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Next 4 Page(s) In Document Denied

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional) Breakfast with Representative Nicholas Mavroules (D., MA) on 12 April 1988, 8:00 a.m., Director's Dining Room

FROM: John L. Helgerson
Director of Congressional Affairs

EXTENSION

NO.

OCA 88-1076

DATE

APR 12 1988

STAT

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

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1. Executive Registry

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5. Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

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7. Director of Central Intelligence

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OCA 88-1076

08 APR 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director

FROM: John L. Helgerson
Director of Congressional Affairs

SUBJECT: Your Breakfast Meeting on 12 April with
Representative Mavroules

1. You are scheduled to host a breakfast for Representative Nicholas Mavroules (D., MA), a new Member of the House Intelligence Committee, on 12 April at 8:00 a.m. in your Dining Room. Also in attendance will be [redacted] Evan Hineman, [redacted] and John Helgerson.

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2. Mr. Mavroules is one of the two new Democrats appointed to the House Intelligence Committee by Speaker Wright on 1 February 1988. We have extended an invitation for him to meet with you at breakfast and then have an orientation tour of the Agency.

3. Mr. Mavroules was born in 1929 in Peabody, Massachusetts. He has been a Member of Congress since 1978 and ran unopposed in the 1986 general election. He is a fairly powerful Member of the House Armed Services Committee, and he has clashed with Chairman Les Aspin over the MX missile issue. He voted against aid to the Nicaraguan Resistance earlier this year, although he did vote for humanitarian aid in late March.

4. Possible discussion topics include:

-- Strategic Arms Issues: Mr. Mavroules is a Congressional Observer to the Geneva Arms Talks. He also has been a critic of the MX missile and in 1984 he offered an amendment to the Defense Authorization Bill blocking any production of the MX missile. After initial parliamentary skirmishing, he forced the House to vote on his measure; however his amendment was defeated by three votes. In mid-1985, Mavroules joined the more conservative Democrat, Representative Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma, and won a permanent cap of 50 MX missiles.

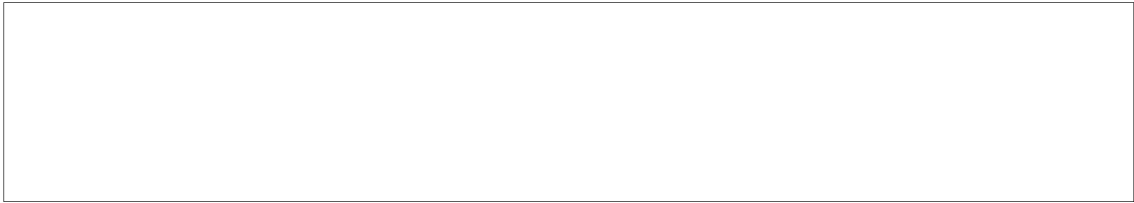
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-- DCI Priorities: As a new Member of the Intelligence Committee, Mr. Mavroules presumably would value hearing about how you work with the Committee and about your own priorities, e.g., the recent reorganization of the Community's and CIA's counterintelligence units.

-- Breakfast on 21 April: You may wish to mention your breakfast for all House Intelligence Committee Members on 21 April. Mr. Mavroules should be encouraged to attend that, too. We wanted to get him out alone this time to get to know him and allow senior officers to brief him on Agency activities.

SIGNED

John L. Helgerson

Attachments:
Biography
Tour Schedule

Distribution:

- Orig. - Addressee (w/atts)
- 1 - DDCI "
- 1 - ExDir "
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HA/OCA  (7 Apr 88)

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Massachusetts - 6th District

6 Nicholas Mavroules (D)

Of Peabody — Elected 1978

Born: Nov. 1, 1929, Peabody, Mass.

Education: Graduated from Peabody High School, 1947.

Occupation: Personnel supervisor.

Family: Wife, Mary Silva; three children.

Religion: Greek Orthodox.

Political Career: Peabody City Council, 1958-61 and 1964-65; mayor of Peabody, 1968-79; candidate for Peabody City Council, 1955; candidate for mayor of Peabody, 1961.

Capitol Office: 2432 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-8020.



In Washington: When Mavroules first arrived in Washington, a small-town Massachusetts mayor with a parochial set of concerns, nobody would have singled him out as a future activist in national defense policy. But he has grown into an important player on major issues, one who has left the Peabody City Hall far behind.

Mavroules' presence on the Armed Services Committee is essentially an accident. His state delegation wanted someone on the committee to protect its defense contracting interests, and Mavroules, as a freshman, drew the assignment. It was not his first choice, but he accepted it with the cooperative spirit of a man who plays by the rules.

In his second term, though, after enduring some complaints at home that he was too pliant a leadership loyalist, Mavroules began striking out on his own. His target was the MX missile.

Over a period of four years, allied with arms control activists, he negotiated with the House leadership, sponsored key amendments and held strategy sessions in his office. He could claim much of the credit for the cap on MX development that became law in 1985.

After his high profile on the MX missile, Mavroules saw himself as an alternative to Les Aspin as chairman of Armed Services. As early as July 1986, Mavroules said his candidacy was "very possible" if the Democratic Caucus did not re-elect Aspin. Mavroules had been hurt by Aspin's opposition to him on the MX. "In the very long run," a dejected Mavroules said after the vote, "Aspin's position will serve to damage his credibility on the Democratic side."

But he never campaigned actively, insisting he was not out to oust Aspin; only when the caucus gave Aspin a no-confidence vote early in 1987, did he become a candidate. By then, it

was too late for him to emerge as the leading challenger. Mavroules was eliminated on the first ballot; eventually Aspin defeated all chairmanship challengers and won a second term.

The MX battle began in the 98th Congress, with anti-nuclear pressure building from a burgeoning grass-roots lobbying campaign. Mavroules and other MX critics made a major effort to kill the missile once and for all. Their 1984 vehicle was the defense authorization bill, to which Mavroules offered an amendment blocking any production of the MX.

After several hours of intricate parliamentary skirmishing, he won a major victory by forcing the House to vote on his measure. But when the roll call was held, he lost the war — his amendment was defeated by three votes.

"We have raised the public awareness of this issue," Mavroules said. "We have millions of people watching it and they deserve an up-or-down vote."

Early in 1985, the issue came up again, and again Mavroules' side lost, 219-213. But each new consideration of the MX seemed to place him in a more central position. In 1985, he shared leadership duties on the anti-MX side with fellow-Democrats Les AuCoin of Oregon and Thomas J. Downey of New York. Mavroules lacked their glibness and knowledge of overall defense policy. But he also was less burdened by identification as an unyielding liberal, and during much of the debate, he seemed to be the one coordinating strategy as the MX opponents lobbied to the last vote.

By mid-1985 both sides were weary from the protracted battle, and appeared ready to compromise. Mavroules joined the more conservative Democratic Rep. Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma and won a permanent cap of 50 MX missiles.

Nicholas Mavroules, D-Mass.

Massachusetts 6

**North Shore —
Lynn; Peabody**

The 6th offers chronically depressed mill towns, workaday factory cities, comfortable suburbs, pockets of aristocratic wealth and scenic ocean-front villages. Its vote-heavy areas are at the southern end of Essex County and are strongly Democratic.

Lynn, historically a shoe-manufacturing center but now home of a large General Electric Co. aircraft engine plant, is the 6th's largest city. Lynn and nearby Peabody, which was once the largest leather-processing city in the world, are conservative Democratic territory. They were crucial to former Democratic Gov. Edward J. King in his two Democratic primary battles against the more liberal Michael S. Dukakis. Both cities voted for Democrat John Kerry in the 1984 U.S. Senate contest, but Peabody narrowly backed Reagan for president.

East of Peabody is Salem, which resembles it in its Democratic roots and dependence on the electronics industry. Salem's image, however, is inextricably bound up with colonial New England's history. It was the scene of the famous witch trials of the 1690s and later a prosperous port from which Yankee traders set sail for the Orient and Europe. Its narrow streets were the setting for Nathaniel Hawthorne's dark explorations of the New England psyche.

North of Salem in Essex County, the aristocratic Yankee tradition provides GOP votes, although they have tended to be

liberal votes. Suburban Wenham was one of only three towns in the state where John B. Anderson outpolled Jimmy Carter in 1980. In 1984, there was a dramatic change. Wenham gave about two-thirds of its vote to both Reagan and Republican Senate candidate Ray Shamie.

On the northern coast, maritime interests are central to Gloucester, home of the Fisherman's Memorial landmark, and Rockport, a historic fishing village deluged with tourists and artists in the summer. Newburyport, whose 19th-century clipper ship economy gave way to light manufacturing, is the "Yankee City" singled out for study by sociologists in the 1920s. In recent years it has attracted some urban emigrants.

Haverhill, on the New Hampshire border, won the dubious distinction in a 1981 survey of being named the nation's metropolitan area with the least desirable "quality of life." The town's economic base in the shoe industry long ago disappeared, but there has been recent growth in the availability of high-technology jobs, and the city's comparatively low living costs are beginning to lure younger professionals who cannot afford to live in Boston.

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

Mavroules has had his failures. After chairing a special Armed Services panel on military procurement reform and steering some of its recommendations through the House, he had to struggle with skeptical Senate conferees to salvage any important changes. When his colleagues objected that he had given away too much, Mavroules became defensive and argued that he had done as well as could be expected. A second disappointment came as critics of Reagan's defense buildup focused on reducing funding for the strategic defense initiative. Mavroules expected to offer the key floor amendment, but seniority gave the honor to Charles E. Bennett of Florida.

Mavroules remains an old-style Massachusetts politician. He looks after constituents personally, holding office hours Mondays and Fridays back home.

He has been able to use his Armed Services seat to benefit his district's largest defense contractor, General Electric Co., whose plant in Lynn makes engines for the Navy's F-18 attack fighters. He also pushed through a bill directing the Defense Department to use more renewable energy technologies, including solar energy. The city of Beverly, in his district, has been the site of a photovoltaic demonstration project.

At Home: It took Mavroules a while to get settled in his seat. But in 1984, when he won 70 percent of the vote, Mavroules joined the league of Massachusetts Democrats who routinely win by hefty margins. In 1986, he ran without Republican opposition.

As a traditional urban ethnic Democrat, Mavroules has little in common with the Yankee elite that populates so much of his district.

Massachusetts - 6th District

He learned his politics in Peabody's City Hall, where he served a total of 16 years, first on the City Council and later as mayor.

In 1978, Mavroules sensed that Democratic Rep. Michael J. Harrington had lost his rapport with working-class Democrats. There was a feeling Harrington had spent too much of his career on human rights in Chile rather than on unemployment in Lynn. So Mavroules entered the primary.

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

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

Although Bronson wanted still another chance in 1980, he lost the Republican primary narrowly to Tom Trimarco, a moderate lawyer

with Italian ethnic support.

Viewed as the strongest candidate Republicans had put up in a decade, Trimarco worked hard to tie Mavroules to the Carter administration. He made clear inroads in the district, holding Mavroules' margins down everywhere outside the old factory towns — Peabody, Salem and Lynn — that were responsible for the Democrat's initial election. Only a 20,000-vote plurality in those three cities allowed Mavroules to win.

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

But Mavroules was stronger than before. His work in the House against the MX missile system had helped him shake his reputation as an old-fashioned party loyalist who initiated little on his own, and gave him appeal along the moderate Republican North Shore. He also used GOP economic policies effectively against Trimarco, winning back Democrats who had defected or sat out the 1980 election.

Committees

Armed Services (11th of 31 Democrats)
Investigations; Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems.

Small Business (7th of 27 Democrats)
Procurement, Innovation and Minority Enterprise Development (chairman).

