

Arts

BRIEFING BOOK #1
CONFIRMATION OF WILLIAM J. IVEY
CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT
FOR THE ARTS

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I. CONGRESS

Divider Title: _____

Senate authorizing Committee

Labor and Human Resources

PROFILE

Agenda: The panel's new chairman, Republican James M. Jeffords of Vermont, has planned a full agenda of health, labor and education legislation. On health, the panel will work again on legislation to streamline the Food and Drug Administration's (FDA) review process for new drugs and medical devices. The panel plans to consider reauthorization of the user-fee law, which requires drug manufacturers to share the cost of reviewing their products. Ranking Democrat Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts will push to expand health coverage for uninsured children, a priority for President Clinton. Jeffords also plans hearings on the quality of managed health care plans. The principal education measures are reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, which covers student loans, grants and other federal programs, and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, which finances federal programs for disabled students. Labor issues include the so-called TEAM Act, which would clarify that businesses could establish worker-manager groups to discuss safety, productivity and quality control, and the "comp time" bill, which would require businesses to give hourly workers the choice of compensatory time off or overtime pay.

Chairman's role: When former Chairman Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan., retired last year, some observers expected Jeffords to be challenged for the chairmanship because of his moderate-to-liberal ideology. But he ascended easily with the blessing of Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., and he is not expected to be a renegade. Among challenges he faces are that half the Republicans are new to the committee and that Kennedy is a savvy and dogged ranking Democrat.

Democratic clout: Last year, Kennedy led efforts to increase the minimum wage and enact a health insurance bill. Kennedy worked well with Kassebaum, a moderate Republican like Jeffords. Democrats are unified on most issues before the panel. Paul Wellstone of Minnesota and Tom Harkin of Iowa, the ranking Democrat on the Appropriations subcommittee that finances the Labor Department, are forceful supporters of organized labor.

Other key players: Republican Daniel R. Coats of Indiana, a strong conservative on social issues, is also influential on FDA issues. He has announced, however, that he will retire when his term expires in 1998. Republican Bill Frist of Tennessee, the Senate's only doctor, is influential on health matters.

Geographic concentration: A third of the committee is from the Northeast. The rest is evenly spread among the South, Midwest and West.

Top aides: Jeffords has asked his personal staff director, Mark E. Powden, to be panel staff director. Paul Harrington will be top health aide and Ted Verheggen will continue as labor aide. Pam Devitt is chief education aide. Kennedy's staff includes Nick Littlefield as staff director, David Nexon as top health aide, and Susan Greene as senior labor aide. Marianna Pierce, former general counsel at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, replaces A. Clayton Spencer as education aide.



James M. Jeffords, Vt.
Chairman



Edward M. Kennedy, Mass.
Ranking Member

Republicans (10)

James M. Jeffords, Vt., chairman
Daniel R. Coats, Ind.
Judd Gregg, N.H.
Bill Frist, Tenn.
Mike DeWine, Ohio
Michael B. Enzi, Wyo.†
Tim Hutchinson, Ark.†
Susan Collins, Maine †
John W. Warner, Va.
Mitch McConnell, Ky.

Democrats (8)

Edward M. Kennedy, Mass., ranking member
Christopher J. Dodd, Conn.
Tom Harkin, Iowa
Barbara A. Mikulski, Md.
Jeff Bingaman, N.M.
Paul Wellstone, Minn.
Patty Murray, Wash.
Jack Reed, R.I.†

† Denotes freshmen

Full Committee

- PHONE: (202) 224-5375
- FAX: (202) 228-5044
- OFFICE: SD-428
- HEARING ROOM: SD-430

Staff Director: Mark Powden 224-6770 SH-835

Minority Staff Director: Nick Littlefield 224-7675 SD-644

Jurisdiction: Education, labor, health and public welfare in general; aging; arts and humanities; biomedical research and development; child labor; convict labor; domestic activities of the Red Cross; equal employment opportunity; handicapped people; labor standards and statistics; mediation and arbitration of labor disputes; occupational safety and health; private pensions; public health; railway labor and retirement; regulation of foreign laborers; student loans; wages and hours; agricultural colleges; Gallaudet University; Howard University; St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D.C. Chairman and ranking minority member are non-voting members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.



James M. Jeffords (R)

of Shrewsbury — Elected 1988, 2nd term

Biographical Information

Born: May 11, 1934, Rutland, Vt.
Education: Yale U., B.S.I.A. 1956; Harvard U., LL.B. 1962.
Military Service: Navy, 1956-59; Naval Reserves, 1959-90.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Elizabeth Daley; two children.
Religion: Congregationalist.
Political Career: Vt. Senate, 1967-69; Vt. attorney general, 1969-73, sought Republican nomination for governor, 1972; U.S. House, 1975-89.
Capitol Office: 728 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-5141.

Committees

Special Aging
Finance
 Health Care; Social Security & Family Policy; Taxation & IRS Oversight
Labor & Human Resources (chairman)
 Employment & Training; Public Health & Safety
Veterans' Affairs



In Washington: The Republican Party in Congress once had a thriving wing of Northeastern liberal members. Jeffords, who claimed the chairmanship of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee at the beginning of the 105th Congress, would have felt quite

comfortable within that group.

But during Jeffords' more than two decades in Congress, the GOP's liberal faction has sharply diminished as the party's ranks have become more solidly conservative.

Jeffords, now in his second Senate term after seven in the House, has thus stood out as a Republican maverick. In 1996, he voted with a majority of Senate Democrats against the majority of his Republican colleagues 41 percent of the time on roll-call votes — the highest rate of defection among GOP members.

He also backed President Clinton on 53 percent of the votes on which the White House took a position: only five other Republican senators backed the president more than half the time.

This has stood Jeffords in good stead politically in Vermont, a onetime Yankee Republican bastion that has shown liberal voting tendencies since the late 1970s.

Jeffords has remained popular even as Vermont voters have elected Democrats to two other major statewide offices (Sen. Patrick J. Leahy and Gov. Howard Dean) and an independent who describes himself as a socialist, Bernard Sanders, to the state's at-large House seat.

However, Jeffords' willingness to stray from the party line rubs many of the more conservative Republican senators the wrong way — and briefly threatened his rise to the Labor and Human Resources chairmanship vacated by the 1996 retirement of Republican Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas.

Worried that Jeffords would line up too often

with committee Democrats and thwart GOP priorities on labor, education and health care issues, several conservatives tried to convince Indiana Republican Daniel R. Coats to challenge Jeffords, who was next in line for the chairmanship.

But Jeffords was saved by an ingrained Senate Republican deference to seniority, and by a commitment by Majority Leader Trent Lott to uphold diversity within the party even as he spearheaded a conservative agenda. Coats, after consulting with the leadership, demurred, and Jeffords assumed the chairmanship without a challenge.

Although many in his own party see him as a liberal, Jeffords describes himself as a moderate. "I'm not a radical toward labor issues or on the business issues," Jeffords said in 1996. "I'm down the middle."

He also pledged that he would not block legislation favored by more conservative Republicans, even if he opposed it. "I have told the members if we disagree, I won't hold up legislation that all Republicans except me want," he said.

In fact, some liberal and pro-union interests viewed Jeffords as playing to his more conservative colleagues with some of his votes in the 104th Congress.

For example, he supported a bill to allow businesses to set up their own labor-management teams to discuss workplace issues. Organized labor strongly opposed the legislation, seeing it as a way for business owners to circumvent unions. But Jeffords said the concept was designed for modern workplaces in which the common goal of increasing profits, competitiveness and employment has replaced labor-management hostility. Critics of the legislation, he said, are "still in the mind-set of the 1930s."

Clinton vetoed a similar bill in 1996, but Jeffords revived it in the 105th and pushed it through Labor and Human Resources in March 1997.

Jeffords also indicated he planned to move carefully on a potentially explosive issue: federal regulation of the rapidly growing managed health care industry. "We shouldn't get into microman-

VERMONT

agement of health care," he says. "I'm going to go slow."

Still, there is plenty of evidence that Jeffords has earned his moderate-to-liberal reputation — and the skepticism of GOP conservatives.

In 1996, Jeffords provided a key Republican swing vote that helped Democrats enact an increase in the minimum wage over the opposition of the GOP leadership.

And while many Republicans view public education as the province of local and state governments and want to limit federal funding, Jeffords is an unabashed advocate of a federal role.

During the 1996 election cycle, Democrats tried to portray the GOP as anti-education, and congressional Republicans responded by supporting funding increases for certain education programs. Jeffords was pleased. "It was almost a bidding war upward as to who was going to give the most for education," Jeffords said. "I kept cheering them on."

In 1994, Jeffords was the only Republican senator to cosponsor Clinton's plan to overhaul the nation's health care system — a proposal so thoroughly destroyed by attacks from other Republicans that it contributed greatly to the GOP's takeover of Congress in that year's elections.

Along with his move to chair Labor and Human Resources, Jeffords made a committee switch in the 105th that will help him follow his interest in health care issues. He gave up his seat on the Appropriations Committee and took a seat on the Finance Committee, where he received an assignment to the Health Care Subcommittee.

Jeffords, a Navy veteran, has retained a seat on the Veterans' Affairs Committee. But at the start of the 105th Congress, he gave up a pair of assignments that had brought him some attention.

One of these was the chairmanship of the Labor and Human Resources Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities. In that position, Jeffords was one of the leading Republican defenders of the National Endowment for the Arts, the federal arts funding agency roundly panned by many conservatives as a waste of taxpayers' money and a font of support for offensive art. Jeffords was vice chairman of the Congressional Arts Caucus in the 103rd Congress.

He also gave up the chairmanship of the Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia. During the 104th Congress, Jeffords urged members to give time to a congressionally mandated control board to get the affairs of the financially beleaguered capital city in order.

"We told the control board to get together with D.C. and within four years to get the budget balanced, and they're on the right track," he said in July 1996.

As chairman, Jeffords opposed a proposal backed by many Republicans that would have responded to the decline of the District's educational system by establishing a voucher program that aimed to allow parents to choose the schools

to which they wanted to send their children.

Such positions are part of a well-worn career pattern for Jeffords. He never liked President Ronald Reagan's conservative song sheet for the GOP. In only one year of Reagan's tenure did Jeffords, then a House member, support the president's positions on legislation more often than he opposed them.

When George Bush became president, he had less of an ideological mission than Reagan. Initially that helped Jeffords appear more of a GOP loyalist: He backed Bush on 68 percent of Senate votes in 1989. But as Bush's tenure wore on, Jeffords often found himself at odds with the White House on key issues. He opposed Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, who ultimately was confirmed. And just before the 1992 Republican Convention, Jeffords publicly suggested that Bush drop Vice President Dan Quayle from the ticket.

Jeffords was most outspoken in disagreeing with Bush on issues that came before him as a member of the Labor Committee. In April 1991, he questioned the intentions of Bush administration officials after they pressured business executives to break off negotiations with civil rights activists on a job-discrimination bill.

"The president has assured me very sincerely that he wants a civil rights bill," Jeffords said. "But it's getting harder and harder for me to live with that" assertion.

During the 101st and 102nd Congresses, Jeffords voted with committee Democrats and against the position taken by Bush and the majority of his Republican colleagues on a number of contentious issues, including requirements that employers provide unpaid family and medical leave for employees.

A supporter of family leave since his House days, Jeffords crossed back over to that chamber in June 1990 to participate in a news conference by bill supporters, calling the measure "a declaration of independence for the American family." Family leave legislation ultimately was enacted in the 103rd Congress and signed into law by Clinton.

Jeffords also had a seat on the Environment and Public Works Committee through the 102nd Congress, and he pushed several environment-related proposals. He sought to amend the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act to force states to recycle bottles, but his proposal was rejected in committee. In the full Senate, Jeffords tried to amend a massive energy bill to promote non-gasoline motor fuels, but the amendment was tabled 57-39. During consideration of the first 1992 and 1993 Interior appropriations bills, he pushed an amendment to increase grazing fees on federal lands, but the amendment was rejected.

At Home: Jeffords is well-suited to politics in modern-day Vermont. The electorate has tilted to the left during the last two decades, with the arrival of thousands of liberal urbanites seeking the state's greener pastures. With Democrats gain-

ing an upper hand such as Jeffords statewide.

Jeffords has at times lost ground from conservatives in general elections. In 1994, Jeffords received 61 percent of the conservative neophyte vote, then breezed to victory as U.S. Attorney William French Smith.

In 1994, however, Jeffords' opposition only to a Democratic challenge was not enough.

Jan Backus, an urban Democrat who scored an upset, attacked Jeffords as a conservative and accused him of using his position for personal use. Lagging far behind at the start of the general election, Backus narrowed the gap substantially and attracted national attention.

But Jeffords shot back with TV ads that criticized Backus.

Jeffords managed to survive the political battles of his career with a 9 percentage-point margin.

Jeffords' only political loss came in 1972, when he lost a three-way primary for Vermont governor.

He went on to defeat Mayor Francis Cain with 55 percent of the vote.

Jeffords quickly became a House seat. In six re-

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General
James M. Jeffords (R)
Jan Backus (D)
Gavin T. Mills (I)
Matthew S. Mulligan (I)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1984* (65%) 1982* (69%) 1980* (67%) 1974* (53%)

* House elections

CAMPAIGN FINANCING

Year	Receipts
1994	
Jeffords (R)	\$1,011,383
Backus (D)	\$317,478

KEY VOTES

1997
Approve balanced-budget constitution
Approve chemical weapons treaty
1996
Approve farm bill
Limit punitive damages in product liability
Exempt small businesses from higher taxes
Approve welfare overhaul
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation
Override veto of ban on "partial birth abortion"
1995
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts
Approve constitutional amendment to



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ing an upper hand, only moderate Republicans such as Jeffords have had a chance to win statewide.

Jeffords has at times faced stronger opposition from conservatives in his own party than he has in general elections. In the 1988 Senate primary, Jeffords received 61 percent of the vote against a conservative neophyte, Michael Griffes. Jeffords then breezed to victory over a Democrat, former U.S. Attorney William Gray, with 68 percent.

In 1994, however, Jeffords avoided primary opposition only to face a surprisingly tough Democratic challenger.

Jan Backus, an underfinanced liberal Democrat who scored an upset victory in the primary, attacked Jeffords as a captive of special interests and accused him of using campaign funds for personal use. Lagging far behind Jeffords in polls at the start of the general-election campaign, Backus narrowed the gap substantially near Election Day and attracted national attention and funding.

But Jeffords shot back with a spate of negative TV ads that criticized Backus as weak on crime. Jeffords managed to survive one of the toughest political battles of his career, coming through with a 9 percentage-point margin of victory.

Jeffords' only political defeat came early in his career, when he lost a GOP gubernatorial primary in 1972. He bounced back in 1974, winning a three-way primary for Vermont's open House seat. He went on to defeat Democratic Burlington Mayor Francis Cain with 53 percent of the vote.

Jeffords quickly became indomitable in his House seat. In six re-election contests, he never

tallied less than 65 percent. In 1986, his last House election, he ran without Democratic opposition.

As 1988 approached and GOP Sen. Robert T. Stafford's retirement became imminent, Jeffords gained regard as his heir apparent. No Democratic officeholder came forward to contest him, and the honor fell without opposition to Gray, who had never before sought office.

Before getting to Gray, Jeffords had to contend with Griffes, a 35-year-old Navy veteran who returned to Vermont from a job with the Washington office of Grumman Corp., a defense contractor. Griffes ran an ideological campaign, describing Jeffords as "not a Republican."

But Jeffords responded by pointing out Griffes' lack of Vermont roots: His family moved to the state when he was 17, and he had spent most years since out of state. Citing Griffes' residence in Arlington, Va., a suburb of Washington, Jeffords said the contest was between a "Vermont Republican" and a "Virginia Republican." He won easily.

Jeffords entered the general-election contest an overwhelming favorite and was never threatened. Gray's main thrust was to make a connection between a contribution Jeffords received from the Teamsters union's political action committee and his opposition to federal efforts to take over the corruption-plagued union. But Jeffords quashed the issue, denying any connection between his fundraising and his House voting behavior.

The result on Election Day showed that the issue did Jeffords no serious harm.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
James M. Jeffords (R)	106,505	(50%)
Jan Backus (D)	85,868	(41%)
Gavin T. Mills (I)	12,465	(6%)
Matthew S. Mulligan (I)	3,141	(1%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1988 (68%) 1986* (89%)
 1984* (65%) 1982* (69%) 1980* (79%) 1978* (75%)
 1976* (67%) 1974* (53%)

* House elections

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts		Expenditures
	Receipts	from PACs	
1994			
Jeffords (R)	\$1,011,383	\$616,629 (61%)	\$1,043,626
Backus (D)	\$317,478	\$93,192 (29%)	\$313,169

KEY VOTES

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	
Approve farm bill	N
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	Y
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N
Approve welfare overhaul	Y
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	N
1995	
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	Y
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	53	46	57	41	58	39
1995	50	48	58	41	53	47
1994	77	21	31	68	25	75
1993	56	42	45	53	27	71
1992	45	52	36	58	37	55
1991	54	43	36	58	35	55

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	50	n/a	62	45
1995	55	36	76	23
1994	85	50	50	12
1993	60	40	64	38
1992	65	56	60	27
1991	65	50	22	10

4

Daniel R. Coats (R)

Of Fort Wayne — Elected 1990; 1st full term
Appointed to the Senate 1989.

Biographical Information

Born: May 16, 1943, Jackson, Mich.
Education: Wheaton College, B.A. 1965, Indiana U., J.D.
Military Service: Army Corps of Engineers, 1966-68.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Marcia Anne Crawford; three children.
Religion: Presbyterian.
Political Career: U.S. House, 1981-88.
Capitol Office: 404 Russell Bldg. 20510, 224-5623.

Committees

Armed Services
Airland Forces (chairman); Personnel; Readiness
Select Intelligence
Labor & Human Resources
Children & Families (chairman); Public Health & Safety



In Washington: Coats has not made clear what profession he will pursue after his congressional career, which he announced in December 1996 would end with the 105th Congress. Had he sought re-election in 1998, he likely would have faced a daunting obstacle in the candidacy of Democratic

former Gov. Evan Bayh. But the conservative stalwart will spend his last Congress with active roles in both the social policy and defense arenas as chairman of two important subcommittees.

Coats, a veteran member of the Armed Services Committee, retains for the 105th the chairmanship of the Airland Forces Subcommittee. He also picked up the gavel of the new Children and Families Subcommittee of Labor and Human Resources.

Coats ranks second on the Labor Committee behind James M. Jeffords of Vermont, one of the Senate's more liberal Republicans. When conservatives fretted that Jeffords might prove too moderate a chairman, they turned to Coats to challenge him.

But Coats, after consultation with GOP Senate leaders late in 1996, decided to defer to Jeffords' seniority. Coats also serves on an education task force appointed by Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott.

Coats is best known as a social conservative who seriously examines the implications of his positions, urging other "movement conservatives" to care not only about abortion and school prayer but also about the welfare of children and the poor. During debate about a plan to end the federal welfare entitlement, Coats warned against total faith in the devolution theory regnant in his party, saying, "State officials are fully capable of repeating the same mistakes as federal officials, and state welfare bureaucracies can be just as strong and just as wrong as federal programs."

