travels northwest from Kokomo, a small industrial center, to the suburbs of Chicago in Lake County. It includes three quite distinct political worlds that share one common element — they vote Republican.

The segment friendliest to Republicans is in the southeast corner of the district, near Kokomo and Marion, another industrial city. Both have numerous small factories and a few very large ones, most of them related to the automobile industry. They also serve as major distribution points for the area's agricultural output. The decline in the auto industry has had as serious an effect on these communities as on any in the nation, with unemployment exceeding 15 percent in 1982 in several places.

Troubled or not, however, Howard County (Kokomo) and Grant County (Marion) vote a nearly straight GOP line. Almost a third of the district's vote comes from these two counties, neither of which has backed a major statewide Democratic candidate since 1974. That year Howard County stayed in the Republican column, but Grant, which has a slightly larger blue-collar population, gave Democratic Sen. Birch Bayh a 780-vote plurality.

Ninety miles to the northwest are the

## North — Kokomo

residents of southern Lake and Porter counties. These fast-growing suburban areas are attracting some employees from the steel mills along Lake Michigan, as well as former Chicago residents who are escaping to what they hope will be a slower-paced life.

Voters in Lake and Porter counties are separated from the rest of the district psychologically as well as geographically. They watch Chicago television stations and read newspapers from Chicago and Gary. Although they hold more than a quarter of the district's voting-age population, these counties had a low congressional turnout in 1982 and accounted for only about a fifth of the district's vote. The area went strongly for Ronald Reagan in 1980.

In between the small industrial cities and the burgeoning outer suburban fringe, among the corn and soybean fields, live farmers who tend to vote a straight Republican ticket. Just under half of the district's vote in 1982 came from the 10 rural counties, and all 10 supported both Hillis and GOP Sen. Richard G. Lugar.

Population: 548,257. White 530,879 (97%), Black 11,875 (2%). Spanish origin 6,106 (1%). 18 and over 380,248 (69%), 65 and over 55,952 (10%). Median age: 29.

cade. Hillis defeated Nels Ackerson, an aide to Sen. Birch Bayh, with 62 percent of the vote.

Ackerson conducted a full-time door-to-door campaign, charging that Hillis had not done enough to deal with unemployment in the district. But the incumbent had attracted attention with his participation in the Chrysler battle, and his political base in Kokomo and the surrounding rural counties was never threatened.

Hillis' strength continued into the 1982 election, despite some indications that he might be in trouble. Redistricting had altered Hillis' district so extensively that more than half of his constituents were new to him. His Democratic opponent, Allen B. Maxwell, attempted to set up the contest as a referendum on Reaganomics.

But the local economy was so bad that Maxwell found all the normal Democratic

fund-raising sources dried up. Even labor was unable to provide him with more than token help. And Hillis proved effective in dealing with Maxwell's charges: The day after Hillis had voted against a \$1 billion Democratic jobs bill, he flew home to tell voters that the bill would provide no jobs for either Chrysler or Delco, the district's largest employers. Hillis won 61 percent of the vote.

A member of an established Republican family in central Indiana — his father, Glen, came within 4,000 votes of the governorship in 1940 — Hillis was a two-term member of the Indiana House when Republican congressional district leaders chose him to run for Congress in 1970. GOP incumbent Richard Roudebush had been renominated in the 5th District, but, he was later chosen by a state convention to run for the U.S. Senate. Hillis won easily in November.

## Indiana - 5th District

## Committees

**Armed Services** (5th of 16 Republicans)  
**Military Personnel and Compensation** (ranking); Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials.  
**Veterans' Affairs** (3rd of 12 Republicans)  
**Hospitals and Health Care** (ranking); Oversight and Investigations (ranking).

## Elections

**1982 General**  
 Elwood Hillis (R) 105,469 (61%)  
 Allen Maxwell (D) 67,238 (39%)

**1980 General**  
 Elwood Hillis (R) 129,474 (62%)  
 Neil Ackerson (D) 80,378 (38%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (68%) 1976 (62%)  
 1974 (57%) 1972 (64%) 1970 (56%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	68,760 (31%)	D	81,118 (41%)
R	140,368 (63%)	R	114,774 (58%)
I	9,677 (4%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Hillis (R)	\$190,050	\$61,252 (32%)	\$169,586
Maxwell (D)	\$28,976	\$13,025 (45%)	\$26,184
<b>1980</b>			
Hillis (R)	\$148,974	\$62,388 (42%)	\$185,414
Ackerson (D)	\$115,126	\$24,300 (21%)	\$115,086

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	65	30	71	22	81	11
1981	68	24	72	18†	89	5

1980	41	43†	65	23†	69	17
1979	39	51	69	22	79	10
1978	33	52	71	20	75	15
1977	51	42	65	23	77	13
1976	57	29	60	29	72	16
1975	63	29	65	28	66	24
1974 (Ford)	50	33				
1974	62	28	61	29†	67	23
1973	61	32	58	35	67	26
1972	65	14	51	28	57	26
1971	91	5	68	20	71	17

S = Support

O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	83	20	67
1981	10	73	21	94
1980	22	70	35	78
1979	11	83	17	94
1978	10	69	35	56
1977	25	62	41	65
1976	25	62	36	54
1975	26	59	43	67
1974	26	50	40	75
1973	16	72	50	70
1972	19	50	50	60
1971	11	76	33	-

California - 40th District

## 40 Robert E. Badham (R)

Of Newport Beach — Elected 1976

**Born:** June 9, 1929, Los Angeles, Calif.  
**Education:** Attended Occidental College, 1948-49; Stanford U., A.B. 1951.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1951-54.  
**Occupation:** Hardware company executive.  
**Family:** Wife, Anne Carroll; five children.  
**Religion:** Lutheran.  
**Political Career:** Calif. Assembly, 1963-77.  
**Capitol Office:** 2438 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5611.



In Washington: Badham, good-humored and popular, is an insider in the affairs of his state's delegation and a joiner in House Republican politics.

He was president of his GOP freshman class and has been secretary of the California Republican delegation. As a second-term member, he helped organize the Travel and Tourism Caucus, a bipartisan collection of more than half the House; caucus members were concerned that energy conservation measures would hurt the travel industry. In the 97th Congress, he spent a year as chairman of the Republican Study Committee, a junior level GOP leadership position.

And he is relatively close to Ronald Reagan, whom he served as a loyal ally in the California Legislature during Reagan's eight years as California governor.

So far, however, Badham has been known more for his access to power than for his use of it. He has not undertaken any important legislative initiatives. On the Armed Services Committee, Badham has earned a reputation as a thoughtful student of military systems, interested in new technology. He votes with the panel's hard-line GOP bloc, but he rarely shows the stridency associated with that group; he is a consistently courteous questioner.

On defense issues, Badham tries to protect the interests of his home state. While the House was divided over whether to buy Lockheed's C-5 or Boeing's 747 cargo airplanes, Badham proposed eliminating funds for both planes, leaving money for the smaller McDonnell Douglas C-17, which would be built in California. That effort lost, but Badham won an agreement from the Defense Department to buy C-17s after the contract with Lockheed expired. Badham also has been a forceful advocate of the B-1 bomber.

As chairman of the Study Committee,

Badham usually tried to be conciliatory rather than confrontational. In mid-1982, when a study committee staff member issued a scathing attack on environmentalists, Badham reprimanded him, saying he was "too strident."

The Study Committee sometimes followed Badham's lead in promoting defense issues. With help from committee members, he drafted a resolution urging that the Defense Department declassify more defense information, to make Americans better aware of the Soviet threat.

Badham's work on the Tourism Caucus was curtailed in the 97th Congress, after new House rules limited the amount of private funds caucuses could accept. An industry council took over some of the functions of the caucus, and laid much of the groundwork for legislation of interest to the caucus. One priority in 1982 was visa waivers, which became part of a larger immigration bill.

In 1981, as senior Republican on the Accounts Subcommittee at House Administration, Badham led the debate on a GOP move to slice all committee budgets 10 percent below the previous year's spending. "Do we have a better Congress than we did four years ago or 10 years ago?" Badham asked, paraphrasing Reagan's 1980 campaign question.

After hesitating, Democrats finally came up with a compromise, to cut the budgets by 10 percent below what was authorized for the previous year, rather than what was actually spent.

**At Home:** Badham comes from a part of Orange County where candidates still campaign by invoking the name of Barry Goldwater. That is exactly what Badham did in 1976 to win his House seat, taking it away from a GOP incumbent who had been convicted of bribery.

Saying he shared the pro-defense views of

Robert E. Badham, R-Calif.

## California 40

It is difficult for candidates to be too conservative for the voters of this central part of Orange County. John G. Schmitz, who in 1982 was removed from the executive council of the John Birch Society for extremism, represented this area for a term in the House. The Republican registration in the 40th, 51.5 percent, is second only to one California constituency — the 22nd.

Newport Beach, a wealthy enclave noted for its luxurious housing, remains the center of the district. A community of 62,556 people, Newport Beach regularly provides Republican candidates with tremendous margins. In 1980 Ronald Reagan topped Jimmy Carter by 74 to 16 percent there.

Many of the residents of the 40th either commute to jobs in Los Angeles or are employed by high-tech concerns that are scattered throughout the district. The University of California Irvine Campus is located in the 40th. But any liberal influence from this academic center is hardly noticed in the area.

The only two incorporated areas in the district where registered Democrats outnumber Republicans are Costa Mesa and Laguna Beach, two quite different places.

## Coastal and Central Orange County

Trendy Laguna Beach, which saw an influx of counterculture types in the 1960s and 1970s, today is home for many single adults and couples without children. They live in comfortable condominium complexes along the ocean. Laguna has been described in print as California's "grooviest beach resort."

Costa Mesa, whose airport is named for actor John Wayne, is not so groovy. Just north of Newport Beach, it is home for young families living in modest suburban homes that sprouted in the 1950s and 1960s. Although both communities supported Reagan by smaller margins than the rest of the district, they split on two policy questions in 1980. Costa Mesa opposed requiring non-smoking areas in public places, and objected to having the state purchase Lake Tahoe land to preserve it from development. Laguna Beach supported both ideas.

Population: 525,521. White 475,786 (91%), Black 6,751 (1%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 2,668 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 22,356 (4%). Spanish origin 41,179 (8%). 18 and over 399,141 (76%), 65 and over 54,641 (10%). Median age: 31.

his "good friend, Barry Goldwater," and describing himself as an "inflation-fighting legislator in the Goldwater mold," Badham easily defeated Rep. Andrew J. Hinshaw and seven other Republicans who wanted Hinshaw's seat. Then he coasted to victory in November.

His campaigns since then have been routine. Badham's views appear perfectly matched for his upper-class Orange County district.

Badham spent his childhood in Beverly Hills, took a degree in architecture and ran a hardware business in Newport Beach before entering Orange County politics at age 33. He won a seat in the Assembly and spent 14 years dividing his time between Sacramento and the hardware business.

He ran his office like a small-scale congressional operation, handling constituent problems with state government and sending out a newsletter three times a year. When it came

time to run for the U.S. House in 1976, Badham was well-known and well-liked in his Assembly district, which covered about half of the 40th.

Hinshaw had been convicted that January and sentenced to a 1- to 14-year prison term. Admitting his chances of winning renomination were "mediocre," Hinshaw nevertheless ran in the primary. He finished in fourth place with less than 7 percent of the vote. The real contest was between Badham and John G. Schmitz, who had won a special election in the district in 1970, only to be defeated in 1972 by Hinshaw.

Most party officials thought Schmitz was too extreme in his conservative views. The year he lost his House seat he ran for president on the American Party ticket, accusing President Nixon of liberalism. But Schmitz was a more vibrant campaigner than Badham and he was at least as familiar to the voters. The decision went to Badham, but by fewer than 2,000 votes.

**Robert E. Badham, R-Calif.****Committees**

**Armed Services** (6th of 16 Republicans)  
Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems; Research and Development.