Elections

1986 General
Nicholas Mavroules (D) 131,051 (100%)

1984 General
Nicholas Mavroules (D) 168,662 (70%)
Frederick S. Leber (R) 63,363 (26%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1982 (58%) 1980 (51%)
1978 (54%)

District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	110,771 (45%)	D	94,549 (38%)	D	132,384 (53%)
R	137,258 (55%)	R	109,933 (44%)	R	109,094 (44%)
		I	41,896 (17%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1986			
Mavroules (D)	\$235,761	\$91,250 (39%)	\$184,485
1984			
Mavroules (D)	\$282,105	\$107,568 (38%)	\$242,841
Leber (R)	\$10,946	0	\$10,897

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	19	80	87	5	18	80
1985	20	76	87	6	13	87
1984	33	62	87	8	25	75
1983	21	76	87	7	18	80
1982	40	56	85	7	25	70
1981	36	63	84	14	28	72

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

- Produce MX missiles (1985) N
- Cut federal subsidy for water projects (1985) Y
- Weaken gun control laws (1986) N
- Cut back public housing construction (1986) N
- Aid Nicaraguan contras (1986) N
- Impose textile import limits over Reagan veto (1986) Y
- Block chemical weapons production (1986) Y
- Impose South African sanctions over Reagan veto (1986) Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	85	5	93	24
1985	85	10	94	27
1984	75	4	92	38
1983	85	9	100	20
1982	80	9	100	19
1981	80	7	87	16

HEADQUARTERS TOUR
FOR
REPRESENTATIVE NICHOLAS MAVROULES (D., MA)
(HPSCI MEMBER)
Tuesday, 12 April 1988

0800	Arrive in DCI's Office for Breakfast	(7D60)	
0815	Breakfast with DCI, ExDir, DDS&T, ADDI, and D/OCA	(DCI D/R)	
0900	Introduction to the DI - 	(7E44)	STAT
0930	Introduction to the DO - 	(7E22)	
1000	Ops Center Briefing - 	(7F16)	
1030	Introduction to the DS&T - Evan Hineman	(6E60)	

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OCA 88-0930
1 April 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Deputy Director

FROM: John Helgerson
Director of Congressional Affairs

SUBJECT: Breakfast with Frank Wolf (R., VA)

1. You will host Representative Wolf for breakfast at 8:00 a.m. on 5 April. He will be accompanied by his administrative assistant, Charles White. Rae Huffstutler, Hank Mahoney, [redacted], and I will join you. The breakfast is at our initiative. Following breakfast you will introduce Mr. Wolf to the DCI.

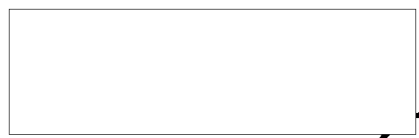
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2. Mr. Wolf's staff has discussed this breakfast with him and indicates that he would be interested in the following topics:

-- McLean Citizen Complaints. Mr. Wolf will want to know what the Agency has done to reach some accommodation with residents adjoining Agency property along Savile Lane. He called Congressional Affairs on Wednesday of this week to say that local citizens had called him to complain about the installation of a fence, the location of a jogging path, and the rumored siting of the Agency day care center in proximity of Savile Lane. He asked that the Agency meet with Mr. Richard Tierney, a local representative, prior to Tuesday evening, 4 April, when the McLean Citizens Association will hold a meeting during which Agency plans along Savile Lane will be raised. Mr. Wolf has been informed that such a meeting will be arranged with Mr. Tierney before Tuesday and that the Agency is "prepared to discuss the issues." A briefing has been arranged for you on Monday, 4 April, at 5:00 p.m. to go over how the Agency intends to respond to Mr. Wolf at breakfast the next morning.

-- New Building Project. Mr. Wolf will be looking for a general update on the status of the new headquarters building. He will be particularly interested in the plans for occupancy and how traffic will be affected on Routes 123, 193, and the George Washington Parkway.

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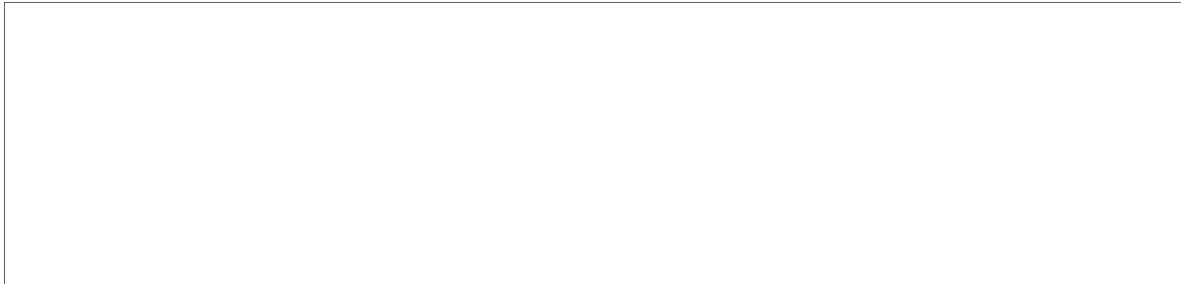
DCI:

The attached is
for your information.

mw
4/4 *Larry* 4/4

You should offer him a tour of the new building even though his staff does not think his schedule will allow it. He may, however, accept a guided drive around the compound before he departs.

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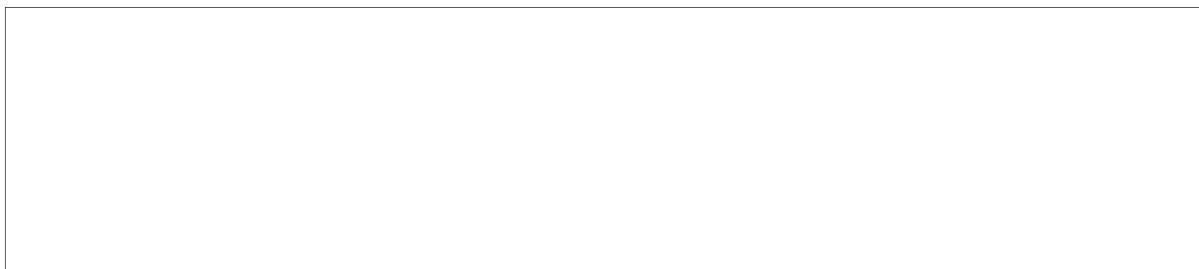
- Employee Morale. During several meetings and briefings, Mr. Wolf has expressed interest in the morale of Agency employees. His interest is sparked by his perception that, in the aftermath of the Iran-Contra affair, employee attitudes and morale have been adversely affected. He is a strong supporter of the Agency and holds the view that the morale of its people is an important ingredient affecting the quality of the work.

- Leave Donation Act (HR 3757). Mr. Wolf has been an active supporter and sponsor of efforts to legislate a leave donation program whereby Federal employees would be permitted to transfer annual leave to those employees who are experiencing a medical emergency but who have used all available sick and annual leave. The Agency has obtained an exemption from the House version (HR 3757) which will permit the Director to establish a leave donation program without the oversight of the Office of Personnel Management and the concomitant required reporting. Mr. Wolf wrote to the DCI in February to express his hope that the Agency would institute a program which would be "the envy of the Federal sector." A discussion of the Agency plans for instituting a leave donation program would be appropriate.

- Early Retirement. Mr. Wolf supports legislation which would permit Federal employees to retire early in order to alleviate potentially damaging personnel cuts which could occur under the provisions of Gramm-Rudman. He may ask for Agency views on the two pending Optional Early Retirement Bills (HR 818 and S 42). Under the provisions of both, employees would

be eligible to retire at any age with 25 years of service, age 50 with 20 years, age 55 with 15 years or age 57 with five years. The Agency is on record as opposing the legislation because those employees who would become eligible for retirement possess key and irreplaceable intelligence skills by reason of their years of experience.

-- Human Rights. While Mr. Wolf is generally interested in the area of human rights and religious freedom in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, he is keenly interested in Rumanian discrimination against Christian groups. He would like an update on the plight of religious sects in Rumania. After attending a conference on Human Rights and International Cooperation in the Netherlands during January, he traveled to Rumania where he discussed human rights with religious leaders of that country. He has actively sought to deny Rumania a "Most Favored Nation" status until the Rumanian government ceases anti-church activities.

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John L. Helgerson

Attachments

cc: DDA
ADDA
D/OP
DD/OL

Distribution:

Orig. - Addressee (w/atts) ① DCI (w/atts)
1 - DDA 1 - OCA Record (w/atts)
1 - ADDA 1 - JEB Chrono "
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1 - DD/OL "
1 - ER "
1 - D/OCA "

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OCA  (31 Mar 88)

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Virginia - 10th District

10 Frank R. Wolf (R)

Of Vienna — Elected 1980**Born:** Jan. 30, 1939, Philadelphia, Pa.**Education:** Pennsylvania State U., B.A. 1961; Georgetown U., LL.B. 1965.**Military Career:** Army, 1962-63, Reserve, 1963-67.**Occupation:** Lawyer.**Family:** Wife, Carolyn Stover; five children.**Religion:** Presbyterian.**Political Career:** Sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 1976; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1978.**Capitol Office:** 130 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-5136.

In Washington: One might think that anybody representing one of the nation's most affluent, highly educated, politically sophisticated districts would try to impress his curious constituents with a flood of information and opinions about important national issues.

That is not the way Frank Wolf works. Perfectly positioned as a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation to deal with the auto, air, and rail transit problems of his suburban constituents, Wolf is the ultimate House practitioner of local politics.

Considerably to the right of his district on most major issues, he essentially avoids them except to cast quiet conservative votes on the House floor. Instead, he pursues local causes with a zeal bordering on fanaticism. Listening to his speeches or reading his literature, it is hard to tell whether he is running for Congress or a county board.

Every House member tries to obtain highway funding for his district. But none plays a more personal role in trying to unravel traffic tie-ups than Wolf. He promotes himself as a sort of ombudsman for Northern Virginia commuters.

No traffic problem is too small for his attention. Early in 1987, Wolf wrote to the commissioner of the Virginia Department of Transportation, asking him to look for ways to ease backups at the tollgates on a highway in western Fairfax County. In the 99th Congress, Wolf helped negotiate an agreement with the National Park Service, which had raised environmental objections to widening a parkway and bridge connecting his district with Washington.

Wolf also was a leader in the effort to turn control of his district's two large airports — National and Dulles International — from fed-

eral to local authorities. Working with Democrat Norman Y. Mineta, the chairman of the Public Works Subcommittee on Aviation, Wolf helped craft the 1986 law authorizing the creation of a regional panel that will hold long-term leases on the airports. He has worked hard during his career to cap passenger levels at National, which is overcrowded, noisy, and unpopular with those living around it, and encourage use of Dulles, which is enjoying a boom after years of under-utilization.

Unlike Stan Parris, the other Republican from D.C.'s Virginia suburbs, Wolf shows little interest in partisan confrontation. He has worked well for example, with Maryland Democrat Steny H. Hoyer, a fellow-member of Appropriations. The two have lobbied jointly for D.C.'s Metro rapid transit system, and fought with the U.S. Office of Personnel Management over work rules for federal employees.

Wolf speaks up occasionally on an issue of national importance — he was one of the first members of Congress to travel to Ethiopia and to focus attention on the continuing famine there. For the most part, though, he sticks to subjects on which there is a clear consensus and the political risks at home are small.

Some critics grouse about Wolf's willingness to support most of President Reagan's domestic budget-cutting efforts, while excepting those that pertain to federal workers. During budget deliberations in 1985, Wolf said he could support cuts in a number of program areas, but turned a cold shoulder to proposals to freeze pensions for federal employees and veterans. "I just could not support that," Wolf said. Many of his most vocal constituents would not support it either.

At Home: Democrats have derisively referred to Wolf as a "pothole" politician. But

Frank R. Wolf, R-Va.

Virginia 10

The 10th is one of the most affluent districts in any Southern state, but it is hardly fair to identify it with the South. It is basically a set of bedroom communities for civil servants, people who work in the Pentagon, and others whose livelihoods are connected with the federal government. It is one of the most transient areas of the country, with an estimated 20 percent of the registered voters new each year.

