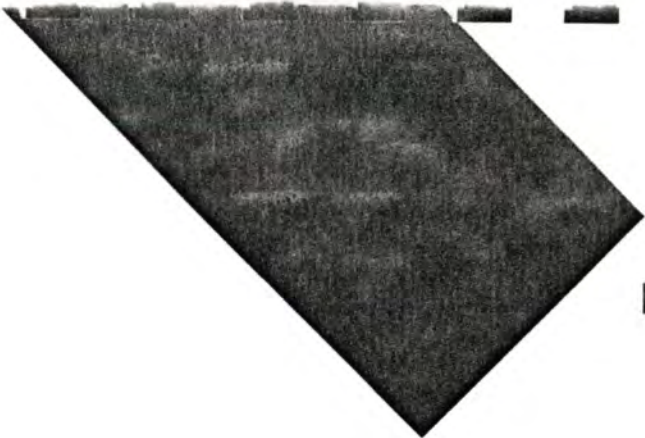
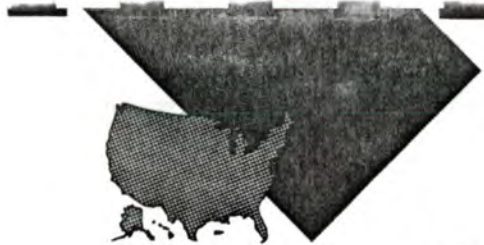




The 1994 Elections and Gender Gaps in Economic Insecurity

Presentation of Findings





Overview

Elections

- ✓ Democrats had trouble with white women, middle brow women, married women, and boomer and senior women.
- ✓ Women's turnout was down. In 1992, women made up 54% of the electorate. In 1994, 51% with declines among white non-college educated women.

Economic Insecurity and Money

- ✓ Women were less likely to think the economy was in recovery and felt worse off, not better.
 - ✓ Women worry about jobs and keeping up.
 - ✓ Men worry most about taxes and deficit.
 - ✓ Women also tend to worry more about health care and crime.
 - ✓ In 1992, both men and women worried that government had become too intrusive.
- 
- 

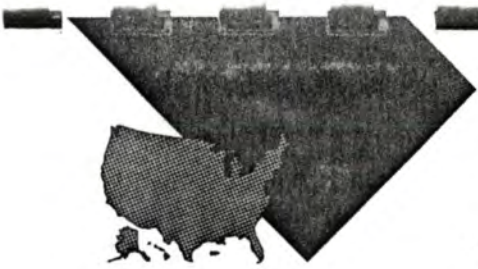


The Democratic Coalition Has Frayed

Our Vote Among Key Groups Dropped Steeply From 1992 to 1994

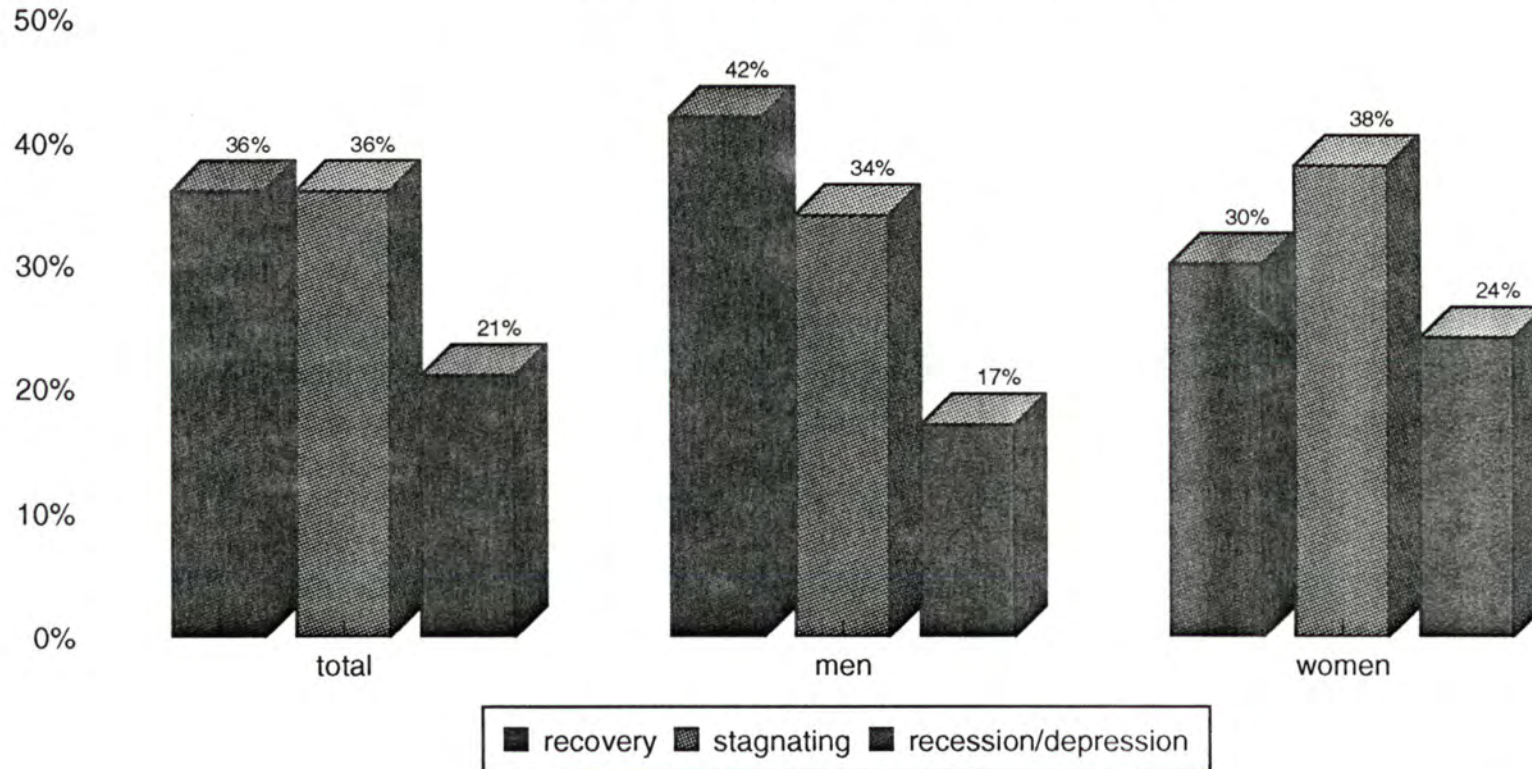
(% Democrat minus % Republican)

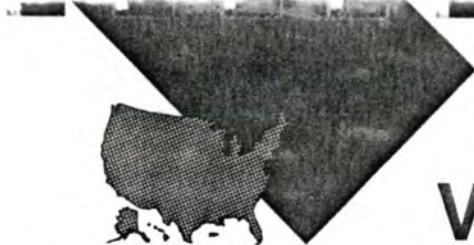
	1992	1994	Shift
Total	8	0	-8
Men	4	-8	-12
Women	10	8	-2
White men	-2	-24	-22
White women	2	-10	-12
No HS men	34	20	-14
No HS women	30	40	10
HS men	18	-4	-22
HS women	14	10	-4
Some coll men	2	-12	-14
Some coll women	10	0	-10
Coll men	-6	-10	-4
Coll women	6	6	0
Men 18-29	4	4	0
Women 18-29	16	12	-4
Men 30-44	2	-14	-16
Women 30-44	8	2	-6
Men 45-59	0	-8	-8
Women 45-59	8	12	4
Men 60+	12	-2	-14
Women 60+	14	6	-8
Married men	-4	-12	-8
Married women	2	-4	-6
Unmarried men	16	4	-12
Unmarried women	26	32	6



Voters Are Not Convinced That The Economy Is In Recovery

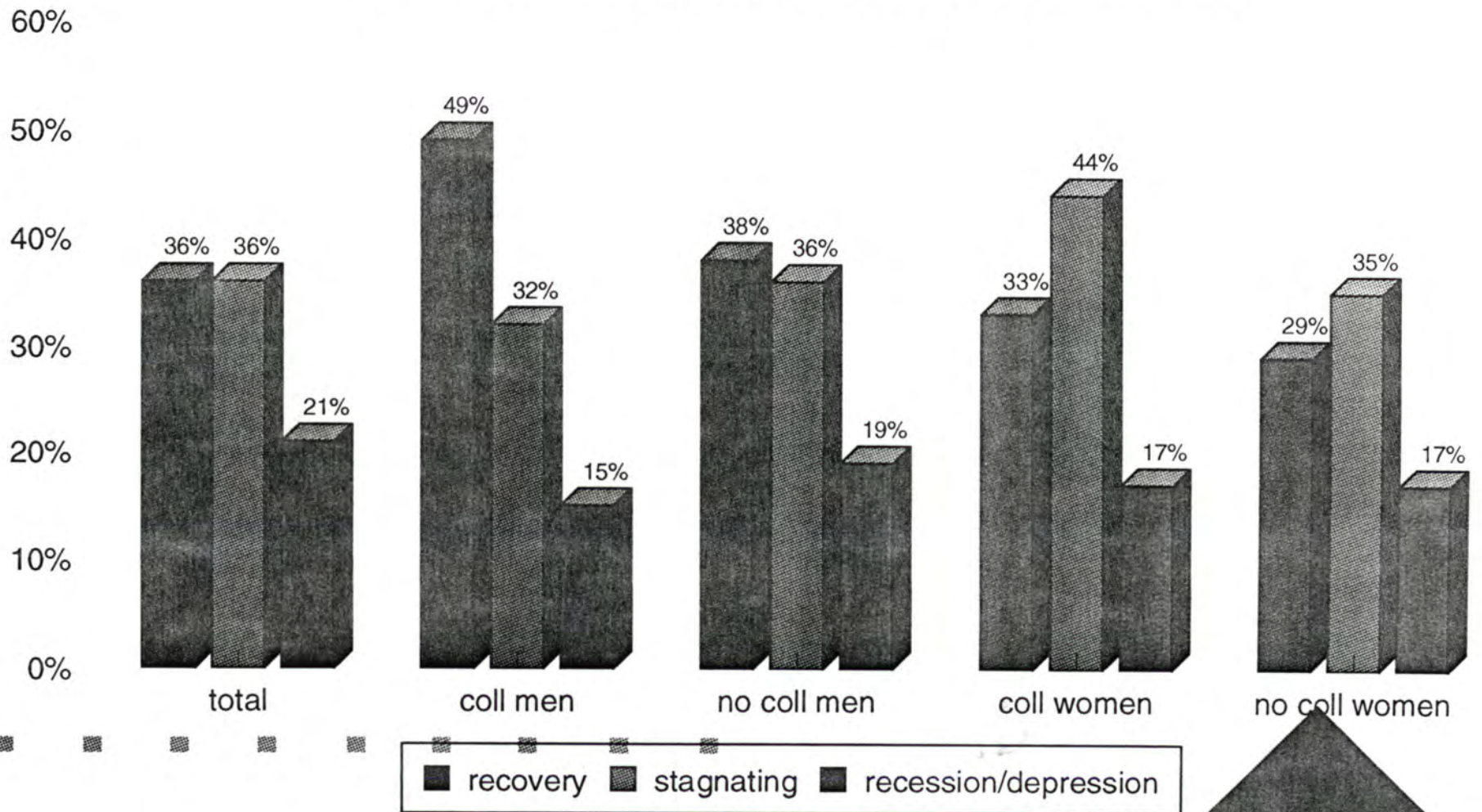
Women Are More Pessimistic Than Men





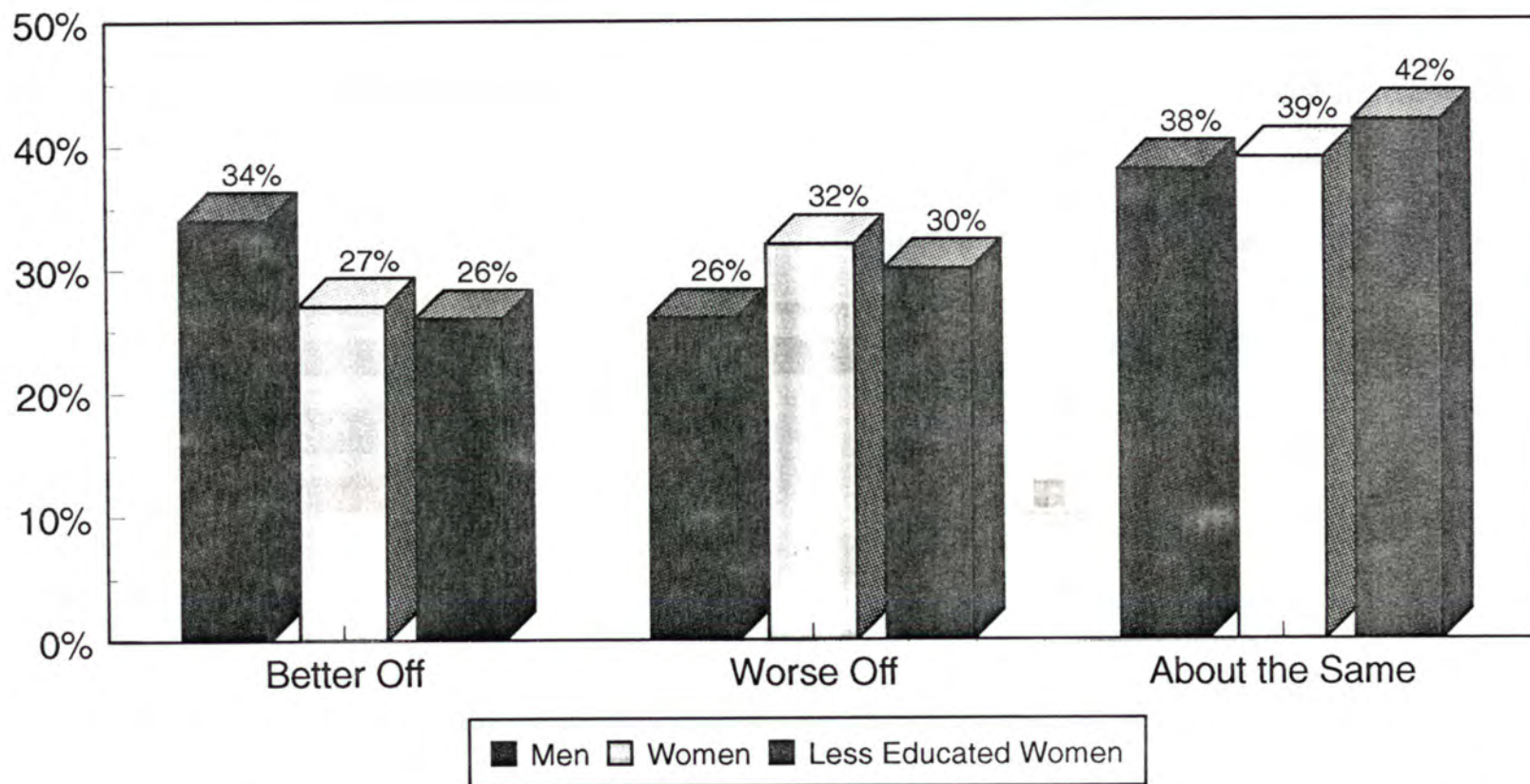
Voters Are Not Convinced That The Economy Is In Recovery

