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BIOGRAPHIES

ON

HOUSE PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

AND

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

MEMBERS

99th Congress

February 1985

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MEMBERSHIP FOR
HOUSE PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

99th CONGRESS

DEMOCRATS

Chairman
Lee H. Hamilton (D., IN)

Louis Stokes (D., OH)
Dave McCurdy (D., OK)
* Anthony C. Beilenson (D., CA) 3-5-85 DCI BRIEF
* Robert W. Kastenmeier (D., WI)
Dan Daniel (D., VA)
Robert A. Roe (D., NJ)
* George E. Brown, Jr. (D., CA)
Matthew F. McHugh (D., NY)
Bernard J. Dwyer (D., NJ)

REPUBLICANS

Ranking Minority Member
Bob Stump (R., AZ)

Andy Ireland (R., FL)
Henry J. Hyde (R., IL)
Dick Cheney (R., WY)
Bob Livingston (R., LA)
Bob McEwen (R., OH)

EX OFFICIO: James C. Wright, Jr. (D., TX)
Robert H. Michel (R., IL)

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Lee H. Hamilton (D)

Of Nashville — Elected 1964

Born: April 20, 1931, Daytona Beach, Fla.
Education: DePauw U., B.A. 1952; Ind. U., J.D. 1956.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Nancy Nelson; three children.
Religion: Methodist.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 2187 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5315.

In Washington: A man who chooses his issues carefully and times his few speeches for maximum impact, Hamilton has a reservoir of respect few members can match. But he has been reluctant to take advantage of it, and he has never sought a broker's role in House politics.

Scornful of self-promotion, Hamilton approaches his job with unwavering earnestness. Every week he mails his constituents a newsletter notable because it lacks the traditional self-serving photos and features about the incumbent. Hamilton simply explains one issue each week and sets out the major arguments on each side. Sometimes he does not even express his own opinion.

This low-key style has evolved over nearly 20 years on Foreign Affairs, which Hamilton joined as a freshman in 1965, and on the Europe and Middle East Subcommittee, which he chairs. He is one of a handful of members who have made the once-passive Foreign Affairs Committee closer in stature to its traditionally dominant Senate counterpart. Now third in line on Foreign Affairs behind two Democrats who are both more than a decade older, Hamilton seems almost certain to inherit the committee at some point in the 1980s.

In 1972 Hamilton sponsored the first end-the-Vietnam-War measure ever adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee. His amendment to a foreign aid bill called for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, contingent on release of all prisoners of war and agreement with North Vietnam on a cease-fire plan. The amendment was killed on the House floor in August 1972, but it helped set the stage for later congressional actions to end the war.

Hamilton frequently writes letters to top administration officials demanding explanations of policy decisions, and publishes their responses in the *Congressional Record*. He forces the State Department to brief him regularly on developments in the Middle East. When the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1979 forced Congress to approve a new $4.8 billion American aid package, Hamilton managed it on the House floor and won its approval, calling it "a bargain for the United States."

As subcommittee chairman, he has sought to steer a middle course between the panel's militant pro-Israel faction and those who want to pay serious attention to Arab and Palestinian demands. In the 97th Congress, Hamilton sharply criticized Israeli handling of the raids on Palestinian camps in Lebanon. But he also was one of the more skeptical members in his approach toward Reagan administration plans for new arms sales to Jordan.

In his subcommittee's sensitive debates over aid to Greece and Turkey, Hamilton played what amounted to a referee's role. He was willing to back increased arms sales to Turkey, but insisted on imposing conditions and considering arms for Greece at the same time.

Hamilton began to build his favorable reputation early in his House career, winning election in 1965 as president of the freshman Democratic class in the 89th Congress. Later the same year, Hamilton received widespread press attention with a letter to President Johnson saying it was "time to pause" in action on Great Society social programs.

That strain of domestic conservatism has shown up in his budget voting of the last few years. Skeptical of the deficit levels the House Budget Committee has endorsed, he has sometimes voted against the committee's resolutions on final passage, taking most of the Indiana Democratic delegation with him. In 1981 he backed the Democratic leadership in voting against President Reagan's budget.

Much of Hamilton's time in recent years

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Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind.

Indiana 9

Southeast — Bloomington; New Albany

This is the largest and least urbanized district in the state. The hilly forests and farm lands are more akin to Kentucky and parts of southern Ohio and Illinois than to the flat Hoosier farm lands farther north. Many of those who settled here came from the South and brought with them their Democratic allegiances.

Poultry and cattle are the major agricultural commodities of the area, which is also the center of some of the nation's finest and most abundant limestone quarries. Stone cutters, like those portrayed in the movie "Breaking Away," regularly excavate rock that is used for building material throughout the country.

The Indiana suburbs of Louisville, Ky., along the Ohio River, make up the district's largest concentration of voters. Centered on New Albany, the district's largest city with just 37,000 people, this area is experiencing a minor population boom. With the counties along the Ohio River leading the way, the 9th grew faster in the 1970s than all but one district in the state.

In the days of the steamboats, when Indiana's economy depended upon the cargoes that came up the Ohio River, New Albany was the state's largest city. Although the river's contribution to the local livelihood has dropped off considerably in the last hundred years, the 9th District still depends upon river traffic and industries located along the river bank for many of its jobs.

In its northwest corner, the 9th takes in most of Bloomington, the home of Indiana University. The district boundary runs along 3rd Street in Bloomington, placing the northern two-thirds of the city's 52,000 residents in the 9th. Included in that area is all of Indiana University's campus as well as most of the off-campus housing and faculty neighborhoods.

Population: 544,873. White 530,291 (97%), Black 10,205 (2%). Spanish origin 3,180 (1%). 18 and over 383,018 (70%), 65 and over 56,470 (10%). Median age: 28.

has been spent on ethics issues as a member of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. In 1977 he chaired a task force that recommended new rules limiting members' outside earned income and honoraria. Most of the recommendations were adopted by the House, although in 1981 the outside income limit was doubled, to 30 percent of a member's salary.

In the 96th Congress, Hamilton was the dominant Democrat on the ethics committee, performing many of the behind-the-scenes chores for its mercurial chairman, Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla.

Hamilton persuaded the panel to revise the ethics rules to clarify the differences among various punishments meted out in ethics cases. He worked on the committee's recommendation of censure for Michigan Democrat Charles C. Diggs Jr., convicted in a kickback scheme, and on the Abscam bribery investigations.

On Abscam, however, Hamilton broke with Bennett and most of the committee. The panel recommended that Rep. Michael "Ozzie" Myers, D-Pa., be expelled following his conviction in federal court for accepting bribes. The expulsion came to the floor on the day the House was scheduled to recess for the 1980 election, and Hamilton said the rushed atmosphere was denying Myers due process. But the majority was on the other side, and Myers was expelled. Hamilton left the panel at the end of 1980.

At Home: The son and brother of ministers, Hamilton has a devotion to work that comes out of his traditional Methodist family. From his days in Evansville High School in 1948, when he helped propel the basketball team to the state finals, to his race for Congress in 1964, he displayed a quiet, consistent determination.

When he graduated from DePauw University in 1952, he received an award as the outstanding senior. He accepted a scholarship to Goethe University in Germany for further study.

Hamilton practiced law for a while in Chicago, but soon decided to settle in Columbus, Indiana, where his interest in politics led him into the local Democratic Party. In 1960 he was chairman of the Bartholomew County (Columbus) Citizens for Kennedy. Two years later he managed Birch Bayh's Senate campaign in Columbus.

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He was the consensus choice of the local Democratic organization for the 9th District House nomination in 1964, and won the primary with 46 percent of the vote in a field of five candidates. He went on to defeat longtime Republican Rep. Earl Wilson, a crusty fiscal watchdog who had represented the district for almost a quarter of a century.

With his widespread personal respect, Hamilton has been re-elected easily ever since. After a few years, Republicans gave up on defeating him and added Democrats to his district to give GOP candidates a better chance elsewhere in the state. In 1976, for the first time in the history of the district, the Republicans put up no candidate at all. In 1980, as Democrats were having trouble all over Indiana, Hamilton was drawing his usual percentage — nearly 65 percent of the vote.

Conceding that Hamilton was unbeatable, the Republican Legislature made no effort to weaken him in the 1981 redistricting, although they removed Hamilton's hometown of Columbus from the district. He switched his residence to the next county and was re-elected with 67 percent of the vote.

Committees

Foreign Affairs (3rd of 24 Democrats)
Europe and the Middle East (chairman); International Security and Scientific Affairs.

Select Intelligence (6th of 9 Democrats)
Oversight and Evaluation.

Joint Economic (vice chairman)
Economic Goals and Intergovernmental Policy (chairman); Monetary and Fiscal Policy.

Elections

1982 General

Lee H. Hamilton (D)	121,094	(67%)
Floyd Coates (R)	58,532	(32%)

1980 General

Lee H. Hamilton (D)	136,574	(64%)
George Meyers Jr. (R)	75,601	(36%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (66%) 1976 (100%) 1974 (71%) 1972 (63%) 1970 (63%) 1968 (54%) 1966 (54%) 1964 (54%)

District Vote For President

1980			1976		
D	92,931	(43%)	D	109,023	(52%)
R	112,568	(52%)	R	98,908	(47%)
I	8,747	(4%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Hamilton (D)	$159,150	$58,065	(36%)	$177,607
Coates (R)	$233,458	$550	(.2%)	$147,881
1980				
Hamilton (D)	$113,260	$33,532	(25%)	$122,674

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	47	52	66	33	58	42
1981	47	51	71	27	56	44
1980	74	25	67	31	48	47
1979	76	23	71	29	44	56
1978	86	14	74	26	33	67
1977	72	23	80	18	32	65
1976	33	67	72	27	43	55
1975	51	48	69	29	45	54
1974 (Ford)	65	35				
1974	70	26	65	32	39	55
1973	41	58	82	18	30	70
1972	68	30	71	28	35	63
1971	42	54	85	12	17	78
1970	68	23	74	21	23	73
1969	68	32	85	15	22	78
1968	82	15	77	18	27	65
1967	85	12	79	19	44	52
1966	82	10	75	15	32	51
1965	84	11	82	13	24	75

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	70	30	80	45
1981	65	33	67	28
1980	44	46	47	76
1979	53	27	70	50
1978	35	31	50	35
1977	60	15	64	50
1976	50	11	52	32
1975	68	43	74	29
1974	65	7	70	50
1973	80	4	73	36
1972	50	26	82	10
1971	89	7	75	-
1970	80	13	67	22
1969	53	13	90	-
1968	58	22	75	-
1967	53	11	83	30
1966	47	33	85	-
1965	58	15	-	10

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California - 23rd District

Anthony C. Beilenson (D)

Of Los Angeles — Elected 1976

Born: Oct. 26, 1932, New Rochelle, N.Y.
Education: Harvard U., B.A. 1954; Harvard Law School, LL.B. 1957.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Dolores Martin; three children.
Religion: Jewish.
Political Career: Calif. Assembly, 1963-67; Calif. Senate, 1967-77; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate, 1968.
Capitol Office: 1025 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-5911.

In Washington: An intellectual with the soft, resonant voice of an FM radio announcer, Beilenson has maintained a liberal voting record while demonstrating a pronounced skepticism about much of what government does. He is a man who likes to think for himself on any major issue — once he makes up his mind he does not seem to care whether there are four people on his side or 400.

In 1980 he cast the only vote in the House against a resolution reassuring Social Security recipients that Congress would not tax benefits. He said all ideas for helping out Social Security deserved consideration. The next year he was on the losing side as the House voted 394-2 to make it easier for former prisoners of war to receive veterans' benefits. Beilenson did not see why former POWs deserved priority over other veterans. Few House members of either party are as respected as Beilenson for their willingness to act out of conviction regardless of political interest. Sometimes, however, his convictions run up against the demands of partisan politics.

Toward the end of the 97th Congress, Beilenson was picked to chair a task force studying possible changes in the budget process. Former Rules Chairman Richard Bolling began the task force because he was concerned that too much power was in the hands of the Budget Committee.

Beilenson shared his view, but insisted that the panel should be totally non-partisan, with an aim toward making the process "less onerous and less time-consuming." In early 1983, he was ready to present his recommendations to the Rules Committee. His plan would give the Rules and Appropriations committees more say in the way the budget is put together.

But even if his ideas had been acceptable to the Democratic leadership, his timing was off. Moments before Beilenson was to present his plan, Speaker O'Neill asked the Rules Committee to postpone a vote, worried that a dispute over changing the process might have jeopardized Democratic unity on the 1983 budget itself, due to come to a decision shortly.

Beilenson brought two special legislative interests with him from the California Assembly — family planning and elephants. Concerned over world population problems, he has worked to increase federal funds for family planning clinics. And he has tried to ban trade in elephant tusk ivory to protect the endangered African elephant. His 1979 anti-ivory bill passed the House but died in the Senate.

Beilenson also has directed his attention to the issue of automobile safety. His strong pro-safety views have received little hearing, though, in a deregulatory-minded Congress. He has sponsored one bill requiring car manufacturers to post crash test results on all new cars and another requiring automakers to install a "high-mounted" brake light in the rear center of all new cars.

At Home: Beilenson was a 14-year veteran of the state Legislature when Democratic Rep. Thomas M. Rees announced his retirement from Congress in 1976. The district was ideal territory for Beilenson; his record suited him well to voters in some of the most liberal and heavily Jewish parts of Los Angeles.

Beilenson's one major obstacle was cleared away when Howard Berman, then the Assembly's majority leader, chose to remain in the Legislature in 1976. Berman had been seen as Rees' likely successor, and he would have had access to an organization difficult for Beilenson to match. But running against five other candi-

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California 23

Beverly Hills; Part of San Fernando Valley

The 23rd District is divided geographically and culturally by the Santa Monica Mountains.

On the southern slope of one of the world's few urban mountain ranges are the lush, well-tended neighborhoods of Bel Air and Westwood, the home of the sprawling U.C.L.A. campus. To the east, at the foot of the mountains is Beverly Hills, and to the south, Century City, Rancho Park and West Los Angeles. These are, for the most part, the provinces of wealthy, liberal families, many of them Jewish. Older residents and young people living in small two-story apartment buildings are scattered through some of the area. They also vote Democratic.

On the other side of the Santa Monicas, where the ocean breezes seldom blow, is a different world. Here are the middle-class San Fernando Valley communities of Reseda, Tarzana, Canoga Park and Woodland Hills — flat, anonymous suburbs linked together by shopping centers and commercial strips. Although many of the voters in this area register as Democrats, most of them vote Republican.

To create a new, solidly Democratic district to the east — the 26th — Beilenson's 23rd was pushed farther west in the San Fernando Valley into territory that for the last decade voted overwhelmingly for Republican Rep. Barry Goldwater Jr. The changes pushed the Democratic registration down from 63 to 57 percent, and a majority of the voters now live on the valley side.

Under the plan drawn up by Democrats for the 1984 elections, the 23rd will move even farther afield from its Beverly Hills base of the 1970s. Beverly Hills will continue to anchor the district's eastern end, but the district will stretch westward to the coast, picking up territory around Malibu. The new communities along the coast have Democratic registration advantages, but like other similar areas, they are not averse to voting Republican.

Population: 526,007. White 466,648 (89%), Black 14,044 (3%), Asian and Pacific Islander 21,112 (4%). Spanish origin 48,853 (9%). 18 and over 426,336 (81%), 65 and over 66,676 (13%). Median age: 34.

dates, none of whom held public office, Beilenson was the clear front-runner.

Wallace Albertson, who headed the state's leading liberal organization, the California Democratic Council, criticized Beilenson for not being active enough in his support for Proposition 15, which would have restricted the development of nuclear power plants in the state. But Proposition 15 fared almost as poorly in the district as it did statewide, drawing 38 percent, and Albertson did even worse, finishing second in the primary with 21 percent to Beilenson's 58 percent.

Beilenson's first worrisome general election came in 1982, and it proved less difficult than had been expected. In order to draw a favorable district for Berman, who now wanted to run for Congress, map makers had removed part of the area near Beverly Hills from the 23rd and added conservative voters in the western San Fernando Valley; Beilenson complained that the change had hurt him badly.

Democrats who drew the district insisted Beilenson was panicking for no reason. "It's a good district for Tony," said the late Rep. Phillip Burton, main architect of California's new congressional map. "He just doesn't know it. He's not a numbers guy." As it turned out, Burton was right.

Beilenson's Republican opponent was David Armor, a former analyst with the Rand Corporation. Armor had prepared a series of studies on the effects of school busing to achieve integration, and the studies had been used by anti-busing forces during Los Angeles' bitter struggle over the issue at the end of the 1970s. Republicans hoped Armor would do particularly well in the San Fernando section of the district, where anti-busing sentiment had been especially fierce.

With his Beverly Hills base relatively secure, however, Beilenson was able to put most of his effort into the communities new to him. Substantially outspending Armor, he took almost 60 percent of the vote, only a slight decline from his previous tallies.

Since he moved to the West Coast to practice law at age 25, Beilenson has met with only one political defeat. He was in the middle of his first state Senate term in 1968 when he

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decided to run for the U.S. Senate as a peace candidate, criticizing former state Controller Alan Cranston for what he said was a lukewarm anti-war position. Beilenson was second among five primary candidates, but more than a million votes behind Cranston.

Committees

Rules (5th of 9 Democrats)
Rules of the House.

Elections

1982 General

Anthony C. Beilenson (D)	120,788	(60%)
David Armor (R)	82,031	(40%)

1980 General

Anthony C. Beilenson (D)	126,020	(63%)
Robert Winckler (R)	62,742	(32%)
Jeffrey Lieb (LIB)	10,623	(5%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (66%) 1976 (60%)

District Vote For President

	1980			1976	
D	83,686	(38%)	D	114,406	(50%)
R	107,985	(49%)	R	111,766	(49%)
I	21,880	(10%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expend-itures
1982				
Beilenson (D)	$248,250	$5,500	(2%)	$274,303
Armor (R)	$261,557	$69,907	(27%)	$228,222
1980				
Beilenson (D)	$75,659	$2,000	(3%)	$861,192
Winckler (R)	$9,726	$4,575	(47%)	$9,865

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**
1982	38	53	81	5	11	82
1981	30	64	79	8	8	80
1980	80	15	86	8	7	88
1979	77	21	88	6	5	90
1978	76	12	81	9	5	80
1977	66	22	83	7	4	90

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)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	?
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	95	17	84	19
1981	90	4	80	6
1980	94	21	68	39
1979	100	8	83	12
1978	80	8	79	31
1977	90	11	78	24

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Robert W. Kastenmeier (D)

Of Sun Prairie — Elected 1958

Born: Jan. 24, 1924, Beaver Dam, Wis.
Education: U. of Wis., LL.B. 1952.
Military Career: Army, 1943-46.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Dorothy Chambers; three children.
Religion: Unspecified.
Political Career: Democratic nominee for U.S. House, 1956.
Capitol Office: 2232 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2906.

In Washington: Kastenmeier does not attract the attention he did 20 years ago as a militant House liberal, but his specialties are still the same — equal rights and civil liberties.

