

Florida - 4th District

4 Bill Chappell Jr. (D)

Of Ocala — Elected 1968

Born: Feb. 3, 1922, Kendrick, Fla.

Education: U. of Fla., B.A. 1947, LL.B. 1949.

Military Career: Navy, 1942-47.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Marguerite Gutshall; four children.

Religion: Methodist.

Political Career: Fla. House, 1955-65 and 1967-69;
Speaker, 1961-63.

Capitol Office: 2468 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4035.



In Washington: Unswerving support for defense in general, and the Navy in particular, has been the focus of Chappell's congressional career.

When it comes to the military, he is an old-style Southern Democrat: attentive to the judgments of senior officers and wary of budgetary limits that he thinks would cripple U.S. forces.

What sets Chappell apart from many who agree with him, however, is his mastery of the technical details. He was a naval aviator and a captain in the Navy Reserve, and he has always remained in touch with changing technology. He spends long hours sitting through virtually every hearing the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee holds, and he works closely with Jack Edwards of Alabama, the panel's influential senior Republican.

In his earlier years on the subcommittee, Chappell was a loyal ally of Florida's Robert L. F. Sikes, who consistently fought to give the Pentagon all it requested and more. When subcommittee Chairman George Mahon of Texas sought to cut defense spending bills, Chappell joined Sikes in fighting him.

When Sikes and several of his allies retired at the end of the 95th Congress, Chappell was left as senior Pentagon spokesman on the subcommittee. He seemed a lonely figure at first, outnumbered on the Democratic side and totally opposite in his views to the new chairman, Joseph Addabbo of New York, who replaced Mahon in 1979.

But by the end of that year, Chappell's war clearly was being won in the broader political arena, as concern over global Soviet adventurism was producing a much more defense-oriented Congress.

In 1980, for the first time in 13 years, the full Appropriations Committee added money to a president's defense budget request, although not as much as Chappell wished. As second-

ranking Democrat on Defense Appropriations, Chappell was spending much of his time trying to prove that President Carter's own military chiefs found the administration's spending requests inadequate. His typical approach at hearings was to press senior officers to give the panel their personal, professional judgments about how much money to spend on a program, without reference to administration-imposed constraints.

Chappell was in the forefront of members fighting for reversal of Carter's two big symbolic victories over the services: cancellation of the B-1 bomber in 1977 and the veto of a nuclear aircraft carrier in 1978.

Chappell had fought Carter's 1977 B-1 decision, and in early 1978 joined a congressional effort to keep the program alive a little longer. The move failed by a narrow margin, largely because of opposition from the Air Force. By the time President Carter left office, however, it was clear that Congress would vote for a new bomber, with or without presidential support. Chappell was a major reason for the change of opinion.

President Reagan needed no persuading when it came to the B-1. But Chappell has remained vigilant in his defense of the plane. "There are those who want to carry on with the old B-52 bomber, an airplane older than the pilots who fly them," he said in 1982. "I do not know of any person in this House who would want his son to fly the B-52 bomber on a penetrating mission in the Soviet Union."

In addition to the B-1, Chappell has been an unyielding supporter of the MX missile and of the Reagan defense increases in general. But Navy issues are his specialty.

Over the years, Chappell has been the Appropriations Committee's best-informed and most energetic advocate of a new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. To him, the Carter

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Florida 4

Daytona's beach at low tide is as wide as a superhighway, and the clutter sometimes makes it look like one. Ever since Florida's population began to boom in the 1950s, Daytona Beach has been the most popular resort on the state's east coast for vacationers who do not want to bother making a long trip down the peninsula.

Though the winter weather is sometimes cool, the city makes a special push to get winter visitors from Canada, and the Daytona International Speedway schedules its Daytona 500 auto race in February to lure tourists.

Parts of Daytona, however, are less than elegant. The boardwalk and some of the city's motels built in earlier boom days are reaching middle age, and competition from neighboring beaches has stepped up in recent years. Although Daytona's population increased by one-fifth in the last decade, the rate of growth in Ormond Beach, just to the north, was more substantial. And Flagler County, a few miles further north, is receiving an influx of retirees that helped its population grow 40 percent in the last five years.