College Educated Women Are Most Pessimistic





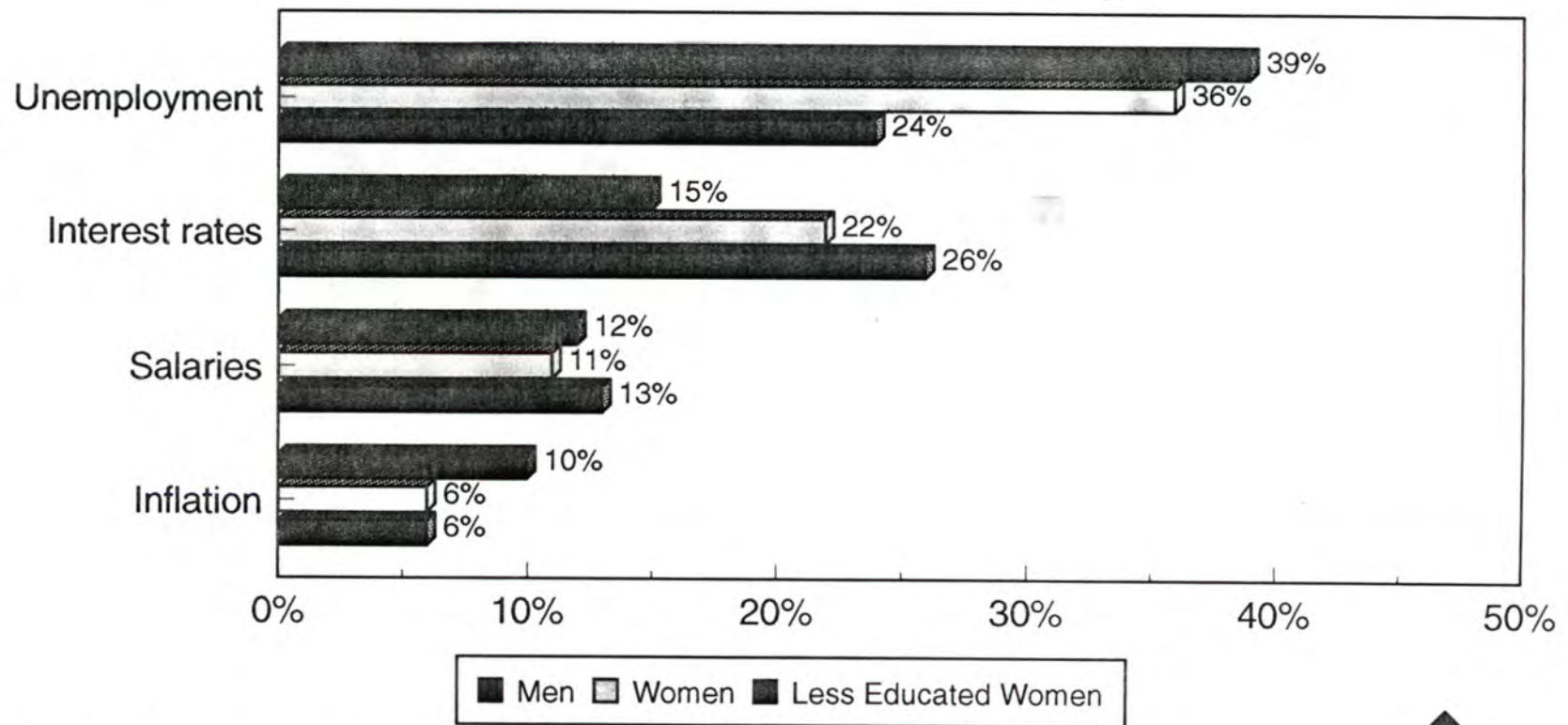
Compared to a Year Ago, Women Are More Likely to Believe They Are Financially Worse Off Than Are Men



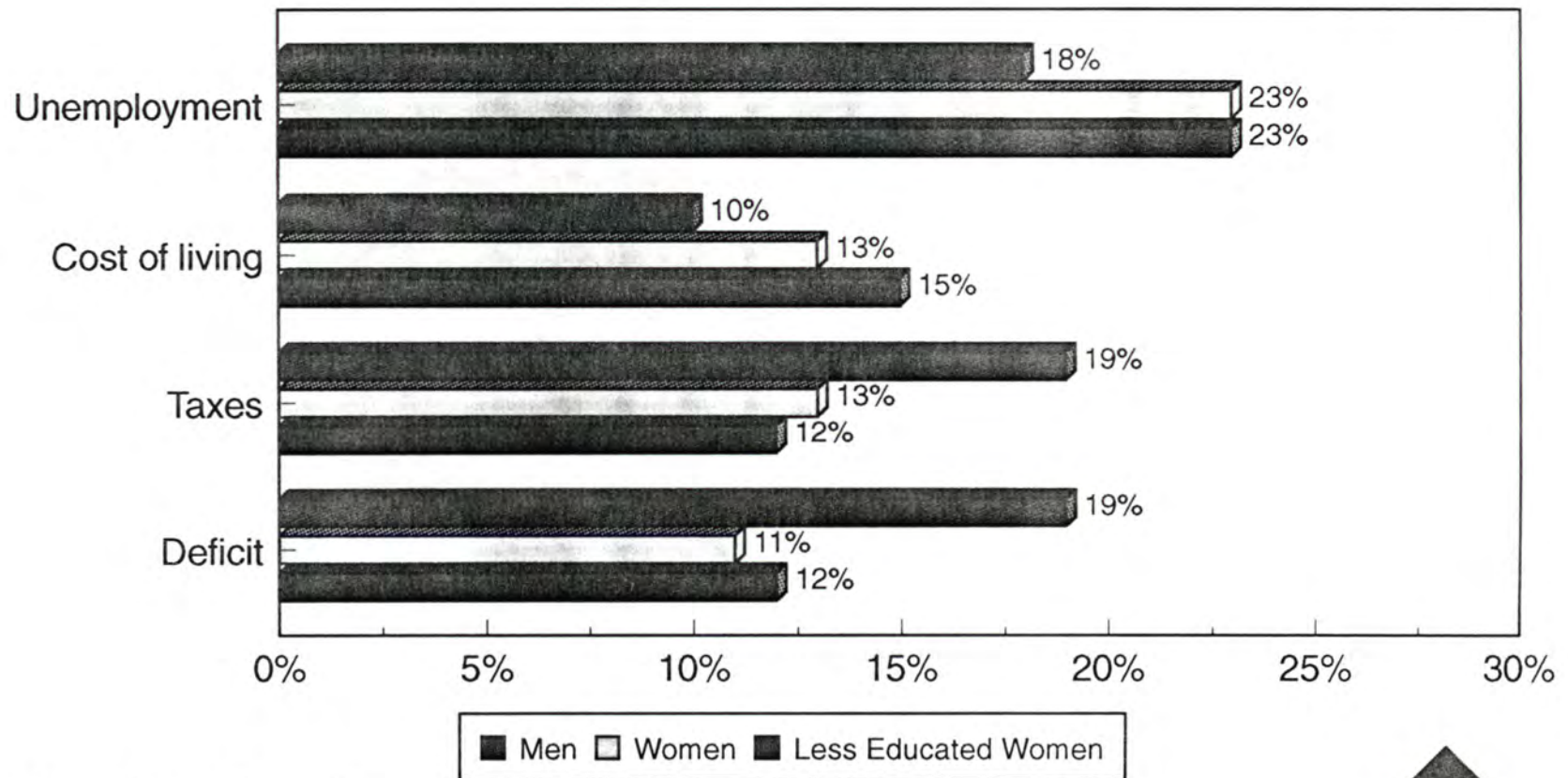


Women and Men Agree That The Unemployment Rate Is Better -- Less Educated Women Are Most Insecure About Jobs

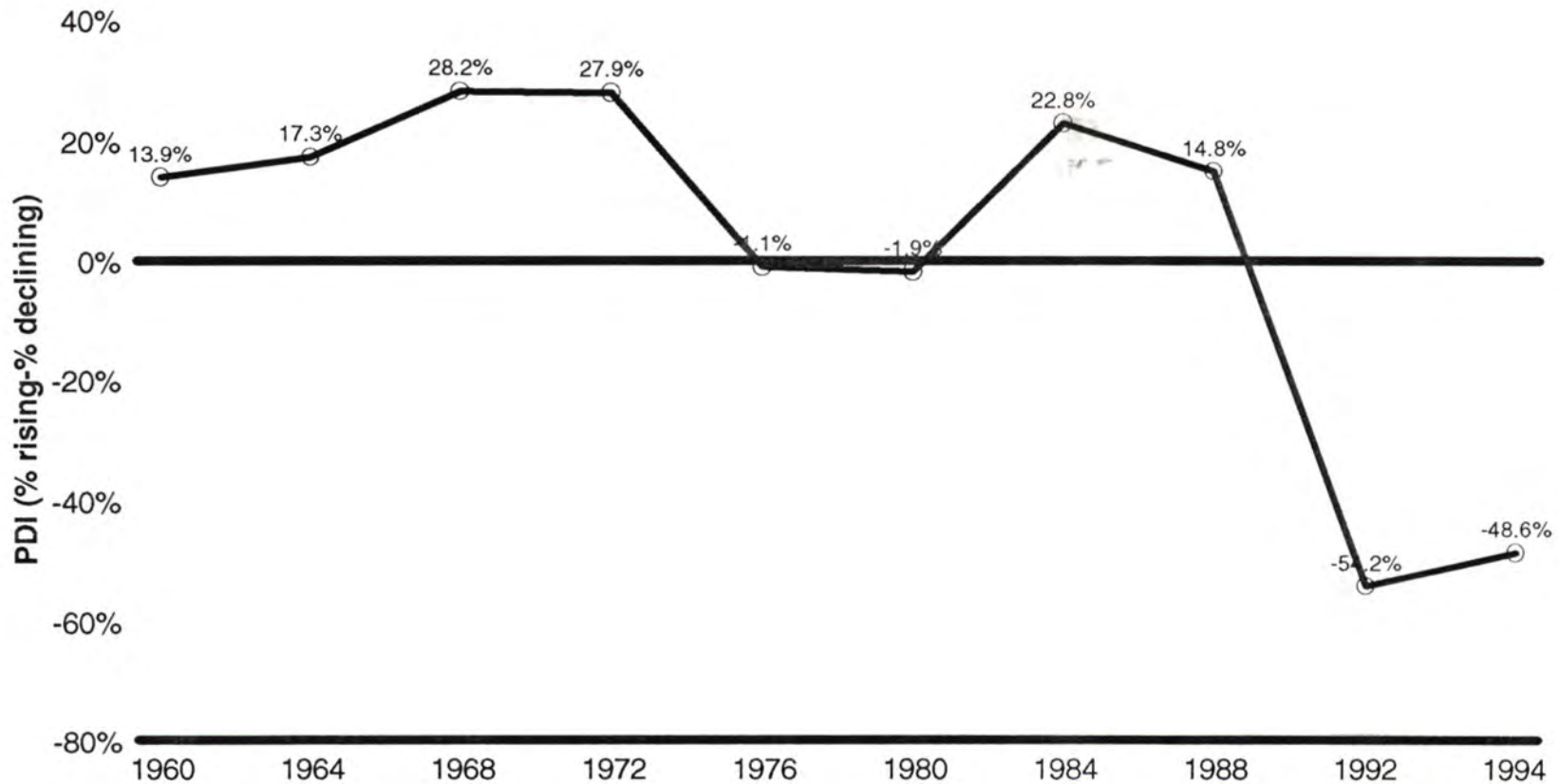
When you think about what is better about the economy, what comes to mind?

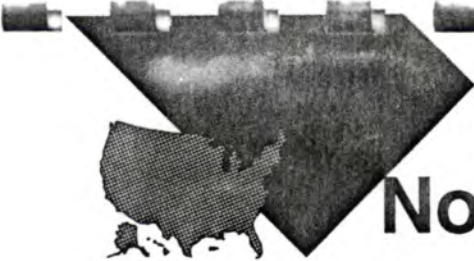


**Currently Women Are More Worried Than Men
That Unemployment and Cost of Living Are Not
Going Well For the Economy -- Men Worry More
About Taxes and the Deficit**



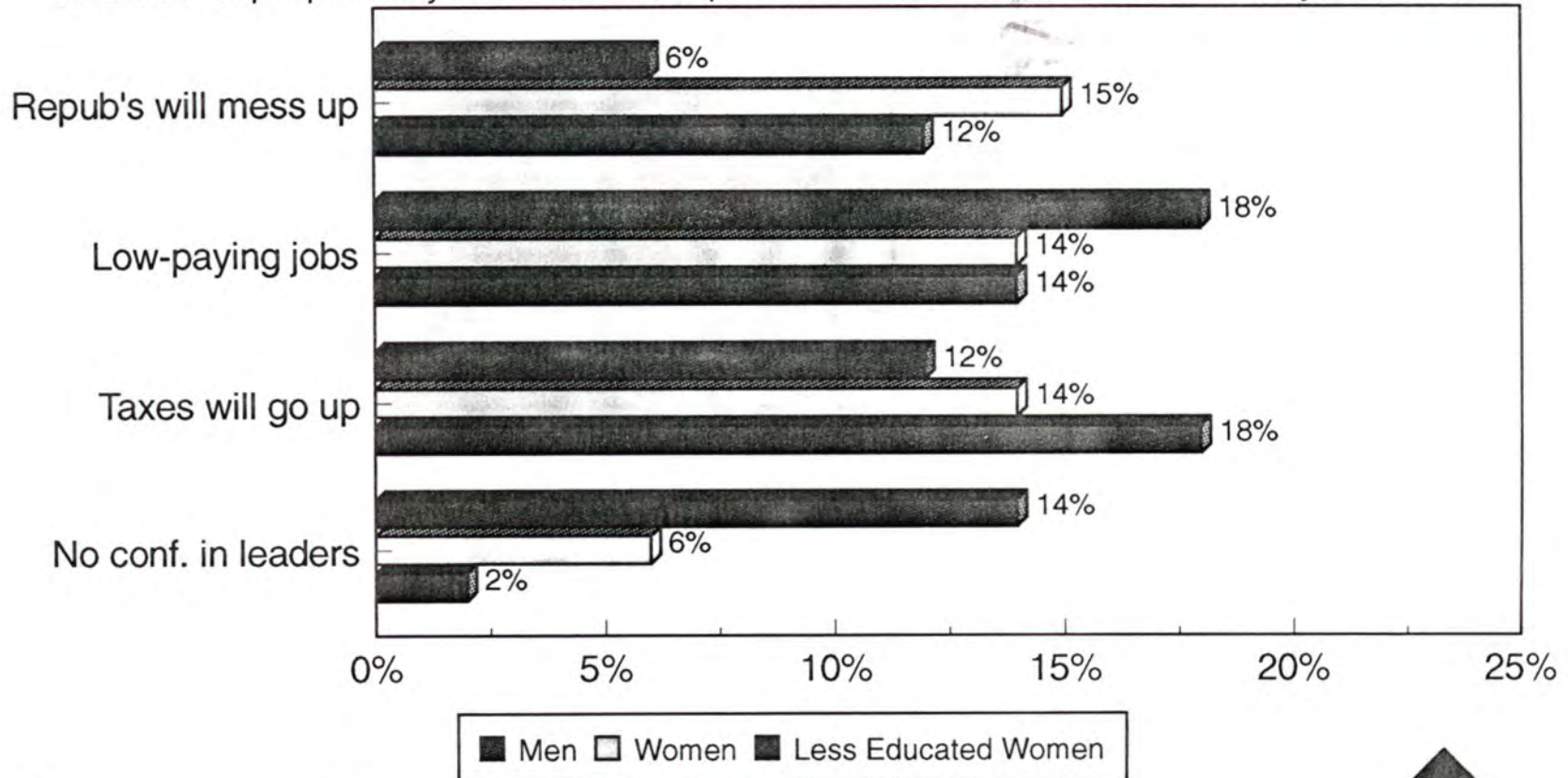
Voters Believe Their Incomes Are Declining