On education issues, Coats is directly in line with conservative views. He is a forceful and passionate advocate for school choice, arguing that

allowing children and parents to choose schools would inject some much-needed competition into stagnant and failing educational systems. An amendment from Coats to repeal the federal Direct Loan Program and require student loan recipients to pay the interest that accrued on their accounts in the first six months after graduation was defeated by the Labor Committee in 1995.

But Coats recognizes that school choice has not engendered consensus support as yet. In February 1997, he noted, "Democrats very effectively spun our proposal into an anti-education initiative. We clearly want to give states more flexibility. But we're not out to demolish the Department of Education anymore."

Coats is not much for compromising his principles in strategic retreat, but unlike some of his younger Senate brethren he is willing to bend and on rare occasion to break ranks with his party; he is not viewed as one-dimensional, even by frequent adversaries. Coats devotes much of his energy to social issues such as abortion. Even on the Armed Services panel — where he has consistently joined the chorus of calling for beefier budgets — Coats made his mark on what was essentially a social matter: gays in the military. He is one of the leading congressional voices in favor of amending the Constitution to allow prayer in public schools.

He coauthored a provision of the 1996 telecommunications law to outlaw obscenity and limit indecency on the Internet — a measure that quickly became First Amendment fodder for the courts. In the 105th, dissatisfied with the broadcast industry's voluntary ratings system, Coats has introduced a bill to require the TV industry to set content-based ratings.

A solid supporter of GOP efforts to cut tax rates, Coats was a leading proponent of the move to grant the president a kind of line-item veto authority. He is a supporter of increased defense spending, noting, "When we're dealing with national security, I'd like to err on the plus side." Coats is far more restrained when it comes to domestic spending. Arguing that funding for programs such as the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities should be cut in a time of

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waist-cinching, he said, "We're acting like the entire culture of the United States is going to unravel." Noting the government's dire budgetary straits, he cautioned, "We are fiddling here while Rome burns."

Coats has a stubborn streak, in part exemplified by his self-described "lonely vigil" to grant new power to states to keep out unwanted trash. Coats took up the cause in 1990 and saw a compromise through the Senate, only to watch it dropped in conference with the House on the fiscal 1997 energy and water spending bill.

Coats opposed President Clinton's second nominee for surgeon general, Henry W. Foster Jr., alleging a lack of accuracy as the doctor sought to recall the number of abortions he had performed. "There is a litmus test here, but it is not abortion," Coats said. "The litmus test is truth-telling, and on this point, the president's and Dr. Foster's version of truth differ from day to day."

In endorsing the presidential candidacy of Bob Dole after Indiana's senior senator, Richard G. Lugar, dropped out of the hunt in 1996, Coats warned the party's standard-bearer not to shirk the issues that energize conservatives. Coats has never been one to shrink from them himself. Backing a ban on privately funded abortions in military hospitals overseas, Coats argued in June 1996 that such procedures are subsidized by taxpayers and that "we must not take money from citizens and use it to vandalize their moral values."

When Republicans launched an offensive in 1993 against Clinton's proposal to lift the ban on homosexuals serving in the military, they went looking for someone to take the point. Coats was their volunteer.

According to The Washington Post, the day before the confirmation hearing for Defense Secretary Les Aspin, Republican members of the Armed Services Committee met to discuss their questions. When Strom Thurmond of South Carolina wanted to know who would ask questions on the gay ban, no one spoke up.

"There was kind of a dead silence," Coats told the Post. "Assignments had been handed out, and nobody said anything. I think my exact words were: 'Well, if no one else wants to take it, I'll ask the question.'"

It was a stroke of luck for the GOP. On morning network news shows and elsewhere, Coats expressed forcefully but without strident rhetoric the feelings of many Americans opposed to lifting the ban. Unlike some of his more unyielding Republican colleagues, Coats, though a staunch conservative, brought a record of compromise and thus credibility to the debate.

In 1992, Coats had decided to break ranks with his party and president and become a supporter of a bill mandating that businesses allow their workers unpaid leave for family and medical emergencies. Although he was still concerned about the costs it would impose on businesses, he said he had also felt uncomfortable opposing such a "pro-

family" measure. The bill was vetoed by President George Bush in 1992 but signed into law by Clinton early in 1993.

But he was one of only five Republicans to oppose a compromise civil rights bill in 1991 that had Bush's support.

Coats carried the fight against abortion into the health care debate that dominated the second half of the 103rd Congress. When the Labor Committee took up Clinton's health care proposal in June 1994, Coats unsuccessfully offered an amendment that would have ensured that abortion was not part of the basic benefits package except in cases of rape, incest or a threat to the woman's life. The health care overhaul effort failed.

He often finds himself attempting the difficult balancing act of offering economic incentives without spawning government interference. He has called for doubling the personal tax exemption and creating tax credits for low-income families with children younger than 6. He also won adoption of several amendments in 1989 child-care legislation to permit in-home care and to allow requirements that care-providers adhere to certain religious beliefs.

Though it is not unusual for one politician to be carried some distance by the career successes of another, few have come as far this way as has Coats.

Starting as Dan Quayle's aide when Quayle represented northeast Indiana in the House, Coats has moved up behind his boss. When Quayle went to the Senate in 1980, Coats ran for and won his House seat. And after Quayle was elected vice president in 1988, Indiana's retiring GOP Gov. Robert D. Orr appointed Coats to succeed Quayle in the Senate.

At Home: When Orr named Coats to replace Quayle in the Senate a month after the 1988 presidential election, he was formalizing what many Indiana observers had considered a fait accompli. Coats was presumed to be Quayle's choice, just as he had been when Quayle left the House eight years earlier.

As Quayle's district representative from 1978 through 1980, 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. When Quayle ran for the Senate in 1980, Coats had a spot on the ballot just below him and shared the highly effective organization both had helped build. Coats actually bested Quayle that November in the 4th.

Democrats in 1990 tried and failed to recruit a front-line Senate candidate such as Rep. Lee H. Hamilton. Instead, they nominated little-known state Rep. Baron P. Hill, a former high school basketball star. Hill gained ground with clever television ads depicting the state as being flooded by Coats' franked mail. He also took a walking tour of the length of the state. Voters warmed to Hill's dry stump style, which contrasted with Coats'

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stiff presence in crowds and reliance on television ads and mailings.

In the end, Hill did not have enough money or name recognition to overtake the incumbent. Coats won with 54 percent, although Hill did well enough to merit being mentioned as a possible repeat challenger in 1992.

But Hill decided not to try again. Instead Democrats offered up Indiana Secretary of State Joseph H. Hogsett, a close associate of Gov. Bayh. Hogsett, who had helped run Bayh's gubernatorial campaign, was seen early as a strong threat to Coats. But the threat fizzled as Coats built up a

large campaign treasury and a highly organized and effective campaign.

On Election Day, Coats pushed his tally to 57 percent.

When he first ran for the House in 1980, Coats still was a relative newcomer to the district. But he easily surmounted a bitter GOP primary against two candidates with much stronger local roots, winning nomination by carrying every county. In November, Coats smashed Democrat John D. Walda in Walda's second try. Four re-election campaigns produced no surprises.

SENATE ELECTIONS

Year	Candidate	Percentage
1992	Daniel R. Coats (R)	57%
	Joseph H. Hogsett (D)	41%
	Steve Dillon (LIBERT)	2%

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (54%) 1988* (62%)
1986* (70%) 1984* (61%) 1982* (64%) 1980* (61%)

* House elections

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Year	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1992			
	Coats (R) \$3,642,012	\$1,135,005 (31%)	\$3,802,077
	Hogsett (D) \$1,621,467	\$436,042 (27%)	\$1,584,173

KEY VOTES

Year	Issue	Vote
1997	Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
	Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	Approve farm bill	Y
	Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	Y
	Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	Y
	Approve welfare overhaul	Y
	Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	N
	Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	Y
1995	Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	Y
	Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	29	68	93	4	84	11
1995	23	76	97	2	95	5
1994	42	58	88	11	78	19
1993	29	70	85	12	80	20
1992	75	22	92	8	87	13
1991	85	15	91	9	85	15

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	10	n/a	100	100
1995	0	0	95	96
1994	5	0	90	92
1993	20	18	100	88
1992	10	33	90	93
1991	5	25	80	100



NEW HAMPSHIRE

Judd Gregg (R)

Of Rye — Elected 1992, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Feb. 14, 1947, Nashua, N.H.

Education: Columbia U., A.B. 1969; Boston U., J.D. 1972, LL.M. 1975.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Kathleen MacLellan; three children.

Religion: Congregationalist.

Political Career: N.H. Governor's Executive Council, 1979-81; U.S. House, 1981-89; governor, 1989-93.

Capitol Office: 393 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-3324.



In Washington: There are many GOP senators as conservative as Gregg, but not so many with his extensive background in politics: He is the only Republican senator to have served in the House and as a governor.

Gregg's particular blend of ideological commitment and government experience

makes him a useful ally to the Senate GOP leadership.

Gregg enjoys a close relationship with Majority Leader Trent Lott of Mississippi. They served together in the House through 1988, when Gregg ran for governor and Lott for the Senate. During his House tenure, Gregg was an early participant in the Conservative Opportunity Society, a group founded by Rep. Newt Gingrich with the aim of toppling the House Democratic majority.

At the start of the 104th Congress, when Lott was Senate majority whip, he named Gregg to be chief deputy whip, and Gregg assumed a seat on the Appropriations Committee. After Majority Leader Bob Dole left the Senate to run for president in June 1996, Lott assumed the top Senate post. In a mid-Congress shuffle of committee assignments, Gregg ended up chairman of an Appropriations subcommittee.

While on most issues Gregg sees eye-to-eye with his party's conservative firebrands, he is more prone than some of them to regard legislating as a give-and-take process that involves accommodating competing interests.

In April 1997, Gregg concurred with Lott in voting to ratify a treaty that aimed to prevent the use of chemical weapons worldwide. Many on the GOP right, including some in the party's Senate leadership, said the treaty would compromise U.S. sovereignty as well as military and trade secrets. But President Clinton argued that unless the United States ratified the treaty it would be unable to participate in its enforcement. To win over skeptics, he offered assurances that the United States could pull out of the treaty if the

Committees

Appropriations

Commerce, Justice, State & Judiciary (chairman); Defense, Foreign Operations; Interior, Labor, Health & Human Services & Education

Budget

Labor & Human Resources

Aging (chairman), Children & Families

Chief Deputy Whip

55 GOP senators voted for the treaty.

When Dole was majority leader, he named Gregg to head a commission studying the future of entitlement programs such as Medicare and Medicaid. The commission issued a plan that called for reducing projected spending on Medicare by up to \$120 billion, on Medicaid by \$115 billion and on welfare by \$89 billion. The group also proposed financial incentives to encourage seniors to choose less expensive health care coverage.

The commission's proposed Medicare savings distinguished it from a budget plan passed by House Republicans in 1995, which called for about \$270 billion in Medicare savings and also proposed about \$245 billion in tax cuts.

Gregg favored more modest Medicare savings and a smaller tax cut. "In the Senate I think we'll go to \$63 billion in tax cuts, which is what the president wants," Gregg predicted on a television news program in February 1995. "I don't think we should go over what he asked for."

Gregg moved through his subcommittee another proposal Clinton supported: doubling (to \$300 million) the money spent to combat terrorism, an idea that grew out of the 1995 bombing of a federal office building in Oklahoma City. But many GOP conservatives balked at giving law enforcement expanded powers contained in the measure. The anti-terrorism package enacted in the 104th was a scaled-back version.

Texas Republican Phil Gramm's move to the Finance Committee during the 104th gave Gregg an opening to chair Appropriations' Committee, Justice, State and Judiciary Subcommittee. Gregg said he agreed philosophically with the staunchly conservative Gramm, but said he "may not be as aggressive in some accounts," which was taken as a signal that he would not swing such a big budget-cutting ax at programs such as legal services for the poor.

Nevertheless, the spending bill that came out of Gregg's subcommittee in 1996 became embroiled in controversy, in part because it cut funding for U.S. dues to the United Nations and for the Commerce Department's Advanced Technology Program. Though normally willing to

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NEW HAMPSHIRE

consider compromise, Gregg dug in his heels in this instance. Under pressure to make a deal with the White House on an omnibus spending bill in 1996, the GOP leadership "unceremoniously removed" Gregg from negotiations, as Gregg put it. "I was too disruptive to the process, because I kept saying we should be concerned about our tax dollars," Gregg said. "The American taxpayers were being fleeced."

Although there is a strong strain of libertarianism in his state's GOP's heritage, Gregg also carries his conservatism into the social-issue arena: As governor, he vetoed bills liberalizing abortion rights provisions of state law. In the Senate, he is an ally of anti-abortion forces and has voted to ban a particular abortion technique opponents call "partial birth" abortion.

At Home: Gregg's ascent in New Hampshire politics has proceeded like clockwork, although his timing was nearly thrown off in 1992 when he ran into stiff opposition in his effort to return to Washington after a four-year hiatus as governor.

A tenacious campaigner and scion of a family famous in New Hampshire politics, Gregg had won convincingly in four House races and two gubernatorial contests since the fall of 1980.

But in 1992, New Hampshire's economic woes fired up an angry electorate, helping Bill Clinton carry the state for president and putting pro-business Democrat John Rauh in a position to give Gregg his toughest electoral fight ever in his bid to replace retiring GOP Sen. Warren B. Rudman.

As governor and as a Senate candidate, Gregg took the heat for the state's economic troubles. In

the Republican primary, wealthy developer Harold Eckman pounded away at Gregg with a lavishly financed media campaign that held Gregg to a bare majority of the vote.

Rauh, a millionaire businessman who moved to Sunapee, N.H., from Ohio in 1986, continued the attack in the fall. He repeatedly reminded voters that Gregg had presided over some of the worst fiscal times in New Hampshire's history.

While acknowledging the state's economic hardships, Gregg frequently noted that he had kept a tight lid on spending and remained staunchly opposed to state income and sales taxes. The race went down to the wire. Gregg lost most of the counties in his old congressional district on the rural western side of New Hampshire. But he won the populous southeast corner of the state and the Republican "North Country" by enough votes to take the Senate seat.

Gregg has devoted almost his entire adult life to public service. He practiced law only a short time before launching his political career in 1978 by unseating a GOP incumbent for a seat on the five-member state Executive Council. Two years later, Gregg won the House seat of retiring GOP Rep. James C. Cleveland.

With a strong base in the populous Nashua area and the quiet support of his father (former Gov. Hugh Gregg), he won the nine-way GOP primary with 34 percent of the vote. From then until 1992, Gregg coasted at the polls, winning every primary and general election with at least 60 percent of the vote.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1992 General			
Gregg (R)	249,591	(48%)	
Rauh (D)	234,982	(45%)	
Katherine M. Alexander (LIBERT)	18,214	(4%)	
Jerry Brady (I)	9,340	(2%)	
1992 Primary			
Gregg (R)	57,141	(50%)	
Harold Eckman (R)	43,264	(38%)	
Sean T. White (R)	10,642	(9%)	
Mark W. Farnham (R)	2,295	(2%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1986* (74%) 1984* (76%)
1982* (71%) 1980* (64%)

* House elections

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y	
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y	
1996		
Approve farm bill	N	
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	Y	
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	Y	
Approve welfare overhaul	Y	
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	N	
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	Y	
1995		
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	Y	
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	Y	

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1992				
Gregg (R)	\$990,836	\$367,605 (37%)		\$875,675
Rauh (D)	\$834,000	0		\$833,967
Blevens (I)	\$0	0		\$484

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	34	64	90	8	89	11
1995	22	76	93	5	88	5
1994	40	56	83	16	78	22
1993	22	72	87	10	71	27

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	5	n/a	92	75
1995	0	0	95	87
1994	15	0	90	79
1993	10	0	91	92

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TENNESSEE

Bill Frist (R)

Of Nashville — Elected 1994, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Feb. 22, 1952, Nashville, Tenn.

Education: Princeton U., B.A. 1974; Harvard U., M.D. 1978.

Occupation: Surgeon.

Family: Wife, Karyn McLaughlin; three children.

Religion: Presbyterian.

Political Career: No previous office.

Capitol Office: 565 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-3344.

Committees

Budget

Commerce, Science & Transportation

Aviation, Communications, Manufacturing & Competitiveness; Science, Technology & Space (chairman); Surface Transportation & Merchant Marine

Foreign Relations

African Affairs; East Asian & Pacific Affairs, International Economic Policy, Export & Trade Promotion

Labor & Human Resources

Children & Families; Public Health & Safety (chairman)

Small Business



In Washington: Frist gave constituent service a new meaning in September 1995, when he administered cardio-pulmonary resuscitation to a heart attack victim from Tennessee who had collapsed on his way to meet the senator at his Dirksen Building office.

That dramatic incident was just one of the times that Frist's background as a heart and lung transplant surgeon gave him a special role in his first two years in elective office. During the 104th Congress, he had a hand in a variety of health-related issues and played a prominent role in several of them.

When a conference on reauthorizing the Ryan White CARE Act, the government's key AIDS program, stalled in the spring of 1996, then-Senate Labor and Human Resources Chairwoman Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan., turned to Frist. He helped work out a deal with Rep. Tom Coburn, R-Okla., a fellow physician.

And when Republicans first met with political trouble in the fall of 1995 over what Democrats portrayed as a GOP attempt to cut Medicare, Frist was enlisted to star in his party's televised counterattack. In one ad, he appeared inside a hospital and assured viewers that the Democrats' criticism "sounds scary, but it's simply not true."

Such an assignment plays to Frist's strengths: Like Majority Leader Trent Lott of Mississippi, he is a telegenic, affable politician who can articulate conservative views without sounding bellicose.

Unlike Lott, though, Frist has shown no interest in becoming a creature of Washington. He has joined fellow Tennessee Republican Fred Thompson in backing term limits, contending they would bring a more diverse and talented membership to Congress. He also has sponsored legislation to end the tradition of free airport parking and other legislative perks for senators.

Frist has compiled a solidly conservative voting record, and has made clear his disdain for increased spending on non-defense programs as well as his strong opposition to abortion.

On some other health matters, though, his posture is more moderate. With Democrat Bill Bradley of New Jersey, Frist championed a provision in the fiscal 1997 VA-HUD appropriations bill that requires health insurance plans with maternity coverage to cover at least 48 hours of hospitalization for mothers and newborns after conventional deliveries and 96 hours after Caesarean deliveries.

Frist will delve further into the debate over health in the 105th as chairman of Labor's subcommittee on Public Health and Safety. During the 104th, he chaired the subcommittee on disability policy, a role that found him struggling to reach a compromise with the House in the session's final days on the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act. Frist had hailed the Senate version of the bill as a carefully crafted compromise among diverse interests that preserved the civil rights of disabled students. The measure died in the 104th but will be considered again in the 105th.

On Medicare, Frist was appointed chairman of a Republican working group during the 104th and repeatedly expressed alarm about the impending bankruptcy of the program's trust fund. "We must not fall back on the traditional approach of raising payroll taxes and ratcheting down provider fees," he said in February 1996. "We must reintroduce private sector principles into this public program."

At the start of the 105th, Frist joined with GOP moderates in cosponsoring a measure that would provide greater portability for Medicare beneficiaries who buy Medicare supplemental insurance or private Medigap policies.