Arlington County, just outside Washington, D.C., grew rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s as the work force of the federal government expanded. Home for more than one out of every four residents in the district, Arlington is the prime source of Democratic votes in the 10th. President Reagan won the county in 1980, but Walter F. Mondale reclaimed it for the Democrats four years later. Democratic Lt. Gov. Richard J. Davis took it with 60 percent of the vote in his losing 1982 U.S. Senate bid.

Although suburban sprawl has peaked in Arlington — the county lost 12 percent of its population in the 1970s — there has been some movement of younger, affluent professionals into condominiums and rental housing. These people are more liberal than the average Virginian, but they are transient and hard to rely on politically.

There are relatively few blacks in Arlington, but the county is becoming a melting pot for other minorities. Asians, Hispanics and other minority groups together make up roughly one-quarter of the popula-

D.C. Suburbs; Arlington County

tion. Arlington has the second-highest concentration of Vietnamese in the country, and its "Little Saigon" area is a magnet for Vietnamese-owned businesses.

Moving west from Arlington into the northern part of Fairfax County, the GOP vote increases. Like southern Fairfax, which is in the 8th District, this part of the county is filling up rapidly with commuters and new white-collar industries. Traffic congestion is the top concern of many Fairfax residents; local government bodies frequently are the stage for pitched battles between pro-growth and slow-growth forces. Getting around by car is such a hassle nowadays that some businesses are turning sour on the county. The American Automobile Association recently announced it would move its national headquarters from Fairfax County to central Florida.

Reagan took 62 percent in the Fairfax County portion of the 10th in 1984, but, as elsewhere in the district, he ran behind Wolf.

Farther northwest is Loudoun County, home base of long-distance commuters, but also part of Northern Virginia's "hunt" country, a rolling landscape dotted with sprawling country houses, horse farms and an occasional vineyard. Wolf and Reagan got nearly 70 percent in Loudoun in 1984.

Population: 535,125. White 466,595 (87%). Black 35,259 (7%). Other 21,974 (4%). Spanish origin 21,573 (4%). 18 and over 401,286 (75%). 65 and over 40,208 (8%). Median age: 31.

wearing the label of localist as a badge of honor, he has built a secure political base in the Northern Virginia suburbs.

Democrats have long been hopeful about ousting Wolf. Never were their hopes higher than in 1986, when they ran John G. Milliken, a member and past chairman of the Arlington County Board of Supervisors.

Unlike previous challengers, who had to fend off either a liberal reputation or a carpet-bagger stigma, Milliken had long experience in local government and a reputation as a moderate Democrat in the mold of the state's recent governor, Charles S. Robb.

As chairman of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority and the Northern

Virginia Transportation Commission, Milliken had been involved in many of the same transportation questions that Wolf had. As a result, Milliken argued, he could match Wolf's expertise on suburban issues while providing a more forceful voice on national issues.

But while Milliken seemed to have the political image, the local roots and the money — nearly \$750,000 — needed to challenge Wolf, he had trouble framing an argument as to why the hard-working, if undynamic, incumbent should be replaced. Viewed widely as a diligent plodder rather than a conservative ideologue, Wolf had never been a lightning rod for controversy.

Milliken tried to make him one, running

Frank R. Wolf, R-Va.

TV ads that criticized Wolf's 1984 vote to cut federal aid to schools that barred voluntary prayers, spoken or silent. In the ad, Milliken remarked that he would rather fight to place good teachers in the schools than "to spin my wheels pushing a government-written prayer."

Wolf angrily responded that while he supported voluntary school prayers, he opposed mandatory government-written prayers. Wolf ran his own ad featuring GOP Sen. John W. Warner saying that he had never seen a "worse distortion of the truth" than the Milliken ad.

The episode seemed to slow any momentum that Milliken might have had. On Election Day, Wolf swamped Milliken in the populous outer suburbs of Fairfax and Loudoun counties, while running virtually even with his challenger in Democratic Arlington, where Milliken had won re-election to the county board in 1984 with 70 percent of the vote. Wolf's impressive victory may not have made the seat secure, but it is almost certain to give Democrats pause as they draw up their list of target races for 1988.

From its beginning, Wolf's career has been a testament to persistence. Barely a year after Democrat Joseph L. Fisher first won this

House seat in 1974, Wolf began campaigning to defeat him. His 1976 effort had the backing of local Reagan activists, but did not survive the primary. Two years later, with more name recognition and better financing, he won the GOP nomination, but lost to Fisher by almost 9,000 votes. His reward came in 1980. Backed by a huge budget, Wolf ended five years of effort with a narrow victory.

Wolf is neither eloquent nor colorful, although he is occasionally accompanied by an aide dressed in a wolf's suit. But he has proven adept at organization and fund raising, collecting nearly \$3 million since 1979 to finance meticulous campaigns that feature direct-mail appeals written in Spanish and Vietnamese as well as English. Wolf has gone from a primary defeat in 1976 to comfortable back-to-back general election wins a decade later.

In the early campaigns, Fisher chided Wolf for his lack of government experience. But having been a lobbyist, an aide to Republican Rep. Edward G. Biester of Pennsylvania, and deputy assistant secretary of the interior, Wolf could claim he knew his way around the Capitol. That issue turned out not to be a problem.

Committees

Appropriations (18th of 22 Republicans)
Transportation and Related Agencies; Treasury, Postal Service and General Government.

Select Children, Youth and Families (3rd of 12 Republicans)
Economic Security (ranking).

Elections

1986 General
Frank R. Wolf (R) 95,724 (60%)
John G. Milliken (D) 63,292 (40%)

1984 General
Frank R. Wolf (R) 158,528 (63%)
John P. Flannery II (D) 95,074 (37%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1982 (53%) 1980 (51%)

District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	106,911 (41%)	D	76,676 (34%)	D	95,532 (47%)
R	154,507 (59%)	R	120,328 (53%)	R	104,815 (51%)
		I	23,999 (11%)		

Campaign Finance

Year	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1986			
Wolf (R)	\$1,097,358	\$310,833 (28%)	\$1,124,866
Milliken (D)	\$746,532	\$200,666 (27%)	\$748,918
1984			
Wolf (R)	\$659,591	\$230,729 (35%)	\$625,857
Flannery (D)	\$426,838	\$120,010 (28%)	\$427,297

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	67	33	74	25	78	22
1985	70	30	72	25	75	24
1984	64	33	71	27	86	12
1983	77	23	79	19	87	13
1982	56	39	69	28	78	18
1981	76†	24†	83	17	88†	12†

S = Support O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

Key Votes

- Produce MX missiles (1985) Y
- Cut federal subsidy for water projects (1985) Y
- Weaken gun control laws (1986) Y
- Cut back public housing construction (1986) Y
- Aid Nicaraguan contras (1986) Y
- Impose textile import limits over Reagan veto (1986) N
- Block chemical weapons production (1986) N
- Impose South African sanctions over Reagan veto (1986) Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCRB
1986	5	86	21	87
1985	15	71	24	73
1984	10	63	25	83
1983	5	96	6	73
1982	10	67	20	82
1981	10	93	0	86

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OCA 88-0935
29 March 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director
The Deputy Director

FROM: John L. Helgerson
Director of Congressional Affairs

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Representatives Chappell
(D., FL) and McDade (R., PA)

1. On 30 March 1988 at 1630 you will be attending a meeting with Chairman Bill Chappell (D., FL) and Ranking Minority Member Joe McDade (R., PA) of the Defense Subcommittee of House Appropriations in Room H-401 The Capitol. You last met with them on 5 August 1987.

2. I suggest you may wish to discuss the following subjects, for which talking points are attached:

-- Situation in Nicaragua. What do Chappell/McDade think Congress will do on overall aid to Contras?

[Redacted]

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-- Arms Control and new overhead systems. Chappell/McDade wonder what we are doing and thinking as a result of Senator Boren's initiatives.

3. FYI, Evan Heinman briefed McDade [Redacted] on 28 March. The briefing went very well; you may wish to offer it to Chappell.

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[Redacted]

John L. Helgerson

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Attachments

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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DD/HA/OCA: (28 Mar 88)

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[Redacted]

Nicaragua Situation

The agreement signed at Sapoa on 23 March entails significant concessions from both sides and reflects the pressure both are under to end the war. The insurgents, in particular, face immediate constraints [Redacted] We expect continued efforts toward achieving a final settlement by the two sides, although major issues remain outstanding. Key issues not yet resolved are: (1) the size and locations of the cease-fire zones; (2) who will deliver humanitarian supplies; (3) whether the rebels will actually turn in all arms under a permanent cease-fire agreement. In addition, some insurgent military and political leaders dislike the Sapoa agreement, raising the possibility that a small cadre of hardcore combatants might keep fighting. [Redacted]

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On balance, the insurgents are in a much weaker position than Managua. Managua may make some additional concessions to ensure an end to the fighting, but it will not give up its control over the political and military system. Once rebel forces are demobilized they would have great difficulty reviving the insurgency should the Sandinistas renege on the agreement. [Redacted]

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On the military side, the Sandinistas are maintaining some troops inside Nicaragua opposite the rebel base at San Andres de Bocay following their 11-18 March incursion, but they are withdrawing most of their remaining combat and combat-support forces from northeastern Nicaragua. The border area has been quiet since early last week, although the Sandinistas have kept from 950 to 1500 troops in the area [Redacted] Other Sandinista ground forces and air assets are steadily being withdrawn from the border area. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

During this past month we have been very active on the Hill providing briefings -- at least 25 to date -- to numerous Members of Congress on the Nicaragua situation. Our briefings and analyses appear to be well appreciated, both for their depth and impartiality. You will want to express your interest in their views as to how Congress will treat the Administration's request for more aid to the Resistance.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Committee on Appropriations
Washington, DC 20515

March 2, 1988

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88 258

Honorable William Webster
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Judge Webster:

Under the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives and the rules of the Committee on Appropriations, each Congress the Committee determines the jurisdiction of each of its subcommittees.

Last July the Committee assigned jurisdiction for assistance to the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance to the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs. This action removed this program from the jurisdiction of the Defense Subcommittee, although this subcommittee, of course, continues to have overall responsibility for the Central Intelligence Agency and its funding.

In the future, matters involving the Contras should be coordinated through the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, with the Defense Subcommittee kept informed in view of its overall responsibility.

I appreciate your help in this matter.

Sincerely,

James Whitten

Chairman

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21 MAR 1988
OCA 88-0841

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director
FROM: John Helgerson
Director of Congressional Affairs
SUBJECT: Breakfast with Senator Bentsen (D., TX)

You will host Senator Bentsen for breakfast at 8:00 on 24 March. Bob Gates, [redacted] and I will join you. This breakfast is at our initiative. Senator Bentsen has served on the Senate Intelligence Committee since 1981.

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Senator Bentsen's staff has discussed this breakfast with him and indicates that he would be interested in the following topics:

[redacted]

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Nicaragua/Honduras-Border Clashes. On a closely related topic, an update on the current status of the Sandinista offensive would be of interest to Senator Bentsen. [redacted] [redacted] can provide the latest information.