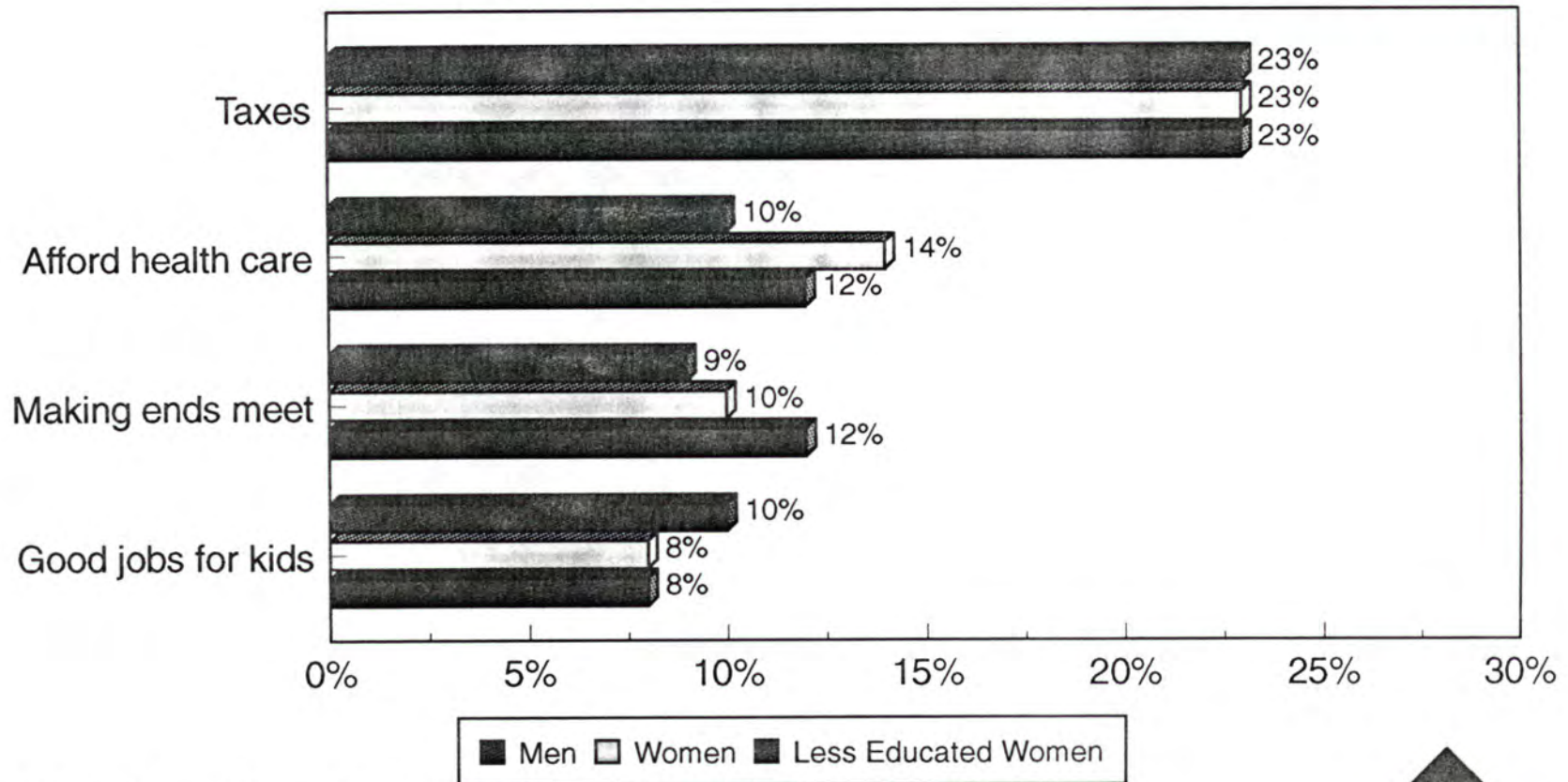


Non-College Educated Women Are Most Apt to Think Taxes Will Go Up -- Men That Jobs Pay Little and Have No Confidence in the Country's Leaders

A number of people worry that economic improvements will not last -- what worries you the most?

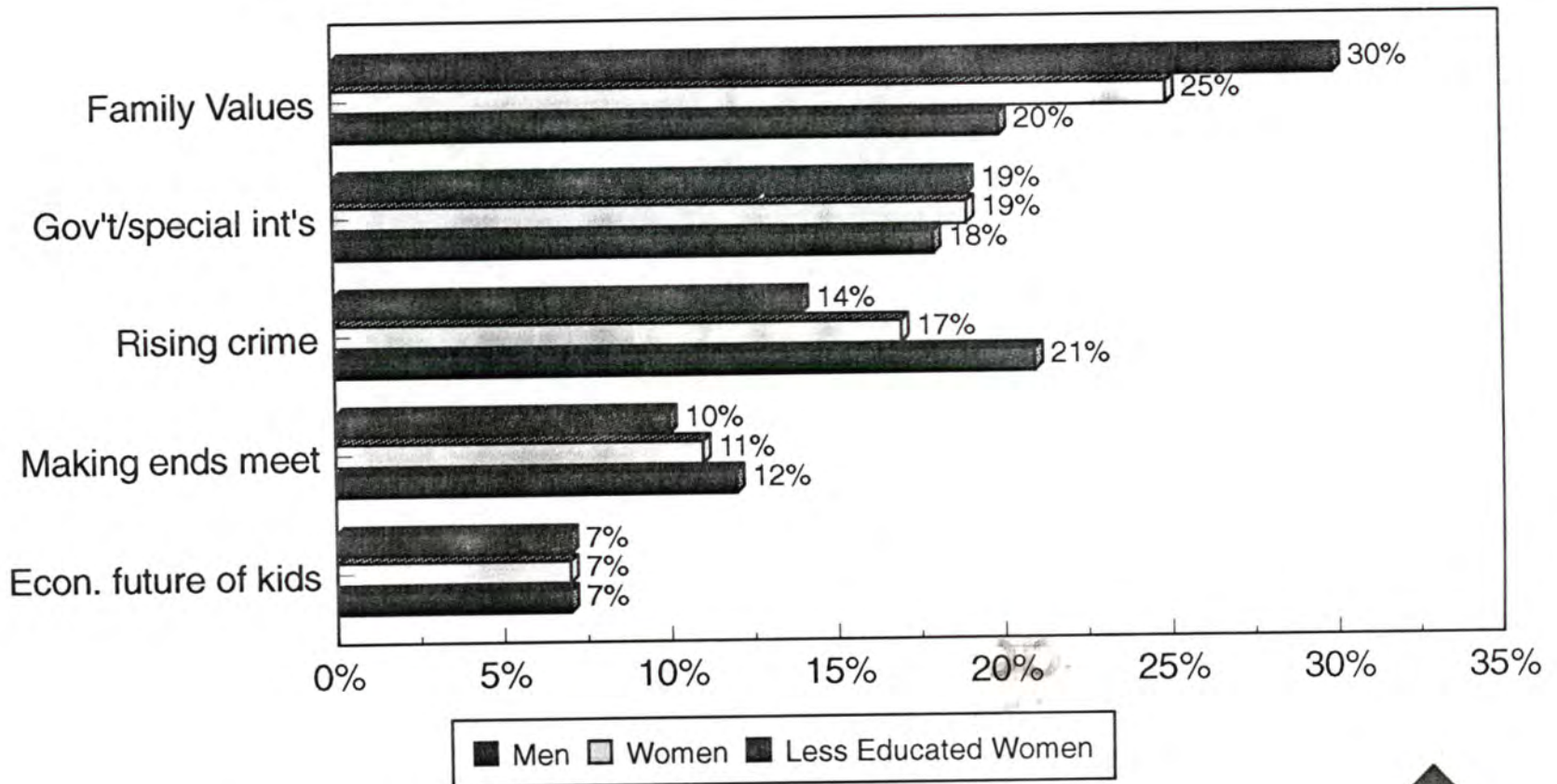


**Thinking About Future Pressure on
Families -- All Worry About Taxes, Making
Ends Meet, and Good Jobs; Women Worry
Slightly More About Health Care**





Men Are More Likely to Believe Family Values Is The Biggest Problem Facing the Middle Class -- Non-College Educated Women Are More Worried about Crime

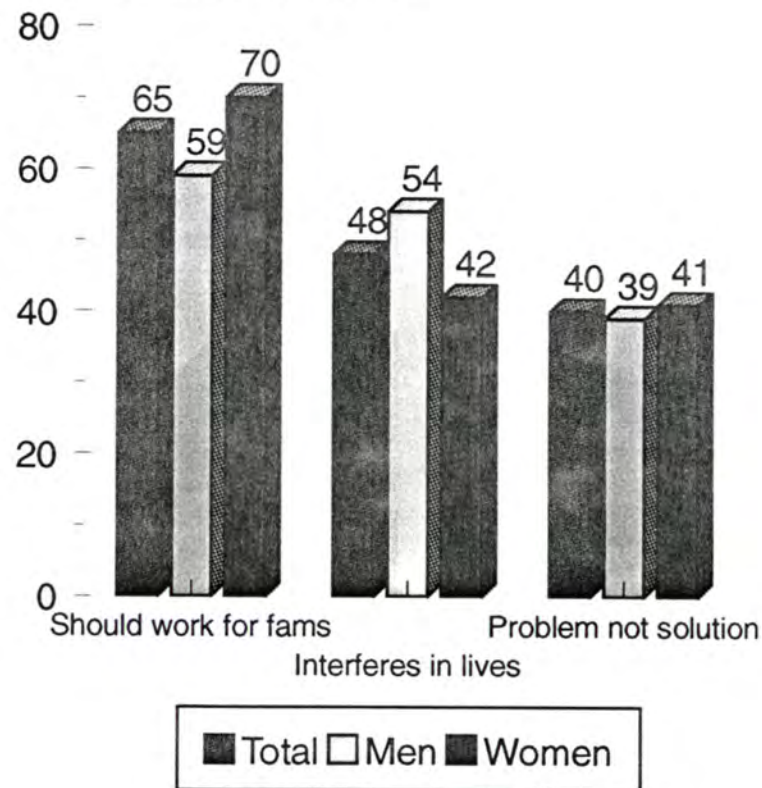




Voters Have Fundamental Doubts About Big Government

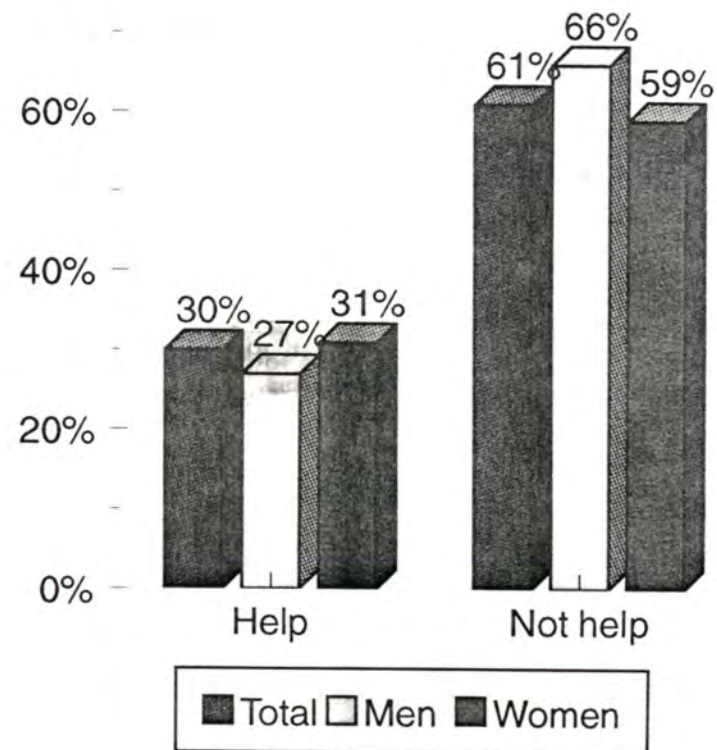
Government...

(agree minus disagree)



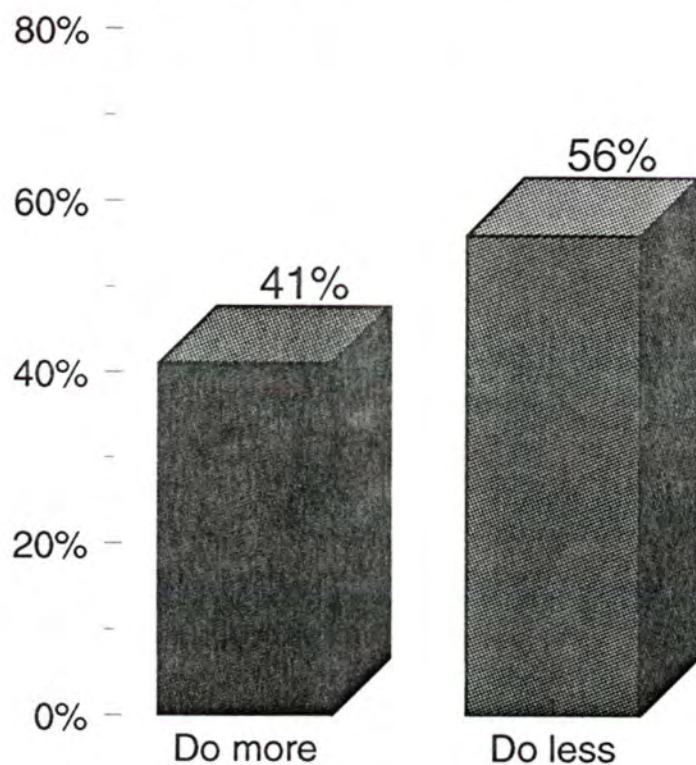
Should government do more to help families achieve the American Dream, or should government stay out of these issues and let people get ahead on their own?