The old 4th had to be substantially

Northeast — Daytona Beach

pared by redistricting because its population ballooned during the 1970s to 715,027, more than 200,000 above Florida's ideal district size. Remapping shifted Chappell's longtime political base of Marion County (Ocala) into the newly created 6th. But Chappell moved to Daytona Beach Shores and ran in the trimmed-down 4th, where all the territory was familiar to him.

Daytona Beach and surrounding Volusia County now have half the district vote. They reliably back Chappell and most Democratic candidates for statewide office, although in presidential elections they show some Republican tendencies. Ronald Reagan won 52 percent in Volusia in 1980.

Although the 4th gave up some of its southeast Jacksonville territory to the 3rd, it still includes about 90,000 residents of that city, most of them in white-collar, suburban-style communities.

Population: 512,672. White 451,306 (88%), Black 55,840 (11%), Asian and Pacific Islander 2,752 (1%). Spanish origin 8,693 (2%). 18 and over 385,967 (75%), 65 and over 86,302 (17%). Median age: 35.

administration's preference for a smaller ship was a clear case of civilian budgeteers sacrificing needed combat power for savings. By 1979, amid mounting concern over the U.S. position in the Persian Gulf, Congress was moving in Chappell's direction on this issue as well; money for a nuclear carrier was added to the defense budget.

Chappell has been a tireless critic of the F-18, a carrier-borne jet intended to serve as both a fighter and a light bomber. Here too, he has argued against what he considers a cheap substitute for more copies of the F-14, the Navy's front-line carrier fighter.

Chappell has complained constantly about technical flaws in the F-18 program and presented evidence he says proves the plane is inferior to the F-14. And he has highlighted the F-18's escalating cost — he says it is no longer much cheaper than the more sophisticated plane.

His reserve membership has been the source of one of his most intense crusades, against what he sees as Navy refusal to equip

its reserve units with front-line combat ships. For several years in the late 1970s, Chappell blocked Navy plans to scrap the World War II-vintage destroyers that were the only large combatants assigned to reserve units.

The Navy said these ships were too old to maintain, and it did not want to provide new ones. Chappell pointed to the high level of combat-readiness maintained by air squadrons as evidence of what a reserve unit could do if it were given good equipment and supported by a large enough full-time maintenance staff. In 1981 the Pentagon accepted Chappell's position, promising to transfer some relatively modern frigates to reserve control by the mid-1980s.

Chappell is a specialist. He is on the Military Construction Subcommittee as well as the Defense panel, and while he has one other subcommittee assignment, Energy and Water, he is rarely heard on issues outside his field.

Chappell did assume an unusually active political role in 1981, when the Reagan economic program reached the House floor. Chap-

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pell not only voted for the Reagan budget and tax bills — he lobbied for them. He voted against Reagan's tax increase proposal in 1982.

At Home: Chappell's support for Reagan generated a serious challenge to his renomination in 1982, forcing him to summon every ounce of his political strength to survive.

Wealthy Daytona Beach oil distributor Reid Hughes fought Chappell from the left in the Democratic primary. Calling himself a "real" Democrat, Hughes fervently attacked the incumbent's "boll weevil" voting record. He accused Chappell of forsaking the elderly, the poor and other average people to become an apologist for Reaganomics and a mouthpiece for the defense contractors who contribute to Chappell's campaigns.

On the defensive throughout the initial primary campaign, Chappell finished only 1,753 votes ahead of Hughes and failed to win a majority because a minor candidate also on the ballot took seven percent. That set up a Hughes-Chappell runoff a month later.

Chappell's runoff campaign was devoted to discrediting Hughes, something he had not effectively done in the beginning. Chappell called his challenger a far-out liberal who wanted government to spend the country into prosperity and taxpayers to foot the bill. He characterized Hughes' largely self-financed \$600,000 campaign as an attempt by a rich man to buy a seat in Congress.