**House Administration** (3rd of 7 Republicans)  
Accounts (ranking); Task Force on Telephone Configuration.

**Elections****1982 General**

Robert Badham (R) 144,228 (72%)  
Paul Haseman (D) 52,546 (26%)

**1980 General**

Robert Badham (R) 213,999 (70%)  
Michael Dow (D) 66,512 (22%)  
Dan Mahaffey (LIB) 24,486 (8%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (66%) 1976 (59%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	46,580 (21%)	D	55,991 (31%)
R	155,576 (69%)	R	123,924 (68%)
I	17,286 (8%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Percent of Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Badham (R)	\$147,466	\$72,410 (49%)	\$114,702
Haseman (D)	\$8,622	\$750 (9%)	\$9,924
<b>1980</b>			
Badham (R)	\$120,512	\$43,747 (36%)	\$116,499
Dow (D)	\$16,790	\$1,150 (7%)	\$15,863

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	78	6	73	6	88	4
1981	63	13	78	9	80	4
1980	28	55	75	6	82	4
1979	21	66	82	5	83	4
1978	19	55	75	7	82	4
1977	32	57	84	6	91	3

S = Support O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	X
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	?
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	#
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	100	0	85
1981	0	79	15	100
1980	0	95	11	74
1979	0	96	11	94
1978	10	100	21	100
1977	0	96	10	94

Arizona - 3rd District

### 3 Bob Stump (R)

Of Tolleson — Elected 1976

**Born:** April 4, 1927, Phoenix, Ariz.  
**Education:** Ariz. State U., B.S. 1951.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1943-46.  
**Occupation:** Farmer.  
**Family:** Divorced; three children.  
**Religion:** Seventh Day Adventist.  
**Political Career:** Ariz. House, 1959-67; Ariz. Senate, 1967-77, president, 1975-77.  
**Capitol Office:** 211 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-4576.



**In Washington:** For years, Republican officials urged conservative Democrat Stump to cross the aisle and run for office the way he voted — in support of the GOP. "Any time he wants to switch parties," Republican leader and homestate colleague John J. Rhodes used to say, "I can guarantee him the Republican nomination."

In 1981, a few months after he backed President Reagan in the critical tax and budget decisions, Stump announced he would finally make the move. He said he had been a Democrat out of family tradition, but felt increasingly alienated from his party after it began withholding favors from members who strayed from the leadership line too often.

Both parties wondered whether his decision would bring about aftershocks in the House, prompting other disaffected Democrats to join the GOP. That never happened. Only one other Democrat left his party — Eugene V. Atkinson of Pennsylvania — and he lost the next election.

Perhaps the most important effect of Stump's switch was a change in party rules. In 1982 Democrats pushed through a rule providing that any future member who leaves the party in the middle of a session will lose his Democratic committee assignments immediately. Stump had been allowed to keep his seats on Armed Services and Veterans' Affairs through the 97th Congress, despite his declared intention to run as a Republican in 1982.

As it turned out, the party switch eventually forced him to give up his Veterans' Affairs assignment. He won his place there in 1981, when the Conservative Democratic Forum pressured Speaker O'Neill to give prize Democratic committee assignments to conservatives. But two years later, new party ratios in the House altered the balance on each committee, reducing the Republican membership of Veter-

ans' Affairs from 15 to 11. Stump, being last in seniority, failed to win a place.

Stump can still pursue his interests in national defense on the Intelligence and Armed Services committees. He has been on Armed Services since 1978 and is a member of its Investigations and Research and Development subcommittees. But he is not one of the more active people there.

Stump seldom speaks on the floor, and he introduces few bills. He has held one press conference during his six years in the House — the one at which he announced he would run as a Republican in 1982.

But like all Arizonans in Congress, on water issues Stump is a vocal protector of his state's interests. When the Carter administration tried to impose on Western landowners the stringent federal water controls of a long-ignored 1902 law, Stump simply introduced a bill to repeal major portions of the law. That bill never went anywhere; a compromise on the issue was finally reached after several years of dispute.

While he was still a Democrat, Stump was much in demand as a board member for national conservative organizations, to whose efforts he lent a trace of bipartisanship. He is still on some of the boards, such as that of the National Right to Work Committee, but they have one less Democratic name on their letterheads.

**At Home:** Secure in his northern Arizona seat since his first election in 1976, Stump had plenty of time to mull over his long-contemplated party switch. When he finally filed on the Republican side in 1982, it caused barely a ripple back home.

Stump said his decision would not cost him any significant support in either party. He was right. The middle-class retirees who have

**Bob Stump, R-Ariz.**

### Arizona 3

Once dominated almost entirely by "pinto Democrats" — ranchers and other conservative rural landowners — the 3rd has become prime GOP turf over the years.

The GOP has fared particularly well here in recent presidential elections. Gerald R. Ford carried the area within the boundaries of the 3rd by a comfortable margin in 1976; four years later Ronald Reagan racked up 67 percent here, his best showing in the state.

The majority of the 3rd's population resides in the Maricopa County suburbs west of Phoenix. Glendale and Sun City, an affluent retirement community, are among the most important towns politically. Both produce mammoth Republican majorities. Political organizations among the retirees in Sun City contribute to turnouts of 90 percent or higher in congressional elections.

In redistricting, map makers sent the Hispanic areas of southern Yuma County to the 2nd District. The 3rd kept the more conservative northern section of Yuma County. Residents of this section moved to

### North and West — Glendale; Flagstaff; part of Phoenix

set up their own local government in June of 1982, passing a ballot initiative that transformed northern Yuma into brand-new LaPaz County.

Mohave County, occupying the northwestern corner of the state, is home to three groups in constant political tension — Indians, pinto Democrats in Kingman and Republican retirees in Lake Havasu City. The county split between Democrats and Republicans has been close in recent statewide elections.

Old-time Democratic loyalties persist in Flagstaff, the seat of Coconino County and the commercial center of northern Arizona. But the heavily Mormon part of Coconino County, closer to the Utah border, is staunchly Republican.

Population: 544,870. White 468,924 (86%), Black 8,330 (2%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 27,538 (5%), Asian and Pacific Islander 3,845 (1%). Spanish origin 64,414 (12%). 18 and over 389,150 (71%), 65 and over 79,881 (15%). Median age: 31.

flocked to this Sun Belt territory in recent years brought their Republican voting habits along, and the conservative rural Democrats who traditionally have formed the core of Stump's constituency proved willing to move across the aisle with him. Stump coasted to victory with 63 percent of the vote, the only House incumbent to switch and survive the fight in 1982.

The ease with which Stump made the transition owes a lot to his roots as a "pinto" Democrat, a conservative of the type that dominated state politics before the postwar population boom. A cotton farmer with roots in rural Arizona, Stump served 18 years in the state Legislature and rose to the presidency of the state Senate during the 1975-76 session. When

Republican Rep. Sam Steiger tried for the U.S. Senate in 1976, Stump decided to run for his House seat.

In the 1976 Democratic primary, he defeated a more liberal, free-spending opponent, former Assistant State Attorney General Sid Rosen. Stump drew 31 percent to Rosen's 25 percent, with the rest scattered among three others. In the fall campaign, Stump's GOP opponent was fellow state Sen. Fred Koory, the Senate minority leader. Stump wooed conservative Democrats by attacking his party's vice presidential nominee, Walter Mondale.

Stump was helped in the election by a third candidate, state Sen. Bill McCune, a Republican running as an independent, who drained GOP votes away from Koory.

## Arizona - 3rd District

## Committees

Armed Services (7th of 16 Republicans)  
Investigations; Research and Development.  
Select Intelligence (4th of 5 Republicans)  
Program and Budget Authorization.

## Elections

1982 General  
Bob Stump (R) 101,198 (63%)  
Pat Bosch (D) 58,644 (37%)

1980 General  
Bob Stump (D) 141,448 (64%)  
Bob Croft (R) 65,845 (30%)  
Sharon Hayse (LIB) 12,529 (6%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (85%) 1976 (48%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	48,133 (24%)	D	63,232 (39%)
R	132,455 (67%)	R	95,078 (58%)
I	13,103 (7%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Stump (R)	\$280,713	\$128,290 (46%)	\$280,331
Bosch (D)	\$90,319	\$58,250 (64%)	\$87,927
1980			
Stump (D)	\$144,326	\$59,397 (41%)	\$85,154
Croft (R)	\$2,471	0	\$5,229

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	82	13	3	93	96	0
1981	74	18	17	81	97	0
1980	32	65	15	82	93	4
1979	19	73	8	85	92	1
1978	20	65	14	74	82	4
1977	29	61	16	76	91	3

S = Support O = Opposition

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	0	95	0	89
1981	0	91	13	95
1980	0	83	17	71
1979	0	96	10	100
1978	5	100	10	82
1977	5	100	9	100

*New Jersey - 12th District*

## 12 Jim Courter (R)

**Of Hackettstown — Elected 1978**

**Born:** Oct. 14, 1941, Montclair, N.J.

**Education:** Colgate U., B.A. 1963; Duke U., J.D. 1966.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, Carmen McCalmen; two children.

**Religion:** Methodist.

**Political Career:** Allamuchy Township attorney, 1975-78.

**Capitol Office:** 325 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-5801.



**In Washington:** The only House Republican to receive help from President Reagan in a 1982 primary, Courter did his share of work both to deserve and to repay the honor.

When the House debated the fiscal 1983 defense authorization, Courter carried the ball for Reagan on the chemical weapons issue. The president had wanted \$54 million to start production of new lethal chemical weapons called binary munitions, an idea that generated considerable hostility in both parties. Courter offered a compromise on the floor, accepted by the administration, that would have allowed production of the weapons as long as one existing weapon was dismantled for each new one produced.

Courter's plan, which one chemical weapons opponent called a "smokescreen," was narrowly defeated, and the money for chemical weapons was removed, signaling Reagan's first defeat on a major weapons system.

Courter resisted strong home state pressure in 1982 and supported Reagan's request for construction of the MX missile. He was the only New Jersey legislator of either party who backed the MX. After Courter's side lost on that issue, he offered to cut \$118 million in spending for ballistic missile defense, arguing that the additional spending was unwise if Congress did not know where the missiles would be. He lost on a voice vote.

The New Jersey Republican also shares Reagan's concerns about international terrorism. He attempted to stop aid for five years to countries and international organizations that grant sanctuary to terrorists. He was thinking specifically of the United Nations, which he claimed was used as a conduit for terrorist activities in the Middle East.

Courter joined the Armed Services Committee at the start of his first term, both because he was serious about global military strategy and also to protect the Picatinny Arse-

nal in Dover, which the Army had threatened to close at times over the years. The arsenal is now in the 8th District, but many of its employees live in the 12th.

In 1983 Courter joined the military reform caucus, an informal group of House and Senate members from both parties who share a suspicion that the Pentagon often subordinates military judgment to bureaucratic interests and managerial efficiency.

An articulate, hard-working conservative, Courter quickly attracted the attention of party leaders on his arrival in the House in 1979. By the end of the year, he could claim a dramatic — if short-lived — victory in floor debate.

One Friday morning in October, as the chamber was considering a routine Energy Department authorization, Courter stunned the House by winning approval of his amendment lifting all federal controls on the price of gasoline. He had caught the Democratic leadership napping. When the amendment came up for a vote, there were 54 absentees, most of them pro-control Democrats. Courter won by three votes.

Eleven days later, Democrats rallied absent troops, scheduled another vote and dumped the Courter amendment by a healthy margin. It was not until more than a year later that President Reagan decontrolled gasoline prices upon taking office.

After the 1979 episode, Courter said he had anticipated defeat and considered the exercise a kind of victory: He had focused attention on a topic he thought should come before the House.

He won more points from Republicans in the summer of 1980, when the Pentagon disclosed that the United States was developing a mysterious new "Stealth" bomber that would

*Jim Courter, R-N.J.*

## New Jersey 12

From the mansions of Far Hills to the two-story Tudor houses of Morris Plains, the ambience of the new 12th is Republican, albeit not deeply conservative. Independent presidential candidate John B. Anderson made his second best New Jersey showing here, winning nearly 10 percent of the vote. At the same time, the district's party loyalty placed it first in the state for Ronald Reagan, who took 61 percent.

The pieces of Somerset, Morris and Union counties in the 12th have almost equal populations, so no one county dominates. The Union County section (covering such towns as Union, Springfield and Mountainside) and eastern Morris County (Harding, Morristown, Hanover) are affluent bedroom suburbia, home for Republican business executives. Western Morris County suburbs in the 12th (Washington, Chester) are more rural, with middle-class subdivisions springing up. The hunt country nestles in northern Somerset, with the farms in the southern half of the county giving way to tract housing.

Some of Manhattan's largest corporations have moved their headquarters to the rolling greenery of Morris and Somerset counties. Ortho, Allied Chemical and AT&T are among those shifting operations there.

Pockets of Democrats can be found in

## North and Central — Morristown

Somerset County in industrial Raritan and Somerville, with their chemical and pharmaceutical works, and in Kenilworth, a blue-collar suburb near Elizabeth. Elsewhere, the 12th is uniformly Republican.

Farming occupies the district's small Hunterdon County segment as well as its lake-dotted Warren and Sussex County portions. In this rural territory, which was part of Courter's old 13th District before redistricting, conservatism is more intense than in other parts of the district.