80% -

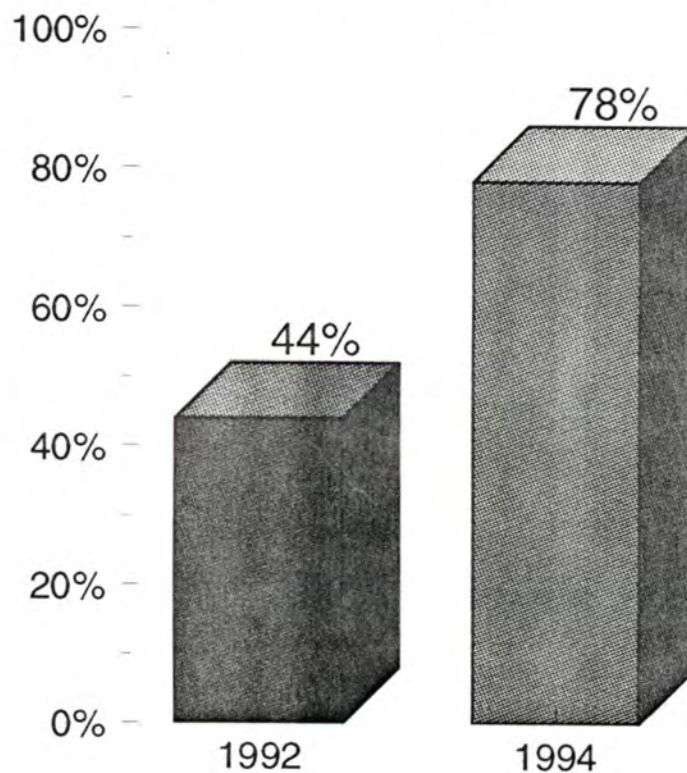


Voters Have Fundamental Doubts About Big Government

Government should...



Government is too intrusive



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NEWLY ELECTED

Zoe Lofgren For the U.S. Congress



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Zoe Lofgren, a longtime public servant and well-respected attorney in San Jose, is running to replace retiring Rep. Don Edwards in California's 16th congressional district. Lofgren has served as a Santa Clara County supervisor for the past 13 years. Her supervisory district contains approximately two-thirds of the population of the 16th congressional district. She's familiar with the challenges facing her community, including maintaining social programs in the face of budget cuts, making the streets safe and protecting children.

The daughter of a truck driver and a secretary, Lofgren attended Stanford University on scholarship and Santa Clara University law school. She began her career in politics working for the congressman she hopes to replace, focusing on the Equal Rights Amendment, the ERA extension and the impeachment inquiry. She was elected to the San Jose Community College District Board of Trustees in 1979 and has served San Jose in some capacity ever since.

Lofgren was the first executive director of Community Housing Developers, a nonprofit developer of low- to moderate-income housing, and a partner in a private law practice specializing in immigration law. In 1980, Lofgren was elected to the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors. She has been re-elected three times.

The Political Situation

The 16th district includes a large part of San Jose and some agricultural communities in the Santa Clara Valley. It's one of most Democratic districts in California, with large Hispanic and Asian-American communities.

Because the Democrats enjoy such a strong majority, this race will be won in the June 7 primary. A Democrat like Lofgren, who understands

the needs of this community, could keep this seat for a long time.

Lofgren's primary opponent is Tom McEnery, a real estate developer and former mayor of San Jose. McEnery is a proven politician with high name recognition and the ability to raise a lot of capital. No serious Republican candidate has filed for this seat.

Lofgren put together a superb organization in a short amount of time and can win if she raises enough money to compete with McEnery's well-oiled money machine. She will need \$500,000 to win the June primary and add another pro-choice woman's voice to the U.S. Congress.



The Issues

Lofgren has spent her professional life working toward viable solutions to the problems in her community. The issues now dominating the national debate -- health care, poverty, welfare reform, equal opportunities for women and the disenfranchised, and crime -- are the very issues she has worked to address in local government. As a member of Congress, Lofgren will emphasize programs to help families survive and prosper.

To stimulate domestic and international markets, Lofgren would open markets through free trade. She believes that consensus between labor and policymakers is necessary to ensure that local labor forces are not wholly undercut by developing labor forces abroad.

As a resident of California, where defense cuts have been especially hard on the economy, Lofgren advocates defense conversion that emphasizes domestic productivity, and would work to direct federal funds to California for this effort. Lofgren recommends encouraging investment through tax incentives for innovative industries like biotechnology, environmental engineering, high definition TV and communications.

Lofgren believes our federal budget priorities should be education and preventive care. "Every dollar spent on prenatal care and early childhood education will save four dollars down the road," says Lofgren, who also advocates drastic cuts in administrative costs and establishing outcome-based management in the federal government.

Lofgren favors a tax policy that ensures representation, fairness and participation. "It serves no equitable purpose to give big tax breaks to wealthy investors if they are not investing in ventures that meet national economic goals," says Lofgren, who thinks tax incentives should be treated as expenditures to be appropriated.

Lofgren supports a strong national defense policy that emphasizes asking our allies to do their part. "Too often, the United States is called upon to solve regional conflicts without the support of other nations," says Lofgren. "We must re evaluate this policy." Lofgren would fight to ensure that America does not compromise its commitment to preserving human rights.

Lofgren is a strong advocate for civil rights in America, especially policies guaranteeing parity in salary for women and men, and protecting the rights of gay and lesbian citizens. "Congress should subject itself to the same civil rights laws established for the rest of the country," says Lofgren.

Lofgren's educational priorities include federal funding for Head Start and the Women, Infants and Children nutrition program. To provide a safe, secure school environment, Lofgren recommends

expanding after school programs and school-based services. "In Santa Clara County, we have shown the effectiveness of locating family support services at or near schools," she says. "I support expanding these efforts, in which teachers, government and nonprofits cooperate to deliver services to the whole community."

To deal with our nation's crime problem, Lofgren would strengthen the ability of local municipalities to fight crime. Lofgren also recommends a policy of early intervention, to prevent children from turning to crime later in life. "A society that is safe for our children is safe for us all," she says.

Lofgren supports comprehensive health care coverage for all Americans. "Health care now is rationed without a rationale," she says. "Poor people, especially children of the working poor, lack even basic preventive care." National health care reform should cover mental health, addiction treatment programs and preventive care, according to Lofgren.

As a working mother, Lofgren was happy to see family and medical leave become the law of the land. Lofgren advocates providing more support to working families to help them raise healthy, productive children.

A staunch supporter of choice, Lofgren helped adopt a successful ordinance in Santa Clara County to protect clinic staff from anti-abortion demonstrators seeking to shut clinics down. Lofgren firmly believes in providing federal and state funding for poor women who seek abortions. Lofgren would fight to ensure that abortion is covered in any basic health care package. ■

April 1994

Federal law permits individual contributions up to \$1,000 for the primary and \$1,000 for the general election.

To support Zoe Lofgren, please make your check payable to:

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and mail to:

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Clara Valley. It's one of most Democratic districts in California, with large Hispanic and Asian-American communities.

Because the Democrats enjoy such a strong majority, this race will be won in the June 7 primary. A Democrat like Lofgren, who understands



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Sheila Jackson Lee For the U.S. Congress

Sheila Jackson Lee, fueled by widespread community support, became the first 1994 candidate to win a Democratic primary, when she unseated the incumbent with two-thirds of the vote. The seat once held by Barbara Jordan has high Democratic registration and Lee's momentum places her in an extremely strong position to win the general election.

Her primary victory was a major triumph. On March 8, she did what many political pundits thought was impossible: unseated incumbent Craig Washington. Frustrated by Washington's abysmal record of missed House votes — the lowest attendance record in the Texas delegation last year — Lee promised constituents "representation you can be proud of."

A Yale-educated attorney and former associate judge in the municipal court for the City of Houston, Lee became one of the first African-American women to serve on the Houston City Council in 1990. A passionate proponent for women and children's rights, Lee has helped pass city ordinances that safeguard the community, including the gun safety and responsibility ordinance which resulted in a 50 percent decrease in accidental shootings of children.

Lee serves on 11 city council committees, including fiscal affairs, aviation, and redevelopment and revitalization. A proven consensus-builder, she was appointed by the mayor to chair the council's committee on human relations. The committee was charged with revising the city council structure to include the many social and ethnic groups that make up Houston.

The Political Situation

After reapportionment in 1990, the population in the 18th congressional district became 11 percent

African-American and 15 percent Hispanic, and is one of the most Democratic districts in the state. The district comprises downtown Houston, two airports and a handful of suburbs. The effects of the oil bust of the mid-1980s are evident in many parts of this district which have been deserted and are suffering from urban blight.

In the general election, Lee will face a conservative African-American Republican man who has no experience in local government. With her forthright and fiery oratory, Lee is well positioned to win this seat and bring the voice of another strong, pro-choice Democratic woman to the U.S. Congress. In order to solidify this win and deliver her message of accessibility, responsibility and creative



secure school environment, Lofgren recommends

and some agricultural communities in the Santa Clara Valley. It's one of most Democratic districts in California, with large Hispanic and Asian-American communities.

Because the Democrats enjoy such a strong majority, this race will be won in the June 7 primary. A Democrat like Lofgren, who understands



leadership in government, Lee needs to raise \$450,000 for the general election.

The Issues

Lee believes Congress has an obligation to fix problems. She further believes that government should be close to the people and be a catalyst for positive change. She will focus on health care; developing welfare reform that provides health and child care along with marketable work skills; and develop domestic energy and economic development policies to aid depressed areas.

Lee supports reasonable trade agreements that aid U.S. exports. However, such trade agreements must ensure complete job-training programs and environmental protection measures. Lee believes it is imperative to negotiate an equitable trade balance with our present trading partners. She supports incentives to recapture lost manufacturing jobs.

Lee's budget priorities include streamlining government and eliminating waste through cost-containment and consolidation of governmental responsibilities. However, it is important to Lee that these savings not be at the expense of women, children, families and the elderly living in poverty.

Lee supports a tax policy that helps, rather than hinders, delivery of services. The working poor should be encouraged to continue working through expansion of the earned income tax credit. Taxes on corporations should be balanced with the need to create jobs.

Lee believes in maintaining a well-trained military with access to superior technology, and that the U.S. should foster joint operations with world forces such as the United Nations. Our nation's armed forces should be realistically downsized so that the peace dividend can be used to enhance our domestic needs.

International issues dealing specifically with human rights, the rights of women and ethnic groups in foreign countries should receive appropriate attention by our foreign policy initiatives, Lee believes. She would support policies that first monitor, and then penalize nations for international human rights violations.

"Federal civil rights legislation sets the tone of equality for the nation," says Lee, who fully supports a stronger, more aggressive Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to remedy workplace discrimination.

Full funding of Head Start and increased support of school lunch programs is essential to improving the quality and availability of education. "Hungry children have never learned well!" says Lee, who will fight to invest federal funds in preventative measures like increased educational funding for high schools to prepare non-college bound

students for work. Education funding to assist special needs students should be maintained, and anti-violence programs in schools should be funded, along with increasing funding of Pell grants.

On crime, Lee encourages reasonable regulation of gun ownership. She supports the Brady Law, the ban on assault weapons and other measures that balance enhanced penalties for some crimes with preventative crime and anti-violence dispute resolution programs for juveniles. Further, Lee hopes to take her local fight against domestic violence to the national level, promoting more effective federal legislation to increase prosecutorial options.

Lee believes the country is long overdue in addressing universal health care for all citizens. Implementation of low-cost, accessible and manageable universal health care is a priority. Special emphasis on the cure and treatment of diseases affecting women and preventative health care for children is needed. Cost-containment of prescription drugs, which is of particular interest to seniors, must be included in national health care reform. Lee is also concerned that health care reform is fair to small businesses.

A working mother with first-hand experience balancing career and family, Lee advocates funding for on-site after-school programs to provide working parents with accessible day care and reduce the number of latch-key children. Lee supports retraining for displaced homemakers and other family members with children who are trying to reestablish themselves in the workplace.

A strong supporter of women's rights, Lee fervently believes in a woman's right to choose. She will continue to fight for funding for domestic violence units in police departments. As a member of many women's organizations, she consistently speaks out for efforts to support vital services to help abused women and to expand social and economic opportunities for women. ■

July 1994

Federal law permits individual contributions up to \$1,000 for the primary and \$1,000 for the general election.

To support Sheila Jackson Lee, please make your check payable to:

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Karen McCarthy For the U.S. Congress

State Rep. Karen McCarthy knows how to get things done in the world of Missouri politics. In 1976, McCarthy was the youngest woman ever elected to the Missouri General Assembly. Chair of the powerful Ways and Means committee, she has garnered national attention for her skills; McCarthy recently was elected the first woman president of the National Conference of State Legislatures. Now McCarthy wants to take this political expertise to Washington as the first woman member of Congress from Missouri's 5th district, an open seat.

McCarthy's activism stems from her college years, when Robert F. Kennedy visited her college campus, a visit which inspired McCarthy to become involved in public service. She has used her work as a teacher, economic analyst and legislator to make public policy work for Missouri's families. "I recognized early on," says McCarthy, "that a desire to change peoples' lives cannot yield results without a commitment of time, energy and resources by progressive individuals."

The Political Situation

The fifth district, which includes most of Kansas City and its eastern suburbs, is reliably Democratic; this race will most likely be decided in the primary.

McCarthy's political base will serve her well in a crowded primary field. Eleven Democrats have filed for the seat; serious candidates include anti-choice state Rep. Carole Roper Park, businessman Edward "Gomer" Moody, attorney Myron Sildon, and state Rep. Jackie McGee. Park, who has a large trust fund, is already on cable TV with biographical ads. Moody was the Republican nominee against Wheat in 1992, but will run as a Democrat this year. Sildon helped found Kansas City Consensus, a civic group, and is positioning

himself as the outsider in the race. McGee has been wrestling with tax problems that could prevent her from mounting a serious bid for this seat.

Three Republicans -- Ron Freeman, John Osgood and Larry Fournier -- have stepped up to run for their party's nomination; however, chances are slim that a Republican could win in this district.

McCarthy can win this primary if she mobilizes her base and raises enough money to tell voters about her legislative achievements. She has a strong campaign organization, including a steering committee comprising members of the labor, environmental and business communities. McCarthy must raise \$350,000 to win the August 2 primary and hold on to this seat for pro-choice Democrats.



The Issues

McCarthy will emphasize responsible economic and environmental planning, public safety and education in her campaign. McCarthy recommends a trade policy that opens doors for American products abroad while still protecting American workers and American jobs. She believes we must better train our workforce if we are to strengthen our economy. "Where jobs are lost," says McCarthy, "we must offer job training for displaced workers and fiscal policies that create new jobs."

To deal with the federal deficit, McCarthy believes we must set firm spending priorities and stop funding programs that do not work or have outlived their usefulness. She supports taking advantage of peacetime dividends by reallocating defense dollars toward economic development, education and deficit reduction.