Frist found himself in a tough spot in the spring of 1995 as the Labor Committee considered President Clinton's nomination of Dr. Henry W. Foster Jr. to be surgeon general. Frist had been a professional colleague of Foster's in Nashville, but Frist knew that supporting Foster's nomination would anger abortion opponents, many of whom had supported him in his 1994 campaign. Foster acknowledged performing abortions in his 35-year career as an obstetrician/gynecologist.

But Frist's personal ties to Foster won out over political calculations. In late May, Republican James M. Jeffords of Vermont joined Frist

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and the panel's Democrats to send the nomination to the floor on a 9-7 vote. In June, Frist voted with all the Senate's Democrats and 10 other Republicans to shut off a threatened filibuster of Foster's nomination. But efforts to cut off debate failed, derailing Foster's nomination.

At Home: In the end it was not Frist's wealth that enabled him to defeat three-term Democratic Sen. Jim Sasser in 1994. Nor was it Frist's fame as a heart surgeon, although he did include a picture of himself holding a human heart in his campaign literature, and he assembled former patients to endorse him at his first news conference.

Frist won because he was unmistakably the outsider and because Sasser could not stop looking like the sort of Democratic career politician who drew many voters' wrath in 1994. But even in that year's wave of Republican triumph, Frist's achievement stood out. He took down the state's senior senator, denying Sasser not only his fourth term but also his opportunity to be the Democratic leader in the Senate (a job he was expected to win in party caucus after the election). And he won by 14 percentage points.

An earnest political outsider, Frist was an ideal messenger for an electorate angry at Washington. He had never sought office before and had shown little interest in politics, going much of his adult life without even voting.

Frist sometimes revealed too much of himself. In his autobiography, he owned up to a youthful obsession with science that drove him to adopt cats from animal shelters so he could perform medical experiments on them. But on balance, his lack of political polish seemed to work to his benefit. As a famous doctor with ample personal resources, he could plausibly deny interest in pol-

itics as a career.

And, as he himself would ask his audiences on the stump, "Who better than a heart surgeon to take out that bleeding-heart liberal Jim Sasser?"

Frist's father had founded the giant health care conglomerate Hospital Corporation of America. And the candidate himself had spent the previous eight years as a transplant surgeon at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, performing 250 heart and lung transplants — including the first pediatric heart transplant in Tennessee.

Frist was able to mount a \$9.5 million campaign, financing most of the effort from his own pocket. He easily defeated five rivals in the GOP primary and became one of just two challengers to knock off an incumbent senator in November.

Frist's medical career enabled him to make a pitch to voters that seemed fresh. No one could remember another candidate standing shoulder-to-shoulder with patients who testified to his sincerity and caring and credited him with saving their lives. He also had gained some prior notice for his crusade to have organ-donor cards printed on the back of driver's licenses in Tennessee and for his service as chairman of the Tennessee Task Force on Medicaid.

But the real message of Frist's TV ads and stump speeches had less to do with his own credentials than with a broad critique of Democrats in the White House and on Capitol Hill.

Frist seemed a little awkward during debates with Sasser, stumbling over words and looking outlandish in a loud red, white and blue flag tie that had been his trademark on the stump. Nonetheless, he consistently scored at these events by linking Sasser to Clinton and the policies of Congress' Democratic majority.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Bill Frist (R)	834,226	(56%)
Jim Sasser (D)	623,164	(42%)
1994 Primary		
Bill Frist (R)	197,734	(44%)
Bob Corker (R)	143,808	(32%)
Steve Wilson (R)	50,274	(11%)
Harold Sterling (R)	28,425	(6%)
Byron Bush (R)	14,267	(3%)
Andrew "Buddy" Benedict III (R)	11,117	(2%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1994			
Frist (R)	\$9,679,522	\$413,220 (4%)	\$9,517,424
Sasser (D)	\$4,448,053	\$1,723,494 (39%)	\$4,717,147

KEY VOTES

1997	Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
	Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	Approve farm bill	Y
	Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	Y
	Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	Y
	Approve welfare overhaul	Y
	Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	N
	Overide veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	Y
1995	Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	Y
	Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	39	59	95	4	97	3
1995	25	75	95	4	93	5

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	0	n/a	100	95
1995	0	0	100	83



OHIO

Mike DeWine (R)

Of Cedarville — Elected 1994, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Jan. 5, 1947, Springfield, Ohio.

Education: Miami U. (Ohio), B.S. 1969; Ohio Northern U., J.D. 1972.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Frances Struewing; eight children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Greene County prosecuting attorney, 1977-81; Ohio Senate, 1981-83; U.S. House, 1983-91; lieutenant governor, 1991-95; Republican nominee for U.S. Senate, 1992.

Capitol Office: 140 Russell Bldg. 20510, 224-2315.

Committees

Select Intelligence

Judiciary

Antitrust, Business Rights & Competition (chairman); Youth Violence

Labor & Human Resources

Employment & Training (chairman); Public Health & Safety



In Washington: DeWine is a conservative on most fiscal and social issues, and in the 105th Congress, business interests wished him all the best in his efforts to pass legislation allowing companies to offer employees comp time in lieu of pay for overtime work. DeWine shepherded that measure in

his role as chairman of Labor and Human Resources' Employment and Training Subcommittee.

But if first-termer DeWine fits in comfortably with the Senate's conservative Republican majority, there is a streak of moderation in his record that sets him a bit apart from the chamber's other recent arrivals who have taken up residence on the GOP's right flank.

For instance, on the Judiciary Committee in the 104th, DeWine took a more moderate stance on immigration matters than some in his party, opposing efforts to limit legal immigration. Immigration Subcommittee Chairman Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., proposed cutting the overall number of family reunification visas, and he sought to eliminate provisions in existing law that put a priority on reuniting families by giving immigration preference to adult children of legal immigrants. Critics portrayed this plan as inconsistent with promoting "family values," observed DeWine, "I think this constriction takes a very pessimistic view of this country."

On another matter, when the Labor Committee in February 1996 considered a Republican measure to constrain the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), DeWine offered an amendment striking a portion of the bill that would have limited OSHA's inspection practices. The bill aimed to bar OSHA from inspecting a workplace unless an employee had filed a complaint. Existing law permits OSHA to inspect a workplace whether or not a complaint has been filed, and DeWine's amendment sought to retain that authority for OSHA.

In early 1997, DeWine also backed legislation

to reauthorize the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for Humanities, saying he believes they play an important role in early childhood education. Many conservatives want to abolish the agencies.

A family tragedy spurred DeWine's interest in highway safety and organ donation. In 1993, when he was campaigning for the Senate, DeWine's 22-year-old daughter Becky was killed when her car collided with a pickup truck on a rain-slick highway near the DeWines' home. The incident prompted DeWine to speak strongly against efforts in the 104th to repeal national interstate highway speed limits. He urged senators to resist the politically popular course of backing repeal. "The old adage had it right. Speed does in fact kill. Everyone in this chamber knows that," he said.

DeWine joined Sen. Byron L. Dorgan, D-N.D., who also lost a daughter, to establish the congressional organ donation caucus, which publicizes donor programs. Becky DeWine's eyes were donated after her death.

It was a more conventional issue for a conservative, the "comp time" bill, that put DeWine in the spotlight early in the 105th. The bill permitted private-sector employers to give workers the option of being compensated with pay or time off when they work more than 40 hours in a week. The measure also allowed businesses to offer "flex-time" schedules. DeWine said the measure would give workers more control over their work schedules.

But organized labor and its Democratic allies in Congress strenuously opposed the bill, arguing that it could lead to unscrupulous businesses coercing workers to take whatever form of compensation the company preferred.

DeWine responded, "It's voluntary. The employee doesn't have to enter this." But he showed a willingness to compromise. In May 1997 he said he would support certain changes to the bill, such as clarifying that it would not interfere with arrangements worked out by labor unions and employers under collective bargaining agreements. But Democratic resistance to the bill was still so stubborn that GOP leaders were having trouble even getting the Senate to end debate on

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the matter so a vote could be set.

DeWine, who has eight children, also focuses much legislative attention on children's issues. He won approval in the 104th for an additional \$50 million for pediatric research in the National Institutes of Health budget. And he fought to rewrite a federal law that requires agencies to make "reasonable efforts" to keep children in their own homes before resorting to foster-care placement. Although some in his party were pushing "parental rights" initiatives to restrict social workers from investigating allegations of child abuse, DeWine charged children were too often forced to "live with parents who are parents in name only. We send them back to homes that are homes in name only — to people who inflict pain, suffering, torture and abuse."

At Home: DeWine's 1994 election to the Senate was a testament to the slow-but-steady approach to success in Ohio politics.

The race was DeWine's third run for statewide office in five years and capped a political career that began shortly after his graduation from law school. His years of preparation for office have included stints as a county prosecutor, a state senator, a House member and lieutenant governor.

Nonetheless, in a race against Democratic Sen. John Glenn in 1992, DeWine tried to run as an outsider. He lost. Back for a second Senate bid in 1994 matchup, DeWine faced political novice Joel Hyatt, a legal entrepreneur and son-in-law of retiring Democratic Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum. In that race, DeWine stressed his experience. All his years of service, DeWine said, added up to a

proven record, while with Hyatt, "all you have is his word on it" — a sly rephrasing of the familiar line from Hyatt Legal Services' long-running commercial. He won 53 percent to 39 percent.

DeWine has never lacked drive or ambition. After law school, he spent three years as an assistant county prosecutor before running against his boss and beating him in 1976. In 1980, he won a seat in the Ohio Senate. Two years later he began his congressional career, winning the west central 7th District with 56 percent despite a statewide Democratic trend. After three easy re-elections, he considered a bid for governor before settling for the No. 2 job behind GOP Gov. George V. Voinovich.

Two years later, DeWine challenged Glenn and held him to 51 percent (DeWine took 42 percent, and an independent 7 percent). With his victory in 1994, DeWine seemed to verify an axiom of Ohio politics: You have to lose a statewide race before you can win one (it has been four decades since a candidate won the governorship or a Senate seat without first running statewide and losing).

For a time, however, it was far from certain that 1994 would be DeWine's year for running and winning. Many Republicans found him too conservative or too uninspiring. But when DeWine's campaign got under way, it was apparent he had learned from his years in the trenches. His ads played up his down-home origins, showing him wearing flannel shirts and a crooked grin. But behind that persona was a organized and efficient campaign that ran smoothly through a long primary and general-election haul.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Mike DeWine (R)	1,836,556	(53%)
Joel Hyatt (D)	1,348,213	(39%)
Joseph J. Slovenec (I)	252,031	(7%)
1994 Primary		
Mike DeWine (R)	422,366	(52%)
Bernadine Healy (R)	263,559	(32%)
Gene J. Watts (R)	83,103	(10%)
George H. Rhodes (R)	42,633	(5%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1988* (74%) 1986* (100%)
1984* (77%) 1982* (56%)

* House elections

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1994			
DeWine (R)	\$6,344,528	\$1,423,379(22%)	\$6,274,663
Hyatt (D)	\$4,274,071	\$597,505 (14%)	\$4,773,905
Slovenec (I)	\$192,888	0 (0%)	\$192,867

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty		Y
1996		
Approve farm bill		Y
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases		Y
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage		Y
Approve welfare overhaul		Y
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation		N
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions		Y
1995		
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		Y
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration		Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	41	59	88	12	92	8
1995	30	70	87	13	82	18

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	15	n/a	85	85
1995	0	8	89	70

WYOMING

Michael B. Enzi (R)

Of Gillette — Elected 1996, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Feb. 1, 1944, Bremerton, Wash.

Education: George Washington U., B.S. 1966; U. of Denver, M.A. 1968.

Military Service: Wyo. Air National Guard, 1968-73.

Occupation: Accountant; shoe store owner.

Family: Wife, Diana Buckley; three children.

Religion: Presbyterian.

Political Career: Mayor of Gillette, 1975-83; Wyo. House, 1987-93; Wyo. Senate, 1993-97.

Capitol Office: 290 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-3424.

Committees

Special Aging

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

Financial Institutions & Regulatory Relief, Financial Services & Technology; Housing Opportunity & Community Development

Labor & Human Resources

Employment & Training, Public Health & Safety

Small Business



The Path to Washington:

A businessman, former mayor and 10-year veteran of the Wyoming Legislature, Enzi proved his mettle against flashier, more prominent opponents to win Wyoming's open Senate race in 1996.

He kept the seat in Republican hands, succeeding

veteran Republican Sen. Alan K. Simpson, who retired.

With a background in accounting and contacts he made running a shoe-store business with his wife, Enzi began his political climb in 1974 at age 30, winning election as mayor of Gillette, in northeastern Wyoming. He served a pair of four-year terms in that job, and was credited with guiding the city through a population explosion that saw it more than double in size.

In 1986, he won a seat in the Wyoming House, where he served six years, and then in 1992 he moved up to the state Senate. While never part of the leadership in the Legislature, he earned a reputation as a hard worker with strong organizational skills. He served as chairman of the state Senate Revenue Committee.

In addition to his legislative work on fiscal matters, Enzi was involved in education issues, serving on the Education Commission of the States, a national organization through which legislators and educators trade ideas about education policies and school reform initiatives. He also served on a state higher education commission, whose aim was to help Wyoming college students pursue professional educational opportunities.

When Enzi launched his 1996 Senate campaign, he was working for an oil well servicing company in Gillette, serving as accounting manager and computer programmer (he is a big computer buff, taking laptop in tow on his rounds of Capitol Hill).

Enzi is the only accountant in the Senate, and he can put his head for numbers to work on the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee.

His background in education policy comes into play on the Labor and Human Resources Committee, where he serves, and on his other assignment, Small Business, he knows the committee's jurisdiction from personal experience.

Despite his years as a community leader and state legislator, Enzi was just a face in the crowd of GOP Senate hopefuls who rushed in after Simpson said he was stepping down. More than a dozen Republicans initially expressed interest in the race.

Although the list of potential candidates included several high-profile Republicans, from the outset the front-runner was thought to be John Barrasso, a prominent physician widely known for his work as a broadcast personality at a Casper television station.

Although he had never held elected office, Barrasso had long been active in Wyoming politics and was a Republican National Committeeman for the state.

Barrasso, who said he favored abortion rights, made fiscal issues the centerpiece of his campaign, vowing to balance the federal budget and reduce regulatory burdens. Throughout the spring, he continued to lead a GOP pack that ultimately settled down to nine candidates competing for the nomination.

Needing to counter Barrasso's high name recognition, Enzi built a network of supporters that drew in part from the Wyoming Christian Coalition; he emphasized his opposition to abortion.

In an early indication that an upset was possible, Enzi narrowly edged Barrasso in a non-binding straw poll of delegates taken at the Republican state convention in June.

Although the vote had no formal or direct bearing on the nomination, the straw poll indicated that Enzi was a serious contender against the more polished and politically moderate Barrasso.

With new momentum, Enzi pitched himself across the state as a conservative opponent of abortion and gun control who strongly supported Wyoming's mining industry and backed tax breaks for small business.

Enzi's sales job proved effective with voters in the August GOP primary. He took the nomination

with 32 percent of the vote, edging out Barrasso's 30 percent. Enzi's election contested by Barrasso, a former state legislator who lost a Democratic primary in 1994. Enzi's victory across Wyoming and service as an unsuccessful legislator on issues such as gun use policy, she

1996 General
Michael B. Enzi (R)
Kathy Karpan (D)
W. David Herbert (L)
Lloyd Marsden (NL)
1996 Primary
Mike Enzi (R)
John Barrasso (R)
Curt Meier (R)
Nimi McConigley (R)
Kevin P. Meenan (R)
Kathleen P. Jachows
Brian E. Coen (R)
Cleveland B. Hollow

WYOMING

with 32 percent of the vote, just ahead of Barasso's 30 percent, and headed into a general-election contest with Democrat Kathy Karpan.

Karpan, a former two-term Wyoming secretary of state who had only token opposition in the Democratic primary, initially was thought to have a slight edge over Enzi. She was well-known across Wyoming because of her campaigns for and service as secretary of state, and from an unsuccessful 1994 campaign for governor. On issues such as gunowners' rights and federal land-use policy, she was careful to avoid being labeled

a liberal.

But as he had done against Barrasso in the GOP primary, Enzi played up his opposition to abortion, drawing a sharp distinction on that issue between himself and Karpan, who favored abortion rights.

Although retiring Sen. Simpson also had favored abortion rights during his career, Karpan found few Republicans willing to desert Enzi because of his anti-abortion stance. He won with 54 percent of the vote, 12 percentage points ahead of Karpan.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Michael B. Enzi (R)	114,116	(54%)
Kathy Karpan (D)	89,103	(42%)
W. David Herbert (LIBERT)	5,289	(3%)
Lloyd Marsden (NL)	2,569	(1%)
1996 Primary		
Mike Enzi (R)	27,056	(32%)
John Barrasso (R)	24,918	(30%)
Curt Meier (R)	14,739	(18%)
Nimi McConigley (R)	6,005	(7%)
Kevin P. Meenan (R)	6,000	(7%)
Kathleen P. Jachowski (R)	2,269	(3%)
Brian E. Coen (R)	943	(1%)
Cleveland B. Holloway (R)	874	(1%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Enzi (R)	\$984,906	\$476,177 (48%)	\$953,572
Karpan (D)	\$819,417	\$277,930 (34%)	\$814,258

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty		Y

15

Tim Hutchinson (R)

Of Bentonville — Elected 1996, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Aug. 11, 1949, Bentonville, Ark.
Education: Bob Jones U., B.A. 1971; U. of Arkansas, M.A. 1990

Occupation: Minister; college instructor; radio station executive.

Family: Wife, Donna Jean King; three children.

Religion: Baptist.

Political Career: Ark. House, 1985-93; U.S. House, 1993-

Capitol Office: 245 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-2353.

Committees

Environment & Public Works

Clean Air, Wetlands, Private Property & Nuclear Safety; Drinking Water, Fisheries & Wildlife

Labor & Human Resources

Aging; Children & Families

Veterans' Affairs



The Path to Washington:

Call him the reluctant senator.

When Arkansas Republicans came calling for a Senate candidate in 1996, Hutchinson turned them down. He was not interested, he said, in trying to become the first Republican elected to the Senate

by Arkansas voters. (Several Republican senators were selected by the legislature during Reconstruction.)

The state GOP persisted. Arkansas' other House Republican, Jay Dickey, threw his support to Hutchinson. Party officials kept the pressure on and Hutchinson finally relented.

The draft-Hutchinson effort stemmed from a chain reaction launched by the Whitewater scandal. In May 1996, Democratic Gov. Jim Guy Tucker announced that he would resign after being convicted of two felonies in a case related to Whitewater. Tucker's conviction prompted Lt. Gov. Mike Huckabee to drop his unopposed bid for the GOP Senate nomination and ascend instead to the governor's office. That created the opening for Hutchinson.

In his voting record and ideological outlook, Hutchinson — a Baptist minister and member of the Arkansas House for eight years before his election to the U.S. House in 1992 — reflects the views of the conservative religious community.

Though Hutchinson's political career shifted from Little Rock to Washington at the same time as President Clinton's, familiarity has not bred consent with Clinton's legislative agenda. The new senator comes from the one part of Arkansas that is historically Republican. He warns that Clinton "believes in a very activist government. . . . He believes that big government and new government programs will solve the problems that face our society."