These days, much of his energy is devoted to maintaining the status quo. As chairman of the Courts and Civil Liberties Subcommittee at Judiciary, he fights any proposed legislation to strip federal courts of jurisdiction over busing, school prayer and other controversial social issues. Kastenmeier has held hearings on some of these bills at various times in recent years, but he has never come close to scheduling any action on them. "These bills are merely a form of chastisement," he said while sitting on several of them in the 97th Congress.

During the early months of the Reagan administration, however, Kastenmeier found himself focusing on a different role, defending the Legal Services Corporation against White House efforts to replace it with a block grant system. The block grants could have been used for any law enforcement purpose, not just for the original Legal Services commitment to providing legal aid to the poor. Kastenmeier was militantly opposed to the change.

To get the program reauthorized by the House, Kastenmeier had to accept several new rules restricting Legal Services lawyers, such as one barring them from filing class action suits, and a reduction in the corporation's budget. But the House voted to reauthorize the program in June of 1981, one of the few tangible victories up to that point for the liberal House critics of the Reagan administration.

In the end, no reauthorization passed the Senate, but Legal Services survived through the 97th Congress on stopgap funding from the Appropriations Committee.

Kastenmeier came to Congress as one of the small cadre of 1950s peace activists. He complained about the anti-communist "witch hunts" of his state's former Republican senator, Joseph R. McCarthy, and said the "military-industrial complex" was out of control. With two former campaign aides, Marcus Raskin and Arthur Waskow, now well-known leftist writers, he set out to produce a manifesto to influence American foreign policy in the 1960s.

They began the Liberal Project and attracted 17 other congressmen who wanted to publish position papers on liberal issues. The 1960 election was not kind to them; 16 of the 18 were defeated. But Kastenmeier continued as head of the redrawn "Liberal Group" and a few years later published the Liberal Papers, calling for disarmament, admission of mainland China to the United Nations and an end to the draft. Republicans labeled them "apostles of appeasement" and most Democrats ignored them. Since then, Kastenmeier has kept a lower profile both inside the House and out. But many of the ideas were accepted eventually.

Kastenmeier is as conservative in his personal style as he is liberal in ideology. A dull speaker with a distaste for flamboyance, he is often overshadowed on Judiciary by members who express their views more militantly.

His timing has been unusual. His opposition to the Vietnam War was so far ahead of public opinion that by the time the anti-war fervor reached its peak, Kastenmeier had been through it already. He was consistent in his support for the anti-war movement, but he was never a national leader in it.

Early in his career, Kastenmeier and his allies in the Liberal Group — Don Edwards and Phillip Burton of California — worked on efforts to democratize House procedure. But

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Wisconsin 2

South — Madison

Republicans have most of the land in the 2nd, and Democrats have most of the voters. While the district covers a sizable portion of southern Wisconsin's Republican-voting rural areas, its centerpiece is the traditionally Democratic city of Madison in Dane County.

The 1980 election serves as an example of the GOP's frustration. Even though Kastenmeier lost every county except Dane, his 3-to-2 edge there was sufficient to lift him to victory.

Madison, the state capital and second largest city in Wisconsin, has its share of industry; meat processor Oscar Mayer, for example, employs more than 3,500 in its Madison plant. But the city's personality is dominated by its white-collar sector — the bureaucrats who work in local and state government, the 2,300 educators and 40,000 students at the University of Wisconsin, and the large number of insurance company home offices, so many that Madison calls itself a midwestern Hartford.

Madison boasts a tradition of political liberalism. Since 1924, when Robert M. La Follette carried Dane County as the Progressive Party's presidential candidate, Democrats nearly always have won there. In 1972, George McGovern won 58 percent in Dane County, and eight years later Democratic Sen. Gaylord Nelson took two-thirds of the vote there while losing statewide.

Outside the Madison area, agriculture and tourism sustain the district's economy. Dairying is important, and there is some beef production, although many livestock farmers have switched in recent years to raising corn as a cash crop.

In New Glarus (Green County), which was founded by the Swiss, the downtown area has been redone to resemble a village in the mother country. Wisconsin Dells (Columbia County) lures big-city tourists to view the steep ridges and high plateaus along the Wisconsin River.

The majority of farmers and townsfolk in the district are conservative, and they chafe at Madison's dominance of district politics. Ronald Reagan's conservatism found many followers in the rural areas of the district. In 1980 Reagan won six of the eight counties partly or wholly within the 2nd, leaving only Dane and its western neighbor, Iowa County, in Jimmy Carter's column. But the wide Democratic margin in Dane enabled Carter to carry the district.

Population: 523,011. White 509,003 (97%), Black 6,051 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 3,670 (1%). Spanish origin 4,233 (1%). 18 and over 383,086 (73%), 65 and over 55,870 (11%). Median age: 29.

here too, Kastenmeier did not play a leading role when the changes were actually made a decade later. By then, he had turned his attention to legal work on Judiciary. He supported the procedural reforms but was not publicly associated with them by most members.

In part, that reflects Kastenmeier's reluctance to involve himself in confrontations. In recent years, at least, he has not been one of the more aggressive or conspicuous liberal Democrats in the House. Like many civil libertarians, Kastenmeier was disturbed by FBI tactics in the 1980 Abscam bribery scandal. But while he was pondering the issue, Edwards went ahead and held hearings that drew national attention to the issue of FBI entrapment.

While his friends plunged themselves into controversy during the 1970s, Kastenmeier worked on the technicalities of copyright law, producing the first comprehensive revision in that field in more than 60 years and guiding it through nearly a decade of debate.

In the 97th Congress, Kastenmeier again spent most of his time on some technical and little noticed — although potentially important — pieces of legislation. He managed to move them through Judiciary, only to find the road to enactment strewn with obstacles.

The committee easily approved a bill establishing longer patent protection for drug manufacturers, who often have to spend years waiting for federal approval before they can market their products. Because Kastenmeier feared weakening amendments, he brought the bill to the floor under amendment-proof "suspension" procedures that required two-thirds approval for passage. Heavy lobbying by generic drug producers denied it the two-thirds, and it died.

Kastenmeier's bill to clarify copyright li-

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ability for cable TV stations did pass the House, supported by the cable industry as well as the National Assocation of Broadcasters, but the Senate never took it up. One Kastenmeier product that did become law in the 97th Congress was a bill making piracy of phonograph records a federal crime, punishable by imprisonment.

Kastenmeier also has served most of his career on the Interior Committee, but devoted considerably less time to its work. For years he was a willing environmentalist vote to back up Burton and Chairman Morris K. Udall on issues such as strip mining, creating wilderness areas in Alaska, and expansion of the California redwoods park. He left Interior at the start of 1983.

Kastenmeier admits that he and other House liberals have modified the approach of 20 years ago. "We are less pretentious," he has said. "We don't presume to accomplish as much. We, in the context of the House of Representatives, ought to try to be reasonably effective. We feel we ought to be the cutting edge of American liberalism in the body politic, yet there is even a limitation to that."

At Home: It is no longer possible for Kastenmeier to win re-election easily on the mere strength of his opposition to the Vietnam War or his support for the impeachment of President Nixon. He has to take campaigning almost as seriously as he did in the early years of his career. But his seat seems secure for now.

After dropping to 54 percent of the vote in 1980 and losing every county in the district except Dane, home of the University of Wisconsin, he bounced back with a solid 61 percent in 1982.

Although Kastenmeier never has seemed very comfortable campaigning, he now does the things that endangered Democrats have been doing for years. In 1980 he hired a professional campaign manager for the first time.

The son of an elected minor official from Dodge County, Kastenmeier took only a limited interest in politics until he was nearly 30 years old. Then he became the Democratic chairman of the second-smallest county in the district, and three years later, in 1956, decided to run for the seat left open by Republican Glenn R. Davis, who ran for the Senate. Kastenmeier lost to GOP nominee Donald E. Tewes by a 55-45 margin. But in 1958, with two of Wisconsin's most popular Democrats — William Proxmire and Gaylord Nelson — running on the statewide ticket, many Republicans in the 2nd District stayed home and Kastenmeier won.

Kastenmeier's first three elections were hotly contested affairs that included accusations that the Democrat was sympathetic to communists. In his first successful campaign, in 1958, he was helped by farm discontent with the policies of the Eisenhower administration.

After 1964 redistricting removed Milwaukee's suburban Waukesha County from the district, Kastenmeier's percentages shot up. In 1970, when the old charges were updated to include criticism that Kastenmeier was "soft on radical students," the incumbent won by his highest percentage ever.

Kastenmeier had few problems for a full decade after that. But in 1980, his refusal to back away from any of his liberal views opened him to Republican assault as being out of step with the new fiscal conservatism. Those attacks, made by his challenger, former yo-yo manufacturer James A. Wright, had particular appeal in the farming communities that surround Madison. Only Kastenmeier's strong support in the Madison university community allowed him to survive the 1980 contest, in which Nelson went down to defeat at the statewide level.

In 1982 Republicans nominated a more moderate candidate, tax consultant Jim Johnson, who tried to appeal to Madison and avoided the Reagan-style rhetoric that Wright had used. But the issues were moving back in Kastenmeier's direction. Much of the anti-government feeling of the previous election had subsided, and the issue with the strongest emotional appeal was the nuclear freeze. Wisconsin voted overwhelmingly for the freeze, and Kastenmeier was one of its most vocal supporters.

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Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis.

Committees

Judiciary (3rd of 20 Democrats)
Courts, Civil Liberties and Administration of Justice (chairman); Civil and Constitutional Rights.

Elections

1982 General

Robert Kastenmeier (D)	112,677	(61%)
Jim Johnson (R)	71,989	(39%)

1980 General

Robert Kastenmeier (D)	142,037	(54%)
James Wright (R)	119,514	(45%)

Previous Winning Percentages: **1978** (58%) **1976** (66%)
1974 (65%) **1972** (68%) **1970** (69%) **1968** (60%)
1966 (58%) **1964** (64%) **1962** (53%) **1960** (53%)
1958 (52%)

District Vote For President

1980			1976		
D	124,236	(47%)	D	124,106	(51%)
R	106,003	(40%)	R	109,405	(45%)
I	25,513	(10%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Kastenmeier (D)	$319,055	$152,359	(48%)	$326,450
Johnson (R)	$268,092	$47,484	(18%)	$270,602
1980				
Kastenmeier (D)	$243,465	$97,381	(40%)	$225,706
Wright (R)	$294,214	$117,624	(40%)	$292,348

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**
1982	26	74	89	10	12	88
1981	22	75	89	11†	5	95
1980	71	26	89	10	9	87
1979	79	20	88	9†	6	92
1978	86	14	91	9	7	93
1977	76	23	87	12	14	85
1976	33	67	89	10	18	81
1975	31	65	86	11	15	82
1974 (Ford)	41	57				
1974	42	58	84	13	7	89
1973	26	73	87	12	11	87
1972	49	51	83	12	10	87
1971	26	72	88	9	2	94
1970	55	43	85	11	7	86
1969	45	51	82	15	7	89
1968	83	14	91	5	4	92
1967	80	16	87	9	2	96
1966	75	12	75	15	5	86
1965	86	7	90	8	2	98
1964	92	8	84	16	8	92
1963	84	13	81	15	7	93
1962	85	15	84	11	12	88
1961	94	6	93	5	9	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)	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 Rating

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	90	9	100	20
1981	95	13	80	5
1980	100	13	79	58
1979	95	4	95	0
1978	95	4	95	22
1977	100	15	74	24
1976	90	11	83	0
1975	100	18	91	6
1974	91	0	89	10
1973	100	20	82	9
1972	100	9	91	0
1971	95	11	82	-
1970	92	11	100	10
1969	93	19	100	-
1968	100	0	75	-
1967	93	11	100	10
1966	94	20	100	-
1965	100	0	-	10
1964	100	16	100	-
1963	-	6	-	-
1962	88	4	91	-
1961	100	-	-	-

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California - 36th District

George E. Brown Jr. (D)

Of Riverside — Elected 1962
Did not serve 1971-73.

Born: March 6, 1920, Holtville, Calif.
Education: U. of Calif., Los Angeles, B.A. 1946.
Military Career: Army, 1942-46.
Occupation: Physicist.
Family: Wife, Rowena Somerindyke; four children.
Religion: Methodist.
Political Career: Monterey Park mayor, 1954-58; Calif. Assembly, 1959-63; sought Democratic U.S. Senate nomination, 1970.
Capitol Office: 2256 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6161.

In Washington: Brown has pursued his liberal principles through two very different careers in the House, punctuated by a one-term absence following his defeat for the Senate in 1970.

Watching Brown in action today, as he listens patiently to testimony on the budget for science research or ponders amendments to a farm bill, it is easy to forget the militant anti-war crusader of the 1960s. At first glance, he seems to be a different man. But he is simply a mellower version of the same man.

Never a radical on domestic issues, Brown became a peace advocate during his days as a scientist, and argued his cause from the start of his first term, in 1963, when he opposed extension of the draft as it passed the House 388-3. He voted against money for civil defense, charging that it "created a climate in which nuclear war becomes more credible" and in 1966 cast the only vote in the House against a $58 billion defense funding bill.

He was already speaking out against the Vietnam War in the spring of 1965, when he accused President Lyndon B. Johnson of pretending "that the peace of mankind can be won by the slaughter of peasants in Vietnam." He continued to talk that way through the next five years in the House, both on the floor and at outside rallies. He refused to vote for any military appropriations bill while the war continued and once boasted that he had opposed more federal spending than any member in history.

Brown's anti-war work gave him a national reputation during those years, but much of his legislative time was devoted to environmental issues. He introduced a bill in 1969 to ban offshore oil drilling along the California coast, and he backed federal land use planning. He proposed outlawing the production of internal combustion engines after a three-year period.

Environmentalism is the link between Brown's two House careers. When he returned as a freshman in 1973, U.S. participation in the war was ending. He settled quietly into the Agriculture and Science committees and followed his issues without seeking much public attention. Since 1973, he has not been one of the more visible members of the House.

But he has been busy. Much of his work has been in defense of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), whose programs are authorized through the Science Committee. Brown has continually fought against cuts in the EPA budget; he has regularly introduced floor amendments adding extra money to fight air or water pollution. In 1981, when the House passed a bill cutting funds for pollution research by 18 percent, Brown was a dissenting voice, calling the reduction "irresponsible." He favors creation of a National Technology Foundation to parallel the National Science Foundation in commercial research.

Brown's suspicion of the military still comes out in his attitude toward the U.S. space program. He is a strong believer in exploration, but not in the military uses of space. In 1982 he complained that 20 percent of the budget of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration was going to defense-related work. "This blatant and unabashed use of the civilian space agency for Defense Department purposes," he said, "is a shocking departure from the past."

Brown also has been a vehement opponent of the controversial Clinch River nuclear

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California 36

San Bernardino; Riverside

Of the three districts covering the San Bernardino-Riverside metropolitan area, this is the only one a Democrat can win.

Since his 1972 comeback, Brown has been able to combine the votes of the blue-collar residents of Riverside and San Bernardino with those of the growing Mexican-American population in San Bernardino.

The burgeoning Republican suburban vote, particularly in the suburbs of Norco and Corona, was removed in the 1981 redistricting, along with a large part of the city of Riverside. Only the Democratic north side of Riverside remains in the new 36th District.

The San Bernardino side of the district — usually more favorable to Democrats — was expanded. Now, nearly three-quarters of the district vote comes from San Bernardino County.

The district extends westward to Ontario, which has grown into a booming, industrial city of 88,000, supporting a major commercial airport and large Lockheed and General Electric plants. In recent years, with jobs in the local defense plants hanging in the balance, Ontario voters have turned increasingly toward Republican candidates, both statewide and congressional.

The new 36th takes in all of San Bernardino's 118,000 inhabitants. More than 50 miles from Los Angeles, the city once marked the eastern terminus for the big red trolley cars of Los Angeles' Pacific Electric interurban rail system.

Today, San Bernardino residents have little contact with the Los Angeles area. A fruit-packing center in the 1930s, San Bernardino now forces its citrus industry to share space with the many electronics and aerospace firms in the area, as well as the Kaiser Steel Corporation's blast furnace in nearby Fontana. The steelworkers and the employees at the large Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad yards in San Bernardino usually provide enough votes to put the city and nearby Rialto and Colton into the Democratic column.

Population: 528,091. White 404,144 (77%), Black 42,407 (8%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 6,179 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 7,685 (1%). Spanish origin 123,049 (23%). 18 and over 363,372 (69%), 65 and over 48,660 (9%). Median age: 27.

breeder reactor. He sought to kill it in committee in 1977, joined the Carter administration in trying to deny funds for it in 1979, and was on the winning side as the Science Committee voted against it in early 1981. Later the full House voted against Clinch River, although it was kept alive in a House-Senate conference.

In the 97th Congress, however, Brown's most visible role was on the Agriculture Committee, as the frustrated chairman of the subcommittee handling renewal of the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act. That argument pitted pesticide manufacturers against environmentalists demanding more regulation of the industry. Brown was the referee, but he was not a happy one. "If this ever comes up again while I am on the committee," he said at one point, "I hope you will refer it to another subcommittee."

As the bill left Agriculture in 1982, it had two provisions that the pesticide industry wanted but Brown did not particularly like. One would have limited public access to information about potentially dangerous chemicals; the other would have restricted state control over the industry. Both provisions were eventually removed on the House floor, with Brown's approval, and the bill passed the House easily. But it died in the Senate.

On other domestic issues, Brown has been casting liberal votes, much as he did during the 1960s. But on a few occasions, he has cast pragmatic pro-defense votes he might have denounced a decade ago. In 1980 he began voting for production of the B-1 bomber. "If the B-1 was being built in some other state," he explained afterward, "and I didn't have two Air Force bases and a lot of retired military people who feel strongly about the B-1, I'd probably have voted the other way."

At Home: Brown's 1970 Senate campaign divides his electoral career the same way it has split his Washington career. Before 1970, Brown's political career revolved around the heavily Hispanic community of Monterey Park. The more recent phases have focused on middle-class politics in San Bernardino, 50 miles east.

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California - 36th District

Born in a small town in California's Imperial Valley, Brown moved to Los Angeles to attend college, then settled in Monterey Park after getting his physics degree. While working for the Los Angeles city government, he began to dabble in Monterey Park politics, and moved from the Monterey Park Democratic Club to the town's mayoralty. After four years on the City Council and in the mayor's office, he was elected to the state Assembly, where he focused on housing issues.

In 1962 the new 29th Congressional District was created on Brown's home turf. He easily defeated two strong primary opponents and Republican H. L. "Bill" Richardson in the general election.

Once he developed his reputation as an anti-war leader, Brown attracted a series of opponents — Democrats and Republicans — who challenged him on the Vietnam issue. His closest call came in 1966 against Republican Bill Orozco, who capitalized on his Mexican-American heritage and support for the gubernatorial campaign of Ronald Reagan. Brown won by 3,000 votes out of 135,000 cast.

In 1968 Orozco ran again. But redistricting had added territory on the district's east side, giving Brown more Anglo voters, and even though Republicans made it a high priority contest, Brown doubled his plurality. Still, it was clear Brown would have tough races in future years.