According to an old saying, there are more millionaires within a one-mile radius of Morristown Green than anywhere else on Earth. That is no longer true, if it ever was. The millionaires have moved to the hunt country farther south in the 12th. Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis maintains a mansion in Peapack. Quaint Morristown nowadays must content itself with a population of commuters who work on Wall Street and elsewhere in the everyday Manhattan business world.

Population: 526,907. White 501,647 (95%), Black 16,567 (3%), Asian and Pacific Islander 6,216 (1%). Spanish origin 8,106 (2%). 18 and over 385,868 (73%), 65 and over 58,407 (11%). Median age: 34.

be virtually invisible to enemy radar.

Like other House Republicans, Courter said the Pentagon leak was a serious breach of security and implied that it was a politically motivated attempt by the Carter administration to escape criticism for canceling the B-1 bomber three years earlier. Courter introduced a resolution to force a full Armed Services inquiry into the leak, but it was rejected on a party-line vote.

In the 97th Congress, Courter's one important venture out of the defense field also prompted his one significant difference of opinion with the administration. Courter challenged the Reagan policy of promoting offshore oil drilling. He wrote to Interior Secretary James G. Watt asking him to reconsider several leases off the New Jersey coast. Getting no response, Courter persuaded the House to vote for a ban on oil and gas leasing off that coast.

**At Home:** Courter may be a bit more conservative than his new district, but he has thrived there so far. In 1982, a few months after the district was drawn, he squelched a primary challenge from a well-known local official whose moderate views were thought to be more in tune with the constituency.

Courter had to move into the new 12th after the Democratic Legislature's remap paired him with another Republican incumbent, Marge Roukema, in the neighboring 5th. A second GOP colleague, Matthew J. Rinaldo, moved from the 12th to the new 7th to clear a district for Courter.

Courter's move thwarted the plans of Morris County Freeholder Rodney Frelinghuysen, the aristocratic descendant of four U.S. senators and the son of retired GOP Rep. Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, who had once represented much of the area. Courter possessed powerful

**Jim Courter, R-N.J.**

allies: President Reagan delivered his rare primary endorsement as thanks for switching districts in the interests of party harmony. Republican Gov. Thomas H. Kean, whose 1981 campaign Courter had chaired, also supported him, as did the party chairmen in each of the 12th's counties — even the one in Frelinghuysen's home base of Morris. Courter won every county in the district, except Morris. The general election was no problem for him.

Courter won his first term in the old 13th District in 1978 by unseating Democratic Rep. Helen Meyner, wife of former Gov. Robert B. Meyner and a surprise winner in the Watergate year of 1974. Helen Meyner had narrowly survived in 1976 and was a prime GOP target two years later. Courter barely won a heated Republican primary over former state Sen. William Schluter, the narrow loser to Meyner the previous time out.

In the fall campaign that year, Courter

blasted Meyner as a big-spending liberal who did not even live in the district. Despite Meyner's protests that her record was being distorted — at one point, she called Courter "a naughty, naughty boy" — the Republican prevailed by a small margin. He was popular enough to keep the Democrats from running a strong opponent against him in 1980.

Courter entertains ambitions for statewide office, and Gov. Kean considered appointing him to the U.S. Senate to succeed Democrat Harrison A. Williams Jr., who resigned in 1982 after being convicted on Abscam bribery charges. But Williams' resignation came less than three months before the primary for the seat, and, even as the appointed incumbent, Courter would have had a hard time winning nomination over U.S. Rep. Millicent Fenwick and conservative activist Jeffrey Bell, both of whom had campaigns under way. Both he and Kean decided not to take the chance.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (8th of 16 Republicans)  
Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems; Research and Development.

**Post Office and Civil Service** (4th of 9 Republicans)  
Census and Population (ranking).

**Select Aging** (14th of 22 Republicans)  
Health and Long-Term Care.

**Elections****1982 General**

Jim Courter (R)	117,793	(67%)
Jeff Connor (D)	57,049	(32%)

**1982 Primary**

Jim Courter (R)	39,354	(62%)
Rodney Frelinghuysen (R)	23,015	(38%)

**1980 General**

Jim Courter (R)	152,862	(72%)
Dave Stickie (D)	56,251	(26%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (52%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	70,340 (28%)	D	100,389 (41%)
R	151,143 (61%)	R	141,684 (57%)
I	23,293 (9%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
<b>1982</b>				
Courter (R)	\$554,373	\$104,418 (19%)		\$476,048
Connor (D)	\$99,358	\$31,050 (31%)		\$91,394

**1980**

Courter (R)	\$242,601	\$ 68,301 (28%)	\$157,076
Stickie (D)	\$18,770	\$ 2,600 (14%)	\$18,474

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	64	25	65	24	78	14
1981	63	32	77	19	80	13
1980	40	52	83	15	85	11
1979	38	61	85	14	89	10

S = Support      O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	77	22	75
1981	15	76	7	95
1980	11	83	16	61
1979	11	81	21	94

*Kentucky - 6th District*

## 6 Larry J. Hopkins (R)

**Of Lexington — Elected 1978**

**Born:** Oct. 25, 1933, Detroit, Mich.

**Education:** Attended Murray State U., 1951-54; Southern Methodist U., 1959; Purdue U., 1960.

**Military Career:** Marine Corps, 1954-56.

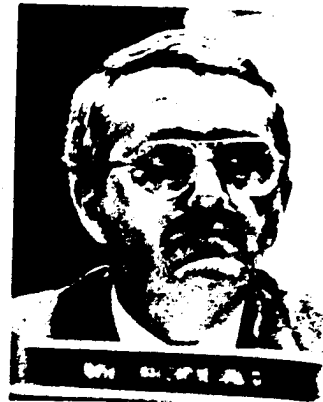
**Occupation:** Stockbroker.

**Family:** Wife, Carolyn Pennebaker; three children.

**Religion:** Methodist.

**Political Career:** Ky. House, 1972-78; Ky. Senate, 1978-79; Republican nominee for Fayette County Commission, 1970.

**Capitol Office:** 331 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-4706.



**In Washington:** Legislators from this conservative district have always spent much of their time protecting tobacco, and Hopkins, who is an investment broker rather than a farmer, has nevertheless stuck close to the traditional role. Placed on the Agriculture Committee, an assignment he asked for, he lobbied the Agriculture Department virtually non-stop to continue a program that showed farmers how to save money and labor by packaging their burley tobacco in a different way. If it was a dull issue in Washington, it was a significant one at home.

Named ranking minority member of the Tobacco Subcommittee in his second term, Hopkins was close to the action as tobacco price supports survived a series of challenges during the 97th Congress. As a Republican, however, Hopkins did not play a decisive role; House Democratic leaders essentially decided to save the program to avoid political trouble for their own members from tobacco-growing states.

The program survived under the condition that it operate at "no net cost" to taxpayers, meaning that tobacco producers would pay any losses on price support loans. Hopkins worked with committee Democrats in 1982 to smooth passage of a bill establishing a fee to cover losses in the program.

Hopkins also tried unsuccessfully to help tobacco farmers by limiting imports. He proposed excluding tobacco from a bill granting a trade advantage to products from the Caribbean Basin. "I think it is unfair," he said, "to threaten the livelihood of tobacco farmers with the possibility of increased imports." Critics called his amendment protectionist, and it lost on a voice vote.

Given a seat on the Armed Services Com-

mittee in the middle of his first term, Hopkins has added a quiet vote to the panel's already massive pro-Pentagon majority. He generated a major news story one day in the 96th Congress with repeated questioning of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The chiefs, summoned to testify on President Carter's defense budget needs, were reluctant to say openly that more money was needed. Hopkins quietly asked the same question over and over again until Joint Chiefs Chairman David Jones conceded that a little extra money would be useful, and that was enough to produce front-page stories in most papers the next morning.

Hopkins rarely involves himself in floor debate on weapons systems. He did become involved in one Armed Services floor dispute in the 97th Congress, failing in an attempt to bring about a conciliation. Trying to appeal both to protectionist and free-trade advocates who were debating a proposed ban on foreign car purchases by the military, Hopkins suggested requiring certification that no "suitable" vehicles were available in the U.S. or Canada. His idea appealed to neither side, and only 37 members went along with him. The ban, meanwhile, was approved.

Hopkins' basic approach to most federal spending is simple: "Trying to get this government and this Congress to stop spending money," he said in 1982, "is like trying to put hogs on a diet. . . . You just quit feeding them." His distaste for the national debt has sometimes proved greater than his support for Pentagon programs — in 1982 he voted against both nerve gas and the MX missile.

Earlier in his career, in 1979, he surprised a few of his colleagues by voting to place strict limits on the amount of money political action committees (PACs) could contribute to con-

Larry J. Hopkins, R-Ky.

## Kentucky 6

The 6th is Kentucky as the rest of the nation pictures it. Horses, tobacco and whiskey are the mainstays of its culture and economy.

Its centerpiece is Fayette County (Lexington), home for 40 percent of the district's residents. Lexington is best known for its thoroughbred horse farms that regularly produce Kentucky Derby champions. But a diverse economic base has made it the most prosperous part of the state outside Louisville.

A large white-collar element enables Hopkins and other GOP candidates to carry the Lexington area. Fayette has voted Republican in the last four presidential elections. Still, Fayette is no bastion of conservatism. Ronald Reagan's 49 percent share of the 1980 presidential vote in the county was 5 percentage points below Gerald R. Ford's showing four years earlier.

The attraction of new businesses to the Lexington area produced a population boom in the 1950s and 1960s. But in the past decade, the county has begun to curb residential and industrial expansion, spurring population and manufacturing growth in rural Bluegrass counties within commuting

## North Central — Lexington; Frankfort

distance of Lexington.

The most populous of the adjoining counties is Madison (Richmond). Madison voted for Reagan in 1980, while also backing the Democratic congressional candidate. The northern portion of the county is dotted with bedroom communities whose residents work in nearby Lexington. The southern portion revolves around Richmond, a tobacco market and site of Eastern Kentucky University. Ten percent of the district population lives in Madison, making it the second most populous county in the 6th.

The district's other major population center is Franklin County, which includes the state capital of Frankfort. The long heritage of Democratic governors has produced a loyal pool of state workers who help keep the county in the Democratic column. Jimmy Carter won Franklin in 1980 with 60 percent of the vote, his top showing in the district.

---

Population: 519,009. White 467,159 (90%), Black 48,249 (9%). Spanish origin 3,325 (1%). 18 and over 377,249 (73%), 65 and over 53,093 (10%). Median age: 29.

gressional campaigns. Only 28 other Republicans voted with him, and all of them were later subjected to harsh criticism from then-Minority Leader John J. Rhodes. Hopkins had received more than \$124,000 from PACs in the 1978 campaign, more than any other member who voted to restrict them. The extent of the contributions had been a public issue in the latter stages of that campaign.

**At Home:** The surprising defeat of Rep. John B. Breckinridge in the 1978 Democratic primary gave Republicans and Hopkins an opportunity they had not expected.

Considering Breckinridge unbeatable, neither Hopkins nor any other formidable Republican candidates had entered the GOP primary. But after Breckinridge lost to a more liberal Democrat, Republican leaders met and substituted Hopkins for the party's token candidate, a 68-year-old former state auditor. As a popular state senator from Lexington, the district's largest city, Hopkins was able to mount an expensive television campaign to make up for

his late start.

Over the previous decade, he had built a strong electoral base in his hometown. After running unsuccessfully for county commissioner, he was appointed county clerk of courts and then elected to the state Legislature.

His well-organized congressional campaign aimed its appeal at conservative farmers and blue-collar workers. Hopkins portrayed his opponent, maverick state Sen. Tom Easterly, as a pawn of the unions. In return, Easterly labeled the shuffling that put Hopkins in the contest a Watergate-style maneuver.

But the Democrat was unable to heal the party divisions that resulted from his campaign against Breckinridge, and Hopkins outspent him by more than 2-to-1. Winning Fayette County (Lexington) by nearly 12,000 votes, Hopkins captured the seat with 51 percent to become the first Republican to represent the district since 1930.

Easterly tried again in 1980, but the rematch with Hopkins was anticlimactic. East-

**Larry J. Hopkins, R-Ky.**

erly had offended some of his 1978 supporters by attempting to mute his liberal image, and Hopkins had solidified his base by developing a good constituent service operation. The incumbent won re-election by nearly 3-to-2.

In 1982 Democrats counted on favorable redistricting and the recession to give Hopkins a scare. Democrat Don Mills, a former editor of the *Lexington Herald*, shared Hopkins' home base, but the incumbent won easily.

A one-time press secretary to Gov. Edward T. Breathitt and an aide to Gov. John Y. Brown, Mills drew the primary-eve endorsement of three former Kentucky governors to win the Democratic nomination easily. But his

general election campaign was woefully underfinanced.