McCarthy thinks our nation's tax policy is neither fair nor efficient; to make it so, she recommends eliminating onerous taxes on those who can least afford it: retirees on fixed incomes and the working poor. At the state level, McCarthy has fought to protect the middle class from undue tax burdens; to generate new revenue, McCarthy sought to increase compliance by simplifying tax laws and making collection more efficient.

McCarthy gained considerable foreign policy experience through her participation in National Democratic Institute programs in Hungary, the Baltic Republics and Northern Ireland. "As the primary force of democracy and economic progress," says McCarthy, "the United States must use its influence on secondary powers to deal with nationalistic conflicts." McCarthy advocates encouraging NATO and our European allies to assume more responsibility in the former Yugoslavia. She also supports continuing aid to Israel and other efforts to promote peace in the Middle East.

McCarthy supports strict enforcement of the civil rights laws already on the books. She supports the Americans With Disabilities Act and will co-sponsor the Women's Economic Equity Act as a member of Congress.

McCarthy led the fight to enact and fund the Missouri Excellence in Education Act, which ensures full funding for Missouri schools. She supports public-private partnerships to guarantee that children receive a quality education. McCarthy also supports federal funding for local programs that provide technology in the classroom, allow teenage mothers to finish their education.

The first step to fighting crime, according to McCarthy, is to keep guns off our streets. "It's time to stop allowing the NRA to dictate America's gun laws," she says. McCarthy supports licensed hunters and would fight to protect their rights. She has

been a leader in the fight to strengthen penalties for rape, including changing state statutes which did not recognize marital rape as a crime.

McCarthy took on the special interests in Missouri's health care battle, steering the governor's health care package through the House and around the lobbyists who wanted to exclude pre-existing condition clauses and cost controls. She supports universal coverage and inclusion of reproductive services in any basic health care package.

To help America's working families, McCarthy will fight for pay equity for working mothers and other family-friendly policies. She fully supported the Family and Medical Leave Act. To reduce welfare dependency in Missouri, McCarthy worked for passage of a program to help individuals regain their independence through training, tax credits and day care assistance. She will continue to fight for similar reforms at the national level.

McCarthy helped produce a highly acclaimed study that is now guiding state and local agencies in Missouri to develop sound environmental policy. In Congress, she will work to ensure that federal mandates are funded so that they can be carried out locally. McCarthy was named Conservation Legislator of the Year for her effort to convert abandoned rail lines into recreational trails.

In Missouri, which has received national attention for its restrictive abortion laws, McCarthy's is a clear voice for choice in a crowd of anti-choice policymakers. She has consistently encouraged waffling colleagues to vote pro choice and thwarted attempts to restrict a woman's right to choose. McCarthy supports federal and state funding for poor women who seek abortions. ■

May 1994

Federal law permits individual contributions of up to \$1,000 for the primary and \$1,000 for the general election.

To support Karen McCarthy, please make your checks payable to:

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Lynn Rivers For the U.S. Congress



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Michigan state Rep. Lynn Rivers has won with overwhelming majorities as a candidate for the legislature and as a member and president of the Ann Arbor school board. Now she is running for an open congressional seat in Michigan's 13th district. She faces two men in this congressional primary: one an entrenched Washington insider, the other an attorney with no elected experience.

Rivers is a strong, progressive leader with a compelling biography. Pregnant at age 18, she married right after high school graduation and soon had a second child. She and her husband, Joe, a member of the United Auto Workers, persevered through a troubled economy while Rivers worked her way through college and law school.

In 1984, while completing her undergraduate studies at the University of Michigan, Rivers won a seat on the Ann Arbor school board. She served on the board for nearly nine years, including three terms as president. In 1992, the same year she received her law degree, Rivers won her seat in the legislature in a landslide victory. She is a popular and accessible legislator with strong ties to education, labor and women's groups.

Because of her experience as a teenage mother, Rivers is firmly committed to preserving a woman's legal right to reproductive freedom. "Only someone who has been there can understand how precious are the liberties at stake here," wrote Rivers in a letter to supporters. "Only the woman herself can determine whether she can accept [the] consequences, and only she should make that decision."

The Political Situation

Rep. Bill Ford has represented the 13th district for 30 years. After years of safety in this Democratic district, Ford won in 1992 with just 52 percent of

the vote. Ford's weakened position is attributable in part to redistricting, which has left neither Democrats nor Republicans with a strong majority.

Rivers' base in Ann Arbor will help her in this race. Site of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor has been a Democratic stronghold for the past 20 years. The 13th district is also home to working-class residents with strong ties to labor. Rivers' family affiliation with the United Auto Workers and her strong record on labor and governmental reforms will enhance her appeal to these voters.

Rivers' primary opponents are David Geiss, Ford's chief of staff, and Fulton Eaglin, an Ypsilanti attorney. Geiss, a Washington insider, has little name recognition and no real electoral base in



the district. However, he can count on raising money from the special interests in Washington eager to support Ford's protege. In fact, big labor has already endorsed Geiss and will pour money into his race. Current polls show Rivers can beat these men if she has the resources to communicate her personal story and message of responsible, activist government to the voters.

Four Republicans, including two party insiders, are running for their party's nomination. Labor consultant John Schall, who is anti-choice, worked for the Reagan and Bush administrations, and Cynthia Hudgins Wilbanks was an aide to former Republican Rep. Carl Purrell. Other Republicans are Dennis Fassett of Belleville and Glen Kassel of Wayne.

Rivers will need to complement her grassroots campaign with strong media in the Detroit market, one of the most expensive in the country. She must raise \$300,000 for the primary to compete with Geiss's well funded efforts. To win the general election and hold on to this seat for the Democrats, Rivers will need \$750,000.

The Issues

Rivers' policy agenda has been indelibly shaped by her commitment to her family and to her working-class roots. "My husband and I understand the problems that face young families because we have dealt with the same issues," says Rivers. "We know what it's like to go without adequate health insurance, to struggle with low-wage jobs and no salable skills, and to forgo the purchase of a home because of the lack of affordable housing." As a member of Congress, Rivers will focus on education, job training and development, health care, child care, and programs that will improve the lives of working families in the 13th district.

Rivers believes we can best stimulate our economy by investing in vocational and school-to-work opportunities to help students find jobs in a changing global economy. Rivers supports public-private partnerships to create high-wage, high-skill jobs to replace those being lost in manufacturing.

To reduce the federal deficit, Rivers would cut spending and revise budget priorities to emphasize job creation, education and health care. "Successful programs in these areas will ultimately reduce spending on social services and criminal justice," says Rivers, who also supports diverting dollars from defense to debt reduction now that the Cold War has ended.

Rivers advocates a defense policy that is in tune with the world as it exists now. "Countries that threaten world peace today are considerably less able than was the Soviet Union to invest in offensive weapons," Rivers points out. "We do not need to outspend them by 10 and 20 times in order

to be able to respond in a crisis."

"Congress should clarify and codify civil rights laws so that the protections, prohibitions and sanctions are clear to the average American," Rivers says. "And speaking of Congress -- these same laws should apply to its members," who are currently exempt. Rivers supports adding sexual orientation to the Civil Rights and Fair Housing acts, and protecting reproductive freedom as detailed in *Roe v. Wade*.

To deal with America's alarming crime problems, Rivers supports truth in sentencing and enhanced penalties for crimes committed with guns. Rivers also favors community policing, drug use prevention, job development and adequate mental health programs.

Rivers does not believe we have to choose between our country's environmental and economic future. "We must value and invest in both," she says, "if we expect to leave a world worth living in to our children." Decreasing consumption, increasing recycling, and stabilizing world population through family planning will help preserve our environment for future generations.

America's health care system must be 100 percent affordable, 100 percent accessible, and include services for rural and urban residents. Rivers advocates strengthening educational and preventative health programs, and supports coverage of reproductive services in any national health care plan.

To help families juggle home and professional responsibilities, Rivers favors expanding availability of child care. "Schools should be encouraged to offer stable, developmentally appropriate before- and after-school care programs for working families," says Rivers, who enacted successful school-based care programs in Ann Arbor. ■

May 1994

Federal law permits individual contributions of up to \$1,000 for the primary and \$1,000 for the general election.

To support Lynn Rivers, please make your checks payable to:

Rivers for Congress

and mail to:

EMILY's List
1112 16th Street, NW
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Washington, DC 20036

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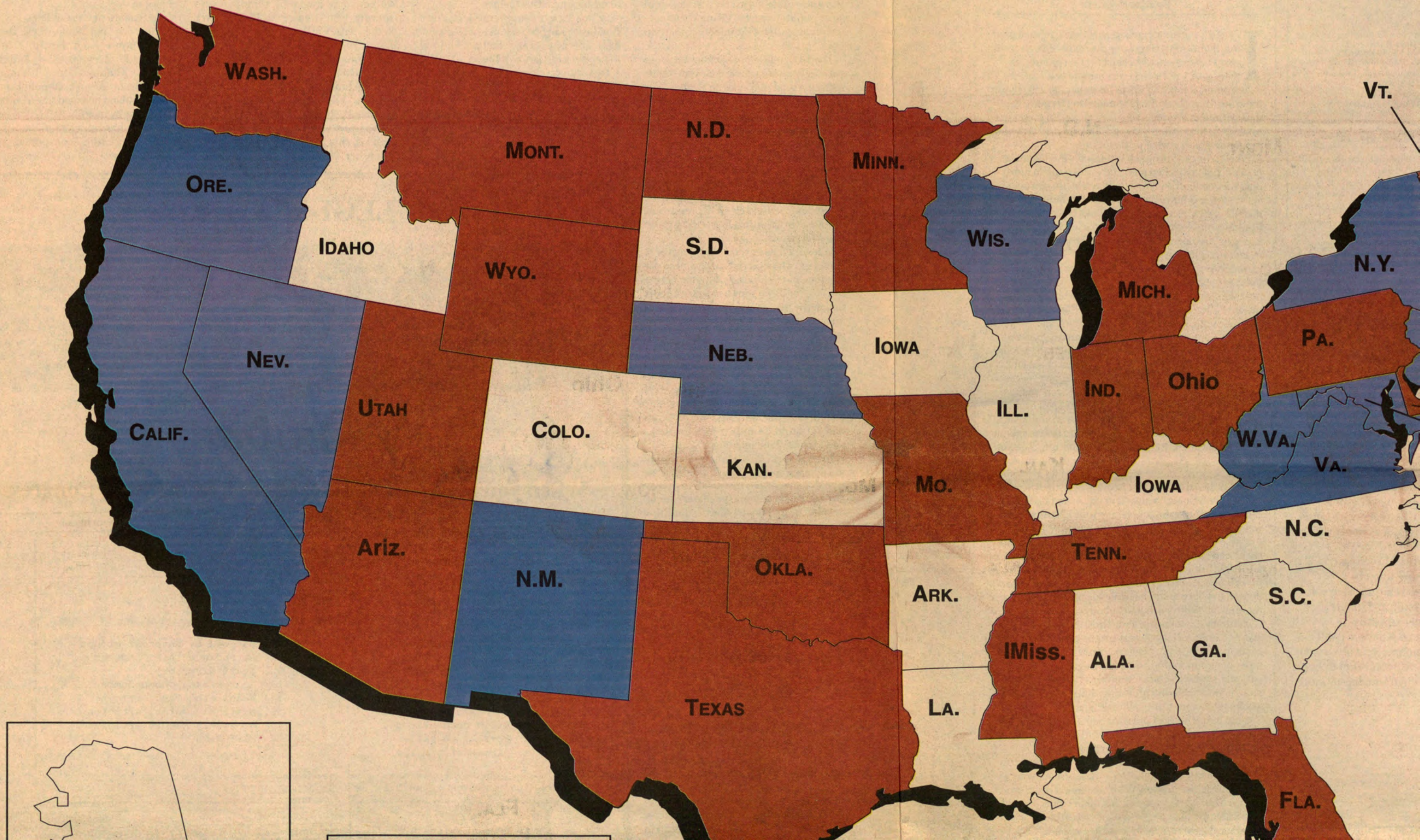
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1995 Master List - Members of the 104th
Congress, First Session

(Poster)

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Members of the 104th Congress, First Session — Governors, Supreme Court, Cabinet-Rank

Representatives

R 230; D 204; I 1

— A —

Abercrombie, Neil, D-Hawaii (1)
Ackerman, Gary L., D-N.Y. (5)
Allard, Wayne, R-Colo. (4)
Andrews, Robert E., D-N.J. (1)
Archer, Bill, R-Texas (7)
Armey, Dick, R-Texas (26)

— B —

Bachus, Spencer, R-Ala. (6)
Baesler, Scotty, D-Ky. (6)
Baker, Bill, R-Calif. (10)
Baker, Richard H., R-La. (6)
Baldacci, John, D-Maine (2)
Ballenger, Cass, R-N.C. (10)
Barcia, James A., D-Mich. (5)
Barr, Bob, R-Ga. (7)
Barrett, Bill, R-Neb. (3)
Barrett, Thomas M., D-Wis. (5)
Bartlett, Roscoe G., R-Md. (6)
Barton, Joe L., R-Texas (6)
Bass, Charles, R-N.H. (2)
Bateman, Herbert H., R-Va. (1)
Becerra, Xavier, D-Calif. (30)
Beilenson, Anthony C., D-Calif. (24)
Bentsen, Ken, D-Texas (25)
Bereuter, Doug, R-Neb. (1)
Berman, Howard L., D-Calif. (26)
Bevill, Tom, D-Ala. (4)
Bilbray, Brian P., R-Calif. (49)
Bilirakis, Michael, R-Fla. (9)
Bishop, Sanford D. Jr., D-Ga. (2)
Bliley, Thomas J. Jr., R-Va. (7)
Blute, Peter I., R-Mass. (3)
Boehlert, Sherwood, R-N.Y. (23)
Boehner, John A., R-Ohio (8)
Bonilla, Henry, R-Texas (23)
Bonior, David E., D-Mich. (10)
Bono, Sonny, R-Calif. (44)
Borski, Robert A., D-Pa. (3)
Boucher, Rick, D-Va. (9)
Brewster, Bill, D-Okla. (3)
Browder, Glen, D-Ala. (3)
Brown, Corrine, D-Fla. (3)
Brown, George E. Jr., D-Calif. (42)
Brown, Sherrod, D-Ohio (13)
Brownback, Sam, R-Kan. (2)
Bryant, Ed, R-Tenn. (7)
Bryant, John, D-Texas (5)
Bunn, Jim, R-Ore. (5)
Bunning, Jim, R-Ky. (4)
Burr, Richard M., R-N.C. (5)
Burton, Dan, R-Ind. (6)
Buyer, Steve, R-Ind. (5)