Rather than run again for what had become a marginal seat, Brown decided in 1970 to take on GOP Sen. George Murphy. But to do that he had to wage a primary against fellow U.S. Rep. John V. Tunney, son of former boxing champion Gene Tunney.

After American troops invaded Cambodia that spring, polls began to show Brown moving into a slight lead over Tunney, who had been much less outspoken in his opposition to the war. Brown called for the impeachment of President Nixon because of the invasion. Tunney then turned his aim on Brown, accusing him of being a radical and advocating student violence. Brown attempted to deflect what he termed Tunney's "dirty" tactics, but failed and lost by a 42-33 percent margin.

However, Brown exacted a revenge of sorts. His description of his opponent as the "lightweight son of the heavyweight champ" became part of California political folklore and helped end Tunney's career in 1976.

Brown's political resurrection came just two years after his failed Senate bid, in a newly created district in the San Bernardino-Riverside area. There it was middle-class white conservatives, not Mexican-Americans, who caused problems for Brown.

The 1972 Democratic primary in the new district was one of the fiercest battles in the state that year. Brown was attacked as an extreme liberal and as a carpetbagger by David Tunno, a Tunney protégé, and by the conservative chairman of the San Bernardino County Board, Ruben Ayala. But Brown won the eight-candidate primary by finishing second in all three parts of the district. His 28 percent of the vote was not very impressive, but it was enough to get him on the fall ballot as the Democratic candidate. The district was then about 63 percent Democratic in registration, and he was an easy winner in November.

After the 1974 redistricting put more of fast-growing and conservative Riverside County into the district, Brown had to rely increasingly on the portion of his district in San Bernardino County to carry him. In 1980, facing Republican John Paul Stark, a conservative whose organization came largely from the Campus Crusade for Christ, Brown was held below a majority in Riverside for the first time. His vote in San Bernardino County remained safely above 55 percent, allowing him to survive with 53 percent overall.

Brown's 1980 showing landed him on just about every Republican and New Right targeting list for 1982. Stark, whose performance the first time had given him credibility as a candidate, came back with the same corps of fundamentalists enthusiastically staffing his campaign. The Republican establishment, eager to do in a liberal in a part of Southern California that seemed to have abandoned liberalism, threw substantial support Stark's way.

But Brown was not to be caught napping twice. He began spending heavily on his campaign in 1981, firming up his base of support in friendly areas and wooing voters in more marginal communities. Severe economic problems made his attack on Stark's adherence to GOP economic policies all the sharper.

On Election Day, Brown did about a percentage point better than he had done within slightly different district lines two years before. But the results masked a significant change. Redistricting had left Brown with only Democratic areas of Riverside and had added more of San Bernardino County to the district. This time, Brown's greatest strength lay in Riverside County, where he pulled 57 percent of the vote; he took the San Bernardino portion by a much narrower margin.

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Committees

Agriculture (5th of 26 Democrats)
Department Operations, Research and Foreign Agriculture (chairman); Forests, Family Farms and Energy.

Science and Technology (3rd of 26 Democrats)
Natural Resources, Agriculture Research and Environment; Science, Research and Technology; Space Science and Applications.

Elections

1982 General

George Brown Jr. (D)	76,546	(54%)
John Stark (R)	64,361	(46%)

1982 Primary

George Brown Jr. (D)	38,054	(74%)
Ron Hibble (D)	5,742	(11%)
Jimmy Pineda (D)	7,382	(14%)

1980 General

George Brown Jr. (D)	88,634	(53%)
John Stark (R)	73,252	(43%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (63%) 1976 (62%) 1974 (63%) 1972 (56%) 1968 (52%) 1966 (51%) 1964 (59%) 1962 (56%)

District Vote For President

1980			1976		
D	58,253	(40%)	D	73,491	(57%)
R	74,870	(51%)	R	53,212	(42%)
I	10,847	(7%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Brown (D)	$413,482	$120,485	(29%)	$428,305
Stark (R)	$193,208	$55,075	(29%)	$181,294
1980				
Brown (D)	$86,317	$27,646	(32%)	$84,680
Stark (R)	$28,497	$875	(3%)	$28,103

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	32	51	85	5	12	79
1981	38	57	77	10	19	75
1980	69	15	82	5	8	77
1979	74	13	83	5	10	75
1978	76	13	74	9	7	79
1977	70	14	81	4	6	78
1976	31	59	73	8	18	69
1975	37	60	81	10	11	76
1974 (Ford)	33	46				
1974	28	47	70	8	11	68
1973	30	61	82	8	10	80
1972	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	-	-	-	-	-	-
1970	29	31	39	15	2	36
1969	17	36	64	9	7	69
1968	41	16	43	7	4	39
1967	54	14	55	13	11	65
1966	42	11	46	8	5	43
1965	78	4	85	1	2	86
1964	81	2	73	2	0	67
1963	75	6	77	2	0	60

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	75	5	94	29
1981	85	5	86	12
1980	94	10	82	52
1979	84	0	74	12
1978	70	8	79	13
1977	80	4	90	6
1976	80	19	79	13
1975	89	4	100	24
1974	91	0	100	0
1973	88	13	91	18
1972	-	-	-	-
1971	-	-	-	-
1970	88	17	100	13
1969	87	25	89	-
1968	83	16	100	-
1967	87	11	100	11
1966	82	11	100	-
1965	95	0	-	10
1964	92	0	100	-
1963	-	0	-	-

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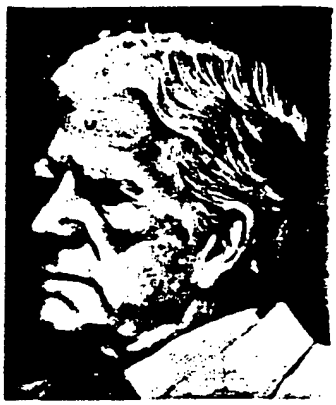
Virginia - 5th District

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.

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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
1982				
Daniel (D)	$74,954	$51,965	(69%)	$24,084
1980				
Daniel (D)	$20,383	$18,010	(88%)	$7,747

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	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
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	92	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	-

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Oklahoma - 4th District

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.

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Oklahoma 4

Southwest — part of Oklahoma City

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 businesses 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 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
1982				
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	S	O	S	O	S	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

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Bernard J. Dwyer (D)

Of Edison — Elected 1980

Born: Jan. 24, 1921, Perth Amboy, N.J.
Education: Attended Rutgers U.
Military Career: Navy, 1940-45.
Occupation: Insurance salesman.
Family: Wife, Lilyan Sudzina; one child.
Religion: Roman Catholic.
Political Career: Edison Township Council, 1958-69; Edison mayor, 1969-73; N.J. Senate, 1974-80, majority leader, 1980.
Capitol Office: 404 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-6301.

In Washington: Elected to Congress at age 59 after decades of loyal service to the Middlesex County Democratic organization, Dwyer slid right into the groove established by Edward J. Patten, his Democratic predecessor.

He picked up Patten's staff, his seat on the Appropriations Committee and even his assignment on the Labor, Health and Human Services Subcommittee. About the only thing he did not assume was Patten's clownish personality. He is as quiet and low-key as his predecessor was loud and roisterous.

Dwyer's reputation as an unassuming party loyalist helped him when he decided to try for Patten's slot on Appropriations in 1981. There was only one opening for a first-term member, and several other freshmen were competing actively for the position. Of all the candidates, though, Dwyer was the one whose background virtually guaranteed that he would deliver his vote when the leadership asked. After strenuous lobbying on his behalf by fellow New Jersey Democrat Robert A. Roe, Dwyer won the post.

On the committee, Dwyer has specialized in higher education — Rutgers, New Jersey's state university, is in his district — and health matters. When Reagan administration funding cuts threatened the alcoholism research program that had been established at Rutgers, Dwyer made sure the project was protected. He also included money in the National Institutes of Health appropriations package to be used to upgrade health research equipment at universities and facilities funded by the National Institutes.

Like many other House members from heavily ethnic districts, Dwyer peppers the *Congressional Record* with insertions on such matters as Soviet annexation of the Baltic states and human rights violations in Byelorussia. But he almost never says anything on the floor himself. His sole speech during his first term in Congress was on behalf of a resolution he had introduced honoring the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group; the measure passed in mid-1982.

At Home: Dwyer was known in the New Jersey Senate as a legislative tactician who avoided the public spotlight and preferred behind-the-scenes maneuvering.

His most notable individual accomplishments attracted little public attention. Dwyer pushed through a ban on state government purchase of imported cars and a $50 million bond issue to weatherize state buildings. Much of his work was done at the Joint Appropriations Committee, which he chaired at one point during his Senate career.

In his 1980 campaign to succeed Patten, Dwyer held off primary and general election opponents with the confidence born of solid organization support in a district where that still means a great deal.

As the candidate of the Middlesex County Democratic organization, Dwyer let the party do most of the work for him. In contrast, William O'Sullivan Jr. was the candidate of a badly divided local GOP. He also was outspent by Dwyer 3-to-1.

Some excitement was generated when opponents accused Dwyer, an insurance salesman, of using his clout to get a no-bid county insurance contract. However, Dwyer was able to deflate the issue by producing a letter from the state Senate Ethics Committee approving his conduct.

In his first re-election campaign, in 1982, Dwyer faced Republican Bertram L. Buckler, a construction company executive. Dwyer won 68 percent of the vote.

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New Jersey 6

Central — New Brunswick, Perth Amboy

Exxon's giant Bayway refinery, with its flaring gas and oppressive stench, is responsible for much of New Jersey's image problem. Travelers seeing the refinery from the turnpike wonder why anyone would live near it. But thousands of the 6th's voters do. They are predominantly white ethnics and Hispanics, many of them within sight and smell of the refinery complex.

The 6th extends for miles beyond the refinery and the turnpike. Covering most of industrial Middlesex County, it traditionally has been a rich source of votes for the Democratic Party. On the congressional level, the Middlesex constituency has been reliably Democratic since 1961. Before that, the county was split between two Republican districts.

In state and national elections, however, partisanship is far from solid. Middlesex, which solidly supported John F. Kennedy in 1960, barely went for Jimmy Carter in 1976 and voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980. In the 1981 gubernatorial election, the county gave Democrat James J. Florio only a scant plurality.

Middlesex is a place where heavy things are made. The closer one gets to the Arthur Kill, separating New Jersey and Staten Island, the heavier and dirtier the industry becomes. Bleak Perth Amboy, now 40 percent Hispanic, illustrates the economic problems troubling this industrial belt. A Canadian company opened a new steel plant there in 1977, but recent layoffs have dashed any hopes it would spark a resurgence.

The presence of Rutgers University and a one-quarter black population keep New Brunswick thoroughly Democratic. Though parts of the city are faded, Johnson & Johnson is leading an effort to revitalize New Brunswick by building its new headquarters in the middle of downtown.

Population: 523,798. White 458,270 (88%), Black 42,240 (8%), Asian and Pacific Islander 9,699 (2%). Spanish origin 33,393 (6%). 18 and over 392,465 (75%), 65 and over 48,773 (9%). Median age: 31.

Committees

Appropriations (31st of 36 Democrats)
Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary; Labor-Health and Human Services-Education.

Elections

1982 General

Bernard J. Dwyer (D)	100,418	(68%)
Bertram Buckler (R)	46,093	(31%)

1980 General

Bernard J. Dwyer (D)	92,457	(53%)
William O'Sullivan Jr. (R)	75,812	(44%)

District Vote For President

	1980			1976	
D	87,553	(41%)	D	113,745	(52%)
R	107,163	(50%)	R	101,923	(46%)
I	14,533	(7%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Dwyer (D)	$80,019	$59,075	(74%)	$50,131
Buckler (R)	$27,817	0		$27,489
1980				
Dwyer (D)	$154,996	$52,500	(34%)	$149,141
O'Sullivan Jr.(R)	$55,264	$23,376	(42%)	$53,055

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	39	57	94	5	22	78
1981	41	57	93	5	16	83

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
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	90	13	90	27
1981	75	13	93	22

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Matthew F. McHugh (D)

Of Ithaca — Elected 1974

Born: Dec. 6, 1938, Philadelphia, Pa.
Education: Mount St. Mary's College, B.S. 1960; Villanova Law School, J.D. 1963.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Eileen Alanna Higgins; three children.
Religion: Roman Catholic.
Political Career: Tompkins County District Attorney, 1969-72.
Capitol Office: 2335 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6335.

In Washington: McHugh's quiet, serious pragmatism has made him a major player in the appropriations process and a figure of real respect among House Democrats. A man who wears a plain dark suit and a somber expression, he is not one of the more conspicuous younger members. But he has the implicit trust of most members, and he is unflappable even in the midst of the most trying negotiations.

He has found himself in a sensitive position on the Appropriations subcommittee that handles foreign aid. A strong personal supporter of Israel, he has sometimes had to negotiate between that country's even more militant backers and the growing anti-foreign aid faction in the House. Most of the time, even getting a foreign aid bill passed has been a difficult struggle.

In 1981 McHugh was a key player in bringing together a coalition that passed the first regular appropriation in three years. With a Republican president in office, conservative House Republicans who had attacked foreign aid for years suddenly came to its defense, and McHugh welcomed their support. As the process moved forward, McHugh emerged as the key man on the Democratic side, often eclipsing Clarence Long of Maryland, the subcommittee's eccentric and unpredictable chairman.

Differences remained, though, over the character of the aid. McHugh has long been a strong supporter of development aid, and particularly the International Development Association (IDA), the arm of the World Bank that makes loans to the poorest nations. Conservatives have long opposed IDA, because it lends to communist nations. But President Reagan came to office vowing to fulfill the U.S. obligation to pay $3.24 billion to IDA.

McHugh negotiated through most of the summer of 1981, finally persuading the committee to approve Reagan's request of $850 million for IDA in 1982. On the floor, some conservatives rebelled and tried to cut the appropriation to $500 million; McHugh reluctantly supported a compromise of $725 million, and held together the coalition. The figure was later cut to $700 million.

Warning that the coalition in support of the measure was fragile, McHugh succeeded in blocking any further attempts to cut multilateral aid. He fought an amendment to prohibit "indirect" aid to certain communist nations.

The next year, the coalition splintered. McHugh and other influential Democrats were dismayed over the administration's request for increased military aid for 1983 and a supplement to the aid already passed for 1982. McHugh balked, saying the administration "should have known that people on this side would be deeply offended." Democrats on the panel succeeded in blocking the aid request.

Later that year, though, McHugh helped form a coalition to approve $350 million for President Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative. The aid was approved as part of a measure Reagan vetoed; Congress overrode the veto.

Despite the frustrating year in 1982, McHugh seemed hopeful that a bipartisan coalition could be resurrected for the 98th Congress. But he warned that "the administration has to have the support of Democrats, moderate to progressive Democrats.... Our interests and concerns have to be taken into account."

McHugh assumed leadership on foreign aid in 1978, his first year on the subcommittee. He and Wisconsin Democrat David R. Obey led the successful fight for the Carter administration's $7.4 billion foreign aid request, over the

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Matthew F. McHugh, D-N.Y.

New York 28

Southern Tier — Binghamton; Ithaca

The elongated 28th reaches from high above Cayuga's waters to high above those of the Hudson.

The Triple Cities of Binghamton, Johnson City and Endicott are industrial but politically marginal. This is the area in which Thomas J. Watson located his first IBM plant, and it still reflects some of the corporate paternalism the Watson family practiced for generations. Of the three, only Binghamton has a Democratic advantage in registration, and the difference there is small. In all three cities, conservative working-class voters, many of them Italian, join with white-collar technicians and professionals to form a potent bloc for the GOP. Binghamton elects Democrats to the New York Assembly but its state senator is the Senate's Republican leader. The small towns and farms of rural Delaware and Tioga counties add to the Republican totals.

McHugh's political base is Tompkins County, site of Cornell University in Ithaca. Cornell dominates Ithaca economically and politically. The picturesque Ivy League school, sitting on a hill overlooking Lake Cayuga, keeps the city Democratic and relatively liberal. The rural parts of the county have a Republican tilt.

Sullivan County, the northern portion of which is in the 28th, is the only section of the district where Democrats enjoy a party registration majority, although the county frequently votes for statewide and national Republican candidates. Heavily Jewish, it contains many resort hotels, including Grossinger's. The presence of Sullivan County in the district makes McHugh's support for Israel not only politically feasible but helpful.

Redistricting consolidated Ulster County in the 28th, uniting portions of the county previously split among three districts. The eastern portion includes the county seat, Democratic-leaning Kingston, a textile town of 24,481 people. The county's other Democratic pocket — a small one — lies in Woodstock, the artists' colony that gave its name to the celebrated 1969 rock festival that actually was held in Bethel.

Population: 516,808. White 493,022 (95%), Black 14,337 (3%), Asian and Pacific Islander 4,313 (1%). Spanish origin 9,231 (2%). 18 and over 382,593 (74%), 65 and over 63,593 (12%). Median age: 30.

objections of Long, who wanted to slash the amount.

When that bill went to conference, Long and other House negotiators were adamant against Senate language providing for aid to Syria. It finally became law after McHugh added a provision authorizing the president to approve aid to Syria only if he thought it would "serve the process of peace in the Middle East."

The next year, McHugh was defending the entire foreign aid program on the House floor against budget-cutting assaults. When Ohio Republican Clarence E. Miller tried to reduce the funding by a flat 5 percent across-the-board, McHugh countered with a 2 percent reduction, exempting Egypt and Israel. That compromise passed.

On his other subcommittee, Agriculture Appropriations, McHugh defends his district's dairy farmers while pursuing some of his liberal social values. He was a strong advocate of distributing surplus cheese and butter to the poor.

Outside the Appropriations Committee, McHugh has remained committed to the reformist politics on which he and most of his 1974 class initially won election. In 1977, when there was discussion over a bill to provide partial public financing of House general elections, McHugh pushed for something stronger. He introduced his own bill covering primaries as well as general elections and sharply reducing private spending levels.

The next year, he called for a new Democratic Caucus rule requiring a vote in the caucus on whether any member disciplined by the House or convicted of a felony should retain his post. It was passed, with some modifications. Later the caucus approved a rule requiring indicted chairmen to step aside temporarily.

Beyond McHugh's personal reserve lies a reservoir of ambition. To make it to the Appropriations Committee in 1978, he had to win the support of the New York state Democratic delegation. That was a difficult task because the delegation is New York City-dominated,

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and the seat's previous occupant was from Manhattan. There was already an active candidate from the city, James H. Scheuer. But McHugh campaigned assiduously and defeated Scheuer, 14-11, drawing several city votes.

He was less successful in 1980, when he tried to become chairman of the House Democratic Caucus. The other candidates, Gillis W. Long and Charlie Rose, were both Southerners, and he saw an opening for a moderate liberal from the Northeast. But he started late, and in challenging Long, he was up against one of the most popular members. McHugh finished a distant third, with 41 votes to 146 for Long and 53 for Rose.

In the 98th Congress, though, he has his first important leadership position — as chairman of the Democratic Study Group, the organization of liberal and moderate Democrats in the House. McHugh won it without opposition.