Hughes switched to a more positive tone in the runoff, stressing his three decades as a businessman and his work on behalf of environmental causes. But the media appeal that brought Hughes close in the primary could not mobilize his vote a second time. Between the primary and runoff, Hughes' tally dropped by more than 3,600.

Meanwhile, Chappell succeeded in recharging the organization he had built over seven terms; he held all but 685 of the votes he garnered in the first primary and defeated Hughes with 54 percent. Labor groups, environmentalists, feminists and other Hughes backers were unhappy with the outcome, but there was no outlet for their frustrations, since Republicans nominated a candidate well to the right of Chappell. The incumbent won an eighth term in November by a 2-to-1 margin.

Chappell was a 12-year veteran of the Legislature and a former state House speaker when he ran for Congress in 1968 on a law-and-order platform. In a year of urban riot, he blamed the unrest on a "lunatic fringe" and called for stricter law enforcement. He favored escalation of military activity in Vietnam to win the war there. Criticizing some Supreme Court rulings as based "on whim and sociological argument," Chappell advocated "restraints" on the court to prevent erosion of states' rights.

Chappell's resolute conservatism brought him the Democratic nomination by a narrow margin over state Sen. Douglas Stenstrom. His GOP general election opponent was William F. Herlong, a nephew of the district's retiring Democratic congressman, A. Sydney Herlong. It was a good Republican year in Florida, with Richard M. Nixon at the top of the ticket, but Chappell pulled through with 53 percent of the vote.

Herlong's near-miss in a traditionally Democratic district kept Republicans in pursuit of Chappell, and GOP candidates won 42 percent in 1970 and 44 percent in 1972. But Chappell was up to nearly 70 percent in 1974, and he glided easily through three more elections until the 1982 contest.

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Committees

Appropriations (12th of 36 Democrats)
 Defense, Energy and Water Development; Military Construction.

Elections

1982 General			
Bill Chappell Jr. (D)	83,830	(67%)	
Larry Gaudet (R)	41,399	(33%)	
1982 Runoff			
Bill Chappell Jr. (D)	32,478	(54%)	
Reed Hughes (D)	27,756	(46%)	
1982 Primary			
Bill Chappell Jr. (D)	33,163	(48%)	
Reed Hughes (D)	31,410	(45%)	
David Davis (D)	5,189	(7%)	
1980 General			
Bill Chappell Jr. (D)	147,775	(66%)	
Barney Dillard Jr. (R)	76,924	(34%)	
Previous Winning Percentages:			
1974 (68%)	1972 (56%)	1970 (58%)	1968 (53%)
1976 (73%)	1978 (100%)		

District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D 90,665 (40%)	D 101,649 (54%)		
R 125,277 (56%)	R 85,485 (45%)		
I 7,114 (3%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Chappell (D)	\$561,842	\$286,472 (51%)		\$588,240
Gaudet (R)	\$33,054	\$375 (1%)		\$23,519
1980				
Chappell (D)	\$125,399	\$52,386 (42%)		\$110,668
Dillard (R)	\$12,804	0		\$12,785

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	45	17	40	28	66	10
1981	71	24	38	55	84	11

1980	47	47	44	50	84	8
1979	30	61	30	56	78	8
1978	25	52	30	57	77	12
1977	38	44	29	58	83	8
1976	43	39	28	51	74	7
1975	49	40	33	54	79	10
1974 (Ford)	52	37				
1974	58	28	34	54	74	13
1973	53	39	41	56	86	10
1972	51	38	19	76	91	4
1971	63	23	26	59	79	5
1970	51	45	33	53	80	7
1969	38	43	22	64	91	0

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)	#
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	20	72	29	73
1981	5	67	40	79
1980	6	63	26	76
1979	11	77	21	100
1978	5	84	25	76
1977	5	75	33	88
1976	5	91	41	69
1975	5	82	32	67
1974	9	57	30	86
1973	8	61	30	90
1972	0	95	10	78
1971	8	73	50	-
1970	8	83	29	75
1969	7	93	10	-