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[redacted]

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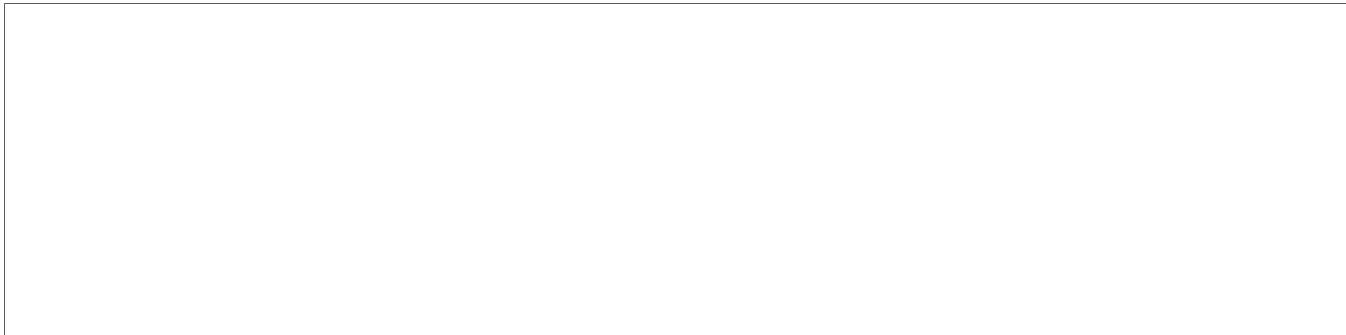
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John L. Helgerson

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OCA/Senate (21 Mar 88)

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Texas - Senior Senator

Lloyd Bentsen (D)

Of Houston — Elected 1970

Born: Feb. 11, 1921, Mission, Texas.

Education: U. of Texas, LL.B. 1942.

Military Career: Army Air Corps, 1942-45; Air Force Reserve, 1950-59.

Occupation: Lawyer, financial executive.

Family: Wife, Beryl Ann "B. A." Longino; three children.

Religion: Presbyterian.

Political Career: Hidalgo County judge, 1946-48; U.S. House, 1948-55.

Capitol Office: 703 Hart Bldg. 20510, 224-5922.



In Washington: The chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Bentsen may strike some observers as resembling a senior corporate executive more than a politician. He is all business, both in the way he operates and in the legislative goals he pursues.

There is a gray quality about Bentsen, and it comes not only from the elegant suits he wears and the silver in his hair, but from his record — midway between the poles on nearly any important issue — and his temperament.

Bentsen is not a dour or cheerless man, but he strikes people as aloof and rather formal. He seems happiest working within a structured environment similar to that of a corporation, where written memos are preferred to informal communications and lines of authority are clear.

Bentsen is not the kind of senator seen naturally slapping another on the back or trading funny stories. One would not pick him out of a crowd as a Texan, or a man who has spent more than 25 years in public office.

He has devoted much of his career in the Senate to promoting American business and trying to bring it back from the doldrums. While his most intense efforts in recent years have been directed toward aiding the hard-pressed domestic oil and gas industries, they are hardly his only interests; he can be expected as Finance chairman to be responsive to the needs of a wide range of businesses on tax and trade issues.

Bentsen laid out a long-term business agenda more than a decade ago, in his 1976 presidential campaign. Running on a platform of economic revival through tax cuts and reductions in the tax on capital gains, he put together a smooth campaign operation that functioned like an efficient medium-sized company. He attracted little public support, but his ideas

caught on; within five years, the basics of his proposals had become law, albeit under a Republican president.

Bentsen also combined business and politics successfully in 1984, when he headed the Senate Democrats' campaign committee. Using his business contacts and fund-raising ability, he presided over an operation that raised more than \$9 million during the two-year cycle and gave twice as much to the party's Senate candidates as the committee had ever given before. Despite President Reagan's landslide re-election, the party managed a credible showing, scoring a net gain of two seats and paving the way for its 1986 Senate takeover.

Bentsen's close business ties are not always without potential political costs, though, especially for a leader of the Democratic Party. There are liberals in Washington who like to watch Bentsen for signs that he is carrying his business loyalties too far. Sometimes he makes their job easy. Soon after taking over the Finance chairmanship, Bentsen informed lobbyists in the capital that they could purchase the right to have breakfast with him once a month for \$10,000. Even though his predecessor, Oregon Republican Bob Packwood, had done a similar thing on a smaller scale, the amount sought by Bentsen was so large — and the sale of access seemingly so blatant — that the idea provoked a flurry of criticism. Bentsen soon withdrew the idea.

To some cynical observers, Bentsen's relatively passive performance during action on the 1986 tax overhaul seemed like a calculated move to increase his influence if he became chairman. By sitting on the sidelines while all sorts of business breaks were stripped from the tax code, he created a host of opportunities to put new ones back in during the years to come.

There is no evidence that Bentsen was

Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas

doing anything that devious. He left no doubts about his skepticism toward restructuring the tax system throughout the 99th Congress. The "so-called reform bill," he was calling the measure even after it became law. But Bentsen did not go all out to block the bill, despite his belief that the legislation could undermine long-range investment in the economy.

He fought hard to aid certain industries. Along with Oklahoma Democrat David L. Boren, he worked successfully to preserve benefits for the oil and gas industry. He had less success in protecting real estate investors from the bill's crackdown on "passive loss" tax shelters. Even then, however, he did not give up easily; he was still trying to soften the anti-tax shelter provisions during the conference on the bill.

Bentsen's tax-revision efforts on behalf of the oil and gas industries — particularly the independent producers — sounded a familiar theme that has run through his career. During the original debate in 1979 and 1980 over a windfall profits tax on the oil industry, Bentsen's first priority was a full exemption for the smaller independent producers. That passed the Senate, but did not end up in the final law. Still, Bentsen and his allies did manage to keep the tax on smaller producers lower than the basic rate.

Earlier in his Senate career, Bentsen made repeated efforts to deregulate the price of natural gas. He managed to get a deregulation amendment through the Senate in 1975, on a 50-41 vote, but that language never passed the House. In 1977 he persuaded the Senate to add gas deregulation to President Carter's energy package, but the House did not include it, and when a conference committee compromised on gradual deregulation over seven years, Bentsen voted against the conference report.

If Bentsen decides to wait a while before tackling the tax code again, he can always keep his committee busy by working on trade legislation. He is sure to be a key player as Congress considers legislation aimed at reducing the massive foreign-trade deficit and improving the ability of U.S. producers to compete on world markets.

Bentsen's middle-of-the-road approach to trade issues may represent the views of a broad cross-section of American business. The United States has allowed itself to be taken advantage of by its foreign competitors, he feels, and needs to take a stronger stand against unfair trading practices by other countries. But he also seems wary of the kind of protectionist trade war that some of the more hard-line trade proposals might unleash.

Bentsen joined in 1981 with Missouri Re-

publican John C. Danforth to limit the number of Japanese cars allowed to enter the United States. He later dropped his bill, however, after the Japanese agreed to voluntary restraints. In 1984, he backed legislation to provide a stronger retaliation against unfair trading practices, sponsoring language to allow American companies to file petitions against alleged unfair foreign trade practices without revealing their own trade secrets.

Bentsen got out in front of the surge of tough trade sentiment in 1985, joining with key House Democrats to sponsor a bill threatening a 25 percent surcharge on imports from Japan and other key trading partners. When support for that idea faded, he helped develop a Senate Democratic trade proposal that stressed strengthening of the procedures for setting trade policy.

Although partisan differences and opposition from the Reagan administration kept that and other trade legislation from moving through the Finance panel in the 99th Congress, it helped lay the groundwork for the omnibus trade package Bentsen introduced in 1987. Enjoying broad bipartisan support in its initial stages, the measure stressed retaliation against unfair trading practices, additional help for workers and business hurt by foreign competition and increased congressional authority in trade matters.

Bentsen generally plays a less prominent role on the Environment and Public Works Committee. He had a chance for the chairmanship of the important Environmental Pollution Subcommittee, vacated in 1985 when Edmund S. Muskie left to become secretary of state, but did not try for it.

Until 1981, however, Bentsen was chairman of the Environment and Public Works Subcommittee on Transportation. In that capacity, he worked on the complex formulas that govern distribution of money from the Highway Trust Fund. In the early 1970s, he allied himself with highway users against attempts to break off trust fund money for mass transit. But he voted for the 1982 gas tax bill, which diverted trust funds for mass transit, after working to ensure that money was available for Houston and other cities with new systems.

Seeking to score for Texas on another environmental front in 1983, Bentsen led the congressional opposition to Section 404 of the Clean Water Act that has served to block development of the nation's wetlands. Responding to the state's oil and gas industries and to farmers, Bentsen sought to loosen up the tough wetlands restrictions that required permits for drilling, dredging and filling. De-

Texas - Senior Senator

spite the large numbers of legislators who were against the regulations, no action was taken.

Bentsen also played a major role in creating the expanded "superfund" hazardous-waste cleanup program approved by Congress in 1986. His chief goal was to protect the oil industry from having to bear the brunt of the new taxes that were needed to finance the enlarged program. He succeeded to a great extent by winning passage of a broad-based tax on corporate earnings as the main revenue source.

He was even able to use the superfund tax to impose a small-scale version of an oil-import fee — something he thinks is essential to preserving the domestic oil industry. The legislation as passed mandated higher charges on imported than on domestic oil.

At Home: Bentsen is part of the Texas Democratic establishment that included Lyndon B. Johnson and John B. Connally, but his route into it was unique. He was elected to Congress at 27 from a rural district in South Texas, retired after three terms, moved to Houston, made a fortune in insurance, then re-emerged in politics 15 years later as a conservative Democratic candidate for the Senate.

The Bentsen family, which is of Danish stock, has been among the conservative gentry of the lower Rio Grande Valley for most of this century. The senator's father, Lloyd Sr., was known as "Big Lloyd" around their hometown of McAllen, where he became a millionaire landowner and gave his son a lift into local politics.

Returning home from World War II, in which he had flown bombers over Europe, the younger Bentsen was elected judge in Hidalgo County at age 25. In 1948, taking advantage of family money and connections among the small group of Anglo Democrats that controlled politics in his heavily Hispanic South Texas district, he became the youngest member of the U.S. House.

As a representative, Bentsen pleased Texas conservatives with his hard-line anti-communism. In 1950 he advocated ending the Korean War by using the atomic bomb. He represented a one-party district and was politically secure: after his first primary, he faced no opposition at all.

But by 1954, the House did not seem as attractive to Bentsen as a career in the upper echelons of the Houston business community. He retired from Congress at the age of 33 and became president of Lincoln Consolidated, a holding company. By the time Bentsen was ready for politics again in 1970, he was a millionaire.

Bentsen ran on the Democratic right in 1970 as primary challenger to veteran Sen. Ralph Yarborough, the East Texas populist who had been an enemy to the conservative wing of the party for years.

Bentsen ran against both Yarborough and the national Democratic Party. When Democratic Sens. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and Harold Hughes of Iowa came to Texas to campaign for Yarborough, Bentsen labeled them "ultraliberal" outsiders. He ran television commercials linking Yarborough to violent anti-war protests and said the senator's vote against the Supreme Court nomination of G. Harrold Carswell showed he was anti-Southern.

Yarborough punched back by attacking Bentsen and his allies as "fat cats" and "reactionaries." Emphasizing his role in passing Great Society legislation, Yarborough campaigned hard to put together his old populist coalition of blacks, Hispanics, union members and rural East Texans. It was not enough to stop Bentsen, who won with almost 100,000 votes to spare.

After the primary, Bentsen moved to the center against GOP nominee George Bush, then a Houston representative. The Bush-Bentsen campaign, a battle between a Houston insurance millionaire and a Houston oil millionaire, was gentle by comparison with the primary. There was little to argue about.

In the end, that helped Bentsen. He continued to promote the conservative image he had fostered in the spring, but campaigned against President Nixon's economic policies in the hope of winning back as many Yarborough supporters as possible. Texas was still unquestionably a Democratic state in 1970 and, given a choice between two conservatives, a majority of voters preferred the Democrat.

When Bentsen won, Nixon tried to claim the outcome as a "philosophical victory" for the Republican administration. But things did not work out that way. Over the next few years, Bentsen sought to moderate his image, looking toward a presidential campaign in 1976. Some of that moderation, such as his vote in favor of common-site picketing in 1975, outraged his more conservative 1970 supporters.

The result was a Democratic primary challenge in 1976 from Texas A&M economist Phil Gramm. Gramm accused Bentsen of abandoning his conservative heritage in a vain bid for national office. Bentsen retained the loyalty of the party establishment and beat Gramm by more than 2-to-1, but the challenger drew over 400,000 votes (Gramm went on to become an influential member of the House, and won election to the Senate in 1984).

Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas

Meanwhile, Bentsen was seeking the Democratic presidential nomination, calling himself a "Harry Truman Democrat" and hoping to establish a base of support in an early Southern primary. It was a waste of effort. The combined opposition of Jimmy Carter and George C. Wallace limited Bentsen to only six delegates in his own home state, and Bentsen quickly dropped out of national politics to concentrate on his fall campaign against Republican Rep. Alan Steelman.

That campaign turned out to be easy. Steelman reversed Gramm's strategy, hoping to woo Yarbrough liberals by calling Bentsen the captive of special interests. But Steelman ended up without a firm base in his own party, and he never had the money to compete with Bentsen on an equal footing. Bentsen had a mailing list of 700,000 names and an organization in each of the state's counties. He defeated Steelman easily.

In 1982 Bentsen brushed aside Republican Rep. James M. Collins, who crusaded tirelessly across Texas trying to persuade voters to unseat "Liberal Lloyd."

Collins had difficulty providing specifics to document his portrayal of Bentsen as a liberal. He faulted the senator's votes to increase the national debt and to approve the Panama Canal treaties, but those examples won Collins few converts from the Democratic Party.

Bentsen paid little attention to Collins. When he did he told voters they were being offered a choice between "effectiveness and incompetence." He criticized Collins for not passing a single piece of legislation during his 14 years as the occupant of a safe House seat in Dallas. To counter negative advertising by Collins and the National Conservative Political Action Committee, Bentsen talked about unemployment, Social Security and other issues on which the Republican Party was vulnerable.

Collins did put together a well-organized campaign network that mobilized the hard-core conservative vote. He won 41 percent, but Bentsen's 1.8 million votes led the statewide ticket to a smashing victory as the party captured the governorship, retained all its U.S. House seats and picked up all three newly created districts.

Committees

- Finance (Chairman)**
Health, International Trade, Private Retirement Plans and Oversight of the Internal Revenue Service.
- Commerce, Science and Transportation (8th of 11 Democrats)**
Foreign Commerce and Tourism, Merchant Marine, Science, Technology and Space; National Ocean Policy Study.
- Select Intelligence (2nd of 8 Democrats)**
- Joint Economic**
Economic Growth, Trade and Taxes (chairman), Economic Goals and Intergovernmental Policy; Education and Health.
- Joint Taxation (Vice Chairman)**

Elections

1982 General

Lloyd Bentsen (D)	1,818,223	(59%)
James Collins (R)	1,256,759	(41%)

1982 Primary

Lloyd Bentsen (D)	987,153	(78%)
Joe Sullivan (D)	276,314	(22%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (57%) 1970 (54%)
1952* (100%) 1950* (100%) 1948† (100%)

* House elections
† Elected to a full House term and to fill a vacancy at the same time

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Bentsen (D)	\$4,520,553	\$800,443 (18%)	\$4,971,342
Collins (R)	\$4,138,743	\$117,182 (3%)	\$4,138,736

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	60	37	46	50	87	9
1985	50	46	54	40	75	23
1984	52	34	46	28	53	17
1983	51	45	63	31	64	34
1982	61	33	54	41	88	10
1981	70	24	55	42	83	11

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

Produce MX missiles (1985)	Y
Weaken gun control laws (1985)	Y
Reject school prayer (1985)	N
Limit textile imports (1985)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1986)	Y
Aid Nicaraguan contras (1986)	Y
Block chemical weapons production (1986)	Y
Impose sanctions on South Africa (1986)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCU ⁸
1986	45	50	33	68
1985	35	62	53	48
1984	55	25	67	46
1983	40	25	71	53
1982	40	74	75	70
1981	25	53	39	71

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

Talking points for breakfast with Rep. Michel on 18 February.

FROM: John L. Helgerson Director of Congressional Affairs	EXTENSION	NO. OCA 88-0415
		DATE 12 FEB 1988

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
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7. Director of Central Intelligence	12 Feb. 2/18		✓
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OCA 88-0415
12 FEB 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director

FROM: John L. Helgerson
Director of Congressional Affairs

SUBJECT: Your Breakfast Meeting with Representative
Robert H. Michel (R., IL) [redacted]

25X1

You are scheduled to host a breakfast for Representative Robert Michel at 0800 in your dining room on Thursday, 18 February. Other attendees will be Bob Gates, Dick Stoltz, Dick Kerr, and myself. [redacted]

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Mr. Michel was born in 1923 in Peoria, Illinois and was first elected to Congress in 1956. While closely identified with the Republican right in the early stages of his political career, he has adopted a more moderate stance in recent years. He retains the traditional conservative emphasis on reducing deficits. [redacted]

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Through his length of service on the Hill and his position as Minority Leader, Mr. Michel has emerged as a prominent Congressional figure. Moreover, he has accomplished this despite the fact that he has never chaired a major committee or subcommittee or developed a substantive legislative expertise. The President's Contra aid package was defeated last week; on prior occasions, Mr. Michel had successfully delivered the vote on this issue. [redacted]

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[redacted] As

Minority Leader he is an ex-officio Member of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. He attended a series of Congressional breakfasts hosted by DCI Casey in 1983. [redacted]

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Mr. Michel will probably want to discuss with you:

-- A general overview of world hotspots

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-- [redacted]

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John L. Helgerson

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[redacted]

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Illinois - 18th District

18 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: Sometimes it is hard to say just what has made Michel an outstanding congressional leader. He is not one of the best orators in the House, and his parliamentary skills are good, but not unusual. He possesses no particular area of substantive expertise. He is neither charismatic nor intimidating.

And yet many would agree with the judgment that he has been the most impressive House leader of either party since Sam Rayburn. He has an instinct for House politics that has enabled him — for six years, at least — to maintain legislative unity in a Republican bloc driven frequently to quarreling by its semi-permanent minority status.

More often than he has been given credit for, he has steered his party to victories it had no numerical reason to win. Some of those victories were due in part to President Reagan's popularity, but Michel knew how to work the Reagan factor for every vote it could produce. The package of anti-crime bills that became law in the 98th Congress and the continuation of aid to the Nicaraguan contras in the 99th owed their passage to Michel's quiet intervention at key moments.

Through months of bargaining and lobbying in 1981 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. In steering the measures through his party's factional problems, Michel had a different approach for every camp.

"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."

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.

But as the Reagan political agenda has run

out of steam, House Republicans have become harder to lead, even for a man of Michel's skill. Without White House clout behind him and no end in sight to GOP minority status, Michel has sometimes appeared tentative about which way to steer his troops.

Sometimes he leaves broad hints that before too long, staying on as leader of the minority will begin to seem less attractive than retirement. "I haven't chaired a subcommittee or full committee in my 30 years in Congress," he laments. "It's a pretty doggone discouraging and debilitating thing." In 1986, for the first time, ambitious Republicans began to talk openly about a future leadership vacancy, although it was not clear whether that vacancy would come up in 1988 or sometime later.

Even before President Reagan's influence was weakened by the Iran arms scandal, the President's flagging legislative interest left House Republicans groping in the 99th Congress for a role to play on major issues.

In some cases, Michel has had to make his strategic moves within an overall framework of GOP non-participation. Republican leaders in 1985 orchestrated a vote to block initial floor consideration of Reagan's No. 1 second-term domestic priority — legislation overhauling the tax code. Republicans who opposed the tax revision bill reported by the Ways and Means Committee complained about various provisions; but the move to derail it seemed to be, at its core, an awkward protest by Republicans who felt frozen out by a legislative process in which Reagan made common cause with Ways and Means Democrats.

In another move that looked, at the time, like minority psychology run amok, Michel in 1986 resorted to a high-risk strategy to abort a Democratic proposal that would have given Reagan some of the Nicaraguan contra aid he

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 117,000 residents, and neighboring Pekin, Everett McKinley Dirksen's home town, with 33,000.

Despite signs of recovery, Michel's home town of Peoria is still a troubled industrial city. It is dominated by the Caterpillar Tractor Co., which makes its international headquarters there and employs thousands at several plants in the district.

But 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. The 18th now is a particularly fragmented constituency. Michel once represented eight counties and most of a ninth; now he is responsible not only for eight complete counties but also parts of eight more.

The district still leans Republican, but hard times on the farm and in the cities may be taking their toll of Republican loyalties. Five of the eight entire counties included in the district gave Reagan at least 60 percent of the vote in the 1984 presidential election, compared with seven in 1980. In the 1984 Senate contest, GOP incumbent Charles H. Percy carried six of the eight, but not by especially impressive margins.

Population: 519,026 White 490,556 (95%) Black 23,919 (5%), Other 2,764 (1%) Spanish origin 3,728 (1%) 18 and over 368,659 (71%) 65 and over 62,341 (12%) Median age 30

wanted — but with many strings attached. In a complex parliamentary maneuver, Republicans voted en bloc with liberal Democrats for an amendment that *withheld* aid to the contras. That had the effect of blocking consideration of the Democratic leadership's compromise alternative, and forced a halt to action on the bill.

"There was no way around it except simply to throw a monkey wrench into the machinery and try to upset the apple cart for the moment," Michel said after the vote.

Democrats claimed the maneuver gained Republicans a bit of attention and nothing more. To Michel's credit, though, the delaying tactic did open the way for Reagan to win a clear-cut House victory on contra aid, albeit several months later.

Michel's go-for-broke strategy in the fight over contra aid warmed the hearts of junior conservative militants within his party who wanted to abandon his more-or-less conciliatory approach to Democrats and practice confrontation at every turn.

Michel has always known how to give a rousing floor speech lambasting the Democrats, but he has always separated public posturing from personal relations. He has never let the sins of the majority interfere with the prospects

for a good golf game, and he used his personal ties to Speaker O'Neill and other Democrats to gain whatever legislative help he could.

However, Michel's half-a-loaf politics has not been sufficient for the junior GOP firebrands, who enjoyed a spate of national media attention under the banner of the study group known as the Conservative Opportunity Society (COS). COS leaders Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Vin Weber of Minnesota argued that Republicans should turn the House floor into a theater for all-out partisan warfare. "I'm hard-pressed to see where compromise has advanced the Republican agenda," Weber said.

For most of the 98th Congress, Michel's advice to the militants was generally to calm down. "It's one thing to be out there on the stump, flapping your gums," he said at one point, "and it is another thing to put something together. Some of the greatest talkers around here can't legislate their way out of a paper bag." In 1984, when Gingrich launched a tirade against 10 Democrats advocating negotiation with Nicaragua's leftist government, and O'Neill responded with an intemperate outburst that brought a rebuke from the presiding officer, many House Republicans gave Gingrich a standing ovation. Michel kept his seat.

While Michel seemed more inclined to

Illinois - 18th District

strike a confrontational pose in the 99th Congress, he was not a committed convert to militancy. He, like virtually every GOP member, was outraged in January 1985 by the refusal of Democratic leaders to seat Richard D. McIntyre, an Indiana Republican who had been declared the winner in his district by state officials. After seeming hesitant at first, Michel joined the protest by trying to force the seating of McIntyre on a day when there was supposed to be no legislative business.

But a few weeks later, when the Democrats insisted on seating Democrat Frank McCloskey, Michel went to shake McCloskey's hand after his swearing in, something other GOP members pointedly did not do.

The current image of Michel as a moderate seeking to come to terms with militant conservatism would surprise anybody familiar with the House in the 1960s, when he was clearly identified with the Republican right, an orthodox Midwestern Republican decrying the evils of wasteful government. A few things have happened since then.

Twenty years ago, the split among House Republicans was between conservatives of Michel's stripe and a moderate party faction based in the Northeast. Today, the Northeastern moderates are not a large group. The competing power bloc is a Sun Belt-based Republican faction interested in a New Right social agenda and committed to supply-side economics. Michel votes with this group on social issues, but he has never felt comfortable emphasizing them, and he retains the traditional conservative view that reducing deficits is a higher economic priority than reducing taxes.