During two terms in the House, Hutchinson was most vocal on three issues: the federal deficit, welfare reform and abortion. On the latter, Hutchinson sees no middle ground. He

refers to the Supreme Court's landmark *Roe v. Wade* abortion rights ruling as "tragic" and calls abortion "an issue on which we, who believe in the sanctity of human life, cannot bend, buckle or bow."

He has carried that zeal to the Senate, where he introduced legislation to deny funds to international family-planning and population-control groups that use their own money to perform abortions or lobby against anti-abortion laws overseas.

Hutchinson can speak on social issues from his place on the Labor and Human Resources Committee.

Hutchinson also sits on the Environment and Public Works Committee, where, at a February 1997 hearing with Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol M. Browner, he was among Republicans openly critical of two stringent clean air standards proposed by the EPA. When committee Chairman John H. Chafee of Rhode Island expressed doubts about the standards, Hutchinson called his skepticism "well-justified."

In moving to the Senate, Hutchinson traded the chairmanship of the House Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee on Hospitals and Health Care for a seat on the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee. He has remained cautious regarding what has come to be known as Gulf War syndrome, questioning the budget implications of a liberalized policy toward compensating veterans of the Persian Gulf conflict who report health problems related to their service in the war.

Hutchinson backed a balanced-budget constitutional amendment in a March 1997 Senate vote, he supports a presidential line-item veto and he says he wants the federal government to be "dramatically cut," though he admitted early in the 105th Congress that the elimination of Cabinet agencies is not going to happen as long as Clinton does not want it to. "It's just an exercise in futility to move legislation he's going to veto," Hutchinson said.

Hutchinson has been known to temper his budget-cutting zeal when the ax falls too close to home. In 1993, when then-House colleague Dan Burton of Indiana proposed cutting

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20	24

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ARKANSAS

\$462,000 for the National Center for Agricultural Law Research and Information at the University of Arkansas School of Law, Hutchinson protested: "I normally about 99 percent of the time agree with the [budget-cutting] efforts the gentleman makes. . . . However, this agricultural law research center is in my district, and I do know that it is doing an outstanding job in an area that is very important." Funding for the center was preserved.

When House Republicans were drafting their "Contract With America" in the fall of 1994, Hutchinson urged that it include a welfare reform plan with tough restrictions on eligibility for unwed mothers. More moderate Republicans objected, and the final contract language represented a compromise between the two sides.

Hutchinson started from behind in his 1996 Senate campaign. But Democrat Winston Bryant, Arkansas' attorney general, was weakened by a surprisingly strong primary challenge from state Sen. Lu Hardin, who forced Bryant into a runoff.

During the general-election campaign, Bryant repeatedly branded Hutchinson a lackey for House Speaker Newt Gingrich. That message was amplified by an advertising campaign by the Arkansas Democratic Party. One ad featured a federal worker laid off during the partial federal government shutdown. The worker said on camera: "Tim Hutchinson had the gall to shut down the government with Newt Gingrich and then announce he needed his paycheck, leaving the rest of Arkansas holding the bag."

Hutchinson tried to counter by playing up his independence. In the most prominent example, he was one of only four Republicans to break party ranks and vote against killing a resolution requiring the House ethics committee to release the report of the outside counsel brought in to investigate alleged improprieties in Gingrich's political fundraising activities. The day before, Bryant had held a news conference challenging Hutchinson to support the resolution.

Hutchinson also challenged Bryant's characterization of the House GOP record. Hutchinson's advertisements claimed that the Republicans had cut taxes, increased student loans and added funding for Medicaid, limiting only the size of future increases. "Shame on you, Winston Bryant," the ad said. "Arkansas deserves better."

What had been a close race all along broke in Hutchinson's favor during the closing weeks of the campaign, despite the large plurality given favorite son Clinton in the presidential race.

Bryant was forced on the defensive by disclosures that his office did not meet filing deadlines in criminal cases, which resulted in some charges being dismissed. Hutchinson seized on the missteps, criticizing what he characterized as Bryant's "pattern of mismanagement."

Ultimately, Hutchinson prevailed with 53 percent of the vote. His old 3rd District seat was taken over by his younger brother, Asa. They are one of two brother combinations in the 105th, the other being Sen. Carl Levin and Rep. Sander M. Levin, both Michigan Democrats.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Tim Hutchinson (R)	445,942	(53%)	
Winston Bryant (D)	400,241	(47%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1994* (68%) 1992* (50%)

* House election

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

1996	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
Hutchinson (R)	\$1,691,276	\$482,175 (29%)	\$1,604,014
Bryant (D)	\$1,606,053	\$474,056 (30%)	\$1,577,838

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty		N

House Service:

1996		
Approve farm bill		Y
Deny public education to illegal immigrants		Y
Increase minimum wage		N
Freeze defense spending		N
Approve welfare overhaul		Y
1995		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		Y
Relax Clean Water Act regulations		Y
Oppose limits on environmental regulations		N
Reduce projected Medicare spending		Y
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
House Service:						
1996	30	67	93	5	88	12
1995	17	81	95	4	91	6
1994	38	62	93	5	86	14
1993	31	69	91	8	91	6

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
House Service:				
1996	5	0	94	100
1995	0	0	96	97
1994	5	22	75	95
1993	5	0	100	100

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MAINE

Susan Collins (R)

Of Bangor — Elected 1996, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Dec. 7, 1952, Caribou, Maine.

Education: St. Lawrence U., B.A. 1975.

Occupation: Business center director; state deputy treasurer; SBA official; state financial regulation commissioner; congressional aide.

Family: Single.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Republican nominee for governor, 1994.

Capitol Office: 172 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-2523.

Committees

Special Aging

Governmental Affairs

International Security, Proliferation & Federal Services Investigations (chairman)

Labor & Human Resources

Children & Families, Public Health & Safety



The Path to Washington:

Collins has lived out a dream common among Capitol Hill staffers: She won her old boss's job.

Collins worked a dozen years for GOP Sen. William S. Cohen as an adviser on business issues. After Cohen announced that he would not seek a fourth

term in 1996, Collins won the hotly contested race to succeed him, resisting a tide in Maine that carried Democrats to victory in both the state's House districts and in the presidential contest.

Collins' victory made Maine the first state with two female Republican senators. She and colleague Olympia J. Snowe are part of their party's moderate wing, a dwindling but still visible factor in the Senate's legislative work.

Collins holds a seat on the Governmental Affairs Committee, where she chairs the Investigations Subcommittee, and she serves on the Labor and Human Resources Committee and the Special Aging Committee.

Collins, who had never previously held elective office, proved to be a better campaigner in 1996 than she was in 1994, when she lost as the GOP nominee for governor. In that race she finished a poor third, trailing both the Democratic nominee, former Gov. and former U.S. Rep. Joseph E. Brennan, and independent Angus King, who won the race. Many GOP conservatives abandoned Collins in favor of King in that race, turned off by her support for abortion rights and other moderate positions.

The Senate Republican primary in 1996 was an ugly affair, but most of the controversy involved Collins' two opponents, state Sen. W. John Hathaway and wealthy businessman Robert A. G. Monks.

A week before the primary, allegations surfaced that Hathaway had sexually abused his family's adolescent babysitter over an 18-month period in the early 1990s, when the family lived in Alabama. Prosecutors there confirmed that Hathaway had been under investigation; one said

he had not been charged out of concern for the child's welfare.

Hathaway accused Monks of planting the story in the media, and he ran TV ads bemoaning Monks' "last-minute character assassination attempt." Monks, who spent \$2 million of his own money on the race, denied spreading the story but acknowledged that he had hired an investigator to look into Hathaway's past.

When the primary ballots were counted Monks was last with 13 percent, Hathaway second with 31 percent and Collins first with a solid 55 percent.

That sent her into a general-election contest with Brennan, who was back for another try at reviving his political career. This time, though, it was Brennan, not Collins, suffering intraparty troubles.

Some state Democratic leaders had openly urged Brennan not to run for the Senate, questioning his appeal to voters after losses in both the 1990 and 1994 gubernatorial elections. And during the Senate campaign, Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC), knocked Brennan as a lackluster campaigner who had not sharply defined his differences with Collins.

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott of Mississippi appeared in Maine to tell voters he would work with Collins to ensure a goodly share of federal shipbuilding contracts for Maine while he competes for that business with shipyards in Lott's home state.

The pace of the campaign quickened toward the end, but despite increased activity among unionized workers and senior citizens — constituencies friendly to Democrats — Brennan polled just 44 percent of the vote, 5 percentage points behind Collins. Two other candidates shared the remaining 7 percent of the vote.

In addition to working for Cohen and on the staff of a Senate subcommittee, Collins spent a year as the New England regional administrator of the Small Business Administration, and she directed the Center for Family Business at Bangor's Husson College. She also worked for Maine Gov. John R. McKernan Jr. in the 1980s.

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commissioner of the Department of Professional and Financial Regulation.

Like Snowe, Collins supports abortion rights, and she would allow federal funding of the procedure for poor women. She has said she would support banning a particular abortion technique that opponents call "partial birth" abortion, as long as exceptions are made when the life or health of the woman is at risk. However, both of those exceptions were not included in abortion legislation the Senate considered in May 1997. So Collins joined Snowe and two other Republican senators in opposing the legislation, which would permit a "partial birth" abortion to be performed to save the woman's life but not to protect her health. The measure passed, 64-36.

She also opposes capital punishment.

Collins' moderate stance on certain social

issues may displease the GOP right, but she stands with gun owners' advocates in supporting repeal of the ban on certain semiautomatic assault-style weapons.

On fiscal policy, too, Collins is in line with party conservatives. She supports a balanced-budget constitutional amendment, and she favors requiring a two-thirds vote of Congress to increase taxes. She also backs a constitutional amendment to limit congressional terms and promises to serve no more than 12 years in the Senate.

She promised if elected to focus on protecting small businesses, saying she would try to reduce estate taxes to make it easier for families to pass on their businesses. She also criticized burdensome regulations and supported putting a seven-year expiration date on new regulations.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Susan Collins (R)	298,422	(49%)
Joseph E. Brennan (D)	266,226	(44%)
John C. Rensenbrink (I)	23,441	(4%)
William P. Clarke (TAX)	18,618	(3%)
1996 Primary		
Susan Collins (R)	53,339	(55%)
W. John Hathaway (R)	29,792	(31%)
Robert A.G. Monks (R)	12,943	(13%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Collins (R)	\$1,721,825	\$598,836 (35%)	\$1,621,475
Brennan (D)	\$978,848	\$321,757 (33%)	\$976,805
Rensenbrink (I)	\$35,385	0	\$33,147
Bost (I)	\$9,395	0	\$9,857
Clarke (I)	\$21,982	0	\$20,653

KEY VOTES

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y

19

John W. Warner (R)

Of Alexandria — Elected 1978; 4th term

Biographical Information

Born: Feb. 18, 1927, Washington, D.C.

Education: Washington and Lee U., B.S. 1949; U. of Virginia, LL.B. 1953.

Military Service: Navy, 1944-46; Marine Corps, 1950-52.

Occupation: Lawyer; farmer.

Family: Divorced; three children.

Religion: Episcopalian.

Political Career: Assistant U.S. attorney, 1956-60; under secretary of the Navy, 1969-72; secretary of the Navy, 1972-74.

Capitol Office: 225 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-2023.

Committees

Special Aging

Armed Services

Airland Forces; Seapower (chairman); Strategic Forces

Environment & Public Works

Drinking Water, Fisheries & Wildlife; Superfund, Waste Control & Risk Assessment; Transportation & Infrastructure (chairman)

Labor & Human Resources

Aging; Employment & Training

Rules & Administration (chairman)

Small Business

Joint Library (chairman)

Joint Printing (chairman)



In Washington: As the 105th Congress was getting under way, Warner enjoyed a ceremonial place of prominence on the platform at Bill Clinton's second inauguration, where, as chairman of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, he had presiding-officer responsibilities.

Warner's presence on the dais was symbolic of his improved standing in the Senate. When the GOP took over the chamber in 1995, Warner was on the outs with his home-state party and one of the few senior Republicans without the chairmanship of a full committee.

But in the 105th, Warner not only chairs Rules but also two key subcommittees of other panels where he is the second-ranking Republican. The former Navy secretary controls the Armed Services Seapower Subcommittee, where he can attend to the shipbuilding interests that are a significant part of the Virginia economy. He is also in charge of the Environment and Public Works Transportation and Infrastructure Subcommittee, where he will get the first swing in the Senate at rewriting the nation's major surface transportation law, which is up for reauthorization.

The Transportation Subcommittee marked up a bill during the 104th that designated about 160,000 miles of well-traveled roads as a new National Highway System. Warner opposed some provisions of the law that eroded federal safety requirements, but when the measure passed the Senate in June 1995, he was happy to tack on \$97.6 million for a bridge project at the southern tip of Washington, D.C., connecting Maryland and Virginia.

Warner wants to boost highway spending by at least \$5 billion per year so that most states can receive increases in their allotments, even as the surface transportation program's funding formula is changed. He opposes taking highway funds out of the general budget, which would increase the amount of dollars available for transportation,

but he is helping lead the charge to change the highway trust fund formula, which grants many Southern and Western states fewer dollars than they pay into the program in gasoline taxes.

He tried to make room for more highway funding when the Senate in May 1997 took up the fiscal 1998 budget deal crafted by Clinton and congressional Republicans. Warner offered an amendment to increase transportation funding by \$12 billion over five years, but his effort fell short when the Senate tabled it, 51-49.

Warner has been a shrewd defender of his state's fiscal interests. In 1996, Warner, who was a leader in the successful GOP maneuvering to add billions to Clinton's defense requests, saw to it that \$1.1 billion was authorized for nuclear reactors and other components of an aircraft carrier to be built by Newport News Shipbuilding, a major Virginia employer. The Navy had planned to request the funding three years hence, but Warner seemed pleased to take credit for the shift: "There you see the faint fingerprints of J. Warner," he purred to a reporter.

Such efforts, along with Warner's attempts to ensure Northern Virginia federal employees could return to work during a pair of government shutdowns, were centerpieces of his contentious 1996 re-election bid.

Warner, a prototypical establishment conservative, was propelled into the role of rebel in Virginia's 1994 Senate race after the GOP nomination went to Iran-contra figure Oliver L. North. Warner deemed North unsuitable for the Senate and instead backed an independent candidate, a move that earned him the lasting enmity of conservative religious activists who were fervent North supporters. North ultimately lost to Democratic Sen. Charles S. Robb.

Warner's apostasy did not sit well with some devoutly conservative GOP senators, and although Warner did not meet with overt retaliation when the 104th Congress was getting organized, his ambition to be Rules Committee chairman was thwarted by Ted Stevens, R-Alaska. Warner argued that he had more continuous service on Rules than Stevens, and thus should get

VIRGINIA

the chairmanship. But in a December 1994 vote, Senate Republicans decided that Stevens should be chairman because his two separate stints on Rules gave him more seniority than Warner.

In the fall of 1995, Warner finally got to wield the gavel of a full committee, thanks to the resignation of Oregon Republican Bob Packwood. Packwood's Finance chair went to William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., Stevens moved into Roth's chair at the Governmental Affairs Committee and the top seat on Rules fell to Warner.

Warner has long been a visible player on the Armed Services Committee. He was the top Republican there from 1987 to 1993 but was bumped to the No. 2 position in the 103rd by Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who had more seniority. The move by Thurmond, a harder-edged conservative than Warner, was hailed by the activist right wing of the GOP Conference, which took umbrage at Warner's genial partnership with the former chairman, Sam Nunn, D-Ga. Thurmond became chairman in the 104th.

Early in the 104th, Warner and Trent Lott of Mississippi, who was then GOP whip and sits on Armed Services, made a feint at easing Thurmond out of the chairmanship. Thurmond responded quickly to the putsch, which may have been mainly an effort to gain more power for the subcommittee chairmen. "I'm optimistic the subcommittees are going to be strengthened," said Warner.

Some critics viewed Warner's top rank on Armed Services with skepticism from the start. Though well-educated and grounded in defense issues, Warner came to the Senate with a reputation as more socialite than erudite: He was married for a time to actress Elizabeth Taylor.

The turning point for Warner's relationship with the conservative camp came in early 1989, when the Senate's Democratic majority defeated John Tower's nomination as President George Bush's secretary of Defense. Although Warner was a friend and supporter of Tower — a Texas Republican and former Armed Services Committee chairman — several Republican senators blamed Warner for allowing Nunn to drag out the investigation of Tower's personal life.

Minority Leader Bob Dole sent a shot across the Navy man's bow: He gave Republican seats on Armed Services to such hard-line conservative members as Lott, Daniel R. Coats of Indiana and Robert C. Smith of New Hampshire. Warner initially appeared to take the message to heart. In March 1991, he led an aggressive challenge to the congressional position on the Strategic Defense Initiative anti-ballistic missile system, which Nunn had helped develop.

The issue was revisited during the 104th, with Warner and William S. Cohen, R-Maine, negotiating with Nunn and Democrat Carl Levin of Michigan, but from a new position of strength. With the GOP prodding the White House to step up deployment of a limited national anti-missile defense system, Warner grew more partisan on defense issues. The group crafted a compromise

amendment during hours of closed-door negotiations to leave intact the \$626 million the bill added to Clinton's anti-missile program request. And it put into law a forceful statement of the potential value of deploying missile defenses large enough to require amendment of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. "We address the clear intention of the United States to deploy," Warner declared.

Before the start of the 104th, Warner took a more aggressive stance on Pentagon funding, joining Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., in calling for a \$17 billion addition to Clinton's planned fiscal 1996 request. In a letter to Clinton in December 1994, Warner and McCain decried "the litany of readiness problems disclosed in recent weeks," as well as administration plans to cut funding for some weapons programs. But other than advocating a more robust anti-missile defense, McCain and Warner were more specific about what they wanted cut out of the defense budget — non-defense programs and pork — than about what they wanted to put back in.

Nevertheless, congressional Republicans succeeded in tacking on several billion dollars to each of Clinton's defense budgets during the 104th.

Aside from his Transportation Subcommittee chairmanship, Warner also moved in the 104th from the Intelligence Committee to the Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee, where he supported the rewrite of farm law to ease away from crop subsidies. (He left the panel for the 105th.)

At Home: Warner's record is, by most standards, conservative, but throughout his career he has cast scattered votes on arts, education, civil rights and tax issues, and Republican presidential appointees (including Tower and Supreme Court nominee Robert H. Bork, whom he opposed) that have angered staunch conservatives. But it was Warner's failure to support North and to back 1993 lieutenant governor nominee Michael E. Farris that finally earned him an intraparty challenge in 1996.

Warner was taken on by James C. "Jim" Miller III, a former budget director for President Ronald Reagan. Miller accused Warner of disloyalty to the party for not supporting North and Farris and for having voted for some Clinton initiatives. Warner managed to avoid a party convention that might have been dominated by conservative activists taking advantage of a state law that allows incumbents to choose a primary over a convention. State Republican officials critical of Warner challenged that law in court but without success.