At Home: McHugh's victory in the 1974 Democratic sweep made him the first Democrat to represent the Binghamton area in this century. He succeeded a popular Republican, Howard W. Robison, promising to carry on in the retiring Robison's moderate tradition. He was helped in that stance by the hard-line conservative campaign of his Republican opponent, Binghamton Mayor Alfred Libous.

In fact, Republicans have had a habit of putting up flawed challengers against McHugh. In 1978 and 1980, businessman Neil Tyler Wallace demonstrated an abrasive personality that cost him votes. In 1982 lawyer David F. Crowley seemed a bright and formidable challenger until he committed a series of gaffes that doomed his candidacy. In an attempt to show how military spending could be cut, for instance, he suggested that the military's LAMPS III helicopter be scrapped. It turned out that a plant in the 28th District made parts for the aircraft.

Before running for Congress, McHugh served as district attorney of Tompkins County, at the far western edge of the sprawling district. As district attorney, he was popular with the Cornell University community in Ithaca. He organized a local drug treatment facility and demanded peaceful handling of student protests.

Committees

Appropriations (20th of 36 Democrats)
Agriculture; Rural Development and Related Agencies; Foreign Operations.

Select Children, Youth and Families (5th of 16 Democrats)

Elections

1982 General		
Matthew F. McHugh (D)	100,665	(56%)
David Crowley (R)	75,991	(43%)
1980 General		
Matthew F. McHugh (D)	103,863	(55%)
Neil Wallace (R)	83,096	(44%)

Previous Winning Percentages: **1978** (56%) **1976** (67%) **1974** (53%)

District Vote For President

	1980			1976	
D	83,039	(38%)	D	110,702	(48%)
R	108,287	(49%)	R	121,263	(52%)
I	24,117	(11%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
McHugh (D)	$447,500	$137,702	(31%)	$443,864
Crowley (R)	$278,409	$92,821	(33%)	$273,911
1980				
McHugh (D)	$333,196	$90,810	(27%)	$321,219
Wallace (R)	$187,876	$43,409	(23%)	$186,537

Voting Studies

	Presidental Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**
1982	39	53	89	8	19	81
1981	32	68	89	11	19	80
1980	76	20	88	8	11	84
1979	82	16	86	12	16	83
1978	84	15	84	13	12	87
1977	72	20	74	16	21	67
1976	24	75	87	11	18	77
1975	35	63	88	7	11	86

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	100	17	95	23
1981	95	8	73	11
1980	83	21	72	64
1979	89	4	90	13
1978	75	15	80	28
1977	70	10	80	33
1976	80	4	77	32
1975	95	7	95	6

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Robert A. Roe (D)

Of Wayne — Elected 1969

Born: Feb. 28, 1924, Wayne, N.J.
Education: Attended Ore. State U. and Wash. State U.
Military Career: Army, World War II.
Occupation: Construction company owner.
Family: Single.
Religion: Roman Catholic.
Political Career: Wayne Township committeeman, 1955-56; mayor of Wayne Township, 1956-61; Passaic County freeholder, 1959-63; sought Democratic nomination for governor, 1977 and 1981.
Capitol Office: 2243 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5751.

In Washington: Known for most of his House career as a stubborn and aggressive proponent of federal jobs programs, Roe changed his emphasis in the 97th Congress by giving up his Economic Development Subcommittee on Public Works to become chairman of a subcommittee on water policy.

It was a sensible move politically. New Jersey had been having serious drought problems, and Roe was in the midst of a gubernatorial campaign in which he could draw useful attention with the issue. Roe also knew something about water — he was a former state conservation commissioner, and he had been instrumental in the writing of the 1972 Water Pollution Control Act.

The campaign did not turn out as Roe hoped it would. By June 1981, he was back in the House full-time, having finished a distant second in the Democratic primary behind his House colleague, James J. Florio. But Water Resources remains an important subcommittee, and Roe brings to it a different emphasis from the one it has had in the past.

Most of the other water specialists at Public Works have been Southerners and Westerners interested in authorizing as many new flood control and irrigation projects as possible for their parts of the country. Roe is more interested in pollution and other urban water problems, less likely to want to spend money on dams in sparsely populated parts of the country. For most of the 97th Congress, Roe talked of the need for longterm reforms in federal water policy. No major changes were made, but the issue has not gone away.

Roe's panel also devoted much of 1981 and 1982 to arguments over federal subsidies for sewage treatment. The Reagan administration wanted to scale sewage subsidies back drastically, especially those used for planning sewage treatment facilities to deal with future growth.

Roe initially opposed any efforts to cut subsidies for ongoing sewage treatment programs. "We're afraid the administration wants to reform the program out of existence," he complained, saying states had gone heavily into debt to finance them in the expectation of federal help. But the panel eventually did agree to cut back on the federal share of the money.

For years before his subcommittee switch, Roe talked largely about public works jobs. Most urban Democrats of Roe's generation share his belief in public works as a cure for economic stagnation, but few pursued it with the zeal that he did, or maintained it as stubbornly in the face of formidable opposition.

It was Roe who inserted $2 billion in public works jobs money into President Carter's bill to expand the Economic Development Administration (EDA) in the 96th Congress. It was also Roe who jeopardized the entire package by his reluctance to accept it without the public works.

The hybrid legislation passed the House in 1979 by a wide margin, but the Senate wanted the EDA bill only. Conferences were held off and on over the following year, but Roe would accept an agreement only if the jobs section remained in the bill. The Carter administration, which did not want the jobs money, finally agreed. But the Senate was adamant against it.

Just before Congress recessed for the 1980 election, Roe appeared willing to bargain. But when Ronald Reagan was elected president, Republicans said they preferred to wait on the entire proposal until the new administration took office, simultaneously dooming both EDA expansion and public works jobs.

In 1975, the year he took over the Eco-

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Robert A. Roe, D-N.J.

New Jersey 8

North — Paterson

To Alexander Hamilton, the Great Falls of the Passaic River was an ideal location for a factory town. Then Treasury secretary, he set up the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures in 1791 to build Paterson.

In time, the thriving "Silk City" became one of the world's leading textile producers, attracting Irish, Polish, Italian and Russian craftsmen to work the looms. It also played out a history of labor strife and strong unions whose influence lives on.

Nowadays, though, much of the industry is gone, leaving widespread unemployment and unsavory slums. A majority of the population is black or Hispanic, and there is chronic racial tension. In 1967 black boxer Rubin "Hurricane" Carter was found guilty of killing three white patrons in the Lafayette Grill in Paterson, and his conviction nearly provoked a riot. A decade later, the Lafayette Grill was called the Zodiac Lounge, and its clientele and neighborhood were exclusively black.

Paterson still contains 25 percent of the district's electorate, despite its severe population decline, and it is firmly Democratic. The only recent exception has been the success of moderate Republican Lawrence "Pat" Kramer, the city's mayor for the late 1960s and much of the 1970s. Kramer retired in 1982, after losing the 1981 GOP gubernatorial primary, and was replaced by a Democrat.

Paterson and the rest of southern Passaic County provide the Democratic vote in the 8th. The Passaic County suburbs next to Paterson, such as Clifton and Haledon, are where the white ethnics went when they fled the city. They still vote Democratic. Down the Passaic River lies the city of Passaic, a smaller but equally troubled version of Paterson whose textile employment also has evaporated.

In the northern half of the hourglass-shaped county, the terrain is more suburban. The subdivisions of Wayne Township usually vote Republican but have made an exception for favorite son Roe. Proceeding northwest from Wayne, however, suburban Bloomingdale and other suburbs cast a solid Republican vote.

In Bergen County, the 8th includes Garfield and Wallington, two old mill towns. These communities have more in common with the blue-collar neighborhoods of Passaic County than with affluent Bergen.

Population: 526,138. White 429,301 (82%), Black 60,361 (12%), Asian and Pacific Islander 5,696 (1%). Spanish origin 67,849 (13%). 18 and over 383,151 (73%), 65 and over 61,931 (12%). Median age: 32.

nomic Development Subcommittee, Roe managed his first major public works package, part of it aimed at creation of 250,000 jobs and part at stimulating investment. When the bill went to conference, he added an interesting new wrinkle — a provision, not discussed on the floor of either chamber, to make cities of 50,000 or more eligible to be economic redevelopment areas under legislation then a decade old. Roe's district is dominated by declining industrial cities of modest size. The bill was enacted in 1976 over President Ford's veto.

By 1978, however, critics were complaining that the traditional public works jobs programs, emphasizing capital spending, were wasteful. President Carter proposed $1 billion worth of new public works jobs, designed to be labor-intensive and focus on unemployment among the disadvantaged. Roe's solution was to approve that amount, and add his own $2 billion for capital-intensive jobs, which he said was needed to move Carter's program through the House. The legislation died at the end of the 95th Congress, setting the stage for the EDA-jobs fight that occupied Roe and his subcommittee for most of the next two years.

At Home: Pork barrel politics has endeared Roe to his constituents, especially to the labor unions that benefit from the jobs his programs have created.

Thanks to his public works legislation, the district has received a large number of new town halls, fire stations and other municipal structures — which have generated a lot of construction employment. Using his influence, Roe also has put together federal grants to save a failing plant and to restore the historic Great Falls area in Paterson.

Roe's strength in Passaic County has provided him with a base for his forays into

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statewide politics, but not enough of one to bring him his goal — the Democratic nomination for governor. New Jersey chooses its governors in off-years for congressional elections, so its congressmen can seek the statehouse without having to give up their places in Washington.

Roe has tried twice. In 1977 he ran a strong race in the primary against incumbent Democrat Brendan T. Byrne, coming within 40,000 votes of denying Byrne renomination. That showing made him a front-runner in 1981, when his main competition came from Florio, another member of the U.S. House delegation.

In the end, however, Florio defeated him easily. Better on television than Roe and well enough financed to spread his commercials across the state, Florio took the nomination by more than 150,000 votes. Roe had refused public financing and tried to make an issue of the state's public financing system. It never caught on, and the decision left him underfinanced at the end of the campaign. Roe was again second, but it was a distant second.

In Passaic, however, Roe remains on top. His watchwords are caution and harmony, and whenever feuding flares among various Democratic factions, he can be counted on to play a peacemaker's role. Customarily, the disputants meet at the Brownstone House restaurant in Paterson, where the garrulous Roe acts as negotiator.

Roe habitually wins re-election by whopping margins. Republicans seldom bother to put up strong candidates against him. He often does well in the district's GOP towns, in addition to pulling his usual big vote in the blue-collar Democratic bastions.

Part of the reason for his appeal in the Republican suburbs may be that Roe is not a product of urban Paterson, the district's biggest town and a home of organization politics. He comes from suburban Wayne Township, which swings between the two parties. He likes to boast that he knows all levels of government, having served at each of them — municipal, county, state and federal.

Roe initially won his House seat in a tight 1969 special election to fill the unexpired term of Democrat Charles S. Joelson, who became a state judge. Since then, he always has won re-election with better than 60 percent of the vote.

Committees

Public Works and Transportation (3rd of 30 Democrats)
Water Resources (chairman); Economic Development; Investigations and Oversight.

Science and Technology (2nd of 26 Democrats)
Energy Development and Applications; Energy Research and Production; Investigations and Oversight.

Elections

1982 General

Robert A. Roe (D)	89,980	(71%)
Norm Robertson (R)	36,317	(29%)

1980 General

Robert A. Roe (D)	95,493	(67%)
William Cleveland (R)	44,625	(31%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (74%) 1976 (71%) 1974 (74%) 1972 (63%) 1970 (61%) 1969* (49%)

* *Special election.*

District Vote For President

	1980		1976	
D	67,435	(37%)	85,379	(45%)
R	100,672	(55%)	100,718	(53%)
I	12,521	(7%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Roe (D)	$151,918	$103,465	(68%)	$150,007
Robertson (R)	$32,634	0		$32,269
1980				
Roe (D)	$161,755	$65,315	(40%)	$156,369
Cleveland (R)	$12,188	$700	(6%)	$11,956

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**
1982	35	60	83	12	33	66
1981	39	39	70	16	36	51
1980	66	23	81	12	32	59
1979	68	26	81	16	34	60
1978	63	31	74	22	30	66
1977	42	18	51	11	14	45
1976	29	71	83	13	28	69
1975	33	67	80	16	25	72
1974 (Ford)	39	50				
1974	40	55	78	15	22	69
1973	31	64	80	11	15	74
1972	54	43	83	13	27	72
1971	44	51	73	20	27	69
1970	57	32	71	21	20	59
1969	47	53†	86	14†	19	81†
1978	35	19	85	22		
1977	35	6	93	11		
1976	70	14	87	6		
1975	79	18	87	24		
1974	65	21	90	13		
1973	68	22	100	9		
1972	63	48	91	20		
1971	73	31	91	-		
1970	80	28	71	11		
1969*	75	29	100	-		

S = Support O = Opposition

†*Not eligible for all recorded votes.*

* *Did not serve for entire period covered by voting studies.*

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	75	13	90	55
1981	60	24	100	17
1980	67	17	83	59
1979	58	4	95	18

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Louis Stokes (D)

Of Warrensville Heights — Elected 1968

Born: Feb. 23, 1925, Cleveland, Ohio.
Education: Attended Western Reserve U., 1946-48; Cleveland Marshall Law School, J.D. 1953.
Military Career: U.S. Army, 1943-46.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Jeanette Francis; four children.
Religion: African Methodist Episcopalian.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 2465 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-7032.

In Washington: Stokes came to Congress in an era of black activism, and he is still an important spokesman on minority issues at the Appropriations Committee. But he has attracted more attention in recent years as a kind of trouble-shooter for the House leadership.

His current assignment is the chairmanship of the House ethics committee, formally the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. Speaker O'Neill asked him in 1981 to take over a panel criticized privately by many House members as too rigid in dealing with colleagues.

Stokes had taken an interest in ethics issues during the long debate that led to the 1979 censure of the senior black House member, Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., who had been convicted on kickback charges. Stokes acted as floor manager for Diggs, although he joined in the 414-0 vote to censure him.

The following year, Stokes was named to the ethics committee himself, and dissented quietly as the committee recommended censure of Charles Wilson, D-Calif., for financial misconduct, and expulsion of Michael "Ozzie" Myers, D-Pa., following his bribery conviction arising from Abscam. Stokes argued against the expulsion of Myers and tried to change Wilson's penalty to a reprimand.

As chairman, Stokes has tried to avoid playing the role of prosecutor. He leaves the sharp questioning to others and speaks of protecting the rights of the accused. This careful style has pleased O'Neill, who sometimes appeared uncomfortable with the previous chairman, Charles E. Bennett of Florida, long known as a purist on ethics issues. Bennett stepped down after two years in the chairmanship, and Democratic leaders took the opportunity to replace him with a much less hard-line chairman.

Once in charge, Stokes endorsed a series of rules changes that would have created a separate panel of members to try disciplinary cases after the ethics committee recommended action. But nothing ever came of the idea. Stokes voted with the majority in April of 1981 as the committee recommended expulsion for Democrat Raymond F. Lederer of Pennsylvania, the last remaining House member involved in the Abscam bribery case. Lederer resigned from the House the next day.

For more than a year after that, the committee was relatively quiet. It began investigating a variety of drug and tax-evasion charges against New York Democrat Frederick W. Richmond, but its job ended in mid-1982 when Richmond pleaded guilty and resigned from the House.

In July of 1982, however, the committee found itself in the headlines again after Leroy Williams, a House page from Arkansas, charged that some members had used drugs and engaged in homosexual activities with the teenaged pages. Stokes appointed Washington lawyer Joseph J. Califano to investigate, but the issue began to fade when Williams admitted lying about the original charges. In December, Califano gave Stokes' committee a 118-page report finding no improper behavior by members and implying that the media had been irresponsible in spreading an unfounded story. Stokes asked Califano to continue looking into the drug issue.

Stokes' ethics chairmanship marks the second time he has moved in to take over a troubled committee. In 1977 he became chairman of the bitterly divided panel that was investigating the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

The original chairman, Henry Gonzalez of Texas, got into a nasty public fight with Richard Sprague, the Pennsylvania prosecutor who had been hired as committee counsel. The

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Ohio 21

Cleveland — East; Cleveland Heights

One of the axioms of Ohio politics is that to win statewide, a Democratic candidate must build a 100,000-vote edge in Cuyahoga County. Most of that lead has to be built in the 21st, which is anchored in Cleveland's heavily black East Side.

The district includes the areas devastated by riot in the 1960s, as well as middle-class neighborhoods farther from the downtown area. Heavy industries, especially automobile and machine tool plants, long have been major employers. During the last decade, the 21st was the most Democratic district in the state. In 11 East Side wards, Jimmy Carter outpolled Ronald Reagan in 1980 by margins of at least 20-to-1.

To protect Stokes, the heart of the old 21st was preserved in redistricting. But to offset a 25 percent population loss over the 1970s, the fifth greatest decline recorded by any district in the country, the 21st expanded to the south and east to add about 160,000 suburbanites. While most of these new constituents are white, their presence does not significantly alter the demographics of the district. The 21st remains heavily black (62 percent compared with 79 percent before) and staunchly Democratic.

The key additions were Cleveland Heights, Shaker Heights and the western half of University Heights. With a large proportion of Jews and young professionals, these three are among the most liberal communities in Ohio. All of them voted for Carter for president in 1980; all of them gave independent John Anderson at least 10 percent of the vote.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Shaker Heights symbolized suburbia. But in recent years, communities farther east have replaced Shaker Heights as the county's exclusive address. North of Shaker Heights is Cleveland Heights, many of whose integrated neighborhoods are a short walk from University Circle, the home of Case-Western Reserve University and the cultural hub of Cleveland.

From the circle area, commuters drive along historic Euclid Avenue to their jobs downtown. While the avenue now bears the marks of poverty, it was known as "Millionaires' Row" at the turn of the century. Few of the old mansions are left today. The one belonging to John D. Rockefeller, founder of Standard Oil, was razed to make way for a gas station.

Population: 514,625. White 187,180 (36%), Black 320,816 (62%), Asian and Pacific Islander 2,832 (1%). Spanish origin 5,134 (1%). 18 and over 373,272 (73%), 65 and over 63,109 (12%). Median age: 31.

committee backed Sprague, and Gonzalez quit in a huff. O'Neill chose Stokes to replace him.

Stokes shifted the hearings behind closed doors and out of the news. He led a disciplined inquiry, highlighted by a dramatic cross-examination of King's killer, James Earl Ray. The final report was accepted with some relief though many doubted its conclusions — that there probably were conspiracies in both cases. Stokes emerged with his reputation enhanced.

Stokes was the first black appointed to the Appropriations Committee and still is the only one on its HHS and HUD subcommittees. He also served on the Budget Committee for three terms, but did not play a major part in its work.

Stokes' role on Appropriations changed with President Reagan's election. Before, he had focused on minority-related issues, leaving much of the detail to other senior Democrats. But in 1981, he began spending more time at hearings, grilling witnesses and trying to protect domestic programs from cutbacks.