Beyond that, Michel's Peoria-based district has changed. It has moved beyond its earlier Corn Belt conservatism and developed the problems of a declining Frost Belt 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 has developed strong personal ties to the small group of moderate Gypsy Moth Republicans. They had been an important constituency in his campaign for party leader in 1981; most of the hard-line Reaganites had backed Guy 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.

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."

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 working 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 eloquent; 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.

Republican leader John J. Rhodes of Arizona 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, not a fiery speaker, to help him move his program through the House. Vander Jagt got his majority of the newcomers, but it was not a large enough majority to deny Michel the leadership.

Robert H. Michel, R-Ill.

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 Republicans. 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.

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. Michel has insisted repeatedly that federal spending can never be brought under control unless the rules are changed on entitlements. In 1979, he introduced an amendment that successfully blocked the House from making child welfare payments a new entitlement.

At Home: Michel has never been beyond challenge in his Peoria district, and in years of strong national Democratic sentiment, he has to work to get himself re-elected.

He has never worked as hard as he did in 1982, when his role as Reagan's spokesman in the House nearly thrust him into the growing ranks of Peoria's unemployed. 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 clinched 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 persuade Reagan to lift U.S. sanctions on selling natural gas pipeline equipment to the Soviet Union. Those sanctions cost Caterpillar Tractor Co. 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.

He also made some modifications of his own. For years a fiscal purist who prided himself on resisting pork-barrel temptations, Michel took a different approach in the 98th Congress. Housing grants, contracts for Caterpillar, construction funds for Greater Peoria Airport — all began to flow into the district. "I'm not altogether proud of it," Michel admitted in 1983. "I never perceived that the measure of my effectiveness should be how deep I could get my finger in the federal till." But it worked. Together with a somewhat rosier economic picture, the new pork-barrel emphasis

Illinois - 18th District

buttressed Michel's position to the point where Stephens decided to forgo another challenge. Bradley won the 1984 nomination in his stead, but could come up with only 39 percent of the November vote.

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. Not very well-known in the district, Michel still had the support of many county organizations, for whom he had been a political contact in Washington. He won the primary with 48 percent against four opponents.

Committee

Minority Leader

Elections

1986 General				
Robert H. Michel (R)		94,308	(63%)	
Jim Dawson (D)		56,331	(37%)	
1984 General				
Robert H. Michel (R)		136,183	(61%)	
Gerald A. Bradley (D)		86,884	(39%)	
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				
1984		1980		1976
D 89,490 (40%)	D 71,861 (32%)	D 92,613 (44%)		
R 135,170 (60%)	R 137,198 (61%)	R 114,120 (55%)		
	I 12,710 (6%)			

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1986			
Michel (R)	\$689,849	\$456,371 (66%)	\$639,765
Dawson (D)	\$12,208	\$2,358 (19%)	\$11,949
1984			
Michel (R)	\$681,434	\$390,646 (57%)	\$707,734
Bradley (D)	\$59,998	\$14,250 (24%)	\$59,997

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	74	18	73	20	76	18
1985	85	11	78†	15†	91	7
1984	75	20	80	11	90	3
1983	84	7	71†	20†	81	15
1982	83	12	81	16	89	10
1981	80	17	82†	11†	83	13

S = Support O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes

Key Votes

Produce MX missiles (1985)	Y
Cut federal subsidy for water projects (1985)	Y
Weaken gun control laws (1986)	Y
Cut back public housing construction (1986)	Y
Aid Nicaraguan contras (1986)	Y
Impose textile import limits over Reagan veto (1986)	N
Block chemical weapons production (1986)	N
Impose South African sanctions over Reagan veto (1986)	N

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	5	86	8	88
1985	5	86	6	81
1984	5	82	8	81
1983	5	81	12	100
1982	5	82	10	80
1981	10	86	0	100

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional) Breakfast for Representative Tom Foley on Tuesday, 16 February 1988 at 0800 in your dining room

FROM: John L. Helgerson
Director of Congressional Affairs

EXTENSION

NO.

OCA 88-0426

STAT

DATE

12 February 1988

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

1. Executive Registry

12 FEB 1988

TLL

2.

3. Executive Director

Has copy

4.

5. Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

has copy

6.

7. Director of Central Intelligence

12 Feb. 2/16

8.

9. Return to D/OCA

10.

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B-808-ur

OCA 88-0426

12 FEB 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director
FROM: John L. Helgerson
Director of Congressional Affairs
SUBJECT: Breakfast for Representative Foley on
Tuesday, 16 February 1988

On 16 February you are scheduled to host breakfast for Representative Thomas Foley (D., WA) at 8:00 a.m. in your dining room. Also attending are Dick Stoltz, Dick Kerr and myself. Mr. Foley's last visit to Headquarters was for breakfast on 29 September 1986. As you know, Mr. Foley was elected Majority Leader in the 100th Congress.

Mr. Foley has been in the House for twenty-four years. He has earned a reputation on the Hill as a conciliator, negotiator, and seeker of compromise; he builds bridges among Democrats and between the parties in the House. Among Mr. Foley's tools are a broad knowledge of the workings of the House, a prodigious memory, and a gift for explaining complex issues.

Werner Brandt, Mr. Foley's national security staffer, indicated recently that Mr. Foley would appreciate an invitation to meet with you and that he also would welcome discussion on several topics.

[Redacted]

25X1

You may wish to discuss the following subjects with Mr. Foley:

-- Soviet interests: He is an avid reader. He has a particular interest in Soviet affairs (he did graduate work in this area) and we might discuss with him developments in Soviet politics or Arms Control issues, including INF.

-- Arms shipments to Ireland: He is interested in arms shipments to Ireland, especially those being shipped to Northern Ireland by various groups and/or individuals. As

~~All Portions SECRET~~

[Redacted]

25X1



SECRET

[Redacted]

B-808-1 R 25X1

[Redacted]

25X1

-- Intelligence realities: We have had very little contact with Mr. Foley over the years, and we have no reason to think that he has any detailed knowledge of what we do. Periodically, he attends briefings we provide for the House Intelligence Committee. You may wish to provide him with a short overview of your priorities as DCI.

[Redacted]

25X1

-- Leaks: Mr. Foley has often raised the question of controlling leaks of classified information, claiming the Congress is less to blame than the Executive Branch.

[Redacted]

25X1

[Redacted]

STAT

✓ John L. Helgerson

Attachments
Biographic information

cc: DDCI

Distribution:

Orig. - Addressee (w/atts)

- 1 - DDCI "
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- 1 - DDI "
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- 1 - DD/HA/OCA "
- 1 - OCARead "

DD/HA/OCA [Redacted] (11 Feb 88)

25X1

SECRET ² [Redacted]

25X1

5 Thomas S. Foley (D)

Of Spokane — Elected 1964

Born: March 6, 1929, Spokane, Wash.
Education: U of Washington, B.A. 1951, LL.B. 1957.
Occupation: Lawyer
Family: Wife, Heather Strachan
Religion: Roman Catholic
Political Career: No previous office
Capitol Office: 1201 Longworth Bldg. 20515, 225-2000



In Washington: Over the past decade, Foley has held three of the most important posts in the House leadership. The one crucial uncertainty about his career is whether he will ever serve in the job for which he is uniquely qualified — the position of Speaker of the House.

A cerebral man with a sense of detachment rare among politicians, Foley is perfectly matched to a job meant to be above partisanship. He is less obviously suited to the role of majority leader, the one he assumed in the 100th Congress. Foley has little of the hard-charging partisan drive House Democrats came to expect of their majority leader after 10 years of having Jim Wright in that job.

Still, Foley is not without options as he begins his tenure in the spot just under Speaker Wright in the leadership hierarchy. Rather than transform himself into an opposition-basher, he may end up changing colleagues' expectations of the role the majority leader is supposed to play.

That is especially feasible for Foley because he is placed between two men who can be not only partisan but sometimes strident about it — Wright and Majority Whip Tony Coelho of California. Even as majority leader, Foley may be most valuable to the leadership doing what he does best — acting as a mediator and building bridges among Democrats and between the parties in the House.

As the 100th Congress began, Foley sometimes seemed uncomfortable as he sought to define a role for himself alongside Wright, who appeared reluctant to give up all the duties of majority leader upon his accession to the speakership. At times, Foley seemed to be trying out a more confrontational style, as when he concluded debate on aid to the Nicaraguan contras with a speech delivered at a decibel level unusual for him. In the end, though, the odds are Foley will find a way to continue sounding like Foley most of the time.

As a parliamentarian and negotiator, Foley ranks as high as any member of Congress in recent years. He grew up wanting to be a judge, and sometimes it seems he still wants to be one even in a political setting. He does not like to commit himself early on controversial issues, and he can be as skillful at making the case for the opposing side as for his own. "I think I am a little cursed," he once said, "with seeing the other point of view and trying to understand it."

Such caution can be frustrating to colleagues, but is also a valuable counterweight to the impulsiveness to which Wright has often been prone. The new Speaker is a legislative activist who errs on the side of rashness. Foley is a gradualist, skeptical of grand schemes and inclined at times to ask whether difficult problems can be solved legislatively at all. As he said of the 1985 farm bill he helped craft: "There is only so much that government policy can do. An agriculture bill can't turn around world economic decisions."

Foley thinks Congress is supposed to make sure legislation does not create more problems than it solves — a concern that loomed large while he was working on the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings anti-deficit law in late 1985. "It's difficult to convey these values to the general public," he said. "For many people the reaction is, 'Pass it yesterday. What's to think about?'"

When Speaker O'Neill first announced his plan to retire at the end of the 99th Congress, Foley did not seem to be guaranteed the No. 2 job in the ensuing leadership shake-up. Some members initially seemed to want a more partisan figure. But no challenger ever emerged and Foley was elected majority leader by acclamation.

He solidified his support with deft handling of several major legislative issues in the

Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash.

Washington 5

East — Spokane

Though the 5th includes Spokane, a city of nearly 175,000 people, it is temperamentally a rural district, one in which farm prices are often the decisive political issue. People here like to refer to eastern Washington as the "Inland Empire," taking pride in the wheat- and vegetable-growing prosperity that sets it apart from Washington on the Pacific.

Spokane is the banking and marketing center of the Inland Empire, which encompasses farming counties in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana. The city's sizable aluminum industry takes advantage of the low-cost hydroelectric power that comes from New Deal dams along the Columbia.

Comparatively isolated and marked by a stable, non-transient population, Spokane is one of the most conservative of America's large cities. For a time in the early 1960s, its wariness of government intrusion led it to refuse federal assistance to fund local projects. In 1954, Spokane County gave Reagan almost 60 percent and supported

losing GOP Gov. John Spellman, Spokane County, with more than 300,000 residents, accounts for about two-thirds of the district's population.

Walla Walla County, dominated for generations by a small group of wheat- and vegetable-growing families, is the most conservative part of the district. It gave Reagan nearly 65 percent in 1984. The third-largest county in the 5th is Whitman, site of the Washington State University campus in Pullman. Republicans usually win Whitman also, but by lesser margins than they carry Walla Walla and Spokane counties.

Popular Democrats such as Foley can win the 5th, but as his several brushes with defeat demonstrated, no Democrat can afford to become overconfident about his status there.

Population: 516,719. White: 489,609 (95%); Black: 5,705 (1%); Other: 13,486 (3%); Spanish origin: 11,700 (2%); 18 and over: 373,789 (72%); 65 and over: 59,889 (12%); Median age: 29.

99th Congress. He played a crucial role in drafting the 1985 farm bill and was active in House Democrats' fight against providing military aid to the contras in Nicaragua.

His consensus-building skills proved essential to the House leadership's strategy for handling Gramm-Rudman-Hollings after it was passed by the Senate. Some House Democrats wished simply to oppose the measure and wanted no part of making it more palatable. But Foley's head counts showed Gramm-Rudman could not be defeated outright.