Miller lost the primary by 32 points, and his attacks may actually have helped Warner in the fall. Warner's Democratic challenger, cell phone multimillionaire Mark Warner (no relation), began his campaign by stressing his vision for Virginia's future, high-tech economy. When that message fizzled, Mark Warner poured \$10 million of his own into a blizzard of commercials linking the senator to unpopular spending reduc-

tions made or sought. But, despite the Democratic ticket, it nearly impossible to win a "cookie cutter" Republican.

John Warner's ad that included a consultant. The consultant Warner went on to

He was never the Virginia GOP nominee in 1978

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Republicans need the runner-up in June had courted the campaign costing enough votes to be defeated. He had a backed Obenshain at

Warner brought to assets he had in Ju statewide reputation, secretary under Presidential Bicentennial

Gerald R. Ford, but also. He also had liability, he was looked voters also saw him

SENATE

1996 General
John W. Warner (R)
Mark Warner (D)
1996 Primary
John W. Warner (R)
James C. "Jim" Miller III (R)

Previous Winning Percentages:
1978 (50%)

CAMPAIGN

1996	Receipts
Warner (R)	\$5,033,390
Warner (D)	\$11,625,483

KEY V

1997
Approve balanced-budget constitution
Approve chemical weapons treaty
1996
Approve farm bill
Limit punitive damages in product
Exempt small businesses from high
Approve welfare overhaul
Bar job discrimination based on sex
Override veto of ban on "partial birth"
1995
Approve GOP budget with tax and
Approve constitutional amendment

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VIRGINIA

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tions made or sought by the Republican Congress. But, despite the unusual strength of the national Democratic ticket in Virginia, Mark Warner found it nearly impossible to tag John Warner as a "cookie cutter" Republican.

John Warner's one misstep was to release an ad that included a doctored photo of his opponent. The consultant responsible was fired and Warner went on to win with 52 percent.

He was never the choice of conservatives in the Virginia GOP. He became the party's Senate nominee in 1978 only after their pick, Richard Obenshain, died in a plane crash two months after defeating Warner at the state convention.

Republicans needed a nominee, and Warner, the runner-up in June, was the obvious choice. He had courted the convention delegates with a lavish campaign costing nearly \$500,000, and attracted enough votes to force six ballots before being defeated. He had also been a good loser and backed Obenshain afterward.

Warner brought to the fall campaign the same assets he had in June: personal wealth and a statewide reputation, achieved not only as Navy secretary under President Richard M. Nixon and chief Bicentennial planner under President Gerald R. Ford, but also as Taylor's husband.

He also had liabilities. Despite his Virginia education, he was looked upon as an outsider. Some voters also saw him as a socialite and fortune

hunter. Before he married Taylor, he was married to heiress Catherine Mellon and received a reported \$7 million from her in their divorce settlement.

But Warner's celebrity wife turned out to be a help to him. Taylor's presence on the campaign trail guaranteed large crowds, and when she proved willing to voice her enthusiasm for conservative causes, Virginia Republicans cheered her on. The Democratic nominee, former state Attorney General Andrew Miller, was seeking to recover from a defeat in the 1977 gubernatorial primary by the state's best-known liberal Democrat, Henry E. Howell. In 1978 Miller campaigned for the Senate as a fiscal conservative, but Warner tied him to the Democratic Party of Howell, and Miller never managed to extricate himself. Warner won by fewer than 5,000 votes in the closest Senate election in Virginia history.

Six years later, Warner was in a totally different type of contest, winning re-election by more than 805,000 votes in a race that was a mismatch from the beginning. Then-Gov. Charles S. Robb led the search for a suitable Democratic challenger, but Warner helped to discourage the effort by raising more than \$1 million by the end of 1983. The nomination went by default to former state Rep. Edythe C. Harrison. A longtime ally of the liberal Howell, she was given lukewarm support by much of her own party. Warner swept all but two of the state's 95 counties and all 41 independent cities.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
John W. Warner (R)	1,235,744	(52%)
Mark Warner (D)	1,115,982	(47%)
1996 Primary		
John W. Warner (R)	323,520	(66%)
James C. "Jim" Miller III (R)	170,015	(34%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (81%) 1984 (70%)
1978 (50%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Warner (R)	\$5,033,390	\$1,601,460 (32%)	\$5,196,091
Warner (D)	\$11,625,483	\$1,250 (0%)	\$11,600,424

KEY VOTES

1997	Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
	Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	Approve farm bill	Y
	Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	Y
	Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	Y
	Approve welfare overhaul	Y
	Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	N
	Overrule veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	Y
1995	Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	Y
	Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	Y

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	42	58	93	7	89	11
1995	25	72	93	6	93	5
1994	58	39	76	23	84	16
1993	28	71	78	19	85	12
1992	67	25	86	13	79	21
1991	89	11	82	18	95	5

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	5	n/a	85	95
1995	5	0	100	91
1994	20	25	90	80
1993	10	9	91	84
1992	20	17	100	74
1991	20	25	80	76

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KENTUCKY

Mitch McConnell (R)

Of Louisville — Elected 1984, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: Feb. 20, 1942, Sheffield, Ala.

Education: U. of Louisville, B.A. 1964; U. of Kentucky, J.D. 1967.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Elaine Chao; three children.

Religion: Baptist.

Political Career: Jefferson County judge/executive, 1978-85

Capitol Office: 361A Russell Bldg. 20510, 224-2541.

Committees

Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry

Marketing, Inspection & Product Promotion; Research, Nutrition & General Legislation (chairman)

Appropriations

Agriculture, Rural Development & Related Agencies, Commerce, Justice, State & Judiciary, Defense, Energy & Water Development, Foreign Operations (chairman)

Labor & Human Resources

Children & Families, Employment & Training

Rules & Administration

Joint Printing



In Washington: McConnell relishes his role as Darth Vader against efforts aimed at limiting the amount of money that can be spent on congressional campaigns. And no amount of force so far has been capable of defeating him. "This is about the First Amendment to the Constitution," he told

a National Press Club audience in March 1997. "Political speech is at the core of the First Amendment."

Simply put, McConnell does not believe that it is constitutional to hold down campaign spending. Most efforts to change the campaign finance system revolve around offering incentives, such as public funds, for candidates who agree to limit the amount of money they spend. McConnell said that voluntary spending limits "are as voluntary as giving your wallet to a robber with a gun to your head," he said.

McConnell has been the Senate's leading opponent of legislation introduced by Sens. John McCain, R-Ariz., and Russell D. Feingold, D-Wis., which would offer incentives to limit spending. In March, he assembled a diverse group of organizations — including the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Rifle Association — to argue against the bill. "There's never been any indication of a public outcry on this issue," McConnell said. "Not a single race has been decided on it."

McConnell has another reason to object to restrictions on fundraising. In the 1998 election cycle, he will chair the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

McConnell's opposition to campaign finance legislation goes back to his first term, when in the 100th Congress he helped beat back a record-setting eight cloture votes on a Democratic bill. In the 101st and 102nd Congresses, McConnell was the Republican floor leader on campaign finance. The bill died in conference in the 101st; President George Bush vetoed a largely similar bill in the

102nd.

McConnell also headed the push to kill the Democrats' effort to change the system in the closing days of the 103rd Congress, blocking a proposal endorsed by President Clinton that again offered public financing as an incentive to hold down spending. In the end, the Republicans successfully filibustered an attempt by the Senate Democratic majority to even go to conference on the legislation. "I make no apologies for killing this turkey of a bill," McConnell said.

McConnell does agree, however, that restrictions on "soft money" — the unregulated sums used for issue-oriented advertisements and party-building activities such as get-out-the-vote drives — might be warranted. Instead of soft money, which can be raised without restrictions, he suggests that Congress drop restrictions on how much financial help political parties can give to their nominees.

As the Senate prepared in March 1997 to launch an investigation of fundraising in the 1996 election cycle, McConnell and Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, two members of the Rules and Administration Committee, insisted that the GOP-controlled Senate focus solely on the White House and not look at congressional fundraising. With the GOP holding a mere two-seat edge on the Rules Committee, defections by the two Republicans could have killed the measure. Majority Leader Trent Lott initially agreed to McConnell and Santorum's demands, but he changed course after another group of GOP senators insisted that the probe also include Congress.

McConnell's advocacy of the First Amendment goes beyond campaign finance. In December 1995, he voted against a constitutional amendment prohibiting flag burning.

With the Republican takeover of the Senate in 1995, McConnell became chairman of the Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee. In July 1996, he failed to win support for strong sanctions against Myanmar (formerly Burma). The Senate instead voted for milder restrictions in the fiscal 1997 foreign operations spending bill. McConnell initially proposed ban-

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ning all U.S. investment in Myanmar, which would have forced Unocal Corp., a California-based oil company, to abandon its large stake in a billion-dollar natural gas pipeline under construction in the Andaman Sea off Myanmar. Texaco Inc., also involved in gas exploration in Myanmar, would have had to withdraw as well. With U.S. petroleum interests in Myanmar threatened by McConnell's proposal, and with the Clinton administration firmly opposed to an investment ban, the Senate backed a softer alternative proposed by Maine Republican William S. Cohen, now Defense secretary. The amendment was approved on a voice vote.

McConnell said the administration's stance, along with aggressive lobbying by Unocal, had decided the outcome.

McConnell also sits on the Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee, where he is chairman of the Research, Nutrition and General Legislation Subcommittee. But his chief interest is tobacco, a key crop in Kentucky. "When it comes to tobacco, I'm prepared to wheel and deal," he said.

As the 105th Congress convened, McConnell gave up the chairmanship of the Senate Ethics Committee. He chaired the panel as it completed its investigation of then-Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore. In May 1995, the committee announced that it had found "substantial credible evidence" that Packwood engaged in sexual misconduct at least 18 times with 17 women, that he altered his diaries and that he improperly solicited jobs for his ex-wife in an attempt to reduce his alimony payments. After Packwood declined to call for public hearings, the committee splintered along party lines over whether to hold them. McConnell privately threatened to retaliate by calling for similar public hearings into charges against Democratic senators. Eventually, the dispute spilled onto the Senate floor. "A wedge has been driven through the committee for the first time in this investigation," McConnell said in July.

Amid a growing perception that partisanship would stymie the Ethics Committee and allow Packwood to escape with little more than a reprimand, the committee voted, 3-3, along party lines at the end of July not to hold public hearings. In August, Democrat Barbara Boxer of California moved on the Senate floor for public hearings. The Senate defeated Boxer's motions, 48-52.

The committee, poised to issue a final verdict, then abruptly adjourned its closed-door deliberations a day later. The move was intended to give the staff time to investigate two additional allegations of sexual misconduct, one involving unwanted sexual advances against a 17-year-old minor. Packwood screamed foul. He said his lawyers had been assured that the investigation was complete, the case closed. Then he reversed his position and said he wanted to have public hearings to defend himself. Even some Packwood allies who had earlier supported his move to avoid public hearings felt betrayed.

When the Ethics Committee resumed its deliberations in September, the panel decided to drop its investigation of the two additional charges and voted on the extensive evidence already gathered. The panel unanimously adopted, 6-0, a resolution calling for Packwood's expulsion. The expulsion resolution was the first approved by the committee since 1981, when it voted to expel Harrison A. Williams Jr., D-N.J., who had been convicted in the Abscam scandal. Williams resigned on March 11, 1982, after it became apparent that two-thirds of the Senate would support the resolution.

Before the meeting, Vice Chairman Richard H. Bryan, D-Nev., told McConnell that he planned to introduce a resolution to expel Packwood. McConnell said he would make the motion himself. It was the first time that the committee had discussed punishment, and within half an hour, it became obvious that all the members thought alike on the issue. "The committee has heard enough," McConnell said. "The Senate has heard enough. The public has heard enough."

Packwood, too, finally had enough. The Senate chamber filled up as he prepared to speak. His voice cracking, Packwood tendered his resignation.

At Home: Three things brought McConnell to Congress: bloodhounds, Ronald Reagan and dogged persistence in the face of daunting odds. And three things have kept him there: bloodhounds, infighting between state Democrats and a record of looking out for Kentucky's interests.

He had his easiest race in 1996, defeating former Lt. Gov. Steven L. Beshear, 55 percent to 43 percent, to win a third term in the Democratic state. Beshear, who has also served as state attorney general, tried to paint McConnell as a dangerous ideologue for opposing campaign finance overhaul legislation while supporting much of the conservative Republican congressional agenda. But McConnell fought back, charging that Beshear was beholden to special interests because he had accepted sizable campaign contributions from PACs. McConnell also spent more than \$4.5 million, over twice what Beshear spent.

McConnell was the favorite in that race, the opposite of his first try for the Senate in 1984. For much of that year, few people believed McConnell had much chance of defeating two-term Democratic Sen. Walter D. Huddleston. Even some GOP leaders complained that McConnell had a "citified" image that would not play well in most parts of Kentucky; his base was metropolitan Louisville, where he had twice been elected Jefferson County judge, the county's top administrative post.

McConnell's campaign struggled for quite a while; he even lost the endorsement of Marlow Cook, the last Republican to win a Senate election in Kentucky and McConnell's boss when he was a Senate aide in the 1960s. At times, it seemed that McConnell's bid was surviving on little more than his fierce ambition to be a senator, a goal he admitted having harbored for two decades.

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KENTUCKY

Then McConnell hit upon a clever, homey gimmick to get across his claim that Huddleston had limited influence and was often absent from committee meetings. McConnell aired TV ads showing bloodhounds sniffing frantically around Washington in search of the incumbent.

The hound dog gimmick got people talking about a race they had ignored, and many concluded that McConnell had a point — they were not exactly sure what Huddleston had been doing since he went to Congress in 1973. The incumbent, an easygoing mainstream Democrat, had worked behind the scenes on Kentucky issues, such as tobacco and coal, never causing much controversy and never earning much publicity. With President Ronald Reagan crushing Walter F. Mondale by more than 280,000 votes statewide, McConnell had long coattails to latch on to. He won by four-tenths of a percentage point.

In 1990, McConnell was tabbed as one of the most vulnerable Republicans up for re-election. But, unlike his predecessor, McConnell came out early and tough. He brought back the TV bloodhounds, this time to bark up the fact that he had made 99 percent of the votes cast during his first term.

Former Louisville Mayor Harvey I. Sloane

emerged from a bloody Democratic primary as one of the best-heeled Senate challengers in the country. But McConnell, a polished debater with a flair for cutting, sometimes snide repartee, kept Sloane on the defensive from the start. Sloane, a non-practicing physician, was also plagued throughout the campaign by revelations that he had prescribed himself sleeping pills during a 20-month period, contrary to accepted medical practice and without renewing his permit for prescribing drugs.

In the final days of the campaign, Sloane appeared to ride the wave of anti-incumbent sentiment to close the gap, but he came up short, losing 48 percent to 52 percent.

A lifelong political overachiever, McConnell was student body president in high school and college and president of the student bar association at law school. After earning his law degree in 1967, he worked for Cook and then served as deputy assistant U.S. attorney general in the Ford administration. In his 1977 campaign for Jefferson County judge, McConnell defeated a Democratic incumbent; four years later, he won re-election by a narrow margin and started laying the groundwork for a statewide campaign.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Mitch McConnell (R)	724,794	(55%)
Steven L. Beshear (D)	560,012	(43%)
1996 Primary		
Mitch McConnell (R)	88,620	(89%)
Tommy Klein (R)	11,410	(11%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (52%) 1984 (50%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
McConnell (R)	\$3,840,374	\$1,293,151 (34%)	\$4,669,642
Beshear (D)	\$1,879,343	\$229,780 (12%)	\$2,073,794

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty		Y
1996		
Approve farm bill		Y
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases		Y
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage		Y
Approve welfare overhaul		Y
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation		N
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions		Y
1995		
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		Y
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration		N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	39	61	95	5	92	5
1995	24	76	95	5	89	9
1994	35	61	91	8	84	13
1993	28	71	92	6	98	2
1992	77	23	91	8	92	8
1991	93	7	95	5	98	3

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	10	n/a	85	95
1995	0	0	100	91
1994	5	0	90	92
1993	15	0	100	79
1992	15	18	100	89
1991	0	17	90	90

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Edward M. Kennedy (D)

Of Boston — Elected 1962; 6th full term

Biographical Information

Born: Feb. 22, 1932, Boston, Mass.
Education: Harvard U., B.A. 1956; International Law School, The Hague (The Netherlands), 1958; U. of Virginia, LL.B. 1959
Military Service: Army, 1951-53.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Victoria Reggie; three children, two stepchildren.
Religion: Roman Catholic.
Political Career: Suffolk County assistant district attorney, 1961-62, sought Democratic nomination for president, 1980.

Capitol Office: 315 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-4543.

Committees

Armed Services
 Acquisition & Technology; Personnel; Seapower (ranking)
Judiciary
 Constitution, Federalism & Property Rights; Immigration (ranking)
Labor & Human Resources (ranking)
 Employment & Training; Public Health & Safety (ranking)
Joint Economic



In Washington: Kennedy's national image is defined by family tragedy, scandals, tabloid headlines and jokes by late-night comedians. But 35 years into his Senate career, Kennedy remains the country's leading liberal, and his perspicacious defense of old Democratic values rallied his party and

helped score some big legislative victories during the 104th Congress despite Republican control. The earnestness of his tirades in favor of labor and environmental protections and a social safety net win Kennedy grudging respect even from colleagues who differ with him on the issues.

And, with Democratic leaders drifting rightward in response to the more conservative era on the Hill, Kennedy remains an anchor for his party, helping the minority maintain a focus. "He's as good at what he does as Michael Jordan is at playing basketball," said no less a political observer than President Clinton, in an interview with *The New Yorker*. "I mean, he can always see the opening. He's got lateral vision, and it's uncanny what he can do."

Kennedy exploited political openings for two major pieces of legislation that were enacted over strong Republican opposition in 1996: an increase in the minimum wage and a bill that mandated health insurance portability, guaranteeing that individuals who lose or leave their jobs can maintain coverage even if they are sick. The two proposals were keynotes of Kennedy's difficult reelection battle in 1994, and he honed his message on the Massachusetts stump. But he was able to shepherd the plans through Congress by dint of procedural knowledge and legerdemain.

The ranking member of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, Kennedy pushed for a minimum wage increase in the 104th even when members of his own party thought it was a lost cause.

Kennedy and other friends of organized labor spent much of the Congress fighting off GOP efforts to scale back worker-safety protections and afford employers the option of giving work-

ers comp time in lieu of overtime pay.

But in March 1996, Kennedy and his allies saw an opening to press the wage increase when Republicans unexpectedly left a parks bill exposed to amendment. Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., was forced to withdraw the underlying bill, but Kennedy threatened to attach the minimum wage provisions to every bill coming up for a vote. His efforts were heralded in the news media, and the pressure built as dozens of House Republicans broke with their leadership in favor of the politically popular raise. A 90-cent increase, packaged with a \$10 billion collection of tax breaks desired by the GOP, was signed by Clinton amid great fanfare in August 1996.

That same month, Clinton also was granted his wish to sign a health insurance bill. The portability law was a much-downsized remnant of Clinton's effort in the 103rd to push a national health care plan, a goal of Kennedy's for decades. Kennedy, in fact, joined with Labor Chairwoman Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan., in creating a "Teflon coalition" to resist all attempts to expand the bill's scope so much as to doom its chances of passage. (Kennedy introduced for the 105th a comprehensive managed care bill to establish standard regulations for health plans.)