Stokes largely wrote the budget offered by black members on the floor in 1981. He attacked Reagan's for providing "millions more for the most prosperous in our nation, while pennies are taken away from the poor...."

Over the course of the 97th Congress, Stokes pushed a variety of amendments in Appropriations that illustrate his priorities. One added $140 million for Pell Grants for college tuition, another restored $100 million for grants to elementary schools in poor communities under Title 1 of the 1965 education law. A third added $25 million in operating subsidies for public housing programs.

After years of looking into the misdeeds of others, Stokes became embroiled in a legal tangle himself early in 1983. While driving through suburban Maryland late one night, he

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was stopped by police. According to police, Stokes then failed three sobriety tests. He argued that he was tired after working late, pleaded not guilty and requested a jury trial.

At Home: The Stokes family has been the dominant force in Cleveland's black politics since Louis Stokes' younger brother, Carl, first ran for mayor in the mid-1960s. Carl left politics for television after two terms in City Hall (1967-71), but Louis has remained active. Politically secure, he has been free to help friends and quarrel with enemies over city issues.

Louis Stokes' first victory was won as much in court as on Cleveland's East Side. Representing a black Republican, he charged in a 1967 suit that the Ohio Legislature had gerrymandered the state's congressional districts, dividing the minority vote and preventing the election of a black. Stokes won an appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court, forcing the lines to be redrawn. The new 21st District, represented by white Democrat Charles A. Vanik, was about 60 percent black. Vanik decided to run elsewhere, leaving the 21st vacant.

There were 14 candidates in the Democratic primary there in 1968, but little doubt about the outcome. Stokes' ties to his brother and reputation as a civil rights lawyer won him 41 percent in an easy victory. He became the first black congressman from Ohio that November by defeating the Republican he had represented in court the previous year.

Over the last decade, Stokes has consolidated his power through his organization, the 21st District Congressional Caucus. Some black politicians have accused him of turning the caucus into a personal political tool, but he is as popular as ever among rank-and-file voters.

Committees

Standards of Official Conduct (Chairman).

Appropriations (10th of 36 Democrats)
District of Columbia; HUD-Independent Agencies; Labor-Health and Human Services-Education.

Select Intelligence (8th of 9 Democrats)
Legislation.

Elections

1982 General		
Louis Stokes (D)	132,544	(86%)
Alan Shatteen (R)	21,332	(14%)
1982 Primary		
Louis Stokes (D)	61,055	(86%)
William Boyd (D)	9,776	(14%)
1980 General		
Louis Stokes (D)	83,188	(88%)
Robert Woodall (R)	11,103	(12%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (86%) 1976 (84%) 1974 (82%) 1972 (81%) 1970 (78%) 1968 (75%)

District Vote For President

1980			1976		
D	138,444	(71%)	D	162,837	(71%)
R	42,938	(22%)	R	60,922	(27%)
I	9,822	(5%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Stokes (D)	$148,400	$47,002	(32%)	$107,175
1980				
Stokes (D)	$66,601	$28,550	(43%)	$58,874

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**
1982	27	65	91	4	10	86
1981	29	66	93	4	5	91
1980	55	21	78	4	2	78
1979	78	14	90	3	3	92
1978	76	15	81	4	4	84
1977	77	19	87	3	4	92
1976	24	69	85	3	4	83
1975	30	62	88	3	3	84
1974 (Ford)	41	52				
1974	34	49	82	4	1	82
1973	19	48	64	4	3	62
1972	32	46	66	4	1	74
1971	21	58	72	3	0	85
1970	40	42	71	15	2	84
1969	38	51	80	9	7	84

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	100	24
1981	90	0	93	11
1980	78	10	94	52
1979	95	0	94	6
1978	85	10	100	19
1977	90	0	91	7
1976	85	0	87	6
1975	89	4	100	18
1974	74	0	100	0
1973	68	10	100	0
1972	100	5	90	14
1971	89	4	80	-
1970	96	18	100	13
1969	100	27	100	-

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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 Veterans' 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

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Bob Stump, R-Ariz.

Arizona 3

North and West — Glendale; Flagstaff; part of Phoenix

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 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.

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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

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	**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

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Florida - 10th District

10 Andy Ireland (R)

Of Winter Haven — Elected 1976

Born: Aug. 23, 1930, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Education: Yale U., B.S. 1952; L.S.U. School of Banking, graduated 1959; attended Columbia U. School of Business, 1953-54.
Occupation: Banker.
Family: Wife, Nancy Detmer; four children.
Religion: Episcopalian.
Political Career: Winter Haven City Commission, 1966-68; Democratic nominee for Fla. Senate, 1972.
Capitol Office: 2446 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5015.

In Washington: Joking and jostling with his southern colleagues on "Redneck Row" at the back of the House chamber, Ireland offers little clue that he is a graduate of Phillips Academy and Yale, or that he used to be the treasurer of the Florida Bankers Association. He comes as close to being a good old boy as anybody with his background ever will.

Whether one views Ireland as a corporate conservative or just an old-fashioned Southern Democrat, he leaves no doubt about his ideology. Except for his first year, he never has voted against the "conservative coalition" of Republicans and Southern Democrats much more than 10 percent of the time. In the 97th Congress, he was one of only nine Democrats to back President Reagan on all of five key economic votes.

Most of Ireland's legislative work has been on small business matters. On the Small Business Committee in the 96th Congress, Ireland worked for the "Regulatory Flexibility Act," which requires federal agencies to weigh the effect of proposed regulations on small businesses — and consider making exceptions for them. That bill became law in late 1980.

In 1982, while most members of Congress were trying to narrow the scope of a bill to set aside a portion of federal research and development contracts for small business, Ireland wanted to increase its scope by adding the Agency for International Development to the list of agencies required to use some small contractors. His amendment was defeated by a voice vote.

In 1982 he took an even more direct role to help small businesses, forming a political action committee to work on their behalf. He serves as its treasurer.

On the Foreign Affairs Committee, Ireland has fought to lift a ban on the use of U.S. foreign aid to spray the herbicide paraquat on marijuana fields. As a member of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, he has lobbied along with Florida citrus growers to persuade Japan to reduce barriers to the importation of American oranges.

He is probably best known, though, for his Washington fund-raisers featuring the Ringling Brothers Circus, which used to winter in his district. Ireland puts up a tent and has clowns, showgirls and midgets entertain contributors before the show.

At Home: As a wealthy banker, Ireland had the resources to outclass his competition in 1976, when the open 8th District was up for grabs. The $144,000 he spent on the effort was not an unusual amount, but it brought him a sophisticated campaign. Expert advice from political and advertising consultants, a carefully built county-by-county organization and Ireland's own relaxed manner compensated for his political inexperience.

Ireland and five others sought the Democratic nomination that year when seven-term Rep. James A. Haley announced his retirement. A runoff between Ireland and state Rep. Ray Mattox was expected, but Ireland won the nomination outright with 51 percent of the vote in the primary.

His general election foe was Republican state Rep. Robert Johnson, who had served in the Legislature for six years but was not well-known outside his Sarasota home. Ireland won 58 percent of the vote, a slightly higher share than veteran Democrat Haley had received in his last two elections. Since then, Ireland has met only one nominal foe.

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Florida 10

Central — Lakeland; Winter Haven; Bradenton

All over Florida, land once devoted to agriculture is being eaten away by shopping centers, motels and condominiums. But in Polk County, centerpiece of the 10th District, citrus is still king.

Thousands of area jobs are connected with the growing, picking, packing, processing and loading of oranges, orange concentrate and grapefruit. Polk is the nation's foremost citrus-producing county.

Phosphate rock, the raw material of fertilizer, is another key element of the Polk County economy. Three-fourths of America's phosphate is strip-mined out of Polk, although the industry has suffered recently from slack demand.

About 60 percent of the people in the 10th live in Polk, with the major concentration in the Lakeland-Winter Haven area. In congressional elections, Polk has given Ireland overwhelming margins; in presidential contests, however, it usually goes Republican.

The 10th has one Gulf Coast county, Manatee, which accounts for about 30 percent of the district's population. The city of Bradenton there grew 43 percent during the 1970s, to a population exceeding 30,000. Manatee County is a popular retirement area for people from Central and Midwestern states where Republican voting was a habit. Registered Democrats once outnumbered registered Republicans in Manatee County by 3-to-1; lately the Democratic advantage has slipped to about 55-45.

De Soto and Hardee counties are also included in the 10th. Predominantly agricultural, they have cattle ranches, citrus groves, a scattering of small towns and conservative Democratic voters.

Population: 512,890. White 435,256 (85%), Black 66,731 (13%). Spanish origin 16,774 (3%). 18 and over 381,628 (74%), 65 and over 92,163 (18%). Median age: 35.

Committees

Foreign Affairs (8th of 24 Democrats)
Asian and Pacific Affairs; Europe and the Middle East.

Small Business (9th of 26 Democrats)
Export Opportunities and Special Small Business Problems (chairman).

Elections

1982 General

Andy Ireland (D)	Unopposed

1980 General

Andy Ireland (D)	151,613	(69%)
Scott Nicholson (R)	61,820	(28%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (100%) 1976 (58%)

District Vote For President

	1980			1976	
D	71,059	(38%)	D	77,872	(49%)
R	107,348	(58%)	R	78,521	(50%)
I	5,857	(3%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Ireland (D)	$196,145	$76,445	(39%)	$155,480
1980				
Ireland (D)	$261,483	$88,894	(34%)	$221,103
Nicholson (R)	$12,394	0		$12,460

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	60	17	22	50	75	5
1981	74	16	29	56	87	7
1980	58	33	47	46	82	8
1979	46	44	42	46	76	12
1978	39	44	30	56	74	12
1977	62	30	42	52	72	21

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)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	84	6	80
1981	5	74	29	100
1980	6	46	11	73
1979	16	50	11	71
1978	20	78	21	67
1977	15	61	30	75

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Illinois - 6th District

Henry J. Hyde (R)

Of Bensenville — Elected 1974

Born: April 18, 1924, Chicago, Ill.
Education: Georgetown U., B.S. 1947; Loyola U., J.D. 1949.
Military Career: Navy, 1942-46.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Jeanne Simpson; four children.
Religion: Roman Catholic.
Political Career: Ill. House, 1967-75, majority leader, 1971-72; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1962.
Capitol Office: 2104 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4561.

In Washington: Hyde's crusade against federal funding for abortions has brought him national attention beyond the reach of most of his colleagues. But it also has brought a reputation for fanaticism that seems to trouble him as he competes for a leadership role in the House.

"When an issue develops," he has said, "you either evade it or you grapple with it. I grappled with it, and now it's grappling back."

Hyde would like to be known as a thoughtful conservative who legislates with restraint on a variety of issues. But the only subject most people want to talk about with him is abortion. And he rarely refuses to talk about it.

Hyde was a freshman when he offered his first amendment to ban federal funding of abortions, largely at the urging of Maryland's conservative Republican, Robert E. Bauman. At that time, the federal government was paying for between 200,000 and 300,000 abortions a year, mostly for Medicaid recipients. The amendment passed the House, although it was modified in the Senate to allow payment for abortions to save the life of the mother.

By 1981, the Hyde amendment was firmly in place, upheld as constitutional by the Supreme Court. It permitted abortion funding only to save the mother's life or in cases of rape or incest. The number of federally funded abortions has declined to about 2,000 annually.

With that question apparently settled, Hyde made a conscious effort to concentrate on other subjects in the 97th Congress. While he introduced legislation to identify conception as the beginning of life, he made no real attempt to move it through Judiciary or on to the House floor. "We don't have the votes," he admitted.

Instead, Hyde spent much of 1981 arguing about extension of the Voting Rights Act, an experience in which he played a constructive but frequently unhappy role.

When Judiciary first debated extension of the 1965 act, Hyde felt it was time to ease up on the restrictions imposed by the law upon Southern states. All these states have to preclear any election law changes with the government; Hyde felt some of them deserved the chance to "bail out" because of good behavior. "A handful of Southern states have been in the penalty box for nearly 17 years," he said. He talked about writing a new law that would apply equally to all regions of the country.

But hearings on the issue changed his mind, and he admitted it with the candor that is his most appealing quality. "I have learned from the hearings," he said, "that there are still enormous difficulties with people getting the right to vote in the South." Hyde's conversion was the decisive event guaranteeing that a strong Voting Rights revision eventually would pass the House.

Still, Hyde was unable to go along with the law drafted by the committee's Democrats. Although he voted to approve it in committee, he felt it still set too many obstacles against a state that genuinely had reformed and wanted to bail out. He thought some of the language was unconstitutional.

At that point, Democrat Don Edwards of California, chairman of the subcommittee that wrote the bill, decided to work around Hyde and negotiate a compromise with other Republicans on Judiciary. Hyde took personal offense at being bypassed. But after failing to win approval of a floor amendment designed to ease the bailout process, he voted for the bill on final passage.

Several months later, however, when the Voting Rights bill returned to the House following Senate passage, Hyde and Edwards again quarreled over the procedures for its final approval. Hyde stormed out of the House

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Illinois 6

Far West Chicago Suburbs — Wheaton

Hyde was given what amounted to a brand-new district in 1982, with less than 5 percent of his former constituency. The old 6th, almost entirely in Cook County, was chopped up and grafted in pieces onto the western ends of underpopulated inner-city Chicago districts.

The redrawn 6th takes in new parts of Cook, but DuPage County dominates, casting more than 60 percent of the vote.

It is an even safer district for Hyde than the previous one. Before 1982 the 6th included pockets of Democratic strength in Maywood and other moderate-income suburbs with significant black populations. There are no such enclaves in the new district, whose suburban territory is nearly all white-collar and Republican.

The 6th follows the route of two commuter rail lines that drew Chicagoans westward as early as the 1930s. Elmhurst, Villa Park, Lombard, Glen Ellyn and Wheaton spread out from the city in the southern part of the district. Farther north are Wood Dale, Itasca and Roselle, newer suburbs that are still expanding. Roselle has more than doubled in size since 1970. Schaumburg, which was still rural in 1960, has tripled in size during the past decade, with condominiums and apartment complexes cropping up around its enormous shopping center.

Less affluent is the area between the rail lines, including Glendale Heights and Addison, which have some light industry. A huge industrial park is located near Elk Grove Village, another fast-growing suburb to the north.

On its northeastern border, the 6th hooks into Cook County to take in the older, prosperous suburbs of Des Plaines and Park Ridge. Des Plaines, adjoining O'Hare Airport, is home to many airline employees.

Population: 519,015. White 494,144 (95%), Black 4,321 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 14,413 (3%). Spanish origin 15,155 (3%). 18 and over 367,916 (71%), 65 and over 38,548 (7%). Median age: 30.

chamber, and shortly afterward he resigned from Edwards' subcommittee.

Although Hyde has often led the conservative opposition in his years on Judiciary, his actions have not been easy to predict. It was Hyde who fought against a proposal to bar strikes by Legal Services Corporation lawyers, arguing that, as private citizens, they had a constitutional right to strike. It was a very lawyerlike Hyde who, in 1977, pointed out that an emergency bill to combat child pornography might be unconstitutional. "In our well-intentioned desire to attack the revolting crime of child abuse," he said, "we have let our zeal overcome our judgment."

On the Foreign Affairs Committee, Hyde is a more predictable hawk and supporter of U.S. military aid to right-leaning regimes around the world. In the 97th Congress, he strongly backed U.S. help for El Salvador. He opposed efforts to restrict American aid to Egypt because of reported human rights violations. But unlike many conservative Republicans, Hyde does not reject the concept of humanitarian economic aid to the Third World. He has risen virtually every year to defend U.S. aid programs against attacks by those who work with him on the abortion issue. When Republicans sought to cut funding for the Asian Development Bank by half in 1980, Hyde accused them of trying to turn back the clock "to the days of the early 1930s." On another occasion, he warned them that "the biblical injunction to give food to the hungry and clothe the naked does not stop when we enter this chamber."

Hyde has been one of the most active critics of the movement for a nuclear freeze. In mid-1982, when the House narrowly rejected a freeze, Hyde led the opposition, calling the idea "government by bumper sticker." Later in the year, after the National Conference of Catholic Bishops had prepared draft language endorsing a freeze, he persuaded 23 other Catholic members to sign his letter urging them to consider the arguments against it.

Hyde is one of the best debaters in the House. For all his references to abortion and other controversial topics as moral issues, he has never taken himself or his legislative role with solemnity. When he sees what he thinks is a flaw in the opposition's reasoning, he pounces on it with the sarcasm he used for more than a

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decade as a trial lawyer in Chicago.

One day in 1980, when he was arguing against a new open-ended appropriation for child welfare, Democratic leaders told Hyde they disagreed with the practice in principle, but thought it was the wrong time to end it. "I understand." Hyde said. "We'll sober up tomorrow, but meanwhile pass the bottle."

It was Hyde's reputation for debating skill, rather than his national anti-abortion following, that brought him within three votes of the Republican Conference chairmanship in a last-minute campaign in 1979. Dissatisfied with the front-running candidate, Ohio's Samuel Devine, a group of freshman members persuaded Hyde to run less than a week before the election. Hyde's 74-71 loss was seen as a symbolic victory by his supporters and appeared to give him a shot at a higher leadership post later on.

Hyde was briefly a candidate for party whip in the 1980 election for that job, but faced an impossible problem — the fact that the front-running candidate for party leader, Robert H. Michel, was a fellow-Illinoisan, and no one state has ever had the top two members of the leadership. Once Michel's election as leader began to seem certain, Hyde withdrew.

At Home: Hyde grew up as an Irish Catholic Democrat in Chicago, but like Ronald Reagan, began having doubts about the Democratic Party in the late 1940s. By 1952, he had switched parties and backed Dwight D. Eisenhower for president.

After practicing law in the Chicago area for more than 10 years, and serving as a GOP precinct committeeman, Hyde was chosen by the Republican organization in 1962 to challenge Democratic Rep. Roman Pucinski in a northwest Chicago congressional district. The heavily ethnic district had been represented by a Republican for eight years before Pucinski won it in 1958. Hyde came within 10,000 votes of upsetting Pucinski.

Elected to the Illinois House in 1966, Hyde became one of its most active and outspoken members and one of its most articulate debaters. He was voted "best freshman representative" in 1967 and "most effective representative" in 1972. In 1971 Hyde became majority leader; he made an unsuccessful attempt at the speakership in 1973.

In 1974 longtime Republican Rep. Harold Collier retired from the suburban 6th Congressional District just west of Chicago. Much of the district was unfamiliar to Hyde, but he dominated the Republican primary anyway. He called on his political contacts to help line up support from area GOP officials and emerged with 49 percent of the vote in a field of six candidates.

The general election was tougher. Hyde's Democratic opponent was Edward V. Hanrahan, a controversial former Cook County state's attorney trying for a political comeback. Hanrahan had made a name for himself in an unpleasant way five years earlier, when Chicago policemen attached to his office carried out an early morning raid on Black Panther Party headquarters, killing Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Hanrahan was indicted for attempting to obstruct the ensuing federal investigation, which had called into question police reports of the raid, but he was acquitted. He was beaten for re-election in 1972.