While the challenger ran almost even with Hopkins in the rural counties of the Bluegrass, the incumbent swamped him by 16,000 votes in the Lexington area.

Hopkins' string of victories in the politically marginal 6th has increased his attractiveness to GOP leaders as a potential statewide candidate. But Hopkins has decided, at least for the time being, to stay in the House. After mulling over party overtures to return to Kentucky and run for the GOP gubernatorial nomination in 1983, he decided that he would remain in Congress.

**Committees**

**Agriculture** (5th of 15 Republicans)  
Tobacco and Peanuts (ranking); Livestock, Dairy and Poultry.

**Armed Services** (9th of 16 Republicans)  
Investigations (ranking); Research and Development.

**Elections****1982 General**

Larry J. Hopkins (R) 68,418 (57%)  
Don Mills (D) 49,839 (41%)

**1980 General**

Larry J. Hopkins (R) 105,376 (59%)  
Tom Easterly (D) 72,473 (41%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (51%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	90,271 (49%)	D	83,835 (52%)
R	83,127 (45%)	R	74,110 (46%)
I	8,031 (4%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Hopkins (R)	\$489,599	\$175,980 (36%)	\$442,478
Mills (D)	\$110,963	\$23,875 (22%)	\$96,385
<b>1980</b>			
Hopkins (R)	\$370,405	\$122,288 (33%)	\$290,750
Easterly (D)	\$77,021	\$19,204 (25%)	\$79,344

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	58	39	77	22	78	21
1981	68	29	79	20	80	16
1980	40	56	85	13	89	7
1979	27	70	88	11	89	8

S = Support O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	20	70	40	68
1981	20	79	40	76
1980	6	87	22	73
1979	16	85	22	82

Michigan - 11th District

## 11 Robert W. Davis (R)

Of Gaylord — Elected 1978

**Born:** July 31, 1932, Marquette, Mich.

**Education:** Wayne State U. College of Mortuary Science, B.S. 1954.

**Occupation:** Funeral director.

**Family:** Wife, Martha Cole; three children.

**Religion:** Episcopalian.

**Political Career:** St. Ignace City Council, 1964-66; Mich. House, 1967-71; Mich. Senate, 1971-79.

**Capitol Office:** 1124 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-4735.



**In Washington:** Davis has spent his House career catering to local interests in his marginal Upper Peninsula district.

While most members were debating the foreign policy implications of the Panama Canal treaties, Davis was looking at their impact on the fish netting industry in northern Michigan. Language in the bill implementing the treaties would have canceled import duties on fish nets, to the displeasure of the 12 firms in Davis' district that manufacture them. Davis successfully offered a floor amendment to the legislation that had the effect of restoring the duties.

Davis' district-first politics influences his vote on a fair number of major issues. He opposed a \$10 billion Interior appropriations bill in 1980 because it contained a provision allowing the U.S. Forest Service to buy 25,000 acres of land owned by a private utility in his district.

Attention to local problems in northern Michigan has led Davis far from the conservatism of his overall rhetoric, especially as unemployment in his district has risen and he has searched for federal help. In 1979, his first year in the House, he opposed his party majority only 24 percent of the time in votes on the House floor. By 1982 that figure was up to 56 percent.

One of those 1982 votes was for automobile "domestic content" legislation, a United Auto Workers (UAW) priority that most Republicans opposed but which Davis saw as a source of jobs for his constituents. Davis also has allied himself with the UAW in support of the Trade Adjustment Assistance program, which the Reagan administration has tried to eliminate. The program provides extra unemployment benefits to workers laid off because of foreign competition.

Davis introduced a bill in 1981 to extend

the coverage to those who work for companies supplying raw materials to affected industries. That would help the Upper Peninsula iron miners, whose already depressed industry has been hurt further by the decline in the automobile industry's demand for steel.

In 1982 Davis was unwilling to commit himself to the Reagan-backed budget until the party could convince him that the budget would include extended unemployment benefits, something his state desperately needed. He said he had gotten "a call from the president on Thursday, from the vice president on Friday and from my mother on Saturday," and he still had not made up his mind. During the debate, he got an assurance from Republican leaders on the unemployment benefits, and he voted with them.

On the Armed Services Committee, Davis is generally a loyal supporter of the panel's bipartisan pro-Pentagon majority. But his most active crusade has been against the Pentagon, on the issue of ELF, the proposed submarine communications system that would string as many as 100 miles of cable from telephone poles in the Upper Peninsula. He cast a rare vote against a defense bill in 1981 because it included \$35 million for ELF. He had persuaded the House to drop most of the funds for the program, but the Senate left them in, and House conferees agreed with the Senate.

Meanwhile, trying to protect the Grand Marais Coast Guard station along Lake Superior, Davis has consistently backed increased funding for the Coast Guard. He has also sponsored legislation that would transfer the Coast Guard from the Department of Transportation to the Pentagon, believing that the Coast Guard, "an armed force," has been "neglected, and to my surprise, by an administration admirably dedicated to ensuring our na-

Robert W. Davis, R-Mich.

## Michigan 11

The vast, empty forests that cover the 470 miles from Ironwood on the Wisconsin border to Tawas City on Lake Huron inhabit a sparsely settled district that, despite an abundance of natural resources, offers its residents a depressed standard of living. The 11th has only one city of over 15,000; of the eight counties in Michigan that lost population during the 1970s, six are here.

The 11th is contiguous only because of the Mackinac Bridge. The third-longest suspension bridge on the continent, crossing the point where Lake Michigan and Lake Huron meet, joins Michigan's Upper and Lower peninsulas. The Upper Peninsula (UP), attached by land to Wisconsin, has 62 percent of the district's residents, the bulk of its Democrats and a rough-hewn pride of place that induces occasional secessionist grumblings among its partisans. People in the western part of the UP root for the Green Bay Packers, not the Detroit Lions.

The UP's once-busy mining industry is in a slump. The only industries still prospering are part of the new high-technology enclave around Michigan Technological University in Houghton and those dealing with lumber and wood products, which feed mills in Escanaba and Manistique.

The western UP generally has been the Democratic stronghold of Michigan north of Saginaw. Eastern European and Scandinavian immigrants brought in to mine copper gave it a liberal, union-oriented tradition; their descendants and other miners, mill

## Upper Peninsula; Northern Lower Peninsula

workers, loggers and longshoremen still dominate politics in the UP's western counties. Five of the nine counties in the state won by Jimmy Carter in 1980 are here.

The eastern UP is far more Republican and representative of the part of the district "below the bridge." Mackinac Island, a tourist retreat, plays host every two years to the state GOP's Mackinac Leadership Conference.

The only major city in the eastern part of the UP is Sault Ste. Marie, which sends grain, ores and pulpwood eastward from the port cities of Lake Superior. Thanks to the presence of the Army Corps of Engineers and the Coast Guard, much of Sault Ste. Marie's workforce is on the federal payroll. Most of Chippewa County and Mackinac County are heavily dependent on tourism and farming, and lacking in the industry that creates Democratic sympathies farther west.

The migration of former city dwellers that has begun to transform the 10th District is also evident in the 11th below the Mackinac Bridge. Retired auto workers have settled in Emmet, Presque Isle and Cheboygan counties, and Democrats have begun to make inroads in local elections.

Population: 514,560. White 500,721 (97%), Black 2,875 (1%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 8,418 (2%). Spanish origin 1,945 (0.4%). 18 and over 367,779 (72%), 65 and over 70,884 (14%). Median age: 30.

tional security." The Transportation Department opposes his plan.

**At Home:** Davis' attention to the needs of his district has paid off — particularly his concern for the normally Democratic mining areas at the western end of the Upper Peninsula. In 1982, seeking his third term, he carried all but one of the 28 counties in the district.

Taking Republican Rep. Philip Ruppe's place initially was more difficult. Ruppe had stepped down in 1978, planning to run for the Senate seat of retiring Republican Robert P. Griffin. When Griffin changed his mind and decided to run again, it was too late for Ruppe to get his old seat back. He sat on the sidelines and watched nine candidates — including Davis — battle for the congressional district he

could have retained easily.

Davis had been a familiar figure in the Michigan Legislature for years. In his first Senate term he was picked to be GOP whip, and later he served as the minority leader. Among his more notable accomplishments was passage of a bill that lowered the toll on the Mackinac Straits Bridge.

The major problem for Davis was that he was from the Lower Peninsula, while a majority of the voters are from the Upper Peninsula (UP). Even on his own turf Davis had had problems. He had been re-elected to the state Senate in 1974 by only 1,270 votes out of 80,000 cast. But his congressional campaign strategy was sound. He won the GOP primary on the strength of Lower Peninsula support, then tem-

**Robert W. Davis, R-Mich.**

porarily moved to the UP and stressed his boyhood roots in that region.

Campaigning like an incumbent, Davis contrasted his experience of a dozen years in the Legislature with the record of Democrat Keith McLeod, a savings and loan executive

and political neophyte. McLeod, from the Upper Peninsula, narrowly won that area, but Davis did well enough there to assure a comfortable districtwide victory. It was the first time since 1888 that UP voters did not have one of their own in Washington.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (10th of 16 Republicans)  
Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems; Research and Development.

**Merchant Marine and Fisheries** (6th of 14 Republicans)  
Coast Guard and Navigation; Merchant Marine; Panama Canal and Outer Continental Shelf.

**Elections****1982 General**

Robert W. Davis (R)	106,039	(61%)
Kent Bourland (D)	69,181	(39%)

**1980 General**

Robert W. Davis (R)	146,205	(66%)
Dan Dorrity (D)	75,515	(34%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978 (55%)

**District Vote For President**

1980			1976		
D	99,755	(42%)	D	108,130	(48%)
R	119,100	(50%)	R	112,569	(50%)
I	15,498	(7%)			

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Davis (R)	\$95,820	\$53,290	(56%)	\$74,673
Bourland (D)	\$24,249	\$17,550	(72%)	\$23,905

**1980**

Davis (R)	\$138,895	\$70,668	(51%)	\$121,198
Dorrity (D)	\$48,393	\$9,234	(19%)	\$48,824

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	45	47	37	56	62	29
1981	59	36	69	26	84	12
1980	50	44	63	31	58	29
1979	35	62	72	24†	82	15†

S = Support O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	35	52	74	40
1981	15	74	40	74
1980	39	55	67	68
1979	6	76	35	89

Colorado - 5th District

## 5 Ken Kramer (R)

Of Colorado Springs — Elected 1978

**Born:** Feb. 19, 1942, Chicago, Ill.  
**Education:** U. of Ill., B.A. 1963; Harvard U., J.D. 1966.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1967-70.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Divorced; two children.  
**Religion:** Jewish.  
**Political Career:** Colo. House, 1973-79.  
**Capitol Office:** 240 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-4422.



**In Washington:** Kramer came to Washington acting and sounding as if he hoped to dismantle most of the edifice of liberal government by the end of his first term. He was ready with speeches and amendments by the basketful, fighting proposals to create a new Department of Education and improve relations with mainland China. Few of his amendments passed.

Since then, Kramer has grown less excitable and more selective, apparently willing to wait for the best moments to offer his legislative ideas. But the ideas themselves have not changed, and he is always ready to offer new ones.

Besides tilting at bureaucratic windmills, Kramer has become an active member of the Armed Services Committee. In his words, his district is "the No. 1 Soviet targeting priority in all of the world" because it houses the North American air monitoring system. He is frequently looking for high-technology solutions to defense problems.

Early in 1983, when President Reagan announced the development of a "superweapon" to counter Soviet missiles, Kramer applauded his "bold new initiative." Kramer also urged Democrats — some of whom said the weapon reminded them of the film "Star Wars" — not to "make fun of what is perhaps the greatest hope for mankind."

Coming from a district that contains the U.S. Air Force Academy, Kramer has sought ways to enlarge the role of that branch of the service. He has found one in space. "To meet the Soviet challenge," Kramer wrote in 1981, "it is urgent that we devise a long-range space program built around the defense of the American homeland."

Kramer proposed changing the name of the Air Force to the U.S. Aerospace Force and giving it the mission of centralizing military space activity. In 1982 the Air Force created a

new Space Command, fulfilling part of his goal.

If he is less visible than he was in his first term, Kramer is no less a firebrand. He defended the Army's plan to expand his district's Fort Carson by 244,000 acres, warning that if the House rejected the expansion, members might "find the blood of American soldiers on our hands in a few years." Speaking in favor of civil defense evacuation plans, Kramer told his colleagues that if the Soviet Union could evacuate its cities and the United States did not, "an American president would have no choice but to virtually surrender." Early in 1982, Kramer read secret information on Soviet laser technology during an Armed Services Committee hearing.