— C —

Callahan, Sonny, R-Ala. (1)
Calvert, Ken, R-Calif. (43)
Camp, Dave, R-Mich. (4)
Canady, Charles T., R-Fla. (12)
Cardin, Benjamin L., D-Md. (3)
Castle, Michael N., R-Del. (AL)
Chabot, Steve, R-Ohio (1)
Chambliss, Saxby, R-Ga. (8)
Chapman, Jim, D-Texas (1)
Chenoweth, Helen, R-Idaho (1)
Christensen, Jon, R-Neb. (2)
Chrysler, Dick, R-Mich. (8)
Clay, William L., D-Mo. (1)

Cooley, Wes, R-Ore. (2)
Costello, Jerry F., D-Ill. (12)
Cox, Christopher, R-Calif. (47)
Coyne, William J., D-Pa. (14)
Cramer, Robert E., "Bud," D-Ala. (5)
Crane, Philip M., R-Ill. (8)
Crapo, Michael D., R-Idaho (2)
Cremins, Frank A., R-Ohio (6)
Cubin, Barbara, R-Wyo. (AL)
Cunningham, Randy "Duke," R-Calif. (51)

— D —

Danner, Pat, D-Mo. (6)
Davis, Thomas M. III, R-Va. (11)
de la Garza, E., "Kika," D-Texas (15)
Deal, Nathan, D-Ga. (9)
DeFazio, Peter A., D-Ore. (4)
DeLauro, Rosa, D-Conn. (3)
DeLay, Tom, R-Texas (22)
Dellums, Ronald V., D-Calif. (9)
Deutsch, Peter, D-Fla. (20)
Diaz-Balart, Lincoln, R-Fla. (21)
Dickey, Jay, R-Ark. (4)
Dicks, Norm, D-Wash. (6)
Dingell, John D., D-Mich. (16)
Dixon, Julian C., D-Calif. (32)
Doggett, Lloyd, D-Texas (10)
Dooley, Cal, D-Calif. (20)
Doolittle, John T., R-Calif. (4)
Dornan, Robert K., R-Calif. (46)
Doyle, Mike, D-Pa. (18)
Dreier, David, R-Calif. (28)
Duncan, John J., "Jimmy" Jr., R-Tenn. (2)
Dunn, Jennifer, R-Wash. (8)
Durbin, Richard J., D-Ill. (20)

— E —

Edwards, Chet, D-Texas (11)
Ehlers, Vernon J., R-Mich. (3)
Ehrlich, Robert L. Jr., R-Md. (2)
Emerson, Bill, R-Mo. (8)
Engel, Eliot L., D-N.Y. (17)
English, Phil, R-Pa. (21)
Ensign, John, R-Nev. (1)
Eshoo, Anna G., D-Calif. (14)
Evans, Lane, D-Ill. (17)
Everett, Terry, R-Ala. (2)
Ewing, Thomas W., R-Ill. (15)

— F —

Farr, Sam, D-Calif. (17)
Fattah, Chaka, D-Pa. (2)
Fawell, Harris W., R-Ill. (13)
Fazio, Vic, D-Calif. (3)
Fields, Cleo, D-La. (4)
Fields, Jack, R-Texas (8)
Filner, Bob, D-Calif. (50)
Flake, Floyd H., D-N.Y. (6)
Flanagan, Michael Patrick, R-Ill. (5)
Foglietta, Thomas M., D-Pa. (1)
Foley, Mark, R-Fla. (16)
Forbes, Michael P., R-N.Y. (1)
Ford, Harold E., D-Tenn. (9)
Fowler, Tillie, R-Fla. (4)
Fox, Jon D., R-Pa. (13)
Frank, Barney, D-Mass. (4)
Franks, Bob, R-N.J. (7)
Franks, Gary A., R-Conn. (5)
Frelinghuysen, Rodney, R-N.J. (11)
Frisa, Daniel, R-N.Y. (4)
Frost, Martin, D-Texas (24)
Funderburk, David, R-N.C. (2)
Furse, Elizabeth, D-Ore. (1)

— G —

Goodlatte, Robert W., R-Va. (6)
Goodling, Bill, R-Pa. (19)
Gordon, Bart, D-Tenn. (6)
Goss, Porter J., R-Fla. (14)
Graham, Lindsey, R-S.C. (3)
Green, Gene, D-Texas (29)
Greenwood, James C., R-Pa. (8)
Gunderson, Steve, R-Wis. (3)
Gutierrez, Luis V., D-Ill. (4)
Gutknecht, Gil, R-Minn. (1)

— H —

Hall, Ralph M., D-Texas (4)
Hall, Tony P., D-Ohio (3)
Hamilton, Lee H., D-Ind. (9)
Hancock, Mel, R-Mo. (7)
Hansen, James V., R-Utah (1)
Harman, Jane, D-Calif. (36)
Hastert, Dennis, R-Ill. (14)
Hastings, Alcee L., D-Fla. (23)
Hastings, Richard "Doc," R-Wash. (4)
Hayes, Jimmy, D-La. (7)
Hayworth, J. D., R-Ariz. (6)
Hefley, Joel, R-Colo. (5)
Hefner, W. G., "Bill," D-N.C. (8)
Heineman, Fred, R-N.C. (4)
Herger, Wally, R-Calif. (2)
Hilleary, Van, R-Tenn. (4)
Hilliard, Earl F., D-Ala. (7)
Hinckley, Maurice D., D-N.Y. (26)
Hobson, David L., R-Ohio (7)
Hoekstra, Peter, R-Mich. (2)
Hoke, Martin R., R-Ohio (10)
Holden, Tim, D-Pa. (6)
Horn, Steve, R-Calif. (38)
Hostettler, John, R-Ind. (8)
Houghton, Amo, R-N.Y. (34)
Hoyer, Steny H., D-Md. (5)
Hunter, Duncan, R-Calif. (52)
Hutchinson, Tim, R-Ark. (3)
Hyde, Henry J., R-Ill. (6)

— I, J —

Inglis, Bob, R-S.C. (4)
Istook, Ernest Jim Jr., R-Okla. (5)
Jacobs, Andrew Jr., D-Ind. (10)
Jefferson, William J., D-La. (2)
Johnson, Eddie Bernice, D-Texas (30)
Johnson, Nancy L., R-Conn. (6)
Johnson, Sam, R-Texas (3)
Johnson, Tim, D-S.D. (AL)
Johnston, Harry A., D-Fla. (19)
Jones, Walter B. Jr., R-N.C. (3)

— K —

Kanjorski, Paul E., D-Pa. (11)
Kaptur, Marcy, D-Ohio (9)
Kasich, John R., R-Ohio (12)
Kelly, Sue W., R-N.Y. (19)
Kennedy, Joseph P. II, D-Mass. (8)
Kennedy, Patrick J., D-R.I. (1)
Kennelly, Barbara B., D-Conn. (1)
Kildee, Dale E., D-Mich. (9)
Kim, Jay C., R-Calif. (41)
King, Peter T., R-N.Y. (3)
Kingston, Jack, R-Ga. (1)
Kleczka, Gerald D., D-Wis. (4)
Klink, Ron, D-Pa. (4)
Klug, Scott L., R-Wis. (2)
Knollenberg, Joe, R-Mich. (11)
Kolbe, Jim, R-Ariz. (5)

— L —

LaFalce, John J., D-N.Y. (29)

— M —

Lewis, Ron, R-Ky. (2)
Lightfoot, Jim Ross, R-Iowa (3)
Linder, John, R-Ga. (4)
Lipinski, William O., D-Ill. (3)
Livingston, Robert L., R-La. (1)
LoBiondo, Frank A., R-N.J. (2)
Lofgren, Zoe, D-Calif. (16)
Longley, James B. Jr., R-Maine (1)
Lowey, Nita M., D-N.Y. (18)
Lucas, Frank D., R-Okla. (6)
Luther, William P., "Bill," D-Minn. (6)

Maloney, Carolyn B., D-N.Y. (14)
Manton, Thomas J., D-N.Y. (7)
Manzullo, Donald, R-Ill. (16)
Markey, Edward J., D-Mass. (7)
Martinez, Matthew G., D-Calif. (31)
Martini, Bill, R-N.J. (8)
Mascara, Frank R., D-Pa. (20)
Matsui, Robert T., D-Calif. (5)
McCarthy, Karen, D-Mo. (5)
McCollum, Bill, R-Fla. (8)
McCrery, Jim, R-La. (5)
McDade, Joseph M., R-Pa. (10)
McDermott, Jim, D-Wash. (7)
McHale, Paul, D-Pa. (15)
McHugh, John M., R-N.Y. (24)
McInnis, Scott, R-Colo. (3)
McIntosh, David M., R-Ind. (2)
McKeon, Howard P., "Buck," R-Calif. (25)
McKinney, Cynthia A., D-Ga. (11)
McNulty, Michael R., D-N.Y. (21)
Meehan, Martin T., D-Mass. (5)
Meek, Carrie P., D-Fla. (17)
Menendez, Robert, D-N.J. (13)
Metcalfe, Jack, R-Wash. (2)
Meyers, Jan, R-Kan. (3)
Mfume, Kweisi, D-Md. (7)
Mica, John L., R-Fla. (7)
Miller, Dan, R-Fla. (13)
Miller, George, D-Calif. (7)
Mineta, Norman Y., D-Calif. (15)
Minge, David, D-Minn. (2)
Mink, Patsy T., D-Hawaii (2)
Moakley, Joe, D-Mass. (9)
Molinari, Susan, R-N.Y. (13)
Mollohan, Alan B., D-W.Va. (1)
Montgomery, G. V., "Sonny," D-Miss. (3)
Moorhead, Carlos J., R-Calif. (27)
Moran, James P., D-Va. (8)
Morella, Constance A., R-Md. (8)
Murtha, John P., D-Pa. (12)
Myers, John T., R-Ind. (7)
Myrick, Sue, R-N.C. (9)

— N —

Nadler, Jerrold, D-N.Y. (8)
Neal, Richard E., D-Mass. (2)
Nethercutt, George, R-Wash. (5)
Neumann, Mark W., R-Wis. (1)
Ney, Bob, R-Ohio (18)
Norwood, Charlie, R-Ga. (10)
Nussle, Jim, R-Iowa (2)

— O —

Oberstar, James L., D-Minn. (8)
Obey, David R., D-Wis. (7)
Oliver, John W., D-Mass. (1)
Ortiz, Solomon P., D-Texas (27)
Orton, Bill, D-Utah (3)
Owens, Major R., D-N.Y. (11)
Oxley, Michael G., R-Ohio (4)

— Q, R —

Pombo, Richard W., R-Calif. (11)
Pomeroy, Earl, D-N.D. (AL)
Porter, John Edward, R-Ill. (10)
Portman, Rob, R-Ohio (2)
Poshard, Glenn, D-Ill. (19)
Pryce, Deborah, R-Ohio (15)

Quillen, James H., R-Tenn. (1)
Quinn, Jack, R-N.Y. (30)
Radanovich, George P., R-Calif. (19)
Rahall, Nick J. II, D-W.Va. (3)
Ramstad, Jim, R-Minn. (3)
Rangel, Charles B., D-N.Y. (15)
Reed, Jack, D-R.I. (2)
Regula, Ralph, R-Ohio (16)
Reynolds, Mel, D-Ill. (2)
Richardson, Bill, D-N.M. (3)
Riggs, Frank, R-Calif. (1)
Rivers, Lynn, D-Mich. (13)
Roberts, Pat, R-Kan. (1)
Roemer, Tim, D-Ind. (3)
Rogers, Harold, R-Ky. (5)
Rohrabacher, Dana, R-Calif. (45)
Rose, Charlie, D-N.C. (7)
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana, R-Fla. (18)
Roth, Toby, R-Wis. (8)
Roukema, Marge, R-N.J. (5)
Roybal-Allard, Lucille, D-Calif. (33)
Royce, Ed, R-Calif. (39)
Rush, Bobby L., D-Ill. (1)

— S —

Sabo, Martin Olav, D-Minn. (5)
Salmon, Matt, R-Ariz. (1)
Sanders, Bernard, I-Vt. (AL)
Sanford, Mark, R-S.C. (1)
Sawyer, Tom, D-Ohio (14)
Saxton, H. James, R-N.J. (3)
Scarborough, Joe, R-Fla. (1)
Schaefer, Dan, R-Colo. (6)
Schiff, Steven H., R-N.M. (1)
Schroeder, Patricia, D-Colo. (1)
Schumer, Charles E., D-N.Y. (9)
Scott, Robert C., D-Va. (3)
Seastrand, Andrea, R-Calif. (22)
Sensenbrenner, F. James Jr., R-Wis. (9)
Serrano, Jose E., D-N.Y. (16)
Shadegg, John, R-Ariz. (4)
Shaw, E. Clay Jr., R-Fla. (22)
Shays, Christopher, R-Conn. (4)
Shuster, Bud, R-Pa. (9)
Sisisky, Norman, D-Va. (4)
Skaggs, David E., D-Colo. (2)
Skeen, Joe, R-N.M. (2)
Skelton, Ike, D-Mo. (4)
Slaughter, Louise M., D-N.Y. (28)
Smith, Christopher H., R-N.J. (4)
Smith, Lamar, R-Texas (21)
Smith, Linda, R-Wash. (3)
Smith, Nick, R-Mich. (7)
Solomon, Gerald B. H., R-N.Y. (22)
Squid, Mark E., R-Ind. (4)
Spence, Floyd D., R-S.C. (2)
Spratt, John M. Jr., D-S.C. (5)
Stark, Pete, D-Calif. (13)
Stearns, Cliff, R-Fla. (6)
Stenholm, Charles W., D-Texas (17)
Stenholm, Steve, R-Texas (9)
Stokes, Louis, D-Ohio (11)
Studds, Gerry E., D-Mass. (10)
Stump, Bob, R-Ariz. (3)
Stupak, Bart, D-Mich. (1)

— T —

Torkildsen, Peter G., R-Mass. (6)
Torres, Esteban E., D-Calif. (34)
Torricelli, Robert G., D-N.J. (9)
Towns, Edolphus, D-N.Y. (10)
Traficant, James A. Jr., D-Ohio (17)
Tucker, Walter R. III, D-Calif. (37)

— U, V —

Upton, Fred, R-Mich. (6)
Velázquez, Nydia M., D-N.Y. (12)
Vento, Bruce F., D-Minn. (4)
Visclosky, Peter J., D-Ind. (1)
Volkmer, Harold L., D-Mo. (9)
Vucanovich, Barbara F., R-Nev. (2)

— W —

Waldholtz, Enid Greene, R-Utah (2)
Walker, Robert S., R-Pa. (16)
Walsh, James T., R-N.Y. (25)
Wamp, Zach, R-Tenn. (3)
Ward, Mike, D-Ky. (3)
Waters, Maxine, D-Calif. (35)
Watt, Melvin, D-N.C. (12)
Watts, J. C., R-Okla. (4)
Waxman, Henry A., D-Calif. (29)
Weldon, Curt, R-Pa. (7)
Weldon, Dave, R-Fla. (15)
Weller, Jerry, R-Ill. (11)
White, Rick, R-Wash. (1)
Whitfield, Edward, R-Ky. (1)
Wicker, Roger, R-Miss. (1)
Williams, Pat, D-Mont. (AL)
Wilson, Charles, D-Texas (2)
Wise, Bob, D-W.Va. (2)
Wolf, Frank R., R-Va. (10)
Woolsey, Lynn, D-Calif. (6)
Wyden, Ron, D-Ore. (3)
Wynn, Albert R., D-Md. (4)