As chairman of a task force to devise a Democratic alternative, Foley tried to make the best of what he saw as a bad deal. He coaxed a consensus out of liberal and conservative Democrats about what changes should be made in the law — such as protections for certain anti-poverty programs — and the House alternative won the support of all but two Democrats.

Foley is not renowned as a performer or stirring orator, but in the past few years he has had his impressive moments of rhetoric, moments that have called for exactly the skills and style that he has to offer.

In 1982, President Reagan had been persuaded to support \$98 billion worth of tax

increases over a three-year period as a means of bringing the federal deficit down. Speaker O'Neill favored the plan and asked Foley to make the case for it on national television, hoping to create a climate in which wavering Democrats might go along with the legislation.

Foley responded with a masterful television speech, quietly urging members of both parties to summon up "political courage" and cast a vote in favor of "economic reality." He seemed far more comfortable delivering that speech than he had seemed offering more partisan rhetoric in other settings. Afterward, other Democrats speculated that he might have influenced 60 votes on their side of the aisle.

Foley's most controversial moments in recent years involved his position on the MX missile. Along with Wright, he cast a vote for the weapon in May of 1983, helping President Reagan win congressional permission to start conducting MX test flights. That angered much of the liberal element of the House Democratic Caucus, and first-term member Jim Bates of California demanded a caucus meeting to determine why party leaders were helping enact the Reagan defense program.

In the first vote after the caucus, Foley

Washington - 5th District

opposed the MX, and he has continued to do so ever since. He and Wright (who also changed his mind) insisted they were reacting to new arguments about the merits of the weapon, but it was also agreed that Foley and Wright were making the right political move as they prepared to run for leadership posts in a predominantly dovish House Democratic Party.

As majority leader, Foley will have to abandon the agriculture issues that preoccupied him for much of his career. Foley was Agriculture Committee chairman from 1975 until 1981, when he gave up the chair to become Democratic whip. But he continued to be chairman of the Subcommittee on Wheat, Soybeans and Feed Grains until the 100th Congress, and still managed to have decisive influence on two major rewrites of federal farm programs in 1981 and 1985.

In 1985, Agriculture Chairman E. "Kika" de la Garza of Texas willingly deferred to Foley on the wheat section of the bill, one of the most delicate parts. Foley was at odds with younger Midwestern Democrats who, seeking dramatic changes in the farm programs, backed massive controls on grain production as a means of raising the market price for farmers. Foley did not fight the issue on the House floor but, in the end, his work was done for him. A Republican-led coalition killed the production-control proposal during floor debate.

Foley was unable to attend many sessions of the House-Senate farm bill conference because Gramm-Rudman-Hollings negotiations were going on at the same time. But when he and Republican Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas finally got together, they hammered out a compromise on key sections of the bill within hours.

Foley won the Agriculture chairmanship in unusual circumstances in 1975. The huge bloc of freshman Democrats was determined that year to unseat some of the aging, conservative House chairmen, and the late W. R. Poage of Texas, while popular within his Agriculture Committee, was 75 years old and very conservative. The caucus unseated Poage by a vote of 152-133. Foley opposed the move, but then replaced Poage.

As chairman, Foley kept major farm bills under his control at the full committee level, rather than parceling them out to subcommittees as most chairmen now do. He was openly bipartisan, usually working out arrangements in advance with ranking Republican William C. Wampler of Virginia.

His handling of the 1977 farm bill was typical. Major crop support programs and food stamp legislation were up for renewal in one package. President Carter repeatedly threat-

ened to veto the bill as too costly. Foley painstakingly put together a compromise, balancing farm-state pro-subsidy votes and urban bloc food stamp support. "Sure I want higher price supports," he said at one point. "But it won't help farmers for us to pass a bill the president won't sign."

At the last minute, Oklahoma Democrat Glenn English drafted a floor amendment to increase supports for wheat beyond what the committee had approved. Foley decided the amendment probably would pass, so he went back to the White House and persuaded Carter to accept it. In the end, Foley offered the English amendment himself and it went through easily.

Earlier in his career on the Agriculture Committee, Foley was a principal author of the 1967 Meat Inspection Act providing federal funds for states to use in imposing standards on the packing industry. He and Iowa Democrat Neal Smith narrowly failed on the House floor in an effort to make the program stronger by writing in specific federal standards.

Over the years, Foley's intelligence, negotiating skill and sense of detachment have allowed him to reach the top levels of the House leadership without the aggressiveness it some times takes to make it that far in the House. When Foley explains the politics of a legislative situation he is involved in, he often sounds like a curious outsider, calmly perceiving the entire situation as a human comedy he happens to have wandered into.

In some ways, Foley seems a little unusual for a politician, let alone a majority leader. He is not comfortable with the backslapping and small talk of a political campaign. He has never gone in for news releases or self promotion, when he became Agriculture chairman in 1975 he called reporters into his office one by one to avoid having to hold a press conference.

Foley was a strong Agriculture chairman — one of his best arguments against critics who said he would be an indecisive majority leader — but he operated almost entirely through conciliation. When circumstances seemed to require confrontation, he was less effective. Chairing a committee meeting, he was sometimes reluctant to bang the gavel even against a member who seemed to be asking for it.

For 10 years, Foley also sat on the Interior Committee. There he worked on enlarging the nation's largest power plant, the Grand Coulee Dam, and protecting Northwest water from raids by California and Arizona.

In 1980 Foley was a major sponsor of the Northwest Power bill, which was aimed at allocating scarce energy resources in the Pacific

Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash.

Northwest over the rest of this century. Foley was no longer on Interior, but much of the strategy was worked out in his office. A filibuster delayed passage for a month, but Foley and others ultimately moved it through on a 284-77 vote.

Foley has risen slowly and cautiously in Democratic ranks, taking advantage of his reputation as a good legislative manager. In 1974 he chaired the Democratic Study Group, the strategy and research arm of liberal and moderate Democrats. In 1977 the chairmanship of the Democratic Caucus was open, and as a veteran of numerous reform battles against secrecy and seniority in the committee system, he was a logical choice. He defeated Shirley Chisholm of New York by a vote of 194-96. His four years as chairman were not particularly lively; few important decisions were made and Foley chose not to be an activist.

"The Democratic Caucus never should be what it once was or what it is today in some legislatures," he said after leaving the job. "It should never make collective judgments for the party. We left that role several years ago, and we're never going back."

In 1981 the defeat of John Brademas of Indiana forced Speaker O'Neill to choose a new whip. Chief Deputy Whip Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, first in line for promotion, decided instead to take over the Ways and Means Committee. Some Democrats urged O'Neill to select a whip from among the 1970s Democratic generation, but O'Neill was looking for parliamentary skill in the coming arguments with House Republicans. Foley was a parliamentary expert — he was Democratic convention parliamentarian in 1980 — and he got the job.

At Home: In the course of little more than a decade, Foley took over a Republican district, made himself invincible in it and then let it slip nearly out of control. It took years of political repair work for him to get it under control again.

Initially, Foley wanted to be a judge, as his father had been. He spent two years as deputy prosecutor in Spokane County and a year as assistant state attorney general. In 1961 he moved to Washington, D.C., to work for Sen. Henry M. Jackson as counsel to the old Senate Interior Committee.

Three years later he was a reluctant congressional candidate, persuaded to run by the favorable political climate for Democrats and by Jackson, who encouraged him to take a chance. Foley filed on the last possible day. He had no primary competition because no other Democrats wanted to challenge Republican Walt Horan, who had held the seat since 1942.

But Horan was ailing at 66, and Foley had fund-raising help from Jackson and Sen. Warren Magnuson, as well as the advantage of the Johnson presidential landslide. He upset the incumbent in November by 12,000 votes.

After 1964, Foley worked hard to keep his district, and by 1970 Republicans had stopped running strong candidates against him.

But in 1976 he made a political mistake. Republican nominee Charles Kimball was killed in an airplane crash the month before the election, and Foley essentially stopped campaigning. That allowed Duane Alton, an unknown tire dealer from Spokane, to hold him to 58 percent of the vote.

The 1976 result convinced Republicans Foley was vulnerable, and Alton ran again in 1978. As Agriculture chairman, Foley had become a target for resentment over farm issues among his wheat-growing constituents, and his low profile in the district gave Alton another issue. Even worse for the incumbent, Indian tribal official Mel Tonasket ran as an independent and took away Democratic votes.

Alton was an inarticulate candidate, reluctant even to debate the man he was challenging, and his militant conservatism was too much for many moderate Republican voters. Yet Foley scraped by with just 48 percent.

Again in 1980, Republicans had high hopes. Foley's opponent this time was John Sonneland, a Spokane surgeon who had once served as state co-chairman of Common Cause. Sonneland moved to the right, calling Foley a fiscally irresponsible liberal and airing television ads accusing the incumbent of having voted to allow experimentation on fetuses.

The incumbent campaigned hard, stressing his more conservative ideas, such as a tax cut and congressional veto of federal rules. Foley recaptured most of the vote he had lost to Tonasket in 1978, but the GOP tide left him with the smallest margin of his career, scarcely 7,000 votes.

Sonneland was back in 1982, replacing the more strident personal attacks with attempts to convince voters that Foley had placed national interests above local concerns. "Do voters want to push someone who is ascending the political ladder," Sonneland asked during a debate, "or someone who will go to the mat?"

Such charges might have succeeded a few years earlier. But Foley's renewed attention to the district had paid off, and Sonneland's 1980 failure in a statewide Republican sweep had given him a loser's image among national Republicans, hurting him financially. Foley not only trounced Sonneland by nearly 2-to-1 in their mutual home base of Spokane County,

Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash.

but carried most of the 5th District's rural counties for the first time in several elections. By 1984 he was up to 70 percent of the vote

against Spokane City Councilman Jack Hebner. Foley won three-quarters of the vote in 1986

Committees

Majority Leader
Budget (2nd of 21 Democrats)
Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran (3rd of 9 Democrats)

Elections

1986 General
 Thomas S. Foley (D): 121,732 (75%)
 Floyd L. Wakefield (R): 41,179 (25%)

1984 General
 Thomas S. Foley (D): 154,988 (70%)
 Jack Hebner (R): 67,438 (30%)

Previous Winning Percentages

1982 (64%)	1980 (52%)
1978 (48%)	1976 (58%)
1974 (64%)	1972 (81%)
1970 (67%)	1968 (57%)
1966 (57%)	1964 (53%)

District Vote For President

1984
 D: 85,833 (39%)
 R: 133,109 (60%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1986				
Foley (D):	\$539,651	\$392,701 (73%)		\$421,477
Wakefield (R):	\$56,516	\$2,289 (4%)		\$6,502
1984				
Foley (D):	\$443,540	\$295,798 (66%)		\$379,651
Hebner (R):	\$51,019	\$100 (0.2%)		\$1,019

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	23	73	91	4	40	54
1985	29	71	90	3	29	69
1984	38	57	81	12	32	56
1983	29	59	83	8	25	55
1982	39	51	85	12	40	55
1981	54	45	80	17	51	45

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

- Produce MX missiles (1985) N
- Cut federal subsidy for water projects (1985) N
- Weaken gun control laws (1986) N
- Cut back public housing construction (1986) Y
- Aid Nicaraguan Contras (1986) N
- Impose textile import limits over Reagan veto (1986) X
- Block chemical weapons production (1986) Y
- Impose South African sanctions over Reagan veto (1986) Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	75	14	86	33
1985	75	10	76	27
1984	80	26	54	56
1983	85	13	81	31
1982	65	27	79	35
1981	55	13	73	32

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OCA 88-0378

10 FEB 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director

FROM: John L. Helgeson
 Director of Congressional Affairs

SUBJECT: 19 February Visit to Headquarters by
 Representative Bill Richardson, New Member
 of House Intelligence Committee

STAT

On 19 February 1988 at 9:15 a.m. one of the Democratic Congressmen just appointed as a Member of the House Intelligence Committee, Bill Richardson (D., NM), will make a courtesy call on you in your office and then receive introductory briefings and an orientation tour of CIA.