The subject of U.S. relations with China came up in Kramer's first term, and it was an issue that excited him. He offered an amendment to reverse the entire direction of U.S. friendship toward the People's Republic of China and retain a mutual defense treaty with Taiwan, calling for American involvement if Taiwan was attacked.

Later, Kramer fought the legislation implementing U.S. transfer of the Panama Canal. He had an amendment to that bill which attempted to block any U.S. role in a new Canal Commission until after "free elections" in Panama.

On the domestic side, Kramer's ideas have included eliminating the Education and Energy departments and cutting back the role of the Environmental Protection Agency, Occupational Safety and Health Administration and Federal Trade Commission. He wants to restrict federal court jurisdiction over busing and abortion.

"We are strangled by government red tape," he has said, "and drowned by government regulations administered by an ever-

Ken Kramer, R-Colo.

## Colorado 5

The solidly Republican 5th revolves around Colorado Springs (population 215,150), the state's second largest city and the southern anchor of the rapidly growing Front Range. It was originally a resort whose sunny climate and proximity to Pikes Peak drew tourists from the East.

Tourism remains the keystone of the local economy. But after World War II, Colorado Springs emerged as a center of military operations in the Rocky Mountains. North of the city is the U.S. Air Force Academy; east is Peterson Air Force Base; south is Fort Carson; and deep in a mountain to the west is NORAD (the North American Air Defense Command), maintaining a round-the-clock alert for an enemy air attack.

Recently the economy has diversified further, with electronics firms coming to the area. Among the major employers are Hewlett-Packard, TRW and Litton, which have made Colorado Springs a rival to Boulder as Colorado's center of high technology.

Yet while the economic base has changed, the politics of Colorado Springs has remained consistently conservative. Although there is a potentially decisive minority population — 8 percent Hispanic, 6 percent black and 2 percent Asian — the city strays into the Democratic column only during poor national Republican years.

The large military work force, aug-

## South Central — Colorado Springs

mented by a sizable number of military retirees, has made the Colorado Springs area one of the most reliable bastions of conservative Republicanism in the state. In 1980 Ronald Reagan drew 64 percent of the vote in the city and surrounding El Paso County, which together hold nearly two-thirds of the district's population.

North of El Paso County are suburban Denver communities in southwest Jefferson, southwest Arapahoe and Douglas counties. All have Republican voting habits, although in the Jefferson County portion there are more independents than Republicans. The county's major community within the district is Golden, the site of the Colorado School of Mines, the Adolph Coors brewery and Buffalo Bill's grave.

The rest of the 5th's voters live in Elbert County, a cattle ranching area inhabited by rock-ribbed Republicans, and in sparsely populated mountain counties between Colorado Springs and the Continental Divide. Ranching, mining and tourism are mainstays of the mountain economy.

Population: 481,627. White: 436,996 (91%), Black 19,829 (4%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 2,457 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 6,015 (1%). Spanish origin 32,707 (7%). 18 and over 335,156 (70%), 65 and over 30,725 (6%). Median age: 28.

growing, insensitive, unaccountable bureaucracy."

One cause in which he found company was his effort to restrict the role of the Legal Services Corporation. Citing "a virtual litany of horror stories," he persuaded his colleagues in 1981 to ban lobbying by the agency. He was less successful in requiring Legal Services to submit its budget to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for review, rather than directly to Congress. Backers of the agency said OMB would be more likely to kill it.

Kramer spent his first two terms on the Education and Labor Committee, where as an advocate of right-to-work laws, he was a sort of gadfly against the panel's solid pro-union majority. In his second term, he became ranking Republican on the Health and Safety Subcommittee, where he spent much of his time

criticizing the Mine Safety and Health Administration. In the 98th Congress, he left Education and Labor to devote his full attention to military issues.

**At Home:** Representing Republican-oriented Colorado Springs and some of Denver's most conservative suburbs, Kramer has one of the safer seats in the Rockies. But even in these congenial surroundings, his strident conservatism has made him a popular target.

In 1982 Kramer drew an articulate challenge from political scientist Tom Cronin, a widely respected student of the presidency. Their contest was the liveliest House race in Colorado in 1982 and drew some national press attention.

Kramer described himself as well matched to the district and described the Massachusetts-born Cronin as a liberal Eastern Demo-

**Ken Kramer, R-Colo.**

crat. Cronin attacked Kramer as an ineffective, inconsistent disciple of the far right. In the halls of Congress, Cronin jibed, the incumbent was an "E. F. Hutton in reverse.... When he talks, nobody listens."

Cronin attracted a large cadre of volunteers, and editorial support from the *Denver Post*, which denounced Kramer as "the state's least effective congressman." But the incumbent was able to point to his work on the Armed Services Committee to assist the Air Force Academy and other district military installations, and he claimed a role in bringing the Consolidated Space Operations Center to the district.

Benefiting from a large campaign treasury and a district unemployment rate that was about half the national level, Kramer carried all but one small Democratic-leaning county deep in the mountains. Cronin began talking of a rematch in 1984, figuring his name identification would be higher.

Kramer has his own roots back East. Born in Chicago and educated at Harvard Law School, he moved to Colorado Springs to practice law and soon entered GOP politics on the

precinct level. Only two years after he opened his law office he had a seat in the state House of Representatives.

Kramer was stubborn and sometimes belligerent in the Legislature, where he gained notoriety for his efforts to push the more moderate GOP leadership in a conservative direction. He was active in promoting anti-pornography and state right-to-work legislation.

When Republican William L. Armstrong left the House seat in 1978 to run for the Senate, Kramer campaigned for it against another equally determined conservative Republican, state Rep. Bob Eckelberry. They waged a bitter primary struggle, with Eckelberry calling himself a rational conservative and portraying Kramer as a wild man. When each candidate claimed the other had distorted his voting record, a representative from the national GOP was sent in to cool things down. Kramer emerged with a 2,700-vote victory.

Although there was lingering bitterness, it did not prevent Kramer from winning a comfortable general election victory over a liberal Democrat.

**Committees**

Armed Services (11th of 16 Republicans)  
Military Installations and Facilities (ranking); Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems.

**Elections****1982 General**

Ken Kramer (R) 84,479 (60%)  
Tom Cronin (D) 57,392 (40%)

**1980 General**

Ken Kramer (R) 177,319 (72%)  
Ed Schreiber (D) 62,003 (25%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978 (60%)

**District Vote For President**

1980			1976		
D	47,248	(25%)	D	64,460	(39%)
R	121,490	(64%)	R	94,920	(58%)
I	17,123	(9%)			

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Kramer (R)	\$383,831	\$109,437 (29%)	\$384,915
Cronin (D)	\$179,634	\$62,627 (35%)	\$170,643
<b>1980</b>			
Kramer (R)	\$259,525	\$71,868 (28%)	\$233,016
Schreiber (D)	\$3,834	\$175 (5%)	\$3,152

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	79	19	81	16	89	8
1981	71	28	85	11	85	11
1980	28	56	87	6	88	4
1979	21	78	93	6	94	3

S = Support O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	0	78	20	82
1981	0	87	21	94
1980	0	91	13	72
1979	5	96	10	94

California - 45th District

## 45 Duncan L. Hunter (R)

Of Coronado — Elected 1980

**Born:** May 31, 1948, Riverside, Calif.  
**Education:** Western State U., B.S.L. 1976, J.D. 1976.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1969-71.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Lynne Layh; one child.  
**Religion:** Baptist.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 117 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-5672.



**In Washington:** Hunter won his seat in large part by trumpeting his pro-military views, and he has pressed the Pentagon's cause in the House with the fervor of a true believer.

As a junior Republican on the Armed Services Committee, Hunter has had little chance to distinguish himself from his more senior, equally hawkish colleagues. But he has emerged on the House floor as an energetic defender of the committee leadership, ready to step into a debate with a set of statistics or line of reasoning to support the defense establishment's view of things.

When the House debated a nuclear freeze in early 1983, Hunter peppered Foreign Affairs Chairman Clement J. Zablocki of Wisconsin, the freeze sponsor, with a long string of hostile questions about how the idea would work.

In the previous Congress, when some House members moved to delete funding for the B-1 bomber, arguing that it should go to a "Stealth" bomber instead, Hunter was impatient. The issue could be compared to a boxing match, he said, in which "we are behind on points, and instead of working to pile up points with jabs and hooks and uppercuts, we are waiting to throw our big Sunday punch ... while our adversary wins round after round."

Hunter grows especially heated on questions involving the Japanese. Arguing in 1982 that Japan should pay for American forces committed to its defense, he declared, "In effect, we work our tail off so that the Japanese can have a stable international economic environment which they use to put Americans out of work."

He also sponsored legislation imposing an equity fee on Japanese cars unless Japan increased its imports of U.S. farm products. In a break with the Reagan administration, Hunter

backed passage of the "domestic content" bill requiring a percentage of American labor and parts in automobiles sold in the U.S.

**At Home:** Hunter has an unusual background for a conservative Republican. For the three years before his House campaign, he lived and worked in the Hispanic section of San Diego. Running his own storefront law office, Hunter often gave free legal advice to poor people. When President Reagan called for abolition of the Legal Services Corporation, Hunter was one of the dissenters.

Hunter's work in the usually Democratic inner city was one of the reasons for his 1980 upset victory over Democrat Lionel Van Deerlin, a nine-term House veteran. Running his campaign out of his law office, Hunter attracted volunteers and voters most GOP candidates would have had to write off.

Another reason was Hunter's ceaseless campaigning. He made endless rounds of the compact district, popping up at defense plants and on street corners, shaking 1,000 hands every day while Van Deerlin remained in Washington, assuming he would win by his usual comfortable margin.

Hunter, who won a Bronze Star for flying 25 helicopter combat assaults in Vietnam, blasted away at Van Deerlin's so-called "anti-defense" voting record. He promised his own pro-Pentagon stance would keep jobs in the district, where the nation's largest naval base and numerous defense industries are located. "In San Diego," he said, "defense means jobs."

In 1982 Democrats created a new district in central San Diego, moving Hunter into the new, stalwartly Republican 45th outside the city. The change removed any pressures he might have felt in the old district to moderate his conservative beliefs.

Duncan L. Hunter, R-Calif.

## California 45

Crossing the entire southern border of the state from the Colorado River to San Diego's Sunset Cliffs, the 45th is sparsely populated and overwhelmingly Republican.

The district was created in 1981 to give Hunter a secure place to run. Democrats did not want him to interfere with their plans to elect a Democrat in the 44th, which includes much of Hunter's old constituency. The lines of the 45th should keep Hunter and all other Republicans quite content. The district supported Ronald Reagan with 62 percent in 1980.

The 45th has two distinct parts. One is in the eastern suburbs of San Diego, such as Chula Vista and El Cajon, and the spit of land — Coronado — that separates the Pacific Ocean from the San Diego Bay. Coronado is the home of many retired Navy officers. They give the area a decidedly pro-military, Republican flavor.

The other segment of the district includes California's Imperial Valley. Below the level of both the Colorado River and the

## Imperial Valley; Part of San Diego

Pacific Ocean, the valley was relatively easy to irrigate at the turn of the century and has since become one of the most productive farm areas in the country.

As farmers and other urban refugees move in with their house trailers, the valley is experiencing its first substantial population growth in several decades. Just under 100,000 people now live there. Although registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by 56 to 34 percent, the electorate here is conservative. In 1980, Reagan nearly reversed the registration figures, defeating Jimmy Carter, 56 to 37 percent. Imperial County has not voted for a Democrat for president since 1964.

Population: 525,906. White 442,139 (84%), Black 9,617 (2%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 5,401 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 15,017 (3%). Spanish origin 97,265 (19%). 18 and over 387,465 (74%), 65 and over 57,220 (11%). Median age: 30.

### Committees

**Armed Services** (12th of 16 Republicans)  
Military Personnel and Compensation; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials.

**Select Narcotics Abuse and Control** (8th of 9 Republicans)

### Elections

**1982 General**  
Duncan L. Hunter (R) 117,771 (69%)  
Richard Hill (D) 50,148 (29%)

**1980 General**  
Duncan L. Hunter (R) 79,713 (53%)  
Lionel Van Deerlin (D) 69,936 (47%)

#### District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	50,729 (27%)	D	61,853 (42%)
R	115,823 (62%)	R	82,830 (57%)
I	16,616 (9%)		

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Hunter (R)	\$432,377	\$146,384 (34%)	\$286,668

### 1980

Hunter (R)	\$220,874	\$27,575 (12%)	\$208,596
Van Deerlin (D)	\$105,367	\$41,410 (39%)	\$140,557

### Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	83	14	84	10	90	5
1981	74	25	89	11	95	5

S = Support O = Opposition

### Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	100	21	82
1981	10	75	27	89

South Carolina - 1st District

# 1 Thomas F. Hartnett (R)

Of Mount Pleasant — Elected 1980

**Born:** Aug. 7, 1941, Charleston, S.C.

**Education:** Attended College of Charleston, 1960-62.

**Military Career:** Air Force Reserve, 1963-69; 1982-.

**Occupation:** Real estate salesman.

**Family:** Wife, Bonnie Lee Kennerly; two children.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** S.C. House, 1965-73; S.C. Senate, 1973-81; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 1971.