— X, Y, Z —

Yates, Sidney R., D-Ill. (9)
Young, C. W. Bill, R-Fla. (10)
Young, Don, R-Alaska (AL)
Zeliff, Bill, R-N.H. (1)
Zimmer, Dick, R-N.J. (12)

Delegates

Faleomavaega, Eni F. H., D-Am. Samoa
Frazer, Victor O., I-Virgin Islands
Norton, Eleanor Holmes, D-D.C.
Underwood, Robert A., D-Guam

Resident Commissioner

Romero-Barceló, Carlos, D-Puerto Rico

Senators

R 53; D 47

Abraham, Spencer, R-Mich.
Akaka, Daniel K., D-Hawaii
Ashcroft, John, R-Mo.
Baucus, Max, D-Mont.
Bennett, Robert F., R-Utah
Biden, Joseph R. Jr., D-Del.
Bingaman, Jeff, D-N.M.
Bond, Christopher S., R-Mo.
Boxer, Barbara, D-Calif.
Bradley, Bill, D-N.J.
Breaux, John R., D-La.
Cantwell, Max Baucus, D-Mont.
Chafee, Patrick J., R-R.I.
Chambliss, Saxby, R-Ga.
Chenoweth, Helen, R-Idaho
Christensen, Jon, R-Neb.
Chrysler, Dick, R-Mich.
Clay, William L., D-Mo. (1)

D'Amato, Alfonse M., R-N.Y.
Daschle, Tom, D-S.D.
DeWine, Mike, R-Ohio
Dodd, Christopher J., D-Conn.
Dole, Bob, R-Kan.
Domenici, Pete V., R-N.M.
Dorgan, Byron L., D-N.D.
Exon, Jim, D-Neb.
Faircloth, Lauch, R-N.C.
Feingold, Russell D., D-Wis.
Feinstein, Dianne, D-Calif.
Frist, Bill, R-Tenn.
Ford, Wendell H., D-Ky.
Glenn, John, D-Ohio
Gorton, Slade, R-Wash.
Graham, Bob, D-Fla.
Gramm, Phil, R-Texas
Grams, Rod, R-Minn.
Grassley, Charles E., R-Iowa
Gregg, Judd, R-N.H.
Harkin, Tom, D-Iowa
Hatch, Orrin G., R-Utah
Hatfield, Mark O., R-Ore.
Heflin, Howell, D-Ala.
Helms, Jesse, R-N.C.
Hollings, Ernest F., D-S.C.
Hutchison, Kay Bailey, R-Texas
Inhofe, James M., R-Okla.
Inouye, Daniel K., D-Hawaii
Jeffords, James M., R-Vt.
Johnston, J. Bennett, D-La.
Kassebaum, Nancy Landon, R-Kan.
Kempthorne, Dirk, R-Idaho
Kennedy, Edward M., D-Mass.
Kerrey, Bob, D-Neb.
Kerry, John, D-Mass.
Kohl, Herb, D-Wis.
Kyl, Jon, R-Ariz.
Lautenberg, Frank R., D-N.J.
Leahy, Patrick J., D-Vt.
Levin, Carl, D-Mich.
Lieberman, Joseph I., D-Conn.
Lott, Trent, R-Miss.
Lugar, Richard G., R-Ind.
Mack, Connie, R-Fla.
McCain, John, R-Ariz.
McConnell, Mitch, R-Ky.
Mikulski, Barbara A., D-Md.
Moseley-Braun, Carol, D-Ill.
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, D-N.Y.
Murkowski, Frank H., R-Alaska
Murray, Patty, D-Wash.
Nickles, Don, R-Okla.
Nunn, Sam, D-Ga.
Packwood, Bob, R-Ore.
Pell, Claiborne, D-R.I.
Pressler, Larry, R-S.D.
Pryor, David, D-Ark.
Reid, Harry, D-Nev.
Robb, Charles S., D-Va.
Rockefeller, John D. IV, D-W.Va.
Roth, William V. Jr., R-Del.
Santorum, Rick, R-Pa.
Sarbanes, Paul S., D-Md.
Shelby, Richard C., R-Ala.
Simon, Paul, D-Ill.
Simpson, Alan K., R-Wyo.
Smith, Robert C., R-N.H.
Snowe, Olympia J., R-Maine
Specter, Arlen, R-Pa.
Stevens, Ted, R-Alaska
Thomas, Craig, R-Wyo.
Thompson, Fred, R-Tenn.
Thurmond, Strom, R-S.C.
Warner, John W., R-Va.
Wellstone, Paul, D-Minn.

Some will prosper as Republicans move in

By Tony Munroe and Betsy Pisik
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

We know who's not going to profit from the Republican takeover of Congress: welfare recipients, surplus congressional staffers, midnight basketball players.

So who's cashing in?

"I've just re-hired 10 people for the first 100 days," said Paul Jochum, general manager of Head's, a barbecue restaurant and bar on Capitol Hill know for its predominantly Republican clientele.

"We've geared up," Mr. Jochum said. "Usually at this time of year you don't

make new hires."

Part of the restaurant's GOP appeal is that it is located across the street from Republican National Committee headquarters.

And? "We have a killer hamburger," Mr. Jochum boasts.

Head's has been exploiting its reputation as a watering hole of the new majority by hiring RNC employees as guest bartenders.

Among the early GOP freshmen visitors to Head's thus far is football legend Steve Largent, a newly minted representative from Oklahoma. "A very nice guy," Mr. Jochum said.

Of course, a lawmaker does not live

on bread alone. He must also find shelter.

However, freshman members of Congress don't usually jump into the housing market but instead rent for their first few months or even their first few terms in office, according to Capitol Hill real estate professionals.

"Most of these guys weren't that rich and they have houses back home to maintain," said Hugh Kelly, an associate with Prudential.

Besides, he said, lawmakers and their staff are so busy working and getting acclimated during their first terms that they don't have time to look for permanent lodgings.

"Their first two years are awful here," said Mr. Kelly, who has worked on a Senate staff.

Often it's staffers who are more prone to buy, as they, unlike members, make Washington their permanent homes, he said.

Another Capitol Hill Realtor said that after the 1992 elections there was a lag of several months before there was a significant uptick in home sales. This season, she said, "We haven't seen too many things go under contract since the election."

Rental properties, on the other hand, see GOP, page B10

SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Republicans and Democrats are battling over ratios for high-profile Senate committees such as Appropriations. Under the Republican plan, the panel would be trimmed from 29 members to 26, with 14 GOP members. The lineup in the last Congress:

Democrats

Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii
Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina
J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana
Dale Bumpers of Arizona
Frank R. Lautenberg of New Jersey
Tom Harkin of Iowa
Barbara A. Mikulski of Maryland
Harry Reid of Nevada
Robert Kerrey of Nebraska
Herb Kohl of Wisconsin
Patty Murray of Washington
Dianne Feinstein of California

Republicans

Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon
Ted Stevens of Alaska
Thad Cochran of Mississippi
Alfonse M. D'Amato of New York
Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania
Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico
Don Nickles of Oklahoma
Phil Gramm of Texas
Christopher S. Bond of Missouri
Slade Gorton of Washington
Mitch McConnell, of Kentucky
Connie Mack of Florida
Conrad Burns of Montana

GOP

From page B6
are booming.

"Business is tremendous. We're rather busy compared to past years due to the Republicans. This is traditionally a very slow time of year for us," said Peter Tierney, an agent with Yarmouth Management, which specializes in residential rentals on Capitol Hill.

Despite committee downsizing, more people seem to be arriving than leaving, Mr. Tierney noted.

Yarmouth has found housing for incoming freshmen Republican Reps. J.C. Watts of Oklahoma, Frank LoBiondo of New Jersey, Steven LaTourette of Ohio and Charlie Norwood of Georgia, and Democrats Frank Mascara of Pennsylvania and John Baldacci of Maine, as well as numerous staffers.

Location is everything to these renters, who want to be within walking distance of the House of Representatives, Mr. Tierney said.

"New members think that anything beyond Eastern Market is the frontier," he said.

They rent instead of buy, Mr.

Tierney added, because they realize the fervent anti-incumbency tenor of the electorate makes their reigns tenuous, and because of sticker shock.

"Truth of it is, these new members are coming from Spokane or Wichita or wherever, and they're amazed at what things cost," Mr. Tierney said.

For the first time, Yarmouth targeted incoming members, sending congratulatory letters and faxing its daily listings around the country, Mr. Tierney said.

Edward Mansfield, advertising director for the Washingtonian, said the turnover has boosted advertising, especially for real estate, as well as for retailers.

His favorite home ad has the headline "Along with the House on the Hill, the houses in Northern Virginia are going through changes."

Mr. Mansfield said, "Any time you have this kind of change, it's new customers. These are people who don't know what's going on in the city."

"My crystal ball would say we can expect this [increase] for about six months. It presents a lot of opportunities," he said.

104th Congress

Speaker seeks dialogue for progress without partisanship

Rep. Newt Gingrich was interviewed by Washington Times Managing Editor Josette Shiner and political correspondent Ralph Hallow Jan. 2 in Atlanta about his role as speaker of the House of the first Republican dominated Congress in 40 years. The following are excerpts from that interview.

Question: President Clinton has said that with the change in the old order in the Congress that the logjam that existed over new ideas may be broken. He also has said that you and he, sharing an interest in ideas, can now lead the country in a productive debate, provided you are interested in leading rather than seeking partisan credit.

Answer: If you look at my role in GATT, NAFTA, in the space station, helping Russia and in the Mideast process, I'm clearly more interested in leading than in partisanship. I would have hoped the president would say if Gingrich is interested in leading, then we have an option to be partners in solving things, not competitors.

I don't see any automatic reason to compete over good ideas. Ideas ought to be an effort. How do you replace the culture of poverty with the culture of productivity? Or provide better health care with lower cost and greater choice for senior citizens? I would hope that the president and I could have a dialogue — rather than a debate — and that as a result of that the country could actually have an opportunity to make progress without regard to partisanship.

I would just say to the president — I think it would be fascinating to assume for all of 1995 that I'm not going to run for re-election as speaker and he's not going to run for re-election as president. What if we just did things that helped America and cut out all the cynicism and all the ambition and all the maneuvering and let's have a dialogue about what solves problems?

Q: But of course the president plans to stand for re-election?

A: I think it is the best way to get re-elected. I think this country is sick of politicians who spend all morning worrying about petty maneuvers about the next piece of trivia. I think the best way to get re-elected in America is to do your job.

Let me put it differently: I know several of my friends are already running for president — who are already off on a '96 candidacy, which I think is irrelevant. In the age of television, you can communicate everything you need to communicate in six to eight weeks. So you don't need two years of chasing things.

Q: Do you feel it was appropriate for [Senate Majority Leader-designate] Bob Dole, even though he is running for president, to go out front and criticize you for accepting the \$4.5 million book advance?

A: I wouldn't say it that way. Look, Bob Dole has a style that has evolved over many many years. He was a national leader when I was still a college profes-

sor. His style is different than mine, but it has certainly been extraordinary. The last poll I saw, 65 percent of the country trusts Dole to do the right thing — 7 points more than trust Clinton.

Q: Some have criticized you for turning back the advance without stating clearly that you made a mistake.

A: We were totally wrong. We saw the [book publisher's] proposition in the wrong light, and we made a mistake. It wasn't really a moral lapse, it was an educational lapse... a mistake of understanding where we were on that. It was a combination of being speaker of the House and on the cutting edge of a revolution which is just beginning to come down the road. Therefore, anything which risks souring that or weakening that is just wrong.

I'm much closer to Lamar Alexander and Howard Baker in believing that legislators ought to be part-time and consciously seek incomes outside of Congress and consciously become part of a free-market society. They ought to be ethical men with very strict laws about gratuities.

Q: Do you restrict that to legislators or any government employee?

A: Legislators are not government employees. They're employees of the voters. Huge difference. I think the whole Common Cause mentality of a full-time, tax-paid employment only in the Congress is just wrong. Because it means you get either very rich people or you get professional politicians in the narrowest sense.

Q: It is fascinating that some Democrats who are interested in change see the Republican victory as a possible positive step in the sense that the old, entrenched power structure in Congress — the one that blocked any new ideas — has been opened up. That real change is finally possible, regardless of partisan interests.

A: No question that the power structure that rose between Vietnam and Watergate and the present had... ossified into a strait-jacket. That is not partisan or ideological — these guys and their staffs had networks of power and networks of relationships and habits and things that they just weren't going to break for a mere president. They'd ignored Nixon, Ford, Carter. They had blocked Reagan and beaten Bush... and they were quite prepared to stop the president.

The most important single event in Clinton's first two years was that after he was elected, [Senate Majority George J.] Mitchell, [Speaker Thomas S.] Foley and [House Majority Leader Richard] Gephardt flew down to Little Rock and had dinner with him. They set down the fact: Don't be a Jimmy Carter; don't take on the Democrats in Congress; we'll carry your water — and by the way, we'll define the water.

I've always thought that's the crisis of the Democratic president. That a guy like Clinton — he's a very smart man, and he knows as much about Kafka and

[quality control guru W. Edwards] Deming as I do, or more. And [Vice President Al] Gore certainly knows more about communications technology and has a lot of good ideas about reinventing government and rethinking how you electronically would do things. But they then run into [this block].

Generationally, Gore and the president and I are actually fairly close together. We're all able to talk to each other, pretty club-around-guys-at-school-type people. You know, you sit around and have a bull session, you have big ideas, you talk about books you've read. We are all three of us into the world market, the information age. My guess is that they're both very familiar with [Alvin] Toffler's works. Clinton said after one of our recent meetings, that when Gore, he and I are at the State of the Union, it'll be the heaviest collection of policy wonks since Woodrow Wilson gave a speech by himself.

Q: So how does that work practically?

A: In dealing with the president and the Democrats, I suggest that there are three boxes. There's the box we know we're going to disagree on. But let's not get trapped as if this were the only box.

There's a second box, areas of potential agreement, of what could turn out to be pretty big things. I'm encouraged, for example, that he's agreed to meet with the governors on this welfare thing. If the president decides to be more like a governor and less like a national Democrat, you could suddenly have a breaking of the log jam of welfare reform, that would decentralize welfare back to the states, in a way that's breathtaking.

And that's certainly where I'm at. And I get the sense that the president may be coming more this way than the liberals are ready for.

Then there's the third box, which I would describe as the 1,000 building blocks. There's no reason we could not pass guaranteed portability of health insurance as a free-standing small bill, and for 85 percent of all Americans. We would improve the quality of their life and lower their anxieties. Now that's a deal I think the president can agree to, and we need his help in the Senate, so we don't have a Democratic filibuster. We could agree in advance to pass this tiny bill.

Q: But, as you know, many Republicans feel they won the fight and now is not the time for compromise or cooperation. It is time to push through their agenda.