Nonetheless, Hyde went into his contest with Hanrahan at a disadvantage. The Democrat's past exploits had given him almost universal name recognition in the district and had made him something of a folk hero among some of the area's blue-collar ethnics. With rank-and-file Republicans deserting their party in droves in that Watergate year, the district's nominally Republican nature was not expected to hurt Hanrahan.

At the same time, Hyde had the edge in organization and funding. He launched a door-to-door campaign that brought him into each of the district's precincts and gave him a chance to appeal to traditional Republicans and liberal Democrats uncomfortable with Hanrahan's record.

Hanrahan proved unable to keep pace. The Democrat used his record of antagonism to the Daley machine to tout his independence, but traditionally Democratic sources of funding were dry for him. His penchant for running his own show produced a disorganized effort.

On Election Day, Hyde's superior resources won out. Using telephone banks and an army of precinct workers, his campaign staff turned out enough voters to give him an 8,000-vote plurality over Hanrahan at a time when Republican districts all over the country were falling to Democrats.

Since then, Hyde has become politically invincible. Because the 1981 redistricting gave him an almost completely new constituency, an aggressive primary challenger from the new area might have caused Hyde some trouble, as he himself conceded. But no one bothered to challenge him for renomination in 1982. In the general election, he won more than two-thirds of the vote, just as he did in 1978 and 1980.

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Committees

Foreign Affairs (9th of 13 Republicans)
International Security and Scientific Affairs; Western Hemisphere Affairs.

Judiciary (3rd of 11 Republicans)
Courts, Civil Liberties and Administration of Justice; Monopolies and Commercial Law.

Elections

1982 General

Henry Hyde (R)	97,918	(68%)
Leroy Kennel (D)	45,237	(32%)

1980 General

Henry Hyde (R)	123,593	(67%)
Mario Reda (D)	60,951	(33%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (66%) 1976 (61%) 1974 (53%)

District Vote For President

	1980			1976	
D	51,049	(25%)	D	72,192	(33%)
R	126,318	(63%)	R	142,229	(65%)
I	21,069	(11%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Hyde (R)	$267,975	$69,452	(26%)	$181,713
Kennel (D)	$52,656	$4,550	(9%)	$45,271
1980				
Hyde (R)	$209,818	$57,819	(28%)	$144,469
Reda (D)	$30,558	$14,750	(48%)	$30,147

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**
1982	75	17	79	19	86	8
1981	79	20	77	19	81	16
1980	53	39	67	29	76	21
1979	42	50	71	25	78	19
1978	43	54	75	19	73	20
1977	47	52	77	20	80	15
1976	76	22	83	14	85	13
1975	79	20	82	15	85	14

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)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	15	86	11	81
1981	10	74	7	94
1980	28	74	26	79
1979	5	77	25	94
1978	10	70	5	94
1977	10	59	26	100
1976	0	70	26	74
1975	5	86	13	94

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AL Dick Cheney (R)

Of Casper — Elected 1978

Born: Jan. 30, 1941, Lincoln, Neb.
Education: U. of Wyo., B.A. 1965, M.A. 1966.
Occupation: Financial consultant.
Family: Wife, Lynne Vincent; two children.
Religion: Methodist.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 225 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-2311.

In Washington: Cheney's background as President Ford's White House chief of staff made him something more than an ordinary House freshman in 1979, and it helped him vault into the top ranks of the Republican leadership just two years later.

At the start of his second term, he defeated veteran Marjorie S. Holt of Maryland for the chairmanship of the Republican Policy Committee. Considered an audacious move by some, Cheney's successful challenge brought him far more influence than any other member of his class.

Once in office, Cheney altered the traditional role of the Policy Committee, which had been to issue position papers on dozens of diverse subjects. Instead, Cheney focused on making the panel an integral part of the GOP hierarchy, listening to the views of younger members and giving party leaders an idea of problems that might be coming up. In the 98th Congress, Cheney has become more of a leadership figure, spending long hours on the floor and working to coordinate strategy. His public statements are a good barometer of what the GOP leaders are thinking.

While he has been winning influence in Congress, Cheney also has been developing close ties with the Reagan White House. As a Ford loyalist, he was slow to endorse Ronald Reagan's campaign in 1980, but he has made the right moves to build alliances in the administration. In the 97th Congress, Cheney voted with the president more often than any other House member. He lobbied hard for the 1982 Reagan-oriented tax increase while some of the most militant Reaganites in the House were trying to defeat it.

At the end of the year, he gave a well-publicized speech to a governors' conference backing the administration's hard line toward the new Andropov regime in the Soviet Union. "He speaks English and he likes Scotch," Cheney said of Andropov, "but he is not a card-carrying member of the American Civil Liberties Union."

Cheney has managed to build an image in the House as a pragmatic conservative, one who votes Wyoming's anti-government sentiments but negotiates with the other side on a friendly basis. During his first term, when a group of Democrats led by Missouri's Richard Bolling decided to launch a bipartisan breakfast group to explore the common frustrations of House membership, Cheney was one of the first Republicans invited.

Cheney's only committee assignment is House Interior, but he is a major player there and an able conciliator between the more aggressive pro-development forces and the environmentalist majority. Although originally favorable toward Interior Secretary James G. Watt's proposal to open up wilderness areas to oil and gas leasing, Cheney joined his Democratic colleagues in opposing the secretary after learning of several leases pending in the Washakie Wilderness, near Yellowstone National Park in northwestern Wyoming.

Cheney introduced legislation in the 97th Congress banning oil and gas leasing in Wyoming wilderness areas and adding 480,000 additional wilderness acres. Unlike the Democrats, though, Cheney would release *potential* wilderness areas for development. Democrats had proposed to extend the ban to potential areas as well as current ones.

Although the Senate passed the Wyoming wilderness measure, the House failed to act. Cheney reintroduced his measure in the 98th Congress, adding another 171,000 acres to be designated wilderness.

Cheney was frustrated on a park protection measure in 1982. He felt the bill, intended to protect areas "adjacent to" national parks, was poorly drafted; he searched in vain for a definition of "adjacent." On the floor, Cheney

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Dick Cheney, R-Wyo.

Wyoming — At Large

Wyoming has always been fairly easy to explain in terms of partisan politics. Democrats are competitive in the five counties along the state's southern border. North of these five — Albany, Carbon, Laramie, Sweetwater and Uinta counties — they almost never win, and this makes it difficult for them to succeed statewide.

The Democratic voting tradition in southern Wyoming goes back to the early days of the state when immigrant laborers, many of them from Italy, were imported to build the Union Pacific rail line through those southern counties. The state's first coal miners followed. Like their counterparts in other states, most of the workingmen were drawn into the Democratic Party.

Although the southern counties remain the most Democratic area in the state, today their residents are conservative on most issues and in recent years have often sided with Republicans. Ronald Reagan easily carried all five southern counties in 1980.

The few Democrats who have won statewide in recent years — notably former Sen. Gale McGee and Gov. Ed Herschler — have done so by restraining the growth of the Republican vote in the south. In 1978, when Herschler won re-election by 2,377 votes, he did it on an 8,000-vote plurality in the five southern counties.

Three of the four largest towns in Wyoming are in this region, including Cheyenne, the state capital, and Laramie. In 1980 slightly more than a third of the state's residents lived in the southern corridor.

The northern part of the state is the Wyoming of ranch and rock. Its dry plateaus and basins accommodate the cattle ranches that make Wyoming the "Cowboy State." The mountains and valleys contain most of the state's mineral wealth.

This is conservative country, and ranching interests have traditionally dominated it. The gradual shift from ranching to mineral development and the ensuing population growth changed the power structure in some of these counties in the past decade, but did little to shake the region's Republican voting habits.

Casper, in Natrona Country, is the state's largest city. A 1970s energy boom town with 51,016 people, Casper finally passed Cheyenne, the traditional leader, in 1980. Once a trading center, Casper has become the hub of Wyoming's mineral operations.

The population boom is changing the face of northern Wyoming, with new towns and subdivisions sprouting like prairie grass. Nevertheless, the people are still widely scattered. Apart from Casper, Sheridan is still the only town in northern Wyoming with more than 15,000 inhabitants.

Population: 469,557. White 446,488 (95%), Black 3,364 (1%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 7,094 (2%). Spanish origin 24,499 (5%). 18 and over 324,004 (69%), 65 and over 37,175 (8%). Median age: 27.

read a letter from Secretary Watt objecting to the measure. Despite — or perhaps because of — Watt's objections, the House passed the bill overwhelmingly.

In his first term, one of Cheney's interests was a historic preservation bill offering federal money to include new buildings in the National Register of Historic Places. Cheney complained that buildings should not be added to the register without the owner's permission. He threatened to hold up action on the bill at the end of the 96th Congress, but ultimately negotiated a deal that added the consent language he wanted and allowed the bill to become law.

He was less conciliatory toward the new Energy Mobilization Board President Carter wanted to create to speed up the approval of priority energy projects. The board was a sensitive issue all over the Rocky Mountain West, which feared it would override existing state law and clear the way for projects depriving the region of scarce water.

Cheney fought the board both in committee and on the floor. Managers of the legislation accepted his floor amendment blocking the board from overriding any existing state law regulating water rights. But most Westerners still found the idea dangerous and when the issue came back to the House as a conference report, Cheney joined the majority that killed the legislation outright.

Cheney also served a term on the House ethics committee, investigating the kickback case of Michigan Democratic Rep. Charles C.

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Diggs Jr. and the Abscam bribery charges.

More restrained than many junior Republicans, he refused to vote with a majority of them to expel Diggs at the start of the 96th Congress, after he had been convicted in federal court. When the ethics committee later recommended Diggs' censure rather than expulsion, Cheney argued the case for it on the floor, saying expulsion would deprive his constituents of their right to representation. On Abscam, he backed the committee's decision to expel Democrat Michael "Ozzie" Myers of Pennsylvania after viewing tapes of Myers accepting bribes from an FBI agent.

At Home: Cheney grew up in Wyoming, but his long absence from the state while he worked in national politics subjected him to carpetbagging charges during his 1978 House campaign. He countered with literature stressing his local roots and education, and effectively played to home state pride as a Wyomingite who had served at the top in Washington.

The future of Cheney's congressional career was placed in doubt during the summer of 1978, when he suffered a mild heart attack. But he recovered quickly enough to resume a full schedule of campaigning for the nomination against popular state Treasurer Ed Witzenburger, who stressed that he had been a Reagan man in 1976 — the popular choice in Wyoming — while Cheney had been working for Ford. Cheney beat Witzenburger by 7,705 votes, and the general election was no contest. He has been re-elected with landslide margins since.

Cheney was a political science graduate student in the late 1960s when he came to Washington on a fellowship. He stayed to take a job under Donald J. Rumsfeld at the Office of Economic Opportunity, followed Rumsfeld to the Ford White House and replaced his mentor as White House chief of staff in 1975. Cheney shared some of Rumsfeld's moderate Republican reputation during his White House years, but he is entrenched in Wyoming now as a clear-cut Mountain conservative.

Committees

Interior and Insular Affairs (6th of 14 Republicans)
Water and Power (ranking); Public Lands and National Parks.

Elections

1982 General		
Dick Cheney (R)	113,236	(71%)
Ted Hommel (D)	46,041	(29%)
1982 Primary		
Dick Cheney (R)	67,093	(89%)
Michael Dee (R)	8,453	(11%)
1980 General		
Dick Cheney (R)	116,361	(69%)
Jim Rogers (D)	53,338	(31%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978 (59%)

District Vote For President

	1980		1976	
D	49,427	(28%)	62,239	(40%)
R	110,700	(63%)	92,717	(59%)
I	12,072	(7%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Cheney (R)	$110,733	$71,906	(65%)	$109,171
Hommel (D)	$5,923	$100	(2%)	$5,863
1980				
Cheney (R)	$110,949	$58,020	(52%)	$97,959
Rogers (D)	$9,814	$1,150	(12%)	$8,854

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	87	10	83	7	93	3
1981	83	14	83	13	84	11
1980	38	53	83	10	83	11
1979	30	66	86	8	85	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)	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	100	0	80
1981	5	79	7	100
1980	6	95	11	70
1979	11	100	11	94

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Bob Livingston (R)

Of New Orleans — Elected 1977

Born: April 30, 1943, Colorado Springs, Colo.
Education: Tulane U., B.A. 1967, J.D. 1968.
Military Career: Navy, 1961-63.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Bonnie Robichaux; four children.
Religion: Episcopalian.
Political Career: Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1976.
Capitol Office: 306 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-3015.

In Washington: After several years of looking after Louisiana water projects and focusing on the ethical conduct of colleagues, Livingston turned his gaze toward world affairs in the 97th Congress.

In 1981 he became a member of the Appropriations subcommittee handling foreign aid. This seemed an unusual choice since, as he later admitted, he had "never been a supporter of foreign aid." Yet with a Republican in the White House, he quickly became convinced of the need for aid as an instrument of foreign policy.

One of several Americans tapped to observe the 1982 elections in El Salvador, Livingston left more convinced than ever of the need for American involvement in that country. "If we in the United States subsequently listen to those who would have us pull out altogether," Livingston said when he returned, "... then we would be doing a great disservice to the people of El Salvador and to ourselves."

Generally, Livingston has supported the foreign aid mix endorsed by President Reagan. Like Reagan, he prefers a tilt toward military aid, but has been willing to accept some economic spending as well. He was one of only three Republicans on his subcommittee to back Reagan's 1981 request for $850 million for the International Development Association, an arm of the World Bank that gives loans to the poorest nations. In 1982 he was on the losing end when his subcommittee voted to deny Reagan $301.5 million he wanted in additional military aid.

On his other subcommittee, Labor and Health and Human Services, Livingston has followed a more traditional cost-cutting line, at least for projects that do not benefit Louisiana. In the winter of 1982, when states were complaining that they had exhausted their low-income energy assistance funds, he opposed the additional $123 million the subcommittee wanted to give, arguing that states could transfer money from social services block grants if they were running out.

During the 96th Congress, Livingston spent most of his time on the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

He took a quiet interest in the details of the numerous ethics cases that came up during the Congress, often asking factual questions at the panel's open hearings. But he proved one of the harsher members of the committee, arguing strongly for the expulsion of Pennsylvania Democrat Michael "Ozzie" Myers in an Abscam bribery case and for censure of Charles H. Wilson, the California Democrat accused of several kickback charges.

Livingston also spent two terms on a pair of committees more important to his district, Public Works and Merchant Marine.

On the Public Works Water Resources Subcommittee, he had an opportunity to look out for the flood control interests of his frequently threatened lowland district. On Merchant Marine, he voted the interests of his local fishing industry. He supported a resolution to increase the tariff on imported shrimp.

At the start of the 97th Congress, Livingston left both Public Works and Merchant Marine for Appropriations.

At Home: The 1st District did not come close to electing a Republican to the House for a century after Reconstruction, but now that it has one, it seems quite satisfied. Livingston has had no difficulty holding the seat he won in a 1977 special election. Most of his constituents accept him as a logical replacement for his famous predecessor, Democrat F. Edward Hebert.

A prosperous New Orleans lawyer, former assistant U.S. attorney and veteran party

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Louisiana 1

Southeast — New Orleans

New Orleans casts more than 60 percent of the 1st District vote. While the district has some of the fashionable neighborhoods along Lake Pontchartrain and around Loyola, Tulane and Xavier universities, it includes few of the city's tourist spots; most of the district's New Orleans portion is in middle- to lower-income neighborhoods.

Some of this territory is in the northern and eastern parts of the city; the rest is along the west bank of the Mississippi River in a section known as Algiers. These are ethnic communities, "marble cake" mixtures of Italians, Irish, Cubans and the largest number of Hondurans outside Central America. St. Tammany Parish, with just over 20 percent of the district's population, is a booming suburban haven. Once an isolated vacation area for residents escaping the heat and humidity of New Orleans, it has become a popular home for New Orleans oil executives.

During the last decade St. Tammany showed a 74 percent population increase, the largest of any parish in the state. Many of the newcomers are transplants from the East and Midwest who have maintained Republican voting habits. St. Tammany gave Ronald Reagan 63.7 percent of the vote in the 1980 presidential contest, his second best showing in Louisiana.

Down river is the low, flat marshland of Plaquemines and St. Bernard parishes. For generations Plaquemines has been a world of its own, ruled with an iron hand by segregationist Leander Perez until his death in 1969. Reflecting Perez' wishes, Plaquemines cast more than 75 percent of its presidential ballots for Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond in 1948, Barry Goldwater in 1964 and George C. Wallace in 1968. But Perez' descendants have not matched his influence; they played only a minor role in the 1980 campaign. Reagan carried the parish with 54 percent of the vote.

Lying closer to New Orleans, St. Bernard has a growing blue-collar population; many of its residents work in large Kaiser Aluminum and Tenneco plants. The blue-collar element often votes Democratic in closely contested statewide races. Jimmy Carter carried the parish narrowly in his 1976 presidential bid, although Reagan won it in 1980 with 60 percent of the vote.

Population: 524,961. White 357,946 (68%), Black 154,454 (29%), Asian and Pacific Islander 7,474 (1%). Spanish origin 20,693 (4%). 18 and over 367,614 (70%), 65 and over 50,290 (10%). Median age: 29.

worker, Livingston made his first bid for Congress in 1976, when Hebert stepped down. But he lost narrowly to a labor-backed Democrat, state Rep. Richard A. Tonry. The result was due in part to the independent conservative candidacy of former Democratic Rep. John R. Rarick, who drew nearly 10 percent of the vote.

Livingston did not have to wait long, however, for a second try. Tonry's 1976 primary opponent succeeded in pressing a vote fraud case against him, and Tonry resigned from the House in May 1977. He sought vindication in a second Democratic primary that June, but lost to state Rep. Ron Faucheux. Tonry subsequently pleaded guilty to several violations of federal campaign finance law and was sent to prison.

Livingston was ready to run again as soon as Tonry resigned. He mounted a well-financed campaign against Faucheux that drew significant blue-collar support as well as backing from more traditional GOP voters in white-collar areas. Spending more than $500,000, Livingston launched an advertising blitz that showed him in his earlier job as a welder and as a devoted family man (in contrast to Faucheux, a young bachelor).

The Republican did not stress his party ties in the traditionally Democratic district. Instead he emphasized his background in law enforcement and claimed that he was in the conservative mainstream that had elected Hebert to Congress for 36 years.

With organized labor refusing to support Faucheux, Livingston won easily. Since then, the Democrats have not run a formidable challenger against him.

The only threat to his House career was posed in 1981 by the Democratic Legislature, which passed a redistricting bill that would

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have forced Livingston to run in a substantially changed district that included large blue-collar sections of Jefferson Parish. When Republican Gov. David C. Treen threatened to veto the plan, the Legislature backed off and gave Livingston a district in which he could win easily.

Committees

Appropriations (16th of 21 Republicans)
Foreign Operations; Military Construction.