This will be his first visit and he appears to be interested and enthusiastic about his assignment to the House Intelligence Committee. As he is a relative novice to the world of intelligence, who possesses considerable political clout, we will be doing our best to give him a good impression of the organization and what we do.

Mr. Richardson was born in 1947 in Pasadena, CA and he is of Hispanic origin. He has been a Member of Congress since 1982 and the major issues he has followed concern the largely Hispanic and Indian constituency which he represents in New Mexico. He is said to be a liberal Democrat.

STAT

Attachments:
 Tour Schedule
 Biographic information

Distribution:

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B. 808-10 STAT
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DD/HA/OCA [redacted] (10 Feb 88)

Headquarters Tour
for
Representative Bill Richardson (D., NM)
19 February 1988

0915	Courtesy Call on the DCI	
0930	Introduction to the DI	(Dick Kerr)
1000	Ops Center briefing	<div data-bbox="1089 787 1461 913" style="border: 1px solid black; width: 229px; height: 60px;"></div>
1030	Introduction to the DO	
1100	Introduction to the DS&T	(Jim Hirsch)
1130	Walk through library & auditorium on way out	

STAT

Bill Richardson



D—New Mexico, 3rd District
Began Service: 1983

332 Cannon House
Office Building
Washington, DC 20515-3103

(202) 225-6190

BIOGRAPHICAL Born: 11/15/47 • Home: Santa Fe
• Educ.: B.A., Tufts U.; M.A. Fletcher School of Law and
Diplomacy • Prof.: Business Consultant • Rel.: Catholic

KEY STAFF AIDES

Name/Position	Legislative Responsibility
Melanie Kenderdine Admin. Asst.	Energy Committee; Appropriations
Richard Parker Press Secy.	
Jeanne Hesse Exec. Asst. (Appts.)	
Pablo Collins Legis. Dir.	Energy (Telecommunications Subcommittee)
Stephen Crout Legis. Asst.	Foreign Affairs, Transportation, Product Liability
Tara Federici Legis. Asst.	Education and Labor Committee
Steve Judy Legis. Asst.	Taxes, Veterans, Budget, Banking
Robert Sola Legis. Asst.	Energy (Energy and Power Subcommittee) and Interior Committees; Environment, Native Americans, Water
Maggie Hart Legis. Corresp.	Select Aging Committee; Civil Service, Health Care, Housing, Women's Issues

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Education and Labor: Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education

Energy and Commerce: Commerce, Consumer Protection, and Competitiveness • Energy and Power • Telecommunications and Finance

Interior and Insular Affairs: National Parks and Public Lands • Water and Power Resources

Aging (Select): Housing and Consumer Interests • Human Services • Task Force on Rural Elderly

OTHER POSITIONS

Majority Whip At Large • Democratic Trade Task Force • Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee • Congressional Hispanic Caucus • Congressional Arts Caucus, Executive Board • Democratic Leadership Council • Congressional Border Caucus • Congressional Populist Caucus • Congressional Coalition on Population and Development • Congressional Rural Caucus • Congressional Travel and Tourism Caucus • Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus • Congressional Copper Caucus • North Atlantic Assembly, Delegate • Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

DISTRICT OFFICES

U.S. Courthouse
No. Grant & Federal Pl.
Santa Fe, NM 87501 (505) 988-6177
Gallup City Hall
2nd and Aztec Sts.
Gallup, NM 87301 (505) 722-6522
San Miguel County Courthouse
P.O. Box 1805
Las Vegas, NM 87701 (505) 425-7270
Harvey House, 104 - 1st St., S.E.
Belen, NM 87002 (505) 864-1419

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

DAN COATS
INDIANA

Feb. 15, 1988

Dear Judge Webster -

Please accept my sincere thanks for the opportunity to meet with you last week - I appreciate the dedication and integrity you bring as Director of the CIA -

I'm here to help - Please call on me if I can ever be of assistance -

Sincerely
Dan Coats

OCA 88-0358
5 February 1988

STAT

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director
FROM: John L. Helgerson
Director of Congressional Affairs
SUBJECT: Your Breakfast Meeting with Representative
Dan Coats (R., IN)

As I mentioned earlier this week, Congressman Dan Coats (R., IN) will be your guest for an 0800 breakfast in your dining room on Tuesday, 9 February. Bob Gates, Rae Huffstutler and I will attend.

STAT

Mr. Coats was born in 1943 in Jackson, Mississippi, and he was first elected to Congress in 1980 from the Fort Wayne, Indiana district. He is a lawyer, is characterized as a serious conservative and spends much of his time on the Select Committee for Children, Youth and Families, where he is Ranking Minority Member.

STAT

Mr. Coats does not have any specific topics or issues he would like to raise with you at this meeting. His staff advises that he remains interested in Central America in general, and that because of his keen interest in families and their children due to his position on the Select Committee for Children, Youth and Families, he might be interested in the ways in which the CIA provides benefits and assistance to our employees, especially those overseas or on separated tours.

cc: DDCI



B-808-iv

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DD/HA/OCA (5 Feb 88)

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Indiana - 4th District

4 Dan Coats (R)

Of Fort Wayne — Elected 1980**Born:** May 16, 1943, Jackson, Mich.**Education:** Wheaton College, B.A. 1965; Indiana U., J.D. 1971.**Military Career:** Army Corps of Engineers, 1966-68.**Occupation:** Lawyer.**Family:** Wife, Marcia Anne Crawford; three children.**Religion:** Baptist.**Political Career:** No previous office.**Capitol Office:** 1417 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-4436.

In Washington: Coats is a serious conservative given to pondering the social implications of his Christian-based, pro-family politics. He argues for the need to move beyond such issues as school prayer and abortion to a concern for the material welfare of children and the poor. But his role is limited by his reluctance to depart from the conservative orthodoxy and suspicion of government he brought with him to Congress.

Coats spends much of his time at the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, where he is ranking Republican. He defends programs for underprivileged families that some conservatives assail as too expensive. In 1985, Coats argued for eight controversial education and health programs for the poor. "These strands of the social safety net — from the Head Start program to prenatal care to education for the handicapped — are working as intended," Coats said.

But when new programs are proposed, he tends to be against them. Coats has not lost his conservative wariness, for example, toward federal involvement in child care services. "I would be reluctant to support legislation that encourages that," he says.

One way Coats tries to resolve his dilemma is to look for non-bureaucratic ways to put more money in the hands of families. In 1985, he began talking about a "Tax Fairness to Families" bill which would raise the personal exemption from \$1,040 to \$2,000. "The failure to adjust the personal exemption for inflation has affected all taxpayers, but it has hurt families with children far more than any other group," Coats said. The tax-revision bill that became law in 1986 does exactly that, increasing the exemption on a gradual basis. Coats was not a major player in the tax debate, but his early efforts helped frame the issue.

Coats has a prize committee assignment at

Energy and Commerce, but so far he has not used it to great advantage. Over his years there, he has allied with moderates and liberals seeking to protect consumers from price increases during natural gas deregulation, and with conservatives in behalf of cuts in the Amtrak rail system. In general, though, he has been a backbencher without major influence.

During his early years in the House, Coats was identified most with the issue of school prayer. In 1984, he attempted to attach an amendment to an omnibus education bill that would have cut off federal aid to schools and states banning voluntary school prayer. Coats' amendment was defeated on the floor.

At Home: As GOP Rep. Dan Quayle's home district representative for three years, Coats cultivated the role of surrogate congressman. He handled constituents' problems personally, and sometimes stepped in for Quayle to give a "government is too big" speech.

That role put Coats in a strong position to take over when Quayle moved up to run for the Senate in 1980. He had a spot on the ballot just below Quayle and shared the highly effective organization both of them had helped build.

A relative newcomer to the district, Coats had to get past a bitter GOP primary against two candidates with much stronger local roots. But he easily surmounted that problem, winning the primary by carrying every county.

In November, Coats smashed Democrat John D. Walda in Walda's second try. Winning more votes than any previous candidate, Coats managed to outpoll Quayle within the 4th.

Three re-election campaigns have produced no surprises. In 1984, Democrats offered a credible candidate in Michael Barnard, whose eight years as a Fort Wayne TV newscaster had made him a familiar figure. But Coats outspent him almost 6-to-1, and won 61 percent.

Indiana 4

Planted in the northeastern corner of the state, the 4th is dominated politically and economically by Fort Wayne. Indiana's second-largest city, Allen County, which includes Fort Wayne, has more than half of the district's population. The city, with about 165,000 people, is the only area in the 4th with more than 20,000, so it is where voters in the surrounding nine counties look for news and commercial needs.

Located where the St. Mary's and St. Joseph rivers meet to form the Maumee, Fort Wayne has been a transportation and manufacturing center since the first half of the 19th century.

International Harvester, once the city's largest employer, permanently closed its huge truck assembly plant during the last recession, eliminating thousands of jobs. But Fort Wayne has rebounded from the Harvester shutdown. Employment has grown at a Magnavox plant making electronic items for consumers and the military, and General Motors is under way with a

Northeast — Fort Wayne

plant that will put thousands to work building light pickup trucks near Fort Wayne. General Electric, a longtime local presence, still operates several factories.

With a large German ethnic population, Fort Wayne is a strongly Republican town, dominated by two conservative newspapers. Only once in the last 40 years — in 1964 — has Allen County failed to support the GOP presidential nominee. Reagan won 66 percent there in 1984. The surrounding farm counties usually vote as consistently for the GOP as Fort Wayne does.

In the last four elections, every county in the 4th has gone Republican for all major contests. Adams is the only rural county Democrats occasionally manage to carry. In the southern part of the district, Adams is influenced by a strongly partisan local newspaper, the *Decatur Daily Democrat*.

Population: 553,698 White 520,079 (94%) Black 26,626 (5%), Other 2,670 (1%) Spanish origin 7,126 (1%) 18 and over 382,150 (69%), 65 and over 58,015 (10%) Median age 29

Committees

Select Children, Youth and Families (Ranking)

Energy and Commerce (9th of 17 Republicans)
Health and the Environment, Oversight and Investigations, Telecommunications and Finance

Elections

1986 General

Dan Coats (R) 99,865 (70%)
Gregory Alan Scher (D) 43,105 (30%)

1984 General

Dan Coats (R) 129,674 (61%)
Michael H. Barnard (D) 82,053 (39%)

Previous Winning Percentages 1982 (64%) 1980 (61%)

District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	70,300 (33%)	D	73,695 (33%)	D	86,170 (40%)
R	144,009 (67%)	R	128,189 (58%)	R	127,446 (58%)
		I	16,699 (8%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1986			
Coats (R)	\$291,891	\$106,161 (36%)	\$225,157
Scher (D)	\$20,083	\$7,600 (38%)	\$20,082
1984			
Coats (R)	\$251,237	\$108,389 (43%)	\$213,293
Barnard (D)	\$38,179	\$15,590 (41%)	\$36,957

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	70	29	84	15	84	16
1985	74	26	81	17	80	20
1984	67	30	92	6	90	10
1983	78	21	88†	12†	84	16
1982	71	29	84	13	82	18
1981	74	26	86	14	91	9

S = Support O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes

Key Votes

Produce MX missiles (1985)	Y
Cut federal subsidy for water projects (1985)	Y
Weaken gun control laws (1986)	Y
Cut back public housing construction (1986)	Y
Aid Nicaraguan contras (1986)	Y
Impose textile import limits over Reagan veto (1986)	N
Block chemical weapons production (1986)	Y
Impose South African sanctions over Reagan veto (1986)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	10	82	14	94
1985	20	86	18	86
1984	5	92	0	69
1983	10	87	6	85
1982	30	73	15	73
1981	10	93	20	100