A: My message for Republicans is: We have plenty of big issues in Box 1, where we will disagree. The constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget — there's a fairly big difference. There'll be a fight over an enforceable death penalty with a one-time appeal. And some kind

of fairly substantial change in immigration law. That is absolute. It has to happen. I suspect that will be a real fight.

So I have things over here in

Box 1 that will be highlighted in the '96 campaign. It's not like you're suddenly going to have a choice between Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee. You're going to have some pretty divergent philosophical choices here. I don't think the president's [Democratic] base will allow him to come anywhere near as far as we're going to go.

Q: So you do not see this as a war of ideas.

A: It's a competition. The country basically wants a patriotic center that is actually trying to solve problems and improve people's lives. And either party that is deliberately, narrowly partisan is going to be in trouble.

We should not compromise on any major commitment. I am determined to get to a balanced budget by 2002. I am determined to get to a smaller federal government. I am determined to return power to the state and local governments and to private citizens. We ought to have a lot less litigation. I think that we ought to have a work requirement for welfare. These are all fairly profound differences. On the core of values that we represent we ought to say no, we're not gonna compromise.

Q: So you think that the president and Gore may be allies in this patriotic center, and may be ...

A: Specific items. We disagree deeply on others. There's going to be an enormous debate in this country over whether Americans are individuals or groups. My guess is that the president is going to be on the group side of that issue.

Q: You talk about block grants for the states, for example on welfare, and you set out these stipulations and divisions.

A: I think I'd want to look very carefully at how many of those stipulations there are. I look at that as a contract, and I say to the states ... we'd like to contract with you to deliver the following to your states. We say nobody in your state should be starving. I wouldn't go dramatically beyond that.

Q: Philosophical question. Why should Washington say that taxpayers in Oklahoma ought to be taking care of the needs of people in Manhattan? Why take taxpayers' money, send it to Washington, and send it back to the states?

A: I believe that the FDR model of incremental change in a direction that is consistent beats any effort to have a Mao Tse Tung-style revolution. I want to get to a dramatically small federal government, I think you do that one step at a time, but you insist on steps every year.

I can imagine a world 20 years from now that resembles your description. I can't imagine leaping to that world by tomorrow morning. It's very un-Burkean to suggest that we can have a sudden radical dismantlement of a 60-yearlong evolutionary process of a centralized welfare system.

But it strikes me that from a Burkean conservative viewpoint you can argue, my goals are clear. First of all I want the fewest possible people to be getting any kind of assistance. Second — and the most powerful book I've read on the topic is "The Tragedy of American Compassion" — that any time you depersonalize efforts to help the poor, you actually increase the number of poor and made their lives more miserable.

My goal would be to have a

philanthropically-based, overwhelmingly private effort to genuinely help the poor. But I don't think I can get us there between now and Easter. What I can do between now and Easter is break up the Washington logjam, shift power back to 50 states, break up all the liberal national organizations — and make them scramble to the state capitols in Texas, Georgia and in Missouri.

You have then changed the tremendous piece of underlying dynamic — but it's only a step. The reason I keep telling people to study FDR is if you take 14 steps successfully you're a lot farther down the road than this guy next to you if he's trying to get all 14 steps in one jump.

Q: But your essential dilemma is the expectations of the American people. Aren't they expecting you to shut down whole federal buildings and the like?

A: On the 4th [today] we will have the longest working day in the history of Congress' opening sessions. We will pass nine major reforms. We will have in fact shrunk the number of committees; we will have dismissed at least one third of the committee staffs; we will have applied to the Congress every law that applies to the rest of the country; we will ... require people to bring in a budget that is based on the last year's spending so that a dollar's increase counts as an increase. These are big changes. We'll have a 60 percent threshold on any kind of income tax rate. The American people have never seen this kind of opening day.

Q: Then where do you go?

A: At midnight on the 4th I think the American people will say, OK, they're different. That buys us another few weeks. On the 5th, the point we're going to make to people is, you'd better call your representative and tell them you want them to help pass the constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget — with a tax-increase limit.

We're going to use every bully pulpit we have, and we're going to be out there for two solid weeks, and we're going to tell every conservative group in the country and every group that wants a smaller government you'd better talk to your representatives cause that's coming to the floor for a vote on about the 19th of January.

Q: And what comes next?

A: You can think of this as a three-part sandwich. [Texas Rep. Dick] Armey and I have agreed in advance that we'll get through the 4th and that we'll get through the balanced budget. Armey then runs the contract, which is already out, which is in book form. It's the contract, which as you remember many people thought was a huge strategic mistake and it might have been. We got lucky.

The layer beyond Armey — [Louisiana Rep. Robert] Livingston and [Ohio Rep. John] Kasich — will determine the shape of the budget and of the appropriations bills. And so Dick will focus on the contract; I will focus on appropriations and budget. And we'll operate as a team. [Texas Rep. Tom] DeLay will be in charge of counting every vote.

Q: Livingston has said that if he needed to he would favor just lining out the appropriations for projects like the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Do you agree with that?

A: Livingston will shock you.

You think of the history of the historic role of the appropriations committee as the growers of pork. This is the first time in modern history — it's like sending the poor people to one of those fat farms and they're actually shrinking them — seriously looking at how they get tinier people.

I strongly favor zeroing out as much stuff as we can get zeroed out.

Q: No democratic-style debate?

A: There is democracy, there's a vote on the floor. A liberal democrat can walk in, they can move to add back in \$200 million, we'll have an open rule to allow them to do it. We'll have a big debate on whether or not to add back in \$200 million dollars — or 300, or 500, or whatever amount they think their rich friends need.

Q: Blitzkrieg, or —

A: These are the early stages of a genuine revolution. The fact is the taxpayers of America want a smaller federal government. Every time you mention something which ought to be shrunk or zeroed, 25 people who are making money off of it jump up to explain why it is a wonderful institution and they should continue to make money off it.

Q: So in the first few days are we going to see so many things cut that the cacophony of voices is ...

A: It will be very hard for the media to cover all of them simultaneously — which is precisely what [Massachusetts Gov. William] Weld and [Michigan Gov. John] Engler and [Wisconsin Gov. Tommy] Thompson have suggested we do. Weld comes out, he cut 13 percent out of the budget in three months. He just came out and said, No. No. No.

Q: Too many no's for the Democrats to handle?

A: Yeah, that's right. So they had to figure out which fights to stay to fight. You can't — if you're a liberal Democrat — you can't come in and vote 70 times to add money back in.

Q: And the Corporation for Public Broadcasting will be —

A: I am prepared to ... put up \$2,000 a year, personally. I'll ask everyone who complains: How much are you willing to put up? You think this is such a great idea, pay for it. You don't want to pay for it, don't tell me to go to some poor blue-collar worker over here making 23 grand a year and take their tax money to put on your program.

If you're a genuine believer in big government and you're a genuine believer in elite values, and as an elitist you can use big government to get the average person to pay for your elitism, why wouldn't you fight to keep it? I don't see anything wrong with this. I mean, I understand this is an enclave of elite people that take care of each other. I find it fascinating. They are simply enclaves of the left using your money to propagandize your children against your values.

Q: Are you for increasing contributions to some areas of the arts?

A: I'm very much for increasing contributions to the Smithsonian and the Library of Congress. You ought to have national institutions that are world class. And those are the two greatest institutions in the world, and they ought to be first rate and they ought to be funded.

But you talk about the Kennedy Center. Well, this is a rich nation. The Kennedy Center ought to have an endowment. Maybe the Congress ought to have a challenge grant that says for three years we

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will match private money and we will create a Kennedy Center endowment. And then it is over.

Q: You had mentioned recently that victory is the avoidance of being crushed. And we had also talked about the array of forces that will come to bear to resist change.

A: The scale of our potential victory is already so large that if they can't knock us I will be a winner. They are now the ones who've got to beat us now. Because in the absence of our losing we're going to win.

The thing we have to do, and frankly we are in a muddle, is win the definitional fight. I have at times goofed. I think when [ABC newsman Sam] Donaldson was after me on ["This Week With David] Brinkley"] and we ended up at orphanages. ... I underestimated the speed with which the elite media would decide to exploit that.

On the other hand, I think out of Boys Town and the whole second phase [of the controversy] we have done adequate. But I don't regard that as a good fight from our side.

Q: The media defeated you on that?

A: It clearly scarred me up. ... I don't think it helps you to have a cover that describes you as the Scrooging of America. On the other hand I think that it is a lot like watching [Ronald] Reagan. I mean the elite media would beat Reagan up routinely and the average man would say, "Let me get this straight, with liberal reporters saying 'X,' he is saying 'Y.' I think I am with 'Y.'"

We are going to have to think through an entire 120-day offensive on language because [there are] two very different ways of describing the future. They want to talk about ripping children away from loving parents; I want to talk about ensuring that 11-year-olds aren't killed and buried with their teddy bears.

Q: What are your other immediate challenges?

A: The greatest challenge we face is that we have to have a dialogue with the American people on the budget. We cannot have a smart Republican budget rammed down the throats of the American people because (a) the president will veto, and (b) because the country will no more accept a Republican secret plan than they accepted a Democratic secret health plan.

The budget, remember, is the consequence of government decisions and it is not like there is this budget fight, and then there is this government fight. It is the same issue. If you decide to do it, you ought to pay for it and if you don't want to do it enough to pay for it, you shouldn't do it.

Q: So you are introducing a zero-based government where every time you have to justify. ...

A: Exactly. I have asked both Kasich and Livingston to start on the assumption of a zero-based budget. The way [social scientist Peter F.] Drucker described it is, "If you didn't already do something, would you start?" Go through this government and you ask that question! For example, why do we have a Department of Energy? The DOE was an emotional reaction to a misunderstood moment in history in the 1970s.

Q: Which departments of government are there no questions

about keeping?

A: Treasury, State, attorney general, Defense. Outside of that, you ought to at least look at them and say why. Explain it to me. But I would definitely keep those four.

Q: Do you find you and your wife drawing closer together, given your spectacular rise to prominence?

A: We are both sort of astonished. Now you have to, at some point, sit back and go, this is strange. But you also have to understand that it has nothing to do with me. I mean I happen to be this year's version of a Teenage Ninja Turtle, or the Morphin Power Rangers. America operates with wave-like moments.

Q: Do you find yourself reflecting on the troubles the Clintons have been through, or the Bushs. ...

A: If I weren't an historian, I would be bothered. But I am reading ... the biography of Henry Clay because Clay was the first great speaker of the house and very controversial and very widely known. Those guys had duels, they shot each other. This is the most rough-and-tumble organized society on earth. It is a muscular society. This is like the Super Bowl; it is not like playing badminton.

Q: Are you afraid of being controversial?

A: Guess not.

Q: Do you want to be liked? People say this is the president's problem. ...

A: Oh sure. But I prefer respect. I mean if you are asking me, my hierarchy of values. If you ever get a chance, watch the "Sands of Iwo Jima" because it was the formative movie of my childhood. It was about a Marine platoon sergeant who is essentially disliked by his men while he trains them. And does a series of things to them necessary for them to survive the battle. And who is killed in the last part of the movie? As his troops begin to understand why he has been so tough?

Q: What bugs you most about the coverage of you recently?

A: I think I am a lot more complex person than the shorthand efforts of even good Washington reporters. They walk in with 26 boxes all in their head and just want to know which box I fit. And so ... they have to simplify the message down to the boxes they have already got.

Secondly is the decade-long sense that Gingrich must be mean, because he is a partisan and he took on [House Speaker] Jim Wright and did this and that. There is a pretty deep unwillingness to look at the fact that this was a corrupt institution. And the third thing—I think the Time magazine cover, the Scrooging of America—was a deliberate cheap shot.

There are two things going on. There is a deliberate desire by a good part of the dominant elite media to maximize the distortion of what we are doing and minimize the understanding.

Q: It has been said all over that one of your first mistakes was bringing up the school prayer amendment because there is disagreement between the incoming Republicans. ...

A: What I said was that I thought we ought to have hearings on the issue and that we ought to try to have a vote this summer after we are done with the Contract. According to the latest polls, 66 per-

cent of the country support the school prayer amendment and 61 percent support it even if it makes some people uncomfortable. It was a very hard core.

Q: What is the problem here?

A: There are three problems. One is that a lot of Republicans say we already have a winning platform and if you want to bring up school prayer after the Contract, bring it up after the Contract. But don't clutter the first 100 days. That is not a trivial thing.

There is a second group who just flinch. People come up to me and say you know school prayer is like gays in the military. It is polarizing. That is technically true. But it is polarizing on exactly the opposite vote. As an elected official, let me polarize three times a day on a 66-26. But they don't understand that because they are not comfortable that we are the natural majority.

Then there is a last group and that is a significant segment of the voting party that is still part of the natural elite of the country. And for that group this is a hick grass-roots Neanderthal backward debate.

Q: So explicitly what would the school prayer amendment do, what would it say?

A: It would block the state from prohibiting any student from engaging in prayer, but I think that has to be looked at. The question is: Are you prepared to have freedom of religion or freedom against religion?

Q: I am struck by Democrats who say that in November the voters threw a tantrum and it is a temporary misunderstanding leveled against all incumbents. ...

A: I understand the psychological concept of cognitive dissonance, but to have lost zero Republican incumbents and believe this was an anti-incumbent year requires a level of disassociation from fact that borders on the com-mittable.

This is like describing a tree as a hippopotamus.

Q: There is a tremendous underestimating of what you represent, what the Contract represents.

A: Well, my only hope is that you not encourage them to read Meg Greenfield's column from three weeks ago. She broke the code. I told her when I saw her, you broke the code, do not share.

Q: Why would the Democrats concede the great middle ground? You must be amazed that on some of these issues they just folded. ...

A: Oh no, the real fighting starts Wednesday. You have to understand something. I was recently drawing the analogy between now and 1942. We have begun to mobilize the forces. We have begun to launch bridgeheads. We are a long way from D-Day.

Anyone who thinks we have won this fight is a fool. What we have got, what we have is the initial

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landings in North Africa and the initial landing at Guadalcanal. We are a long way from victory.

First, we have to come up with positive solutions that people desire. This is a market-oriented, customer business, it is a free society. You cannot coerce people into change in a free society. Second, we have to learn how to communicate with such simplicity that even when the left is distorting us, our themes and our signals are getting through. And at times I don't do that very well. And third we have to reach out to every American on a very simple binary position. If you are comfortable with 4-year-olds being killed and you are comfortable with 11-year-olds being buried with their teddy bears, and you think your money is being spent intelligently, you don't need us. But if you are sick of the carnage and sick of the debt and sick of the waste, we would like to work with you to change it.

Q: Will you adopt some of Reagan's communications strategies and go over the head of the media?

A: I think you had to be Reagan to do what Reagan did. This is sort of like saying I would like to be as good a quarterback as [Joe] Montana at his peak. Yes he was. Now since you are not as good, what are you going to do?

The speakership isn't the presidency. I am a partisan political leader in the House who happens by accident to have emerged to the point where there was a huge vacuum.

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