Elections

1982 Primary*

Bob Livingston (R)	76,410	(86%)
Murphy Green (I)	6,660	(8%)
Suzanne Weiss (I)	6,026	(7%)

1980 Primary*

Bob Livingston (R)	81,777	(88%)
Michael Musmeci Sr. (D)	8,277	(9%)

* *In Louisiana the primary is open to candidates of all parties. If a candidate wins 50% or more of the vote in the primary no general election is held.*

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (86%) 1977* (51%)

* *Special Election.*

District Vote For President

1980			1976	
D	79,279	(42%)	D 79,056	(50%)
R	103,597	(55%)	R 75,879	(48%)
I	4,074	(2%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Livingston (R)	$242,558	$41,607	(17%)	$134,169
1980				
Livingston (R)	$249,967	$54,375	(22%)	$138,724

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	79	14	76	20	84	11
1981	76	21	71	20	76	17
1980	41	51	72	15	81	7
1979	23	72	80	16	90	5
1978	30	67	82	11	88	5
1977	42	53†	80	10†	87	4†

S = Support O = Opposition

† *Not eligible for all recorded votes*

Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	X
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	?
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	100	5	82
1981	20	62	27	94
1980	11	83	5	84
1979	11	83	10	94
1978	10	92	15	82
1977	0	78	29	89

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Ohio - 6th District

Bob McEwen (R)

Of Hillsboro — Elected 1980

Born: Jan. 12, 1950, Hillsboro, Ohio.
Education: U. of Miami (Fla.), B.B.A. 1972.
Occupation: Real estate developer.
Family: Wife, Elizabeth Boebinger.
Religion: Protestant.
Political Career: Ohio House, 1975-81.
Capitol Office: 329 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-5705.

In Washington: A one-time aide to Republican Rep. William H. Harsha, his 6th District predecessor, McEwen landed a seat on the Public Works Committee, where Harsha had spent eight years as ranking minority member before his retirement in 1981.

Harsha was known as a gifted player of pork barrel politics; McEwen is doing his best to match him. At a time when budget cutbacks are delaying or eliminating many federally funded projects across the country, McEwen uses his congenial personal style to convince colleagues that the 6th District should be an exception to the rule.

In the 97th Congress, McEwen helped preserve funding for a gas centrifuge uranium enrichment project at Piketon, in his district. Though the plant has been plagued by costly construction delays, McEwen argued that abandoning the effort would be even more costly and would hamper the nation's nuclear enrichment program.

He prevented Reagan administration efforts to delete money for two bridges that will cross the Ohio River and link southern Ohio with Kentucky. And he secured money for completion of a floodwall project that protects the city of Chillicothe from the vagaries of the Scioto River.

Those and other plums are the stuff of which re-elections are made; McEwen's district, though politically conservative, is amenable to almost any plan that will help it fight economic decline.

At Home: McEwen is a real estate developer, but his entire adult life has revolved around politics. He was elected to the state Legislature at age 24, and directed two of Harsha's re-election campaigns. When Harsha retired in 1980, McEwen quickly emerged as the favorite to succeed him.

Harsha remained publicly neutral in the eight-candidate GOP primary because the field included two other candidates with whom the congressman had past political associations. But McEwen was the choice of the local GOP establishment and, as a state legislator, the only proven vote-getter. In the Ohio House, McEwen had gained visibility by working to get the state to dredge a flood-prone creek in his district. He also advocated abolishing the Ohio lottery.

McEwen won the primary easily, sweeping 10 of the 12 counties in the district. He made particularly good showings in Scioto County (Portsmouth) and three counties he represented in the Legislature — Clinton, Fayette and his home base of Highland.

He enjoyed Harsha's backing in the general election and presented himself as a conservative protégé of the retiring incumbent. He favored the death penalty, opposed legalization of marijuana and called for an end to federal regulations that he said hurt industrial development. His campaign attracted fundamentalist Christian backing.

McEwen also had a campaign treasury about twice as large as that of Democrat Ted Strickland, a minister who had a Ph.D. in psychology and counseling. Democratic leaders tried to get a stronger candidate, but prominent Democrats in the district, such as state House Speaker Vernal G. Riffe Jr., were not interested.

Redistricting added to the diversity of the 6th, pushing it northwestward. But against an underfunded Democratic challenger in 1982, McEwen had no trouble emerging as an example of the "sophomore surge." He was re-elected with a tally nearly 5 percentage points higher than the vote he drew in 1980.

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Ohio 6

South Central — Portsmouth; Chillicothe

The 6th is a mixture of suburbia and Appalachia. Republican majorities in the Cincinnati and Dayton suburbs and the countryside nearby enable the GOP to win most elections. But when the Democrats run well in Appalachia, as they occasionally do, the outcome can be close.

Nearly one-third of the voters in the 6th live in a suburban sector between Cincinnati and Dayton, part of which was gained in redistricting. The new territory, which lies north of Interstate 71, the major Cincinnati-to-Columbus artery, is Republican.

Immediately east is rural Republican country. Clinton and Highland counties and the southern portion of Fayette County lie on the outer fringe of the Corn Belt.

Farther east the land is poorer and Republican strength begins to diminish. When one enters Adams County, one is in Appalachia. Adams, Pike and Vinton counties are three of the four poorest in Ohio.

Nearly one-half the land area of this Appalachian portion is enclosed in the Wayne National Forest. What little industry exists is concentrated in Portsmouth (pop. 25,943) and Chillicothe (pop. 23,420).

While steel and bricks have been linchpins of Portsmouth's economy throughout the century, the largest employer in the district is the nearby uranium enrichment facility owned by the Atomic Energy Commission and operated by Goodyear. In Chillicothe, 44 miles due north of Portsmouth, nearby forests support a large paper plant.

Spurred by a revival in the coal industry, the Appalachian 6th was one of the fastest-growing parts of Ohio in the 1970s. But as the coal boom ebbed, unemployment soared. In 1982, five of the region's seven counties had rates over 17 percent.

Population: 514,895. White 501,745 (97%), Black 10,499 (2%). Spanish origin 2,531 (1%). 18 and over 359,641 (70%), 65 and over 56,017 (11%). Median age: 30.

Committees

Public Works and Transportation (9th of 18 Republicans)
Aviation; Economic Development; Water Resources.

Veterans' Affairs (5th of 12 Republicans)
Compensation, Pension and Insurance (ranking); Hospitals and Health Care.

Elections

1982 General		
Bob McEwen (R)	92,135	(59%)
Lynn Grimshaw (D)	63,435	(41%)
1980 General		
Bob McEwen (R)	101,288	(55%)
Ted Strickland (D)	84,235	(45%)

District Vote For President

	1980			1976	
D	61,496	(38%)	D	85,675	(48%)
R	93,577	(57%)	R	91,021	(51%)
I	6,356	(4%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
McEwen (R)	$144,058	$67,154	(47%)	$141,631
Grimshaw (D)	$81,344	$13,100	(16%)	$71,085
1980				
McEwen (R)	$183,324	$89,001	(49%)	$182,387
Strickland (D)	$76,622	$32,250	(42%)	$76,212

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	58	34	77	18	77	18
1981	76	24	90	8	91	7

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	30	77	30	86
1981	0	83	20	89

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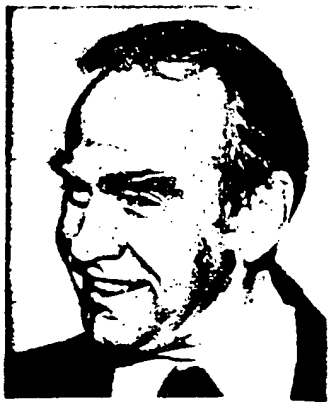
Texas - 12th District

Jim Wright (D)



Of Fort Worth — Elected 1954

Born: Dec. 22, 1922, Fort Worth, Texas.
Education: Attended Weatherford College; U. of Texas 1940-41.
Military Career: Army 1941-45.
Occupation: Advertising executive.
Family: Wife, Betty Hay; four children.
Religion: Presbyterian.
Political Career: Texas House, 1947-49; Mayor of Weatherford, 1950-54; defeated for U.S. Senate, 1961.
Capitol Office: 1236 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-5071.

In Washington: The early months of Ronald Reagan's administration were a special source of embarrassment for Wright, who had to watch as the president carried vote after vote by raiding the majority leader's own in-House constituency of Southern Democrats.

Within his Texas delegation alone, at least a dozen Democrats deserted Wright for Reagan on the crucial budget and tax votes. "I feel like the wife who was asked whether she ever considered divorce," Wright said at one point. "She answered 'Divorce, no, murder, yes.' That's how I feel about those guys."

As second in command to Tip O'Neill within the House leadership, Wright had a special assignment at the start of the 97th Congress. It was his job to establish decent working relations with the Southerners whose votes had made him majority leader but who were personally and politically reluctant to oppose the incoming president.

Wright went out of his way to help the most conservative Democrat of all, Phil Gramm of Texas, win a place on the Budget Committee. He joined Gramm in introducing legislation that would have required the president to offer Congress a balanced budget by 1984. But the results of this effort at détente were nil. Gramm cosponsored the Reagan budget on the House floor, and neither Wright's personal pleading nor his famous rhetoric turned more than a handful of Southern votes against it.

When Reagan's tax cut came to the floor in August of 1981, Wright urged Southerners to be careful. "Stay with us," he warned. "Don't commit yourselves too early. You don't want to be in the position of giving $6.5 billion to the super-rich." But 36 Southern Democrats, including eight Texans, helped Reagan win easily.

That Christmas, the majority leader called 1981 'the hardest year I've experienced in the Congress — the most frustrating year." He said he had been "singularly unsuccessful in providing the kind of leadership the post would seem to require."

More important from the point of view of some liberal Democrats, Wright showed no immediate interest in punishing the conservative renegades for their pro-Reagan posture. "We're going to open the door and invite them back in," he said early in 1982. We're just going to love them to death."

But if those events hurt Wright permanently among House Democrats, there have been few clear signs of it. By early 1982, the majority leader had a new assignment: strategist and spokesman for the effort to move a public jobs program through the House. After working all summer with Budget chairman James R. Jones of Oklahoma and Education and Labor chairman Carl Perkins of Kentucky, Wright offered the first Democratic package in September of 1982. It would have provided $1 billion for 200,000 jobs.

That legislation passed the House, attached to a supplemental labor appropriations bill. It did not become law, nor did a more ambitious version Wright worked on a few months later, to spend $5 billion and create 350,000 jobs. But early in the 98th Congress, the president gave in to the House leadership and agreed to support legislation to provide more than $4 billion for job creation.

Wright's work on the jobs issue helped restore his credentials among liberal Democrats who had complained openly that he was going a little too far in his effort to make friends with the likes of Phil Gramm. The majority leader's image as a national Democrat was further

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Texas 12

Fort Worth; Northwest Tarrant County

Less than half the size of neighboring Dallas, and declining in population, Fort Worth projects a blue-collar and Western roughneck image that contrasts with its more sophisticated neighbor.

But that image of the city — which comprises nearly 60 percent of the 12th's population — is not entirely accurate. Celebrations such as the Southwestern Exposition Fat Stock Show and Rodeo may recall Fort Worth's heyday as a cattle marketing center, but since World War II the city has been a major manufacturer of military and aerospace equipment, and electronics is increasingly prominent. General Dynamics and Bell Helicopter, which lies just beyond the 12th's eastern boundary, are among the area's leading employers; both firms regularly net huge defense contracts.

As many middle- and upper-income Fort Worth residents have fled the city, formerly rural territory in surrounding Tarrant County has sprouted shopping malls and suburbs. Old residential neighborhoods on the city's Near South Side are now largely black; the Near North Side hosts a sizable Hispanic community.

Efforts have been made to upgrade urban Fort Worth. A northern portion of the city once given over to stockyards now hosts Billy Bob's, a huge Western-style complex where urban cowboys drink, shop and watch live rodeo.

The affluent western and southwestern sections of the city and its suburbs give the 12th a Republican vote of some significance. The northeastern Mid-Cities area in the corridor between Fort Worth and Dallas is a pocket of affluent, GOP-minded voters. The redrawn 12th narrowly favored Ronald Reagan in the 1980 presidential race.

But the combined forces of organized labor, liberals, low-income whites and minorities — Hispanics and blacks make up more than one-fourth of the district's population — generally lift Democrats to victory here. The 12th gave Democratic gubernatorial nominee John Hill 54 percent of the vote in his unsuccessful 1978 Statehouse bid.

Population: 527,074. White 399,839 (76%), Black 90,979 (17%), Asian and Pacific Islander 2,773 (1%). Spanish origin 54,697 (10%). 18 and over 374,579 (71%), 65 and over 53,166 (10%). Median age: 29.

helped by his vocal opposition to the constitutional amendment for a balanced federal budget, which came up on the floor in October of 1982. Although it involved changing the Constitution, this measure had some similarities to Wright's own proposal of early 1981. But he helped work out the strategy against it, a conspicuous gesture in a liberal Democratic direction.

By March of 1983, Wright had clearly been restored to the position of Speaker-in-waiting — if he had ever lost it. O'Neill, in announcing his own intention to run for re-election in 1984, delivered what amounted to an endorsement of Wright for the time when the Speakership finally opens up.

Few Democrats thought of Wright as a likely winner in 1976 when he announced for majority leader, offering himself as an alternative to the bitterly antagonistic front-runners, Richard Bolling of Missouri and Phillip Burton of California. But on the day of decision, he eliminated Bolling by three votes on the second ballot and Burton by one vote on the third.

The Texan had one enormous advantage. Unlike his two rivals, he had few enemies. He had always compromised personal differences when possible, or disagreed gently if he had to. He aimed to please — if not everyone, then as many as possible. When he had something good to say about a colleague, he went out of his way to say it.

Shortly before the 1976 balloting, Wright addressed newly elected Democrats. With elaborate courtesy, he said something flattering about each of his opponents, and then, almost as an afterthought, suggested he might be a combination of the best in each of them.

In courting senior Democrats, he had another advantage. From his position on Public Works, he had done countless small favors, making sure there was a dam here or a federal building there. He reminded New Yorkers he voted for federal aid to their city. He noted one-third of the House Democrats came from Southern and Southwestern states and said they deserved a spot in the leadership.

As majority leader, Wright has been a loyal

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O'Neill lieutenant, serving as the leadership man on the Budget Committee and on the ad hoc panel that assembled President Carter's energy bills in the 95th Congress. He still aims to please. He never misses an opportunity, for example, to say Tip O'Neill is the smartest man alive at counting votes in the House.

If Wright is ingratiating, however, he is not modest. He sees himself as a voice of reason, an accomplished writer and a well-read and thoughtful member of Congress. He is proud of his reputation for oratory in a chamber where such talents are dying out. He is florid and sometimes theatrical, slipping unusual words into his speeches and rolling them slowly off his tongue, savoring each syllable. He is alternately loud and very soft, forcing listeners to lean forward to hear him and then surprising them by turning up the volume.

He is sometimes preachy, sometimes patronizing. "I am deeply humble and grateful.... I want the president [Reagan] to succeed very much because I want the country to succeed.... We've got to dream bold dreams.... We sat down and hammered upon the anvils of mutual understanding...."

House GOP leader Robert H. Michel has referred to this style as "the syrup and the eyebrows." Critics see it as trite or self-indulgent. But it can be effective. Wright changed numerous votes with his eloquent speech in 1979 against expelling Michigan Democrat Charles C. Diggs Jr., who had been convicted on kickback charges. "We do not possess the power," Wright said, "to grant to any human being the right to serve in this body. That gift is not ours to bestow."

In the exchanges of House floor debate, Wright sometimes surprises people with emotional excess. He has a hot temper. Several times during any Congress, when he is angry at an opponent, he will blurt out something unkind and be forced to apologize later. But even then the ingratiating side soon takes over. Wright's apologies are often so effusive the entire episode balances out as a compliment.

When he became majority leader, Wright had to give up his membership on the Public Works Committee, which he was in line to chair in 1977. Wright's years on Public Works helped to define his politics. He is a bread-and-butter Democrat who speaks in proud terms about the roads, dams and other forms of tangible government largesse his old committee specializes in. His support for public jobs in 1982 was no short-term political gesture — he has been pushing a public works solution to the unemployment problem for nearly 30 years. He has never felt comfortable with the environmentalist argument that the nation has enough water projects and enough highways.

In his early years on Public Works, Wright took the lead in exposing what he called "the great highway robbery," trying to root out fraud and corruption in the massive Interstate system. But he never lost his confidence in the system itself.

He has been similarly consistent in his backing for water projects and has been something of a water policy specialist. At the start of the Carter administration, he played a key role in trying to bargain with a president determined to eliminate a long list of water development projects. But he avoided criticizing Carter publicly when other Democrats were doing so.

Outside Public Works, Wright has been a strong supporter of defense spending and especially helpful to General Dynamics, his district's leading employer and producer of the TFX fighter plane. For years, Wright exercised his oratorical skills on behalf of the much maligned TFX, sparring with members from the state of Washington, home of Boeing, General Dynamics' chief rival. In more recent times, Wright has continued to speak up for successors to the TFX.

He is similarly enthusiastic about synthetic fuels development and has worked hard to convince other party leaders that synfuels ought to be included in any future Democratic energy agenda. He was instrumental in overwhelming House passage of a loan guarantee system for synfuels development in 1980; the next year, when the Reagan administration sought to scale down the program, Wright gathered the signatures of 30 Democrats and 4 Republicans on a letter arguing against it. But synfuels enthusiasm has been waning since then.

Wright once wrote a magazine article, "Clean Money for Congress," noting that he accepted only small campaign contributions. But in recent years, like many members, he has become dependent on larger givers. His finances have been complicated by debts he incurred in running for the Senate in 1961, and he has spent years trying to straighten them out. In 1976, he raised $132,000 at a $1,000-a-plate Washington fund-raiser and used $84,000 to pay off debts still outstanding from the old Senate race. He had taken out personal loans to try to repay his contributors, and his personal and political finances had become entangled. He said he had been a poor financial manager but violated no law.

At Home: As majority leader, Wright must support and defend national Democratic policies that are not always popular in Fort

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Worth. Republicans tried to portray him in 1980 as too liberal for the 12th, but the GOP effort was a costly failure, and Wright now seems safely ensconced in a district that perceives him as a centrist despite his close association with Speaker O'Neill.

For most of the 1970s, Wright was so secure at home that he was able to devote most of his campaigning time to other Democrats across the country. This field work augmented Wright's influence in the House; candidates elected with Wright's help often became his allies in Congress.

In 1980, national GOP strategists decided to take a serious shot at Wright, partly just to keep him occupied at home, but also to see whether he had lost touch with Tarrant County, which was being lured rightward by the candidacy of Ronald Reagan.

The Republican nomineee was Jim Bradshaw, a former mayor pro tempore of Fort Worth who insistently denounced Wright as beholden to liberals and the Washington establishment. Bradshaw — young, well-known and articulate — convinced conservative money that Wright could be beaten; the Republican collected more than $600,000 from local and national sources.

But Wright would not be outdone. He raised and spent more than $1.1 million, using the money to tout his congressional influence and his ability to draw military contracts and other federal plums to Fort Worth. He even sent a letter to local businessmen, telling them to back Bradshaw if they wished, but reminding them he would still be around and would remember it. Wright retained his seat with ease, winning 60 percent of the vote even though Reagan carried the 12th over Carter in presidential voting.