**Capitol Office:** 228 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-3176.



**In Washington:** Hartnett's country-boy irreverence has quickly gained him an image as a court jester in an institution he seems to feel takes itself too seriously.

At times, Hartnett's brand of humor is counterproductive. During a 1981 debate on moving daylight-savings time forward two months, Hartnett asked "who is going to wake up the rooster that is going to wake up all the farmhands?" Trying to adopt a more sober tone a few minutes later, he repeatedly had to appeal to his colleagues to take him seriously.

But if Hartnett strikes some House members as buffoonish, he has won points for saying bluntly what is on his mind. "We are all political prostitutes, I guess," he mused during a 1982 debate on the MX missile. "We do what is necessary to get the votes." That is a sentiment frequently expressed in private on the House floor, but rarely voiced aloud.

As a legislator, Hartnett is firmly in the pro-military tradition of the late Democrat L. Mendel Rivers, who represented the district for 30 years. In his first term, Hartnett landed a seat on the Armed Services Committee Rivers once chaired; it has been his only assignment.

After the Reagan administration ordered cutbacks in Army Corps of Engineers personnel, Hartnett sponsored a floor amendment to keep open district offices of the Army Corps in ports with major military installations. The amendment, designed to prevent the closing of the Charleston office, was included in a military construction bill.

Hartnett is quick to point out what he sees as coercion directed at his state and the South. In 1981 he tried to amend the Voting Rights Act to widen its "preclearance" provision to the entire country, arguing that "our black brothers and sisters in Montana and Utah and Idaho and Iowa" should be covered by it. Later that

year, on daylight-savings time, Hartnett tried and failed to have South Carolina — and any other state whose legislature so desired — exempted from the new provisions.

**At Home:** Hartnett made his first try for Congress as a Democrat in the 1971 special election to replace Rivers, who had died in office. Then a three-term state representative, Hartnett was not as well-known as either of his two main primary opponents: Rivers' godson and former aide, Mendel J. Davis, and Charleston Mayor J. Palmer Gaillard Jr. Davis won the primary and went on to take the seat.

But when Davis decided to retire in 1980 at age 38, Hartnett was in the right party at the right time. He had left the Democrats after they nominated George McGovern for president in 1972, moving up to the state Senate as a Republican.

His chances in 1980 at first seemed little better than in 1971. His opponent, Democrat Charles D. "Pug" Ravenel, had run for governor in 1974 and for the U.S. Senate in 1978 and was well-known throughout the district. But, taking advantage of the Democrat's 10 years as an investment banker in New York, Hartnett saturated the media with a campaign tagging him as a "carpetbagger." Ravenel was "a New York banker with political ties to union bosses and Wall Street liberals," one ad said. Ravenel could not fight off the attack, and Hartnett emerged with a 5,200-vote edge.

Democrats were back in 1982 with Davis' former administrative assistant, W. Mullins McLeod, a candidate potentially much stronger than Ravenel in the rural areas of the district. But in July, before the campaign had even begun in earnest, McLeod was arrested for drunken driving. He never managed to gain any momentum after that.

Thomas F. Hartnett, R-S.C.

## South Carolina 1

## South — Charleston

Henry James, describing the city's listlessness at the turn of the century, disparaged Charleston as "effeminate." No more. While James might still recognize the carefully preserved older streets and quaint houses, the symbol of contemporary Charleston is the defense industry and the enormous postwar growth it has brought to the area. More than a fifth of South Carolina's new residents during the 1970s were attracted to metropolitan Charleston.

The Charleston Naval Shipyard, Charleston Air Force Base, Parris Island Marine Corps Base and numerous other military facilities place an estimated 35 percent of the district's payroll in the hands of the Defense Department and draw in private military contractors and related businesses.

Most of the people moving into the area have settled in the Charleston suburbs, which have exploded in population in the past decade. North Charleston, one-third the size of its parent city in 1970, was

virtually equal with it in population in the 1980 census. Reflecting the Northern and middle-class background of the new residents, these booming suburbs turn in solidly Republican votes at the national level — and, when offered a GOP candidate, at the local level.

In Charleston itself and in the poorer rural towns to the south, the Democratic presence remains strong. The city, 46 percent black, is still governed by Democrats, and blacks in the precincts north of Calhoun Street turn in an overwhelmingly Democratic vote. But the white population, which is beginning to encroach on formerly black areas, is increasingly Republican in national elections.

Population: 520,338. White 343,616 (66%), Black 168,058 (32%), Asian and Pacific Islander 4,476 (1%). Spanish origin 8,618 (2%). 18 and over 362,866 (70%), 65 and over 38,887 (7%). Median age: 26.

### Committees

**Armed Services** (13th of 16 Republicans)  
Military Installation and Facilities; Military Personnel and Compensation; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials.

### Elections

<b>1982 General</b>			
Thomas Hartnett (R)	63,945	(54%)	
Mullins McLeod (D)	52,916	(45%)	
<b>1980 General</b>			
Thomas Hartnett (R)	81,988	(52%)	
Charles Ravenel (D)	76,743	(48%)	

### District Vote For President

1980			1976		
D	65,690	(44%)	D	65,254	(53%)
R	78,592	(53%)	R	56,449	(46%)
I	3,146	(2%)			

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Hartnett (R)	\$362,852	\$141,072 (39%)	\$322,402
McLeod (D)	\$205,539	\$27,633 (13%)	\$174,741

1372

### 1980

Hartnett (R)	\$226,147	\$105,540 (47%)	\$223,145
Ravenel (D)	\$280,210	\$56,684 (20%)	\$179,933

### Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	74	19	88	8	88	8
1981	79	17	83	9	92	4

S = Support      O = Opposition

### Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	100	5	71
1981	5	91	7	100

New York - 26th District

## 26 David O'B. Martin (R)

Of Canton — Elected 1980

**Born:** April 26, 1944, Ogdensburg, N.Y.

**Education:** U. of Notre Dame, B.B.A. 1966; Albany U. Law School, J.D. 1973.

**Military Career:** Marine Corps, 1966-70.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, DeeAnn Hedlund; three children.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** St. Lawrence County Legislature, 1974-77; N.Y. Assembly, 1977-81.

**Capitol Office:** 109 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-4611.



**In Washington:** House GOP leaders liked Martin's voting record and easygoing personality enough to make him an assistant whip in his freshman term. But beyond low-visibility service as a loyal party soldier, his activity was limited to commenting on a few issues directly related to his district.

Martin argued strongly in behalf of a measure aimed at keeping down costs for users of the St. Lawrence Seaway, which connects the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. Its headquarters are in Massena, a city in the 26th District.

The St. Lawrence is the nation's only waterway that was required by the federal government to repay its construction costs through collection of tolls. About \$30 million of the debt has been paid off since the seaway opened in 1959, but the financing scheme required an accelerated repayment schedule beginning in the mid-1980s.

Martin and other congressmen from areas served by the seaway argued that meeting the repayment obligation could force a rise in tolls so dramatic that traffic on the waterway might decrease significantly. The seaway's debt was canceled by a provision in the Department of Transportation's fiscal year 1983 appropriations bill.

Acid rain is a hot topic in Martin's district because hundreds of lakes in the Adirondacks can no longer sustain fish populations. Martin has been less militant on the acid rain issue than most members of Congress from the Northeast. In 1981 he said "there is wide difference of opinion as to whether these lakes are valid evidence of an acid precipitation problem."

In 1982, however, he decided to support a

piece of legislation setting limits on the amount of sulfur dioxide that industries can discharge.

Martin's only committee assignment in the 97th Congress was Interior. In 1983 he switched to the Armed Services Committee. Martin is a veteran of the Vietnam War and his district's military facilities include a Strategic Air Command base. He was involved in the negotiations over construction of a Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which was dedicated in Washington, D.C., in 1982.

**At Home:** Martin follows the orthodox Republicanism of his predecessor, Robert C. McEwen, who retired in 1981 at the completion of his eighth term.

After returning from Vietnam and graduating from law school, Martin entered politics in 1973 at the county level. In 1976 he received party backing for the state Legislature and moved on to Albany. A regular Republican who worked closely with the party leadership, Martin had the support of six of the seven county GOP chairmen in his 1980 bid for the congressional nomination.

Martin defeated a well-known Democrat for the House seat — former New York Lt. Gov. Mary Anne Krupsak. Krupsak moved into the district in order to run, but could not break the strong hold Republicans have maintained in the area.

During the campaign, Martin proposed adapting fellow New York Republican Jack F. Kemp's proposal for "enterprise zones," designed for high unemployment urban areas, to his district's economically suffering rural areas and small towns. Martin won handily and increased his percentage in an easy 1982 reelection contest.

Ohio - 12th District

# 12 John R. Kasich (R)

Of Westerville — Elected 1982

**Born:** May 13, 1952, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
**Education:** Ohio State U., B.A. 1974.  
**Occupation:** Legislative aide.  
**Family:** Divorced.  
**Religion:** Roman Catholic.  
**Political Career:** Ohio Senate, 1979-1983.  
**Capitol Office:** 1724 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-5355.



**The Path to Washington:** The Columbus area is one of America's great test markets, but it has conspicuously bucked national trends in the last two congressional elections. In 1980, upset winner Bob Shamansky was one of only three Democrats in the country to oust a GOP incumbent. Two years later, Kasich was the only Republican in the nation to retire a Democratic incumbent — Shamansky.

According to Republicans, Kasich recovered what was rightfully theirs. They considered Shamansky's victory a fluke, blaming veteran GOP Rep. Samuel Devine for running a complacent, lackadaisical 1980 campaign.

No one can accuse Kasich of complacency. An energetic grass-roots campaigner, he upset a veteran Democratic state senator in 1978 by visiting every household in the district several times. That was his political debut. His 1982 House campaign was a facsimile and featured the slogan, "Walking our way to Congress."

Kasich's personal energy is combined with a militant conservatism. He was a legislative aide to conservative state Sen. Donald E. Lukens and chairman of Philip M. Crane's 1980 GOP presidential campaign in Ohio. In the Legislature, Kasich always allied himself with the most conservative members.

While he is an opponent of abortion and a supporter of the death penalty, Kasich's hallmark has been fiscal conservatism. He sponsored a resolution calling for a balanced federal budget and consistently opposed increases in legislative pay and state taxes. During the 1982 campaign, Shamansky accused Kasich of fiscal irresponsibility for voting against tax hikes needed to balance the state budget.

Shamansky had the advantage of incumbency, but Kasich was well-positioned from the start, thanks in large measure to a redistricting plan that was passed by the Legislature in March. Shamansky foolishly angered Ohio House Speaker Vernal Riffe, a Democrat, by endorsing state Attorney General William J.

Brown for the governorship at a time when Riffe was considering running himself.

Riffe had substantial influence over the subsequent remap, and the final product did Shamansky no favors. Some heavily black wards on Columbus' East Side were removed, while the rural, predominantly Republican western end of Licking County was added.

With the new district lines giving him a good shot at Shamansky, Kasich received lavish support from conservative, business and party sources. President Reagan headed a long list of administration officials who made campaign appearances on his behalf.

But the president's visit in early October touched off a controversy that was little help to Kasich. Using information supplied by Kasich's staff, Reagan charged that Shamansky had opposed the B-1 bomber. Production of the B-1 meant some 7,000 new jobs at the local Rockwell International plant.

Shamansky responded that he was on record in support of the B-1, adding that the president "was lied to and misused" by the Kasich campaign. Kasich tried to argue afterward that Shamansky's vote for a nuclear freeze proposal in August could be interpreted as opposition to the plane.

The flap served to increase the decibel level in a campaign that was already shrill. Throughout the fall Kasich denounced Shamansky, a wealthy lawyer, as a big-spending liberal who was out of touch with the district. The incumbent responded by labeling his young opponent as a "Jesse Helms clone" who had "never been anything but a politician. He's never been in the military," Shamansky charged, "or the private sector."

Two years earlier, Shamansky had personally financed a late media blitz that caught Devine off-guard. But Kasich was not vulner-

John R. Kasich, R-Ohio

## Ohio 12

Columbus has not suffered from the kind of economic collapse that has afflicted most of Ohio's industrial cities in the past few years. It is primarily a white-collar town, one whose diverse industrial base is bolstered by the state government complex, Ohio State University, a major banking center and numerous scientific research firms. For most of 1982, Columbus and surrounding Franklin County had the lowest unemployment rate in Ohio.