Kassebaum and Kennedy mustered the bill out of committee unanimously, but saw it languish for a year on the Senate calendar. A plug from Clinton in his 1996 State of the Union address helped bring it to the fore; once the bill had its day it passed the Senate, too, unanimously. But the House passed a version containing provisions creating medical savings accounts that Kennedy found unacceptable. He blocked Dole's efforts to convene a conference until he could reach an informal agreement with House Ways and Means Chairman Bill Archer, R-Texas. After Dole's departure from the Senate to concentrate on his presidential bid, Republicans grew hungry for tangible legislative accomplishments to show voters.

Kennedy's coupling with Kassebaum was typical of his methods; although the Reagan-era caricature of Kennedy as a big-government bleeding heart has stuck, he consistently has been able to form alliances with Republican senators. As

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MASSACHUSETTS

retired Sen. Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., once said, "We don't vote together an awful lot, but we legislate together a lot." When Kennedy broke with his old ally over certain business and family provisions in the 1996 immigration law, he found a new buddy in pro-immigration Republican Spencer Abraham of Michigan, who replaces Simpson as chairman of Judiciary's Immigration panel during the 105th. Kennedy even worked with Lauch Faircloth, R-N.C., one of his most conservative adversaries, on a successful 1996 effort to federalize the crime of church burning. He teamed with Republican Orrin G. Hatch early in the 105th in an unsuccessful effort to provide additional health insurance for uninsured children.

Kennedy saw some big battles go awry during the 104th; he was disappointed that Clinton signed a bill that ended welfare as an entitlement, and his late-session filibuster against a bill that made it harder for Federal Express employees to unionize was broken. Kennedy's charge against a bill blocking recognition of same-gender marriage was lonely and not fruitful. But despite Republican control, the 104th represented for Kennedy a continuation of the upward arc of his late career.

After relinquishing his presidential ambitions some years ago, Kennedy seemed to drop his guard. But public fascination with his personal life did not abate, and his rather libertine ways made Kennedy a near-constant butt of jokes. On Easter Weekend 1991, Kennedy roused his son and nephew out of bed to visit some nightclubs in Palm Beach, Fla. His nephew, William Kennedy Smith, was charged with rape. Although Smith was acquitted, Kennedy appeared a less-than-perfect role model.

For months, Kennedy's public portrait was unflattering: testifying in the rape trial; apologizing for the "faults in the conduct of my personal life"; sitting mutely at the confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Kennedy's near silence was a sharp disappointment to women and others who, in other days, would have counted on him.

But after the rape trial, Kennedy grabbed control of his life in an effort to undo what damage had been done. In July 1992, six months after Smith was acquitted, Kennedy remarried. His new wife is Washington attorney Victoria Reggie, the daughter of old family friends.

In October 1994, Kennedy's name was cleared by the Senate Ethics Committee, which had quietly investigated allegations of harassment and drug use leveled by a former aide in a 1992 book. This vindication anticipated Kennedy's triumph at the polls (when his youngest son, Patrick, also was elected, as a representative from Rhode Island).

Kennedy started his career without any of the leadership pressures that descended on him later. He was 30 years old, his brothers were running the country, and he voted with them while looking out for his state's interests.

In time, he became an innovative and often successful legislator, particularly during the early

1970s, after not only the 1969 Chappaquiddick tragedy but also his most embarrassing Senate defeat, his ouster as majority whip in 1971.

Kennedy had been elected whip in 1969, beating Finance Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., who had performed erratically in the post. The vote was taken only months after New York Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's assassination, which made the youngest Kennedy the rising star.

But he was bored with the odd parliamentary jobs that make effective leaders. Then that summer, his image was shattered for all time when he drove his car off a bridge at Chappaquiddick and his companion in the car, Mary Jo Kopechne, drowned. When Senate Democrats elected their leaders in 1971, they chose Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia for whip, 31-24.

As he would do more than a decade later upon shelving his national ambitions, Kennedy returned to legislating. As chairman of Labor's Health Subcommittee, he wrote legislation with his House counterpart, Florida Democrat Paul G. Rogers. Together they crafted bills financing research into cancer and heart and lung diseases, family planning and doctor training.

Since 1968, people had looked to Kennedy to run for president. In the fall of 1979, apparently tempted by early polls showing him far ahead of President Jimmy Carter, Kennedy launched his campaign without offering any clear idea of why he wanted to be president. He talked of the need for stronger leadership, but so clumsily as to raise the question of whether he could provide it.

Only in the campaign's second half — by which time Kennedy was essentially beaten — did he present the clear liberal argument he took to the convention. The changes did not bring him any closer to nomination, but they kept him alive as a liberal leader. His stirring Democratic convention speech, with its liberal affirmation that "the work goes on, the cause endures, the hope still lives, and the dream shall never die," helped restore some lost luster.

At Home: Like Chappaquiddick 22 years earlier, the Palm Beach incident renewed doubts about Kennedy's judgment and revived Republican hopes of defeating him at the polls. When a summer 1994 survey showed GOP challenger Mitt Romney within single-digits of the senator, those hopes looked plausible.

Romney, a venture capitalist, tapped personal assets as the basis of his \$7.6 million effort. His television spots showed the 62-year-old senator looking tired and haggard, playing up the contrast to the handsome, vigorous challenger. When Romney questioned Kennedy's effectiveness in the Senate, Kennedy toured the state delivering federal checks. He characterized Romney as heartless for putting "profits over people" and questioned his positions in favor of abortion and homosexual rights, given his status in the Mormon Church.

Kennedy punctuated his comeback in two October debates, playing up his experience and

making Romney's legislative process the season for his staying power. Kennedy's challenge set a standard he set in full term less than an assassination.

Bedridden after a Republican Howard's 25 percent; the vote was the widest in his 1970 campaign.

Even some loyal doubts, and Kennedy's campaign against Republicanism.

In 1976, he bruised anti-abortion charges crushed GOP bus 1 million votes.

In 1982, Kennedy was able to draw attention to Shamie, a wealthy

SEN
1994 General
 Edward M. Kennedy (D) 50
 W. Mitt Romney (R) 49
1994 Primary
 Edward M. Kennedy (D) 50
 Write-ins (D) 50

Previous Winning Percentages
 1976 (69%) 1970

† Special election

CAN
1994
 Kennedy (D) 50
 Romney (R) 49

1997
 Approve balanced-budget
 Approve chemical weapons
1996
 Approve farm bill
 Limit punitive damages
 Exempt small businesses
 Approve welfare overhaul
 Bar job discrimination ban
 Override veto of ban on
1995
 Approve GOP budget
 Approve constitutional

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making Romney appear unfamiliar with the legislative process. In one of the few bright spots of the season for Democrats, the liberal icon proved his staying power, polling 58 percent.

Kennedy's challenge has been to live up to the standard he set in 1964, when he ran for his first full term less than a year after his brother John's assassination.

Bedridden after an airplane crash, he beat Republican Howard Whitmore Jr. by 74 percent to 25 percent; the victory margin of 1,129,244 votes was the widest in state history.

His 1970 campaign was waged in the shadow of the Chappaquiddick accident the year before. Even some loyally Democratic Bay Staters had doubts, and Kennedy took 62 percent of the vote against Republican Josiah Spaulding.

In 1976, he brushed aside three anti-busing and anti-abortion challengers in the primary, then crushed GOP businessman Michael Robertson by 1 million votes.

In 1982, Kennedy met his first Republican foe able to draw attention on his own. Raymond Shamie, a wealthy inventor, spent more than \$1

million in an imaginative campaign in which he offered \$10,000 to whoever could "GET TED KENNEDY TO DEBATE RAY SHAMIE." Kennedy accepted Shamie's offer, asking that the reward go to a Catholic school in Hanover. The debate had little impact; Kennedy won 61 percent.

Kennedy burst into politics in 1962 by winning the election to fill the remaining two years of his brother's Senate term. John Kennedy had arranged for family friend Benjamin A. Smith to get the seat when he became president in 1961, and Smith then stepped aside for the younger Kennedy in 1962.

Edward J. McCormack, nephew of House Speaker John W. McCormack, was not as obliging. He derided Kennedy's qualifications, noting his meager experience as an assistant district attorney in Boston and said in a Democratic primary debate: "If your name were Edward Moore [instead of Edward Moore Kennedy], your candidacy would be a joke."

Kennedy easily won the primary. In November, he took 55 percent of the vote against Republican George Cabot Lodge.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Edward M. Kennedy (D)	1,265,997	(58%)
W. Mitt Romney (R)	894,000	(41%)
1994 Primary		
Edward M. Kennedy (D)	391,637	(99%)
Write-ins (D)	4,498	(1%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1988 (65%) 1982 (61%)
1976 (69%) 1970 (62%) 1964 (74%) 1962† (55%)

† Special election

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts		Expenditures
	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	
1994			
Kennedy (D)	\$9,816,808	\$7,510 (0%)	\$10,540,244
Romney (R)	\$7,628,061	\$8,500 (0%)	\$7,624,491

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		N
Approve chemical weapons treaty		Y
1996		
Approve farm bill		N
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases		N
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage		N
Approve welfare overhaul		N
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation		Y
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions		N
1995		
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		N
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration		N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	86	12	93	6	8	92
1995	91	8	93	4	12	84
1994	90	5	92	6	19	78
1993	93	3	95	4	10	90
1992	25	73	95	3	5	92
1991	31	67	92	7	13	88

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	90	n/a	38	0
1995	100	100	33	4
1994	90	88	20	0
1993	90	82	36	4
1992	100	92	20	0
1991	95	83	20	0

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Christopher J. Dodd (D)

Of East Haddam — Elected 1980, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: May 27, 1944, Willimantic, Conn.

Education: Providence College, B.A. 1966; U. of Louisville, D 1972.

Military Service: Army Reserve, 1969-75.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Divorced.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: U.S. House, 1975-81.

Capitol Office: 444 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-2823.

Committees

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

Financial Services & Technology; Housing Opportunity & Community Development; Securities (ranking)

Foreign Relations

European Affairs; International Operations; Western Hemisphere, Peace Corps, Narcotics and Terrorism (ranking)

Labor & Human Resources

Children & Families (ranking); Employment & Training

Rules & Administration



In Washington: His two-year stint as general chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) complete, Dodd headed into the 105th Congress with the satisfaction of having helped his party re-elect a president for the first time in the post-World War II era.

But Bill Clinton's 1996 victory may be overshadowed by Democrats' failure to recapture control of Congress, where in the early months of 1997 the Republican majority set its sights on investigating controversial fundraising practices during the 1995-96 election cycle.

Although there was a swirl of media reports about DNC fundraising improprieties shortly before the November 1996 election and in the months after, Dodd for the most part seemed to escape the unflattering spotlight. The DNC's former co-chairman Donald Fowler, who served with Dodd, was the target of more criticism than the Connecticut senator.

Fowler ran the party's day-to-day activities, while Dodd served as the DNC's main spokesman. With his zeal for partisan combat, sharp tongue and ability to deliver a meaty sound bite, Dodd was well suited for this role.

Dodd's response to the controversy over fundraising was to say that it highlighted the need for reforming the campaign finance system. He said that Republicans engaged in many of the same fund-raising practices that Democrats were being criticized for. He called on Congress to address the problem of "soft money" donations, which are largely unregulated funds that go to political parties rather than individual candidates. He backed a bill sponsored by Sens. John McCain, R-Ariz., and Russell D. Feingold, D-Wis., to overhaul campaign finance laws.

Days before the 1996 election, Dodd suggested that both parties agree to accept no more contributions from non-Americans and to ban "soft money" donations. "We don't have to wait to change the law," Dodd said during an appearance with Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour on NBC's "Meet the Press."

If Dodd wants to change the campaign finance

system, it is not because he lacks skill functioning within it. At the end of 1996, he had more than \$1.2 million cash on hand for his 1998 re-election bid. Just as the Democratic Party has grown more comfortable with and adept at raising money from business interests, so has Dodd. A member of the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee, he has received more money from the banking and real estate industries than from any others.

On occasion in the 104th, Dodd's "day job" in the Senate was a useful complement to his work as party general chairman. In April 1996, Dodd led opposition in the Senate to a GOP effort to indefinitely extend the authorization for the Senate panel investigating the Whitewater affair, involving President and Hillary Rodham Clinton's investment in a failed land deal. Dodd and other Democrats argued strenuously that the GOP wanted to extend the investigation in order to bollix up the Clinton re-election effort. In the end, Republicans agreed to just a short-term extension for the Whitewater committee.

Dodd has always been an active legislator, delving into issues on most of his major committees — Banking, Labor and Human Resources, Foreign Relations, and Rules and Administration.

He has also managed to walk the tightrope between his own liberal tendencies and the needs of Connecticut's insurance and defense industries.

A recognized leader on children's issues (he founded the Senate Children's Caucus with Republican Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania in 1983), Dodd successfully pushed through a reauthorization of Head Start in 1994, as well as contributing to the renewal of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

During the 104th Congress, Dodd pushed to get more funding for child care added to legislation to overhaul the welfare system.

Dodd voted for welfare overhaul when the Senate first passed the measure in September 1995, after he and other Democrats wrung some concessions from Republicans, including an additional \$3 billion over five years to provide care for children of parents moving from welfare to work. "In every survey I've seen, the single largest obstacle to getting people off welfare and into work is the lack of child care," Dodd said.

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Despite the provisions for child care, Dodd said he was only reluctantly supporting the welfare bill, and he warned that he would later oppose it if negotiations with the House pulled the bill to the right. He carried through on that threat by voting against the conference report. Clinton vetoed the legislation. Dodd also opposed the final welfare reform measure that passed Congress in 1996 after Clinton agreed to sign it.

Dodd applied all his tenacity and his deal-making skills to finally achieve enactment of the Family and Medical Leave Act in the Democratic-controlled 103rd Congress. He pushed the measure through the Senate Labor Committee four times in seven years and twice saw the bill clear Congress, only to be vetoed by President George Bush.

Clinton had pledged during the 1992 campaign to sign it if he was elected, and Dodd was among those who recommended sending Clinton the version negotiated with Republicans in earlier Congresses (granting 12 weeks of leave and exempting businesses with fewer than 50 workers) rather than refighting old battles. Clinton signed the bill into law in February 1993, the first major legislative milestone of his administration.

Foreign policy is another key interest of Dodd's. As the ranking Democrat on the Western Hemisphere, Peace Corps, Narcotics and Terrorism Subcommittee, he has paid particularly close attention to Central America.

Early in the 104th Congress, Dodd led the charge against an amendment to a 1995 spending rescissions bill that would have effectively prevented the Clinton administration from providing any further loans to Mexico without the approval of Congress. The move came in response to the administration's decision to bypass lawmakers and extend Mexico a \$20 billion credit line. Dodd and other Democrats argued that the amendment, which was being pushed by Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, R-N.Y., would deal a potentially lethal blow to Mexico's economy and roil international financial markets. D'Amato ended up withdrawing the amendment so that the rescissions legislation could move forward.

Dodd was also a leading opponent of legislation offered by Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and Rep. Dan Burton, R-Ind., to tighten the U.S. economic embargo of Cuba. The bill's most controversial provision allowed U.S. citizens whose properties were expropriated by the government of Cuban leader Fidel Castro to seek legal redress in U.S. courts against foreign corporations that took over those properties. Dodd contended that U.S. courts would be choked with lawsuits brought by Cuban-Americans against foreign companies. He also objected to creating a special right for Cuban-Americans that is not extended to citizens or nationals from other countries where properties have been confiscated.

Despite these arguments, Clinton, after first opposing the legislation, decided to sign it, amid a furor that arose in February 1996 after Cuban military planes shot down two civilian aircraft being flown toward the island nation by Cuban-American

opponents of Castro.

In March 1994, Dodd and four other usually loyal Democrats lashed out at the Clinton administration's handling of the Haitian situation, arguing that it was not doing enough to restore to power ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. "I think it is fair to ask why this administration sends combat troops to Mogadishu or launched cruise missiles at Baghdad but does not even rattle a saber at the leaders at Port-au-Prince," Dodd complained.

In July, when it seemed the administration might be ready to intervene militarily, Dodd backed off, saying, "I don't think a military invasion is warranted." But in September, he helped fight off Republican-led efforts to set a withdrawal deadline for U.S. troops who were sent to Haiti to restore democratically elected government.

Pacifist instincts notwithstanding, Dodd can be hawkish about protecting defense-related industry in Connecticut. He has doggedly sought funding for building the *Seawolf* submarine in Groton, Conn.

During Senate consideration of the fiscal 1996 defense authorization bill, Dodd worked successfully to fend off an effort by Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., to eliminate funding for construction of a third *Seawolf* submarine. McCain then offered an amendment to cap funding for the three submarines at \$7.2 billion; Dodd won passage of a substitute amendment to increase the cap by \$35 million.

In addition to helping his home-state industries, he has also been receptive to business interests on a variety of other issues as well, even when it meant taking on Clinton.

In the 104th, Dodd was a key Democratic supporter of legislation to overhaul laws governing investor lawsuits. Supporters said the bill was aimed at closing loopholes in the existing system that led to the filing of frivolous lawsuits.

Congress approved the bill, and though Dodd was fairly confident Clinton would sign it, the president instead vetoed it. Even though Dodd's role as party general chairman made it a bit awkward, Dodd rallied support to override the president's veto, an effort that succeeded. Dodd sought to downplay his differences with Clinton. "As I've said all along, there are times when I'll differ with my president, and now is clearly one of those times," Dodd said.

Dodd's support for product liability legislation approved in the 104th Congress also was at odds with the president, who vetoed the measure. Dodd had urged Clinton to sign the bill, which limited manufacturer liability for defective products, saying, "The business community cares about this a lot."

At Home: Considered vulnerable to defeat at the outset of his 1992 re-election campaign, Dodd put to rest any doubts about his vote-getting abilities with a solid victory over millionaire Republican Brook Johnson.

In early 1991, it looked like Dodd might be in trouble because of his opposition to the use of military force in the Persian Gulf and his reluctance to oppose independent Gov. Lowell P. Weicker Jr.'s state income tax. More than half the people polled in a survey that year said they

wouldn't vote

But Dodd, stocking his credibility at home the *Seawolf* family leave with his own

The Dodd Connecticut p

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Ribicoff decline was viewed a overwhelmingly had first won J. Dodd — a was among his 1967 Senat campaign funds.

The younger New York the standard of resurgent cor brother of colu Buckley argue national reputa force for conse

But Buckley while Dodd slipping into politician, con Spanish. He at ideologue who

1992 General
Christopher J. Dodd
Brook Johnson (R)
Richard D. Gregory

Previous Winning Percentages
1978* 70%
1972

* House election

1992
Dodd (D) \$3,8
Johnson (R) \$2,-

1997
Approve balanced-budget
Approve chemical we
1996
Approve farm bill
Limit punitive damage
Exempt small business
Approve welfare over
Bar job discrimination
Override veto of ban
1995
Approve GOP budget
Approve constitutional

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wouldn't vote for him again.

But Dodd took the warning signs to heart, stocking his campaign coffers, increasing his visibility at home and stressing his efforts in behalf of the *Seawolf* submarine program and his work on family leave legislation. Johnson, although flush with his own cash, ended up losing by 21 points.

The Dodd name has been a household word in Connecticut politics for four decades.