In 1982 Republican resistance to Wright was minimal. Only carpenter Jim Ryan entered the GOP primary; outspent by more than 10-to-1, he won fewer than one-third of the November ballots.

For virtually his entire adult life, Wright has been immersed in politics. In 1946, shortly after returning from combat in the South Pacific, he won a seat in the Texas Legislature. He lost a re-election bid two years later but in 1950 began a four-year tenure as mayor of Weatherford, a small town about 20 miles west of Fort Worth. In 1953, he served as president of the League of Texas Municipalities.

Wright was known in those years as a liberal crusader, thanks to his support for anti-lynching legislation and for federal school aid. In 1954 he challenged the conservative incumbent, Rep. Wingate Lucas, in the Democratic primary. Wright was opposed by much of the Fort Worth business establishment, but he turned that to his advantage by portraying himself as the candidate of the average man. He defeated Lucas by a margin of about 3-2.

Once established in the House, and recognized as a young man of talent and ambition, Wright had to decide whether to stay there. "You reach the point," he complained, "where you're not expanding your influence." The Senate beckoned, and in April 1961 he ran in a special election for the seat vacated by Vice President Johnson. The field of more than 70 candidates badly split the Democratic vote, and Texas elected John G. Tower, its first Republican senator since Reconstruction. Wright placed third, narrowly missing a runoff he probably would have won.

Wright next considered running for governor, but gave it up and began to aim for a 1966 Senate campaign. His vote the year before to repeal state "right-to-work" laws increased his following in organized labor, but it chilled his support in the Texas business community and made it difficult for him to raise money. Low on funds, he made an emotional statewide telecast appealing for $10 contributions to the half-million-dollar fund he said he would need for the race. Only $48,000 flowed in, mostly from his district, and Wright was forced to abandon his candidacy.

Committees

Majority Leader

Budget (2nd of 20 Democrats)
Member of all Task Forces.

Elections

1982 General		
Jim Wright (D)	78,913	(69%)
Jim Ryan (R)	34,879	(31%)
1980 General		
Jim Wright (D)	99,104	(60%)
Jim Bradshaw (R)	65,005	(39%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (69%) 1976 (76%) 1974 (79%) 1972 (100%) 1970 (100%) 1968 (100%) 1966 (100%) 1964 (69%) 1962 (61%) 1960 (100%) 1958 (100%) 1956 (100%) 1954 (99%)

District Vote For President

1980			1976	
D	77,202	(48%)	D 74,846	(53%)
R	79,254	(49%)	R 63,612	(45%)
I	3,272	(2%)		

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Jim Wright, D-Texas

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expend-itures
1982				
Wright (D)	$557,636	$237,036	(43%)	$448,471
Ryan (R)	$45,033	$5,902	(13%)	$34,520
1980				
Wright (D)	$1,131,458	$345,073	(30%)	$1,193,622
Bradshaw (R)	$524,203	$83,757	(16%)	$523,884

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	48	48	79	16	56	36
1981	49	43	60	23	63	28
1980	74	16	78	5	32	48
1979	69	14	77	9	35	52
1978	68	22	77	12	33	57
1977	77	16	82	9	27	64
1976	45	49	61	29	59	32
1975	52	45	64	31	59	36
1974 (Ford)	50	26				
1974	53	32	62	26	49	36
1973	39	45	71	19	44	47
1972	57	38	62	26	50	38
1971	67	19	43	27	48	23
1970	52	31	57	26	43	39
1969	55	23	65	16	38	53
1968	64	16	57	16	35	41
1967	76	9	78	8	30	52
1966	72	11	68	13	32	38
1965	76	4	60	9	22	45
1964	81	10	76	8	33	50
1963	76	7	76	7	40	27
1962	75	22	63	26	44	50
1961	54	12	52	9	39	9

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
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)	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	55	39	75	38
1981	30	28	67	29
1980	39	29	71	73
1979	37	8	59	41
1978	35	29	83	33
1977	45	4	95	29
1976	30	19	86	50
1975	32	46	65	24
1974	30	31	70	50
1973	40	24	80	44
1972	19	41	80	33
1971	24	40	86	-
1970	32	35	-	-
1969	33	17	-	-
1968	50	5	-	-
1967	60	7	-	22
1966	29	29	-	-
1965	42	8	-	20
1964	72	12	73	-
1963	-	13	-	-
1962	63	24	73	-
1961	50	-	-	-

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Robert H. Michel (R)

Of Peoria — Elected 1956

Born: March 2, 1923, Peoria, Ill.
Education: Bradley U., B.S. 1948.
Military Career: Army, 1942-46.
Occupation: Congressional aide.
Family: Wife, Corinne Woodruff; four children.
Religion: Apostolic Christian.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 2112 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6201.

In Washington: While Howard H. Baker Jr. was drawing unanimous praise in 1981 for persuading a Republican Senate to pass a Republican economic program, his House counterpart was doing something much more impressive — quietly moving that same program through a chamber in which the GOP was a distinct minority.

Through months of bargaining and lobbying over President Reagan's budget and tax bills, Bob Michel was the man the White House depended on for a sense of strategy and timing in the House. To pass those measures, Michel had to steer them through the factional problems of both parties, working with the White House to sweeten the legislation for conservative Democrats without alienating moderate Republicans from the urban Northeast. The real tribute to his skill was the virtual unanimity of the GOP vote: a combined 568-3 on the trio of decisive tax and budget decisions during 1981.

Michel had a different approach for every Republican faction. He made it clear to the moderate "Gypsy Moths" that their overall budget support would count later on when they wanted specific financial help for their districts. He persuaded the militant Reaganites not to pick any fights with the moderates while the key legislation was still pending. "You can't treat two alike," he explained later. "I know what I can get and what I can't, when to back off and when to push harder. It's not a matter of twisting arms. It's bringing them along by gentle persuasion."

As sweet as those victories were for Michel, he did not have much time to savor them. By the time the House returned from its August recess that year, Reaganomics was under attack even on the Republican side for the high interest rates and budget deficits it seemed to be generating.

Michel began striking a posture more independent of Reagan, one he would maintain through the rest of the 97th Congress. In October 1981 he announced that Reagan's proposed $16 billion in new domestic spending cuts could never pass. The next January he declared that Reagan's proposed 1983 budget would go nowhere unless the deficit were reduced. A few weeks later, he began lobbying the White House for a tax increase to get the deficit down, a tactic the president eventually supported.

In the spring of 1982 Michel loyally worked for the revised budget backed by Reagan and managed its passage after weeks of stalemate. By that time, though, he was facing his most determined opposition from the Republican right, whose members complained that the Reagan-Michel compromise was too soft on the social welfare programs against which the president had campaigned.

As he moved toward a moderate Republican position — in favor of lowering the deficit through a tax increase rather than more heavy spending cuts — Michel was meeting his constituent needs both inside and outside the House.

Over the years, his Peoria-based district had moved beyond its earlier Corn Belt conservatism and developed the problems of a declining Frostbelt industrial area. Some of the Reaganomics votes that were popular for Southern and Western Republicans did not play very well in Peoria, as Michel's brush with defeat in 1982 was to prove.

And within the chamber, Michel had developed strong personal ties to the Gypsy Moth Republicans. They had been his primary constituency in his campaign for party leader in 1981; most of the hard-line Reaganites had backed Guy A. Vander Jagt of Michigan. Gypsy Moth leaders such as Carl D. Pursell of Michigan had swallowed hard and backed the Reagan budget partly as a favor to Michel in 1981, and Michel responded sympathetically when

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Robert H. Michel, R-Ill.

Illinois 18

Central — Peoria

The 18th zigs and zags from Peoria south to the outskirts of Decatur and Springfield and west to Hancock County on the Mississippi. A mostly rural area, it is linked by the broad Illinois River basin, ideal for growing corn. The only major urban area is made up of Peoria, with 124,160 residents, and neighboring Pekin, Everett M. Dirksen's hometown, with 33,967.

Although redistricting in 1981 gave Michel more than 200,000 new constituents, it did not hurt him on a partisan basis. The GOP may be even a bit stronger within the new district lines than in the old ones; Ronald Reagan's 1980 vote was 60 percent in the old 18th, and 61.2 percent in the new one.

Michel's hometown of Peoria, however, is a troubled industrial city. It is dominated by the Caterpillar Tractor Company, which makes its international headquarters there and employs more than 30,000 people in the district at five different plants. Peoria has lost much of its other industry in the past decade, including a once thriving brewery. Pekin is a grain processing and shipping center; it produces ethanol, both for fuel and for drink.

In the 1960s Peoria anchored the southern end of the district; in the 1970s it was in the center. For the 1980s it is perched at the northern tip. Peoria and Tazewell counties are the only territory remaining from the district that elected Michel in 1970. As redrawn, the 18th is a particularly fragmented constituency. Michel once represented eight counties and most of a ninth, but now he is responsible not only for eight complete counties but also parts of eight more.

Seven of the eight entire counties included in the district gave Reagan at least 60 percent of the vote in the 1980 presidential election. In the 1982 governor's race, GOP incumbent James R. Thompson carried seven of the eight.

Population: 519,026. White 490,556 (95%), Black 23,919 (5%). Spanish origin 3,728 (1%). 18 and over 368,659 (71%), 65 and over 62,341 (12%). Median age: 30.

they told him they could no longer accept Reaganomics.

Late in 1981, when several conservative Republicans said they wanted to form a pro-Reagan pressure group to counter the Gypsy Moths, Michel talked them out of it. "They're too good as people to dismiss," he said of the Gypsy Moths at that time. "I love those guys, even if we've been voting on opposite sides for years."

Whatever the failures of the Reagan program, Michel emerged from the twists and turns of the 97th Congress with a broad respect few House leaders have generated in modern times. That respect extended clear through Democratic ranks: On election night, when it was clear that Michel had survived, Speaker O'Neill openly expressed his relief, breaking an unwritten rule of partisanship that House leaders are supposed to obey.

Michel won his position as Republican leader in 1981 on the same qualities that have traditionally won House GOP elections — cloakroom companionship, homespun Midwestern conservatism, an appetite for legislative detail and a knowledge of the rules.

When Republicans chose him over Vander Jagt by a 103-87 vote, they opted for Michel's "workhorse" campaign arguments against Vander Jagt's oratorical flourishes. Michel has as good a baritone voice as there is in the House, but he is not exactly an orator; his sentences often begin with volume and emphasis and end in a trail of prepositions. But Michel is at home on the House floor, where Vander Jagt has been a stranger most of his career, and in a newly conservative House, most Republicans decided strategy was preferable to speeches.

Like his two immediate predecessors as Republican leader, John J. Rhodes and Gerald R. Ford, Michel is a product of the Appropriations Committee. Like them, he has spent most of his career arguing over money and detail rather than broad policy questions. But a quarter-century on that committee made Michel a top-flight negotiator, skilled in the trade-offs and compromises that are the hallmark of the appropriations process.

Concentrating on the Labor-Health, Education and Welfare Subcommittee at Appropriations, he was in a minority for years against a working majority of liberal Democrats and Re-

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publicans. Every year, when the subcommittee reported its spending bill, he took the House floor to say that it cost too much and wasted too much. But his efforts to scale back spending rarely succeeded.

About the only exceptions came in cases where he could suggest a hint of scandal. In 1978, after the Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) inspector general issued a report showing widespread waste and fraud in Medicaid, Michel was able to get the House to adopt an amendment requiring the department to trim $1 billion worth of waste and fraud from its budget. HEW said it could not find that much of either, but Michel followed up the next year with a second $500 million cut.

The effort was largely symbolic, but it was not lost on presidential candidate Ronald Reagan, who made the elimination of such abuses a key part of his campaign.

Michel also anticipated Reagan by making an issue of entitlements — the programs like Social Security and Medicare that are not limited by regular congressional appropriations. Arguing that 75 percent of the domestic budget is now in this category, Michel has insisted repeatedly that federal spending can never be brought under control unless the rules are changed on entitlements. In 1979 Michel introduced an amendment that successfully blocked the House from making child welfare payments a new entitlement.

Michel's conservatism is primarily fiscal. Although he is a strong opponent of abortion, he has never had much in common with the New Right social conservatives who began entering House Republican ranks in large numbers in the late 1970s.

At the beginning of 1979, when the aggressive class of GOP freshmen accused Rhodes of being too compliant in his dealings with the majority Democrats, Michel found himself under attack as part of the Rhodes leadership. He chafed privately at talk that he was not combative enough, citing the years he had spent fighting to cut HEW budgets. But he found it difficult to defend himself without appearing to break with Rhodes.

Rhodes announced his impending retirement as party leader in December 1979, and from that time on Michel and Vander Jagt were open competitors for the leadership job.

Michel started out with a big advantage among senior members, who knew him well, and among most moderates, who found him less strident than Vander Jagt. But Vander Jagt, as chairman of the campaign committee that donated money to GOP challengers, had the edge among those recently elected.

The sparring between the two candidates extended to the 1980 Republican convention in Detroit. When Vander Jagt was selected as keynote speaker, Michel's forces complained, and their man was made floor manager for Ronald Reagan.

In the weeks before the November election, it was clear that Michel had an edge. Vander Jagt needed the benefit of an unusually large new 1980 Republican class to have any chance.

The returns actually brought 52 new Republicans, more than even Vander Jagt had hopefully anticipated. But by installing Republican control in the White House and in the Senate, the election also helped Michel. It allowed him to argue successfully that President Reagan needed a tactician to help him move his program through the House, not a fiery speaker. Vander Jagt got his majority of the newcomers, but it was not a large enough majority to deny Michel the leadership.

At Home: Michel's role as Reagan's spokesman in the House nearly thrust him into the growing ranks of Peoria's unemployed in 1982. Voters in the 18th were so enraged with Reaganomics that they gave 48 percent of the vote to Democrat G. Douglas Stephens, a 31-year-old labor lawyer making his first bid for elective office.

A narrow escape from defeat had been the furthest thing from Michel's mind at the outset of 1982. In January his re-election seemed cinched when the filing deadline for congressional candidates passed without any Democratic entry in the 18th. But Stephens and another Democrat, state Rep. Gerald R. Bradley, realized that the Democratic nomination would be worth having in November if by that time a substantial number of voters had lost faith in the restorative powers of GOP economic policy.

So Stephens and Bradley launched write-in efforts in the March primary. With strong support from labor unions, which he had served as a lawyer in disability cases, Stephens generated three times as many write-in ballots as Bradley.

In the fall campaign, Stephens told voters that Michel's role as chief mover of Reagan programs in the House put him at odds with the district's factory workers, farmers, small-business people, poor and elderly, all of whom Stephens said had been adversely affected by Reagan policies.

The Democrat criticized Michel particularly for failing to convince Reagan to lift U.S. sanctions on selling natural gas pipeline equipment to the Soviet Union. Those sanctions cost

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Caterpillar and other Illinois heavy equipment companies lucrative contracts, exacerbating already high levels of unemployment in the 18th.

The national Democratic Party did not give Stephens a great deal of financial help, but it did focus attention on the campaign, hoping to pull off an upset that would be seen as a resounding rejection of Reaganomics from the heartland. Michel's task was complicated also by redistricting, which gave him a territory where some 45 percent of the people were new to him.

Initially slow to counterattack, Michel began to cast Stephens as a puppet of organized labor and a negativist foe with few constructive suggestions and a limited record of involvement in community activities. Michel proved capable at blending modern-style media appeals with traditional person-to-person campaigning.

Shortly before the election, Reagan appeared in the district on Michel's behalf and hinted at the forthcoming removal of sanctions on the sale of pipeline equipment to the Soviets.

In the two most populous counties of the district — Peoria and Tazewell — Michel was held to 51 percent. Stephens finished first in four other counties, but Michel's slim margins in the district's 10 remaining counties pulled him to victory by a margin of 6,125 votes. In his victory speech on election night, Michel said he had come to realize that his constituency expected some modifications in Reaganomics to relieve unemployment.

Prior to 1982, Michel's re-election margins were rarely overwhelming, but he encountered close races only in the Democratic years of 1964 and 1974. Relative peace at the polls gave him time to concentrate on mastering the politics of Congress.

Michel was born in Peoria, the son of a French immigrant factory worker. Shortly after graduating from Bradley University in Peoria, he went to work for the district's newly elected representative, Republican Harold Velde.

Velde became chairman of the old House Un-American Activities Committee during the Republican-dominated 83rd Congress (1953-55) and received much publicity for his hunt for Communist subversives. Michel rose to become Velde's administrative assistant.

In 1956 Velde retired and Michel ran for the seat. Still not very well-known in the district, Michel nevertheless had the support of many of the county organizations, whose political contact he had been in Washington. He won the primary with 48 percent of the vote against four opponents.

Committees

Minority Leader

Elections

1982 General		
Robert H. Michel (R)	97,406	(52%)
G. Douglas Stephens (D)	91,281	(48%)
1980 General		
Robert H. Michel (R)	125,561	(62%)
John Knuppel (D)	76,471	(38%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (66%) 1976 (58%) 1974 (55%) 1972 (65%) 1970 (66%) 1968 (61%) 1966 (58%) 1964 (54%) 1962 (61%) 1960 (59%) 1958 (60%) 1956 (59%)

District Vote For President

1980			1976		
D	71,861	(32%)	D	92,613	(44%)
R	137,198	(61%)	R	114,120	(55%)
I	12,710	(6%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Michel (R)	$697,087	$471,129	(68%)	$652,773
Stephens (D)	$174,559	$96,480	(55%)	$165,777
1980				
Michel (R)	$168,667	$98,624	(58%)	$134,540
Knuppel (D)	$34,894	$5,750	(16%)	$34,483

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**	**S**	**O**
1982	83	12	81	16	89	10
1981	80	17	82	11	83	13
1980	37	51	84	8	79	12
1979	30	58	76	12	85	6
1978	42	56	77	14	80	12
1977	44	44	75	10	82	4
1976	78	12	87	8	85	10
1975	88	8	82	9	82	10
1974 (Ford)	65	22				
1974	79	9	69	15	77	15
1973	75	17	84	7	86	5
1972	51	24	72	10	77	7
1971	75	16	74	10	76	6
1970	74	9	74	7	70	7
1969	64	28	69	20	80	11
1968	42	38	66	13	63	18
1967	37	51	84	7	81	7
1966	32	44	71	4	65	5
1965	27	54	76	10	76	12
1964	35	58	71	10	83	17
1963	18	55	67	9	53	27
1962	18	65	75	5	81	0
1961	22	60	69	14	78	9

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

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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	87	10	80
1981	10	86	0	100
1980	6	82	11	74
1979	5	87	10	100
1978	15	75	5	89
1977	15	88	9	94
1976	5	81	9	94
1975	16	81	9	100
1974	9	93	18	100
1973	0	88	0	100
1972	6	94	30	90
1971	3	96	0	-
1970	20	82	14	88
1969	7	75	33	-
1968	25	90	75	-
1967	7	89	0	100
1966	6	75	8	-
1965	0	84	-	90
1964	8	83	27	-
1963	-	100	-	-
1962	14	87	9	-
1961	0	-	-	-

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