Nearly three-quarters of the 12th District vote is cast in Columbus and its Franklin County suburbs. Democrats have to do extremely well within the city to have a chance districtwide. Blacks comprise 22 percent of Columbus' population, but they are split evenly between the 12th and 15th districts, reducing Democratic prospects in both. As one moves east from the state Capitol building along Broad Street (U.S. Route 40), the black population goes down and the Republican vote goes up.

About three miles east of the Capitol is affluent Bexley, an independent community of 13,405 surrounded by the city. While normally Republican, Bexley has a large Jewish population and sometimes votes for

## Northeast Columbus and Suburbs

strong Democratic candidates. Two miles farther east on Broad Street is Whitehall, another independent town, population 21,299. Site of the Defense Construction Supply Center, it has a large blue-collar base and its voters are frequent ticket-splitters.

Farther out are newer suburbs. Some of these, such as Reynoldsburg and Gahanna, are predominantly blue-collar. Residents are employed at large plants like Rockwell International (center of B-1 bomber production) and Western Electric. Other communities are mainly white-collar. Most are reliably Republican.

The rest of the district is rural and Republican, with a smattering of light industry. The half of Licking County in the district gave Kasich a 3,500-vote margin over Democratic incumbent Rep. Bob Shamansky in 1982, and Delaware and Morrow counties are equally favorable to the GOP.

Population: 512,925. White 429,815 (84%), Black 77,633 (15%). Spanish origin 3,529 (1%). 18 and over 365,406 (71%), 65 and over 42,538 (8%). Median age: 29.

able to such a tactic. With effective grass-roots organization and a complement of billboards and television advertising, he survived the closing weeks without any serious erosion in his support. Shamansky carried populous Franklin County (Columbus), but his margin there was

reduced from nearly 13,500 votes in 1980 to barely 4,000 in 1982. That did not leave him enough to withstand Kasich's lead in the rural Republican counties. Overall, the challenger won by 5,582 votes out of more than 175,000 cast.

## Committees

Armed Services (16th of 16 Republicans)  
Investigations; Readiness

## Elections

**1982 General**  
John Kasich (R) 88,335 (51%)  
Bob Shamansky (D) 82,753 (47%)  
**1982 Primary**  
John Kasich (R) 33,550 (83%)  
Roy Ault (R) 7,086 (17%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	80,267 (40%)	D	78,361 (43%)
R	105,088 (53%)	R	99,828 (55%)
I	9,861 (5%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Kasich (R)	\$375,521	\$180,697 (48%)	\$369,749
Shamansky (D)	\$525,513	\$160,850 (31%)	\$394,154

## Key Vote

Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)

N

**House Freshmen - 20**

**Mac Sweeney**  
**(R-14th District)**



**Election:** Defeated Democratic Rep. Bill Patman.  
**Born:** Sept. 15, 1955, Wharton, Texas.  
**Education:** University of Texas, B.A., 1978.  
**Occupation:** Former White House administrator.  
**Family:** Wife, Cathy; no children.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.

**Background:** In any year but 1984, Sweeney would have had little hope of capturing a district held by a well-known Democrat who had kept his fences mended among local conservatives. But with President Reagan and GOP Senate-winner Phil Gramm on the ballot, voters in this southeast Texas Democratic stronghold abandoned their traditional ticket-splitting habits, and swept Sweeney into office on a tide of straight-party Republican voting.

Sweeney, at 29, had never run for office. He replaces two-term Democratic Rep. Bill Patman, son of the legendary Rep. Wright Patman, who served Texas' 1st District in Congress for 48 years.

Before returning to the district to run for Congress, Sweeney worked for two years as director of administrative operations at the Reagan White House, managing a staff of 140 and a budget of \$8 million. Sweeney argued that his experience would make him more effective at trimming the federal budget than Patman had been.

Whether the argument was valid, the experience gave him high-level political and fund-raising connections. After surviving a three-way primary and winning the runoff, Sweeney proceeded to outspend the incumbent, even though Patman was one of the wealthier members of Congress. Sweeney spent about \$435,000 on his campaign (compared with Patman's \$235,000), saturating the district with campaign ads and Reagan's videotaped endorsement.

Thanks to the media presence, Sweeney's aggressive direct-mail operation and his tireless door-to-door campaigning, few homes in the district escaped his name. Meanwhile, the 57-year-old Patman ran a more traditional campaign based on his constituent service, a 20-year record in the state Senate, and a reputation as a rural populist. As a member of the House Banking Committee (which his father had chaired for more than a decade), Patman was known as an outspoken foe of high interest rates. He loudly objected when Congress deregulated the intercity bus industry, warning that small towns and rural areas would lose service.

Patman was far from liberal on most issues in the House (his 1982 approval rating from the conservative American Security Council was 90), but he had trouble deflecting Sweeney's attempts to link him with national Democratic liberals. Sweeney repeatedly attacked Patman for voting to raise taxes, increase spending and allow busing for integration, saying, "He is wrong on all the conservative issues of the day." Patman countered that he voted against Reagan-backed tax increases, supported spending cuts and had a "clear record" against busing.

One weakness that caught up to Patman was redistricting after the 1980 census. The state Legislature had removed largely Hispanic Corpus Christi from the 14th, depriving Patman of a needed cushion of hard-core Democratic votes, and leaving a heavily rural district. Sweeney won with 51 percent districtwide.

Virginia - 1st District

# 1 Herbert H. Bateman (R)

Of Newport News — Elected 1982

**Born:** Aug. 7, 1928, Elizabeth City, N.C.  
**Education:** College of William and Mary, B.A. 1949;  
Georgetown U. Law School, LL.B. 1956.  
**Military Career:** Air Force, 1951-53.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Laura Yacobi; two children.  
**Religion:** Protestant.  
**Political Career:** Va. Senate, 1968-82.  
**Capitol Office:** 1518 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-4261.



**The Path to Washington:** Bateman reflects the fiscal values of the Byrd tradition in Virginia. A self-described "mainstream orthodox conservative," he has championed the interests of the Tidewater business community throughout his political career.

Bateman has been near the center of Newport News' civic and political life since he set up his legal practice in the city after law school. He ran for the state Senate in 1967 as a Democrat and won. He was re-elected three times after that, twice as a Democrat and once as a Republican.

But until 1982 he was blunted in his tries for higher office. Bateman's strong support from Virginia's conservative political establishment was neutralized by a poor sense of timing. In early 1976 he switched parties with an eye on running for the Tidewater congressional seat of retiring Democratic Rep. Thomas N. Downing, only to find that a hard-working young county prosecutor named Paul S. Trible Jr. had the Republican nomination locked up.

In 1981 he was encouraged by prominent GOP leaders, including outgoing Gov. John Dalton and former Gov. Mills E. Godwin, to run for lieutenant governor. But challenged aggressively by a religious fundamentalist and an ambitious young state legislator, he finished second at the GOP state convention.

On both those occasions Bateman started late and drew stiff opposition from grass-roots Republicans who resented his Democratic past. "I am not an intense party partisan," he admitted in 1982. "If I have any soft spots among Republican Party leaders, it is that I am not as much of a party-oriented activist as they might prefer me to be."

The two rebuffs, coupled with a disappointingly narrow re-election to the state Senate in 1979, seemed to turn Bateman a little cautious on competing strenuously for higher

office. When GOP officials sought a House successor for Trible, who was running for the Senate in 1982, Bateman bluntly told them: "I'm a candidate, if I'm the nominee." But they agreed and Bateman was an easy winner at the district convention.

The fall campaign was nearly as easy. Although the district's sizable blue-collar and black population gave the Democrats an opening, their chances virtually evaporated in June when state Rep. George W. Grayson quit the ticket barely a month after winning the Democratic nomination.

Grayson cited the pressures of the campaign, saying that they had forced him to turn to sleeping pills and tranquilizers to cope with the rigors of campaigning. His replacement — William and Mary government Professor John J. McGlennon — lacked Grayson's name identification and experience in elective politics.

Confident that he was well ahead, Bateman never bothered to move his campaign into high gear. McGlennon ran a spirited effort, but he lacked money and Bateman largely ignored him.

Over 14 years in the Virginia Senate, Bateman developed a reputation as a legislative craftsman, but no innovator. He was most comfortable with the nuts-and-bolts work of perfecting legislative language and drafting technical amendments. His speeches, though well-researched, were often long-winded.

Bateman was a real catch for the GOP when he crossed the aisle in 1976. As a member of the most prestigious law firm in Newport News, he had ties to the Tidewater business community. Since he was a prominent public official, Republicans hoped that he would be in the vanguard of a mass conversion of business-oriented Byrd Democrats to the GOP. But that did not happen. As one of only a handful of

**Herbert H. Bateman, R-Va.****Virginia 1**

Although this Tidewater constituency has come loose from its traditional Democratic moorings, voting Republican for the House four times in a row, it is still no Republican stronghold. Its significant black and working-class populations make it less than predictable in most contests, and in close statewide races, it is nearly always a swing district. Jimmy Carter carried it with 51 percent of the vote in 1976. Four years later Ronald Reagan finished 5 percentage points ahead of Carter.

Half the people in the 1st live in two cities at the district's southern end — Hampton and Newport News, both ports of the Hampton Roads harbor. These two cities frequently turn in Democratic majorities. In 1980, Carter won Hampton, while Reagan eked out a 357-vote plurality in Newport News.

Both cities are about one-third black, and both economies are tied to extensive military and shipbuilding facilities; the Newport News Shipbuilding Company alone employs 25,000 people.

**East — Newport News; Hampton**

The balance of the district's population is scattered among rural inland counties and along the Chesapeake Bay. Colonial Virginia and its plantation economy were centered in this area; fishing, oystering, crabbing and the growing of corn, soybeans and wheat are important today.

This conservative rural territory is where Republicans have made their most significant inroads into the district's traditional Democratic strength. Of the 18 counties outside Hampton and Newport News, Reagan won all but four — Caroline, King and Queen, Charles City and Northampton — in 1980, accumulating an 11,000-vote cushion. In 1982 Bateman also won virtually all the rural counties en route to his election by a 14,000-vote margin.

Population: 535,092. White 358,702 (67%), Black 167,559 (31%), Asian and Pacific Islander 4,156 (1%). Spanish origin 6,920 (1%). 18 and over 384,328 (72%), 65 and over 53,578 (10%). Median age: 30.

Republicans in the state Senate, Bateman saw his influence decline after he switched parties. He did become a conduit between the Legislature and the state's Republican governors, Godwin and later Dalton.

Bateman's conversion marked no change in his business-oriented conservatism. In 1980

he was in the forefront of opposition to a bill that would have extended environmental protection in Virginia's coastal wetlands. Maintaining that the bill would restrict business development, Bateman succeeded in encouraging Gov. Dalton to veto it over the objections of environmentalists.

**Committees**

**Merchant Marine and Fisheries** (12th of 14 Republicans)  
Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment; Merchant Marine; Oceanography.

**Science and Technology** (12th of 15 Republicans)  
Energy Development and Applications; Science Research and Technology; Space Science and Applications.

**Elections****1982 General**

Herbert Bateman (R)	76,926	(54%)
John McGlenn (D)	62,379	(44%)

**District Vote For President**

<b>1980</b>	<b>1976</b>
D 80,434 (45%)	D 83,549 (51%)

R 90,093 (50%)	R 77,249 (47%)
I 7,440 (4%)	

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Bateman (R)	\$260,879	\$99,266 (38%)	\$255,585
McGlenn (D)	\$103,180	\$44,545 (43%)	\$100,960

**Key Vote**

Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)

N •

New York - 1st District

# 1 William Carney (R)

**Of Hauppauge — Elected 1978**

**Born:** July 1, 1942, Brooklyn, N.Y.  
**Education:** Attended Fla. State U., 1960-61.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1961-64.  
**Occupation:** Air conditioning salesman.  
**Family:** Wife, Barbara Ann Haverlin; two children.  
**Religion:** Roman Catholic.  
**Political Career:** Suffolk County Legislature, 1976-79;  
 Conservative nominee for Smithtown tax receiver,  
 1971.  
**Capitol Office:** 1424 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-3826.



**In Washington:** Carney's penchant for wisecracks easily fits the subculture of the New York delegation, but his voting record is closer to that of New Right Republicans from the Sun Belt.

After a period of preoccupation with Long Island issues and politics, Carney turned himself into a nationally visible conservative figure in 1982, leading the movement in the House against a nuclear weapons freeze. Trying to counter the growing sentiment in favor of an immediate freeze, he introduced his own resolution in March of that year calling for a freeze after parity was reached, at reduced levels.