From the day Democratic Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff declared his retirement in 1979, Dodd was viewed as his heir apparent. He was overwhelmingly popular in his 2nd District, which he had first won in 1974. His father, the late Thomas J. Dodd — a tough-talking, two-term senator who was among his party's most virulent anti-communists — was still revered by many voters, despite his 1967 Senate censure for personal use of campaign funds.

The younger Dodd's GOP opponent was former New York Sen. James L. Buckley, who carried the standard of the state Republican Party's newly resurgent conservative wing. The millionaire brother of columnist William F. Buckley Jr., James Buckley argued that his previous experience and national reputation would make him a significant force for conservatism in the Senate.

But Buckley's patrician style did not play well, while Dodd proved an exuberant campaigner, slipping into crowds with the comfort of a born politician, conversing both in English and fluent Spanish. He attacked Buckley as a conservative ideologue who, as a senator, had neglected the

needs of the poor.

Dodd easily outdistanced Buckley, earning a larger plurality than his father did in winning his first Senate term in 1958.

Dodd's reputation as a rising star was enhanced by his landslide 1986 re-election. The GOP nominee was 66-year-old Roger W. Eddy, a party national committeeman and former state representative.

Eddy, inventor of the widely used Audubon birdcall, had an image as a "gentleman farmer," but his campaign style turned out to be surprisingly hard-hitting. He attacked Dodd's Central America stands, describing him as "the senator from communist Nicaragua" and told members of the state AFL-CIO that "Japan is sucking us dry."

Dodd brushed off the attacks as "disappointing" and went on to amass the largest Senate vote percentage in state history.

Dodd grew up with Connecticut politics, and he went after public office himself at age 30. He was practicing law in New London in 1974 when Republican Rep. Robert H. Steele left his secure 2nd District seat to run for governor. Dodd attached himself to the camp of Democratic gubernatorial candidate Ella T. Grasso early in the spring and began lining up delegate support.

By the time of the convention, he was the clear favorite over John M. Bailey Jr. — son of the state party chairman — and Douglas Bennet, a one-time aide to Ribicoff. He locked up the party's endorsement on the first round of convention balloting, and won easily in the general election.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1992 General			
Christopher J. Dodd (D, ACP)	882,569	(59%)	
Richard Johnson (R)	572,036	(38%)	
Richard D. Gregory (CC)	35,315	(2%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1986 (65%) 1980 (56%)
1978* (70%) 1976* (65%) 1974* (59%)

* House election

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1992			
Dodd (D)	\$3,827,475	\$1,337,814 (35%)	\$4,122,268
Johnson (R)	\$2,400,715	0	\$2,395,262

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		N
Approve chemical weapons treaty		Y
1996		
Approve farm bill		N
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases		Y
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage		N
Approve welfare overhaul		N
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation		Y
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions		N
1995		
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		N
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration		N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	80	19	88	11	37	61
1995	92	8	86	13	28	68
1994	90	5	84	9	22	69
1993	97	2	91	8	28	68
1992	32	68	83	17	34	66
1991	49	49	83	16	43	58

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	85	n/a	38	10
1995	95	92	32	4
1994	80	75	38	0
1993	75	82	36	12
1992	75	92	30	11
1991	75	92	20	24

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Tom Harkin (D)

Of Cumming — Elected 1984, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: Nov. 19, 1939, Cumming, Iowa.

Education: Iowa State U., B.S. 1962; Catholic U., J.D. 1972.

Military Service: Navy, 1962-67; Naval Reserve, 1968-74.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Ruth Raduenz; two children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Democratic nominee for U.S. House, 1972; U.S. House, 1975-85; sought Democratic nomination for president, 1992.

Capitol Office: 731 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-3254.



In Washington: The first Democrat in state history to win a third Senate term, Harkin gives Iowans a leading voice on agriculture issues with his ascension to the ranking minority post on the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee in the 105th Congress. In addition,

he remains as the top Democrat on the Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services and Education, where he can not only funnel federal dollars to Iowa but also influence policy on children, health care, disabilities and other issues that have been the focus of his Senate career.

The path to success for Harkin, whose 1992 foray into presidential politics ended soon after his favorite-son victory in the Iowa caucuses, has been one of catering to longtime constituencies such as labor, but not without concessions to prevailing political winds. The Iowa populist campaigned for president as an unapologetic New Deal liberal in late 1991 and early 1992, but he has also been known to temper that liberal image at times.

In the 104th Congress, Harkin and Missouri Republican Christopher S. Bond introduced the first bipartisan welfare legislation, which was modeled after Iowa's successful Family Investment Plan. The plan, which requires recipients to sign an actual contract with the state, has increased the number of welfare recipients landing new jobs and lowered the state's costs. Harkin also voted against same-sex marriages, and he offered his support for a limited capital gains tax cut, traditionally a conservative cause, early in 1995.

But Harkin's most notable departure from the liberal ideology that has marked his tenure has come on the balanced-budget constitutional amendment. He backed the amendment in the 104th and 105th Congresses, saying that if the budget could be balanced, prospects would be brighter for funding government programs

Committees

Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry (ranking)

Appropriations

Agriculture, Rural Development & Related Agencies; Defense; Foreign Operations; Labor, Health & Human Services & Education (ranking); VA, HUD & Independent Agencies

Labor & Human Resources

Employment & Training; Public Health & Safety

Small Business

that he supports, because fewer dollars would be needed to pay interest on the national debt.

Earlier, Harkin had run hot and cold on the balanced-budget amendment. Skewered by conservative groups for opposing it in his first Senate race against GOP Sen. Roger W. Jepsen in 1984, Harkin voted for the amendment in 1986. But after becoming the first Iowa Democrat to be re-elected to the Senate in 1990, he voted against the amendment in 1994. Facing re-election in 1996, he switched positions again.

Harkin is a close ally of President Clinton's. The president appointed Harkin's wife, Ruth Raduenz, as president and chief executive officer of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). Harkin himself had been quick to endorse Clinton's presidential bid in 1992 after his own fourth-place finish in the New Hampshire primary (and a lack of campaign money) forced him to bow out. Harkin worked hard the rest of the year to win votes for Clinton, especially among his labor union allies.

Harkin's ties to Clinton have made him a passionate defender of the administration in its difficult hours. He backed the nomination of Dr. Henry W. Foster Jr. to be surgeon general, and when Republicans prevented a vote on that nomination in June 1995, Harkin warned of the consequences. "We are going down a very bad road because if we continue this, the worm will turn," he said. "There will be a Democratic Senate and a Republican president, and the shoe will be on the other foot."

Still, Harkin has shown a willingness to part ways with Clinton on several occasions, especially when the president's views contrast with Harkin's populism. He opposed the 1996 reauthorization of the nation's farm programs because he feared poorer farmers might suffer under its system of fixed, declining subsidies; although Clinton, too, had misgivings about that approach, he signed the measure. When Clinton agreed early in 1996 to sign a stopgap spending bill that included cuts in education funding, Harkin called the decision a mistake.

Harkin became a thorn in the administration's side in 1996 when Clinton nominated Alan

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Greenspan to serve a second four-year term as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Quick Senate confirmation was expected, but Harkin delayed a floor vote for weeks because he wanted to debate the nomination in the context of overall Fed policy. He contended that Greenspan's acceptance of slow growth as the price for low inflation had kept businesses from creating new jobs and increasing workers' incomes. Senate leaders ultimately let Harkin raise questions about that policy to break the logjam on the nomination.

Harkin also has questioned the Clinton administration's foreign policy decisions. He criticized its slow response toward restoring democratic rule to Haiti in the 103rd Congress and said of the 1995 offer of \$40 billion in U.S.-backed loan guarantees to Mexico when it faced financial collapse: "We shouldn't go at this like the Lone Ranger. Other countries ought to chip in."

Harkin sees himself as a defender of the interests of the common folk and the disadvantaged against the rich and powerful. When Democrats were in the majority, he used his chairmanships of an Appropriations subcommittee and the Labor and Human Resources Subcommittee on Disability Policy to pursue his causes. But after Republicans took Senate control in 1995, he had to react to their agenda more often than not. Early in the 104th, Harkin and Democrat Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut proposed new limitations on the use of the filibuster, an idea they had begun to pursue when in the majority. But Harkin also quickly availed himself of the weapon when Republicans began to push anti-labor proposals.

In one such instance in 1995, Senate Republicans sought to overturn a Clinton directive barring big federal contractors from hiring permanent replacements for strikers. Harkin rallied Democrats to defend the president's directive. Two efforts to end floor debate on the GOP effort failed on party-line votes, and Republicans eventually dropped the "striker replacement" language.

Harkin was a central figure in another labor-related debate as Congress neared adjournment in 1996. He and Democrat Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts brought the Senate to a standstill as they fought to remove language from the Federal Aviation Administration reauthorization bill that they said would make it more difficult for employees of Federal Express Corp. to unionize. Harkin and Kennedy ultimately failed in that effort, but their performance as Horatius at the bridge to slow the machine was widely noted.

An advocate for children since the outset of his congressional career, Harkin in the 104th Congress challenged Republican efforts to narrow the federal education role. Resisting cuts in education spending at every opportunity, he succeeded in helping to get \$2.7 billion restored in fiscal 1996 for programs such as Head Start, Goals 2000, school-to-work training, dislocated worker

training and counseling, and summer youth jobs. In 1996, Harkin helped win the restoration of \$2 billion in proposed cuts in education and health care for the fiscal 1997 budget.

Harkin has been a successful activist for increased funding for breast cancer research; two of his sisters died of breast cancer. In the 102nd Congress, he successfully pushed a measure to expand programs under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. He also won reauthorization of legislation aimed at protecting the rights of the mentally ill.

Harkin has said that the proudest moment of his years in Congress came in 1990 when President George Bush signed the Americans with Disabilities Act. The law, passed after years of effort and negotiations, extends broad civil rights protections to an estimated 43 million Americans with mental and physical disabilities. During final consideration, Harkin delivered a portion of his floor speech in sign language: it was addressed, he said, to his brother Frank, who is deaf.

Against the backdrop of a long and stressful 1990 re-election contest, Harkin reoriented his issue agenda in the 101st Congress, reflecting the changing focus of Iowa voters. In the mid-1980s, Harkin's extreme views on the importance of helping farmers were a centerpiece of his persona. But as Iowa's farm economy improved, he assumed a higher profile on a number of social policy issues, and he continued as an outspoken liberal voice on foreign policy — always politically correct in dovish Iowa.

Harkin has long been known for his outspokenness on U.S. foreign policy, especially involving Central America and the human rights records of other countries. When the 102nd Congress convened and turned its attention to the Persian Gulf crisis, Harkin led the liberals' charge. In November 1990, Harkin had joined 53 Democratic House members in a lawsuit seeking to prevent Bush from launching a military attack without Congress' approval.

At Home: Harkin's path to re-election in 1996 was similar to the one he traveled in 1990: He faced a well-funded GOP House incumbent. His 1990 foe had been Rep. Tom Tauke, perhaps the strongest candidate Republicans could have nominated that year except for Gov. Terry E. Branstad. In 1996, Rep. Jim Ross Lightfoot heeded the GOP call.

Lightfoot spoiled Harkin's hopes of cruising to re-election against a lesser-known opponent when he filed to run just three weeks before the March 15 deadline. But he did not spoil Harkin's bid for an unprecedented third term.

Tagged as a "liberal" in 60-second radio ads aired by the National Republican Senatorial Committee and accused by Lightfoot's campaign of having an "out-of-touch voting record," Harkin won by his narrowest margin ever. But his ties to Clinton, whose appearance at one

Iowa fundraiser Harkin outdistanced by 47 percent to 47 percent.

Harkin had been able in 1990, but becoming the elected to the granted on his re-electioning his count and stockpile did not scare early, raising a bipartisan base.

Tauke pecked issues, accusing voting for executive attacks truly his work on disabilities. The tion — Harkin opposed — all on the issue, pe In the end Harkin 9 points.

Harkin was paigns; his 198 Roger W. Jepsen weight bouts. stunned Iowa Clark. There ne would be vulne

1996 General
Tom Harkin (D)
Jim Ross Lightfoot (R)

Previous Winning Percentages
1982* (59%) 1980* (51%)
1974* (51%)

* House elections

1996
Harkin (D) \$4,667
Lightfoot (R) \$2,471

1997
Approve balanced-budget
Approve chemical waste
1996
Approve farm bill
Limit punitive damages
Exempt small businesses
Approve welfare overhauls
Bar job discrimination
Overide veto of ban on
1995
Approve GOP budget
Approve constitutional

Iowa fundraiser garnered \$200,000, helped Harkin outdistance the GOP challenger by 52 percent to 47 percent.

Harkin had been considered highly vulnerable in 1990, but he pulled off a historic win, becoming the first Iowa Democrat ever to be re-elected to the Senate. Harkin took nothing for granted en route to a second term. He opened his re-election battle early in 1989 by announcing his county-by-county campaign chairmen and stockpiled a sizable campaign fund. That did not scare off Rep. Tauke, who also began early, raising money and seeking to build on his bipartisan base in the 2nd District.

Tauke pecked away at Harkin on a variety of issues, accusing him of franking abuses and of voting for excessive spending. But none of the attacks truly took hold, while Harkin stressed his work on legislation to help people with disabilities. The two men also clashed over abortion — Harkin for abortion rights, Tauke opposed — although voters appeared divided on the issue, possibly making it a political wash. In the end Harkin won by a rather comfortable 9 points.

Harkin was no stranger to hard-fought campaigns; his 1984 race against Republican Sen. Roger W. Jepsen was one of that year's heavy-weight bouts. Six years earlier, Jepsen had stunned Iowa Democrats by ousting Sen. Dick Clark. There never was much doubt that Jepsen would be vulnerable in 1984, and Harkin, who

had proved his campaign skills by securing a Republican House district, was the logical opponent.

Jepsen's problem was that most of the events by which he had distinguished himself in office reflected badly on him. In 1983, for example, he had cited constitutional immunity to escape paying a traffic ticket while driving to work. Conservative organizations flocked to his defense, financing a barrage of TV and radio ads skewering Harkin for opposing a balanced-budget amendment and favoring higher taxes. Harkin came back with charges that Jepsen was freer with tax dollars than any other recent Iowa senator, dubbing him "Red Ink Roger." Though polls showed a tight race, Harkin took 56 percent.

Republicans saw little cause for worry when Harkin first announced for Congress in 1972 against an entrenched GOP incumbent. But they soon found themselves up against one of the more resourceful Democrats in recent Iowa politics.

Harkin projected his concern for agriculture in rural western Iowa and drew publicity with his gimmick of "work days." Republican Rep. William Scherle defeated him, but by the lowest percentage of his House career. Harkin launched his 1974 bid early, built a stronger organization and raised more money. Scherle made more appearances and tried to distance himself from the unpopular Republican administration. But Harkin won narrowly and quickly secured his hold on the seat.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Tom Harkin (D)	634,166	(52%)	
Jim Ross Lightfoot (R)	571,807	(47%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (54%) 1984 (56%)
 1982* (59%) 1980* (60%) 1978* (59%) 1976* (65%)
 1974* (51%)

* House elections

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1996				
Harkin (D)	\$4,665,182	\$1,061,573 (23%)		\$5,276,708
Lightfoot (R)	\$2,474,871	\$553,512 (22%)		\$2,439,679

KEY VOTES

1997	Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
	Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	Approve farm bill	N
	Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	N
	Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N
	Approve welfare overhaul	Y
	Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y
	Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	N
1995	Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N
	Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	85	15	91	9	18	82
1995	90	10	91	9	14	86
1994	90	8	95	3	9	88
1993	92	7	92	6	15	83
1992	18	62	66	3	5	66
1991	19	62	75	3	5	75

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	80	n/a	38	10
1995	95	92	44	9
1994	100	88	30	0
1993	90	73	27	0
1992	85	91	17	0
1991	100	90	14	0



MARYLAND

Barbara A. Mikulski (D)

Of Baltimore — Elected 1986, 2nd term

Biographical Information

Born: July 20, 1936, Baltimore, Md.

Education: Mount Saint Agnes College, B.A. 1958; U. of Maryland, M.S.W. 1965.

Occupation: Social worker.

Family: Single.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Baltimore City Council, 1971-77; Democratic nominee for U.S. Senate, 1974; U.S. House, 1977-87.

Capitol Office: 709 Hart Bldg, 20510, 224-4654

Committees

Appropriations

Commerce, Justice, State & Judiciary, Foreign Operations, Transportation; Treasury & General Government, VA, HUD & Independent Agencies (ranking)

Labor & Human Resources

Aging (ranking); Public Health & Safety

Democratic Conference Secretary



In Washington: Mikulski was the first woman elevated to a leadership post in the Senate, but she decided early in the 105th Congress not to seek to climb another rung on the ladder.

Currently secretary of the Democratic Conference, Mikulski announced in March 1997 that she

would not try to succeed Wendell H. Ford of Kentucky (who is retiring in 1998) as minority whip. She said she wanted to concentrate on her 1998 campaign for a third Senate term. Then again, while she will be a strong favorite to win that contest, a bid for whip might have been an uphill fight.

Mikulski entered the leadership ranks after the 1992 elections, when she became assistant floor leader. Top Senate Democrats, sensitive about the lack of diversity in their leadership ranks, turned to Mikulski, the dean of the chamber's five Democratic women. She also got another new responsibility: a seat on the Ethics Committee.

Her assignment was an outgrowth of negative public reaction to the all-male Judiciary Committee's handling of sexual harassment allegations that arose in the process of confirming Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court in 1991. As the ethics panel began considering the sexual harassment allegations leveled against then-Sen. Bob Packwood of Oregon, Senate leaders made a priority of finding a woman to serve on Ethics.

Mikulski was the first member of the ethics panel to call for public hearings in the Packwood case. "Unless the Senate has public hearings, the public will never believe [that] what we recommend has credibility," she said in March 1995. "The public mood and the whole idea of congressional accountability calls for public hearings."

Other Democrats joined her, and Sen. Barbara Boxer, D-Calif., said in July of that year that she would offer an amendment on the Senate floor calling for public hearings if the Ethics Committee refused to go that route. That led to a

threat from Ethics Committee Chairman Mitch McConnell, R-Ky. During one of the panel's closed-door meetings, McConnell told Mikulski to tell Boxer that Republicans would offer companion amendments calling for public hearings into ethics matters involving Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., and Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass.

In September 1995, she joined in the committee's unanimous vote to recommend Packwood's expulsion. "We all had a chance to reflect on this matter and were able to come to a speedy conclusion," she said. The meeting was over so quickly that Mikulski had time the same evening to attend the record-breaking 2,131st consecutive game played by Baltimore Orioles infielder Cal Ripken Jr.

Like most other Democratic women on the Hill, she is a strong supporter of abortion rights. In August 1995, during Senate floor consideration of the fiscal 1996 Treasury-Postal Service spending bill, she fought unsuccessfully against a provision preventing women who are covered under federal health care plans from obtaining abortions through those plans. The House voted to ban abortions except when the life of the woman was threatened. That was too strict a standard for the Senate, which first voted, 52-41, to affirm an Appropriations Committee decision to drop the stricter House-passed language from the bill. Don Nickles, R-Okla., then offered an amendment to ban federal funding of abortions except in cases of rape or incest or to protect the life of the woman. That was adopted 50-44.