President Reagan quickly endorsed Carney's plan and lobbied extensively on its behalf. Carney yielded to his more senior colleagues to manage the bill on the House floor, but he pleaded for it in no uncertain terms: "Do we support the president's bold arms reductions proposals?" he asked. "Or do we undermine his efforts, and do the Soviets' negotiating for them?" The House approved Carney's version of the freeze 204-202.

Early in 1983, the freeze issue returned to the House floor. Strengthened by 26 new Democratic seats, freeze proponents clearly had the upper hand. But Carney and other critics assaulted Foreign Affairs Chairman Clement J. Zablocki with a barrage of amendments and objections, forcing several marathon sessions before the freeze was finally approved.

Meanwhile, as a member of the Science Committee, Carney has been in the increasingly lonely position of defending the Reagan administration's budget cuts in the environmental field.

In the 97th Congress, as senior Republican on the Science subcommittee handling natural resources and the environment, he persuaded the House to go along with his plan to cut 18

percent from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) research budget. Carney insisted that the cuts would not preclude a commitment to aggressive environmental protection.

The next year, amid concerns that EPA was too lax in enforcing environmental laws, the Science Committee rejected Carney's attempt to add only \$7 million to Reagan's request. Instead, the panel added more than \$80 million. On the floor, Carney tried to cut that figure drastically, explaining, "It is not often the easiest thing to deal with protecting our environment and at the same time to deal with the economic factors of today." The House finally decided on an amount much closer to the committee preference than the figure Carney and the White House wanted. Reagan vetoed the bill.

Carney first earned his New Right credentials in the House by vocally opposing the Panama Canal treaties as a member of a special Merchant Marine Subcommittee set up to deal with the question. He argued vehemently against legislation implementing transfer of the canal from the United States to Panama. The treaties, he said, were "ill-conceived, poorly drafted and diplomatically bungled."

He charged that a House-Senate conference had removed the only significant protections the United States had in giving up the canal — the right to impose substantial costs on Panama and the requirement that Congress approve the transfer of property to that country. But the bills implementing the transfer became law in 1979.

Still, Carney has not given up on the issue. In 1982, when the Panama Canal Subcommittee was making technical changes in the implementing legislation, Carney won approval of an amendment demanding that Panama negotiate "in good faith" with U.S. businesses whose

*William Carney, R-N.Y.*

## New York 1

The potato fields are giving way to housing developments in eastern Suffolk County, and commercial fishing grounds are now dominated by pleasure boats. These changes are the signs of growth. While New York as a whole lost 3.8 percent of its population during the 1970s, the 1st expanded 29.1 percent, making it the most populous district in the state before the 1982 remap.

Redistricting pared away large areas of the district, but the changes did not alter its solidly Republican character. The 1st last went Democratic for president in 1964.

Republicans come in three varieties here: the longtime residents who fish and farm, the landed gentry living on inherited wealth and the middle-income ethnics moving farther and farther from New York City.

The fishermen generally work out of Montauk, while the remaining farmers are found mostly around Southold. The rich live in Sag Harbor and Shelter Island. Shirley, Mastic and the Moriches host large numbers of ethnic newcomers, especially retired New York City policemen. Many of the ethnics are Italian, and they are receptive to Republican candidates.

## Long Island — Eastern Suffolk County

Advanced technology, especially in the defense field, plays a major role in the district's economy. Grumman builds military aircraft at its Calverton facility. The nearby Brookhaven National Laboratory conducts military-oriented research. And the Shoreham nuclear plant — controversial because of cost overruns and safety concerns — sits on the North Shore, awaiting federal permission to begin operations.

The 1st's generally conservative constituents have environmental anxieties beyond the Shoreham facility. They are also concerned about pollution of the aquifer beneath the Long Island pine barrens and the disappearance of farm land.

The district's most significant patch of Democrats is around the state university at Stony Brook. The large gay enclave in Fire Island's Cherry Grove would be a liberal force if it stayed year-round, but it is primarily a summer community that returns to Manhattan long before election time.

Population: 516,407. White 486,111 (94%), Black 20,253 (4%). Spanish origin 18,408 (4%). 18 and over 350,987 (68%), 65 and over 55,046 (11%). Median age: 30.

assets were seized by the Panamanian government. One of the beneficiaries of that amendment would be New York shipping magnate Daniel Ludwig, one of America's richest men. However, the bill never got out of subcommittee.

**At Home:** Carney is the only registered member of New York's Conservative Party ever elected to Congress. His 1978 victory in a multi-candidate Republican primary was made possible by a deal between the Republican and Conservative Party leaderships in Suffolk County. The two parties agreed on a unity slate, and Republican organization support for Carney was part of the Conservatives' asking price. Carney won the nomination with only 31.1 percent of the vote.

During his first term, the political situation at home changed radically. Much of the old Republican leadership in Suffolk County

stepped down or was plagued by scandal, and the new leaders were not favorably disposed to Carney. While the GOP organization formally endorsed him for renomination in 1980 in order to preserve the party's alliance with the Conservatives, many Republican Party people worked for Carney's primary opponent. Nevertheless, Carney easily prevailed and seems to have made peace with the new Republican leadership.

Carney entered politics after a business career in which he was a sales representative for a firm that made heavy equipment, including air conditioners. He won a seat in the Suffolk County Legislature in 1975 and was re-elected in 1977, with the backing of both the Republican and Conservative parties. During his time in the county Legislature, he dealt primarily with transportation and land development issues.

## New York - 1st District

## Committees

Merchant Marine and Fisheries (7th of 14 Republicans)  
Panama Canal and Outer Continental Shelf (ranking); Fisheries  
and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment; Merchant Marine.

Science and Technology (4th of 15 Republicans)  
Transportation, Aviation and Materials (ranking); Energy Development and Application.

## Elections

1982 General  
William Carney (R) 88,234 (64%)  
Ethan Eldon (D) 49,787 (36%)

1980 General  
William Carney (R) 115,213 (56%)  
Thomas Twomey (D) 85,629 (42%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978 (56%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1978	
D	61,867 (33%)	D	85,138 (48%)
R	105,748 (57%)	R	100,390 (54%)
I	15,180 (8%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Carney (R)	\$178,106	\$77,254 (43%)	\$142,800
Eldon (D)	\$62,564	\$13,700 (22%)	\$57,969

1980

Carney (R)	\$148,562	\$65,552 (44%)	\$147,966
Twomey (D)	\$121,437	\$2,655 (2%)	\$120,143

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	75	21	69	20	81	11
1981	71	20	77	20	77	17
1980	36	59	80	15	82	11
1979	25	75	89	10	94	6

S = Support

O = Opposition

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	82	21	90
1981	5	82	20	89
1980	11	83	28	72
1979	0	85	15	100

Illinois - 16th District

# 16 Lynn Martin (R)

Of Rockford — Elected 1980

**Born:** Dec. 26, 1939, Chicago, Ill.

**Education:** U. of Ill., B.A. 1960.

**Occupation:** English teacher.

**Family:** Divorced; two children.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** Winnebago County Board, 1972-76;

Ill. House, 1977-79; Ill. Senate, 1979-81.

**Capitol Office:** 1208 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-5676.



**In Washington:** Martin landed a seat on the Budget Committee in her first term — a choice opportunity for a newcomer — and from there she has become known as a tough-talking party loyalist on fiscal matters who knows when to temper her conservative instincts with a dose of pragmatism.

In her first weeks on the committee, Martin got into a heated exchange with Alice Rivlin, head of the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), who predicted that President Reagan's three-year tax cut proposal would thwart attempts to balance the budget by 1984. Martin said the CBO's projections ignored the possibility that cutting taxes could stimulate the economy and thereby balance the budget. At one point Martin accused Rivlin of being "out to get us."

By September 1982, however, it was obvious that Reagan policy had brought no dramatic economic turnaround. The House Democratic leadership was pushing hard for a federally funded jobs program, and Republicans were scrambling to limit the damage that unemployment would cause their party.

Minority Leader Bob Michel chose Martin to offer the GOP's alternative jobs program, partly because he felt she could adopt a bipartisan approach that might lure some Democratic support. She claimed the GOP plan "would create twice the jobs at half the cost" of the Democratic proposal, but momentum was against her, and the Democratic plan won on a party-line vote.

Beyond the realm of fiscal policy, Martin often differs with the Reagan administration. She favors the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and legalized abortion, and she has supported a nuclear weapons freeze.

On the House Administration committee, Martin has made a minor specialty of fighting sex discrimination on committee staffs. Early in 1983, when chairmen came before House

Administration to defend their staffing requests, Martin asked each one how many women worked for him, and how many of the women were in professional jobs.

**At Home:** After teaching English in the Rockford public schools, Martin launched her political career in 1972 by winning a seat on the Winnebago County Board. She moved to the state House in 1976 by unseating a Democratic incumbent, then advanced in 1978 by replacing a Democratic state senator.

Her chance at Congress opened up in 1980, when Republican Rep. John B. Anderson announced his White House candidacy. Martin's toughest competition in the five-way GOP primary came from Rev. Don Lyon, who had used help from national conservative organizations to win 42 percent in a 1978 primary challenge to Anderson.

Martin's asset was her name recognition in Winnebago County, which cast about half the district's vote. She delivered a middle-of-the-road message combining fiscal conservatism with support for legalized abortion and the ERA.

The Illinois presidential primary and Martin's congressional primary were on the same day. Many Democrats and independents crossed over to help Anderson, and in the congressional primary those crossover voters generally preferred Martin to the more conservative Republicans competing against her. She won nomination with 45 percent.

Martin was favored from the outset of her 1980 general election campaign. Her Democratic opponent had trouble attracting attention or money and drew just 33 percent. In 1982 economic problems cut into her support. The recession hit industrialized Rockford harder than almost any other U.S. city, but she held on to win 57 percent.

Lynn Martin, R-Ill.

**Illinois 16**

Even though it includes the industrial city of Rockford, the 16th has not elected a Democrat to the House in this century. Redistricting changed it very little. While districts all around it were undergoing major surgery in 1981, the 16th was preserved virtually intact. It continues to nestle compactly in the northwest corner of the state.

The most populous county in the 16th is Winnebago, where about 50 percent of the vote is cast. Rockford, population 139,712, is the seat of Winnebago County and the second largest city in Illinois.

Rockford's large blue-collar population is unionized in plants making machine tools, automotive parts, agricultural implements and defense-related aviation equipment. Nearby Belvidere in Boone County has a Chrysler plant. Freeport, just west of Rockford in Stephenson County, produces computer parts and tires. But all three of these industrial counties vote consistently Republican in most state elections.

**Northwest — Rockford**

The rest of the district is largely rural, settled by Germans, Swedes and Yankees transplanted from New England. It ranks first in the state in dairy farming. The northwest corner of the district is a popular vacation area, with antique stores and state parks scattered throughout hilly Jo Daviess County.

Two small towns in the 16th were home to Ronald Reagan; he was born in Tampico and grew up in Dixon. John B. Anderson, who is from Rockford, represented the 16th as a Republican in Congress for 20 years until he ran for president in 1980. Anderson's neighbors in Winnebago County gave him about 22 percent of their presidential vote — his second best county showing in the nation.

Population: 519,035. White 484,432 (93%), Black 24,906 (5%). Spanish origin 13,405 (3%). 18 and over 364,824 (70%), 65 and over 58,988 (11%). Median age: 30.

**Committees**

**Budget** (7th of 11 Republicans)  
Task Forces: Education and Employment (ranking); Capital Resources and Development; Tax Policy.

**House Administration** (6th of 7 Republicans)  
Accounts; Contracts and Printing; Task Force on Elections.

**Public Works and Transportation** (13th of 18 Republicans)  
Economic Development; Surface Transportation.

**Joint Printing**

**Elections**

**1982 General**  
Lynn Martin (R) 89,405 (57%)  
Carl Schwerdtfeger (D) 66,877 (43%)

**1980 General**  
Lynn Martin (R) 132,905 (67%)  
Douglas Aurand (D) 64,224 (33%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	60,910 (28%)	D	84,993 (42%)
R	117,600 (55%)	R	115,618 (57%)
I	33,015 (15%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Martin (R)	\$225,569	\$88,691 (39%)	\$194,823
Schwerdtfeger (D)	\$61,755	\$28,028 (45%)	\$60,156

**1980**

Martin (R)	\$333,759	\$147,720 (44%)	\$318,791
Aurand (D)	\$41,537	\$11,550 (28%)	\$41,535

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	49	48	65	31	58	41
1981	57	41	67	27	72	24

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)*	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
<b>1982</b>				
1982	30	70	40	59
1981	30	65	29	88