After Nickles' amendment was adopted, Mikulski offered an amendment to allow abortions "determined to be medically necessary." Mikulski said this would create a narrow exemption to permit abortions needed to protect a woman's health. Nickles countered that it would permit abortion on demand; the amendment failed, 45-49.

Always pressing for better job opportunities for minorities and women, Mikulski in the 104th Congress criticized the Architect of the Capitol for not doing enough to diversify the large Hill workforce under his control. In February 1995, the

architect's renomination of an architect for an airing of In February 1995, D-Fla., intraplan from emergency something t why many when they wrong with turns out to company de to second- because the an enormou

Mikulski the Aging S Resources took up 1 Americans would con employment states more encouraging federal grants vices.

Mikulski posed divvy under the a retain the e much money formula char in services" ing. But Dar new bill upd figures and equitable fo rejected Mik

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From her Committee - member on Agencies sub shy about ob state. In July proposed an cal 1996 de Baltimore's st a decision by effectively el pete for shor sure allowed maintenance

architect said he would retire rather than seek renomination, a process that would have brought an airing of Mikulski's charges.

In February 1997, she and Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., introduced legislation prohibiting health plans from denying coverage and payment for emergency room visits. "Personal health is not something to take chances with," she said. "That's why many people seek emergency assistance when they think something may be seriously wrong with their health. But when the problem turns out to be a non-emergency, the insurance company denies payment. No family should have to second-guess getting the care they need because they are worried about being stuck with an enormous bill."

Mikulski is the ranking minority member of the Aging Subcommittee of the Labor and Human Resources Committee. In May 1996, the panel took up proposed revisions to the Older Americans Act. Republicans said their changes would consolidate food, transportation and employment programs for the elderly by giving states more flexibility in providing services and encouraging competition among groups vying for federal grants in job training and employment services.

Mikulski did not like the way the GOP proposed divvying up the federal funds available under the act. She offered an amendment to retain the existing formula for determining how much money would go to the states. She said a formula change would "cause a serious disruption in services" for those states that would lose funding. But Daniel R. Coats, R-Ind., argued that the new bill updated the formula with new population figures and made payments to the states more equitable for taxpayers. Committee members rejected Mikulski's amendment by a vote of 5-11.

In December 1995, Mikulski helped kill a constitutional amendment prohibiting flag desecration when she decided at the last minute to oppose the measure. The resolution failed by just three votes. She said she did not oppose flag protection but was reluctant to amend the Constitution. "I believe we can and should have a law to end the desecration of our flag," Mikulski said. But amendments to the Constitution should be used "to expand democracy, and not to constrict it," she said.

From her place on the Senate Appropriations Committee — where she is ranking minority member on the VA, HUD and Independent Agencies subcommittee — Mikulski has not been shy about obtaining federal funds for her home state. In July 1995, for example, she successfully proposed an amendment in committee to the fiscal 1996 defense spending bill to continue Baltimore's status as a Navy homeport. It reversed a decision by Navy Secretary John Dalton that effectively eliminated Baltimore's right to compete for short-term Navy repair work. Her measure allowed Baltimore to continue bidding maintenance contracts.

Mikulski has helped lead the defense of another controversial spending item: NASA's space station. In September 1996, she opposed efforts by Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., who introduced an amendment to the fiscal 1997 VA-HUD spending bill to kill the space station. His amendment was tabled, 60-37. Mikulski argued that medical research with life-saving potential can be performed on the space station.

During a 1993 floor debate on an amendment to kill the space station, Mikulski argued that it had been slimmed down sufficiently by the Clinton administration. "We have cut the cost of the space station without cutting its ability to do significant science," she said. Mikulski's side won the vote 59-40.

With NASA providing thousands of high-paying jobs to Maryland, Mikulski has also been an ardent defender of another "big science" program — the Mission to Planet Earth, a long-term project with a multibillion-dollar price tag that involves using unmanned satellites to collect environmental data about Earth.

She has been one of the Senate's leading advocates of Clinton's AmeriCorps program, trying to fend off Republican attempts to kill it. She voted against the fiscal 1996 VA-HUD appropriations bill in September 1995 because it did not include funding for AmeriCorps. "I believe national service creates an opportunity structure — community service in exchange for a college education," she said. "It fosters the spirit of neighbor helping neighbor that has made our country great."

Mikulski is not above praising Republicans, even though the party's 1995 takeover of the Senate deprived her of the Appropriations subcommittee chairmanship she held in the 103rd Congress. In July 1996, VA-HUD Subcommittee Chairman Christopher S. Bond, R-Mo., proposed a non-controversial spending bill that passed the subcommittee and full committee by voice votes. The measure received lavish praise from Mikulski. "I think you've done a very outstanding job," she told Bond.

She agreed with Republicans who want to streamline the regulatory process at the Food and Drug Administration, speeding up review of new drugs and medical devices. "We have worked to come up with a sensible, moderate plan," Mikulski said in July 1996.

At Home: When she ran to succeed retiring GOP Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. in 1986, many questioned whether the pudgy, 4-foot-11 Mikulski would strike voters as "senatorial." But then-Rep. Mikulski proved her skills, easily outrunning Rep. Michael D. Barnes and outgoing Gov. Harry R. Hughes in the Democratic primary, then drubbing Republican Linda Chavez with 61 percent of the vote.

A self-described "blue-collar senator," Mikulski earned broad popularity with her strong personality and gritty demeanor. In her 1992 reelection campaign, Mikulski took 71 percent of the vote, trouncing Alan L. Keyes, a black conser-

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MARYLAND

vative activist who had run against Democratic Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes in 1988.

The granddaughter of Polish immigrants, Mikulski first gained a following by discussing the plight of the "forgotten" ethnic residents of America's cities. Mikulski also organized a fight against a highway that would have leveled several Baltimore neighborhoods. She won a City Council seat in 1971 and became prominent in the feminist movement.

In 1974, Mikulski challenged the heavily favored GOP Sen. Mathias and drew 43 percent of the vote. She was well positioned in 1976, when then-Rep. Sarbanes vacated his Baltimore House seat for his first Senate campaign. Mikulski had no trouble winning the Democratic House primary, and she breezed through five general elections.

With Mathias retiring in 1986, Mikulski's vibrant style was a big asset in the Senate primary against two well-known but colorless Democratic rivals. She won by more than 112,000 votes over Barnes; Hughes was a distant third.

Mikulski then had to overcome conservative Chavez, a staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights under President Ronald Reagan. Though never more than a long shot, Chavez did not go quietly, describing Mikulski as a "San Francisco style" liberal. Mikulski resisted the bait to brawl with an opponent who was no electoral threat and coasted to victory.

Maintaining high approval ratings and compiling a large campaign treasury, Mikulski deterred the most prominent Maryland Republicans in 1992. The GOP nomination went to Keyes, a State Department official during the Reagan presidency who had gained attention for his eloquent opposition to the liberal orthodoxy of most black leaders. When Keyes took 38 percent against Sarbanes, he called it a springboard for a future contest.

But his challenge to Mikulski got off on the wrong foot when it was disclosed that Keyes was paying himself \$8,500 a month from his campaign treasury. The practice was legal, but politically dubious in a recession year.

Mikulski played a featured role at the Democratic National Convention, conducting a program featuring female candidates and nominating Tennessee Sen. Al Gore for vice president. Keyes, meanwhile, clashed with the organizers of the Republican National Convention; when they were slow to offer him a speaking slot during TV's prime time, Keyes accused the party of racism. In October, the National Republican Senatorial Committee, citing Keyes' poor showing in opinion polls, cut off funding to his campaign; Keyes declared himself an "independent Republican."

Mikulski ended up carrying all but one of Maryland's counties. Although Maryland was Clinton's best state after Arkansas, Mikulski outran him there by 21 percentage points.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1992 General		
Barbara A. Mikulski (D)	1,307,610	(71%)
Alan L. Keyes (R)	533,688	(29%)
1992 Primary		
Barbara A. Mikulski (D)	376,444	(77%)
Thomas M. Wheatley (D)	31,214	(6%)
Walter Boyd (D)	26,467	(5%)
Don Allensworth (D)	19,731	(4%)
Scott David Britt (D)	13,001	(3%)
James Leonard White (D)	12,470	(3%)
B. Emerson Sweatt (D)	11,150	(2%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1986 (61%) 1984* (68%)
1982* (74%) 1980* (76%) 1978* (100%) 1976* (75%)

* House elections

KEY VOTES

1997	Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
	Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
1996	Approve farm bill	N
	Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	N
	Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N
	Approve welfare overhaul	Y
	Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y
	Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	N
1995	Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N
	Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1992			
Mikulski (D)	\$2,940,047	\$876,062 (30%)	\$3,161,104
Keyes (R)	\$1,185,385	\$31,150 (3%)	\$1,175,682

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	90	10	92	8	32	68
1995	85	11	82	12	33	56
1994	89	6	89	9	28	69
1993	93	4	92	8	39	61
1992	23	77	87	10	24	74
1991	33	67	91	8	33	65

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	23	0
1995	90	100	39	4
1994	85	75	33	0
1993	85	100	27	4
1992	100	92	0	0
1991	90	83	20	10

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Biographic

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Jeff Bingaman (D)

Of Santa Fe — Elected 1982, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: Oct. 3, 1943, El Paso, Texas.
Education: Harvard U., A.B. 1965; Stanford U., J.D. 1968.
Military Service: Army Reserve, 1968-74.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Anne Kovacovich; one child.
Religion: Methodist.
Political Career: N.M. attorney general, 1979-83.
Capitol Office: 703 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-5521.

Committees

Armed Services
 Acquisition & Technology; Airland Forces; Strategic Forces (ranking)

Energy & Natural Resources
 Energy Research Development Production & Regulation; National Parks, Historic Preservation & Recreation (ranking)

Labor & Human Resources
 Children & Families; Public Health & Safety

Joint Economic



In Washington: For some time, Bingaman has been seen as having the potential to become "the next Sam Nunn" on the Senate Armed Services Committee, and now that the Georgia Democrat has retired, Bingaman's chance has arrived. The two have much in common: Each is a serious, studious law-

maker well-versed on issues and well-regarded by colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

But as Bingaman has shown with increasing regularity, he can display a strong partisan streak. He made an unprecedented, for him, number of journeys into the rhetorical ring during the 104th Congress, assailing Republican plans for Medicaid, education and taxes before and during the 1995-1996 budget impasse.

After the Senate Finance Committee passed a plan in October 1995 to realign the earned-income tax credit, Bingaman criticized the move. Citing a U.S. Treasury analysis, he argued that the result would raise taxes on thousands of New Mexico workers earning less than \$28,500 a year.

His comments on the subject — and on a variety of subsequent economic initiatives affecting low-income residents — were strikingly at odds with those voiced by his much higher-profile home-state colleague, Republican Pete V. Domenici.

In March 1995, Bingaman was one of six Democrats who switched from supporting a balanced-budget constitutional amendment to opposing it. He said the proposal would have placed the burden of balancing the budget on working families — an opinion he continued to sound as the Republican budget-balancing bill moved through Congress that year.

Bingaman has attributed his growing tendency toward outspokenness to his unhappiness with the GOP agenda. "I feel much better [speaking out] than just getting along and going along and saying, 'Whatever you guys want to pass, I'm happy to agree to it,'" he explained in an interview.

Unlike some Democrats, however, Bingaman has carefully picked his spots to gripe. In December

1995, he surprised the Senate by holding up consideration of one of the GOP's legislative priorities, a constitutional amendment to ban destruction of the U.S. flag.

His stated objections stemmed not from the amendment itself — which he opposes — but from having the Senate take up the matter while delaying the START II arms-reduction deal and the appointments of ambassadors to 18 countries. When Majority Leader Bob Dole sought to quell his objections by assuring him that supporters were "one phone call away" from a solution, Bingaman politely but firmly responded, "I do believe it's important to make that one additional phone call."

With his return in the 105th Congress to the Labor and Human Resources Committee — he stepped off the panel in the 104th — Bingaman is expected to become a player on education and pocketbook issues for working families.

With Democrat Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Bingaman has been a leading proponent of pension reform. In the 104th, he sponsored legislation to set up a clearinghouse that would manage portable pension accounts for the employees of private companies.

He also has been involved in the Democratic effort to create more high-wage jobs. Bingaman led a task force on the subject that came out with its report just as the issue was heating up on the Republican presidential campaign trail in early 1996. The task force called for changing the tax system in favor of businesses that contribute designated amounts to employee pension, health care and profit-sharing plans and set aside 2 percent of their payroll for worker training and education. The Clinton administration paid scant attention, but Bingaman remains committed to the idea.

Bingaman's interest in economic issues extends to competitiveness with Pacific Rim nations. He is expected to use his position as ranking Democrat on the Joint Economic Committee as a way to focus more public attention on strengthening trade ties with Asia.

As a longtime member of Armed Services, Bingaman has been a proponent of the need to court and reinvest defense resources toward creating private sector jobs. His state is home to two of the

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NEW MEXICO

Energy Department's national laboratories, Sandia and Los Alamos, that have sought new missions with the end of the Cold War.

Bingaman argues that defense research has an important effect on the civilian economy, particularly the computer, semiconductor and aviation industries. He is a leader in the push toward dual-use technologies — those that have commercial and defense use.

In the 104th, he became increasingly exasperated with GOP criticism of technology-transfer initiatives enabling businesses to take advantage of the labs' expertise; Republicans said there was little evidence the programs are working. "When you see Congress making a U-turn and trying to pretend these problems will be resolved without our assistance, you do get frustrated," he said at one point.

But Bingaman does not automatically support defense research. During the 101st and 102nd Congresses, he argued that the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the space-based shield to protect against a missile attack, was not feasible under current technology and violated the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with the Soviet Union. In August 1990, Bingaman joined Democratic Sen. Richard C. Shelby of Alabama on an amendment to the fiscal 1991 defense authorization bill diverting money from Brilliant Pebbles, a system of small interceptor missiles that was the current favorite of those advocating rapid deployment of a space-based SDI.

Bingaman has become known for his efforts to make the Pentagon more efficient. He sponsored an amendment in 1995 to cap the Pentagon's renovation cost at \$1.1 billion, or \$100 million below the current ceiling. He also has tried to speed up the rate at which Defense Department pays its bills.

During debate on the fiscal 1996 military construction appropriations bill, Bingaman denounced the "pork-laden" measure as "a mockery of all the protestations about deficit reduction coming from Congress." But his efforts to cut the bill by \$300 million were rebuffed.

That matter notwithstanding, Bingaman's colleagues usually pay attention to what he has to say. "When Jeff gets into an issue, he knows it," observed Michigan's Carl Levin, Armed Services' ranking Democrat.

Bingaman has worked assiduously on defense matters close to home. He banded together with the rest of New Mexico's congressional delegation on a successful 1995 effort to persuade the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission not to gut Albuquerque's Kirtland Air Force Base by transferring 6,850 jobs. Bingaman and others argued that closing the base would only shift costs rather than save money.

On another issue important to New Mexico, livestock grazing on federal lands, Bingaman emerged as a key figure during the 104th. As a member of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, he introduced a measure calling for a higher grazing fee increase and more restrictions on the use of rangelands than a competing bill sponsored by Domenici

and backed by the ranching industry. Although the committee rejected Bingaman's proposal, Domenici reworked his legislation to address Bingaman's concerns.

Bingaman's break with Domenici on the grazing issue — he had previously resisted efforts to raise fees — marked a departure from his tendency to adapt his liberal leanings to the conservative tilt of the Westerners he represents. On gun control, he supported a five-day waiting period for the purchase of a handgun, but he opposed a ban on certain semiautomatic assault-style weapons.

At Home: When he launched his 1982 Senate campaign, Bingaman was in his third year as New Mexico's attorney general, little-known outside the legal and political communities but politically unscarred. Whether by luck or shrewdness, he remained relatively fresh through the primary (against former Democratic Gov. Jerry Apodaca) and then against GOP Sen. Harrison Schmitt.

In the primary, the ex-governor was hamstrung by reports that he had ties to underworld figures. Bingaman did not directly mention Apodaca's problems, but he gave voters a not-so-subtle reminder with his slogan, "a senator we can proudly call our own."

Bingaman was endorsed by the state AFL-CIO, then narrowly won the support of the party convention. In the primary, he swept to nomination by a margin of nearly 3-to-2.

Incumbent Schmitt, a former Apollo astronaut, lacked Apodaca's political baggage. But he appeared more interested in pet subjects such as 21st century technology than in the state's struggling economy. Bingaman lambasted Schmitt for supporting supply-side economics, sharp increases in defense spending and cuts in Social Security payments. With statewide unemployment at 10 percent, Schmitt's ties to President Ronald Reagan were a campaign liability.

Long before 1988, national GOP operatives were portraying Bingaman as one of their top targets. His low-profile manner had left him with a fairly fuzzy image after one term in the Senate, and the GOP wanted to define it, claiming that Bingaman lacked stature and had achieved little in Congress.

But the GOP line lost credibility when the party chose a nominee with his own stature problems who was no more compelling on the stump than Bingaman. GOP state Sen. Bill Valentine managed less than 40 percent of the vote.

In 1994, Republicans thought they might have a sleeper on their hands with Colin R. McMillan, a former George Bush appointee to the Pentagon. Using much of his own money, McMillan pulled down Bingaman's numbers with ads attacking his stance on grazing fees and his support for President Clinton's 1993 budget.

But New Mexico's Democratic tendencies helped save Bingaman from the "war on the West" arguments that critically wounded other Western Democrats. McMillan could not make sufficient inroads in Democratic counties, and Bingaman won with 54 percent of the vote.

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1994 General
Jeff Bingaman (D)
Colin R. McMillan

Previous Winning Pr

1994
Bingaman (D) \$2.8
McMillan (R) \$1.5

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Override veto of ban
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NEW MEXICO

McMillan's aggressive, high-spending campaign against Bingaman marked a departure from the way New Mexico campaigns traditionally have been conducted, something that distressed Bingaman. One McMillan television spot displayed Bingaman's disembodied head popping out of the Capitol dome and bouncing away. That portrayal and others like it led the senator to introduce a bill in 1996 requiring political candidates to appear personally in ads attacking their opponents as well as giving the targets of those

ads free air time to respond.

Bingaman grew up in the isolated New Mexico mining town of Silver City, the son of a professor and nephew of John Bingaman, a confidant of Democratic Sen. Clinton Anderson. At Stanford Law School, Bingaman worked for Robert F. Kennedy's 1968 presidential campaign. Returning to New Mexico, he served as counsel to the 1969 state constitutional convention, joined a politically connected law firm and ran successfully for attorney general in 1978.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1994 General		
Jeff Bingaman (D)	249,989	(54%)
Colin R. McMillan (R)	213,025	(46%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1988 (63%) 1982 (54%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1994			
Bingaman (D)	\$2,855,038	\$1,030,243 (36%)	\$3,227,352
McMillan (R)	\$1,549,197	\$151,612 (10%)	\$1,537,563

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		N
Approve chemical weapons treaty		Y
1996		
Approve farm bill		N
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases		N
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage		N
Approve welfare overhaul		N
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation		Y
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions		N
1995		
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		N
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration		N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	83	15	87	12	37	63
1995	91	9	83	16	32	65
1994	89	11	84	16	53	47
1993	85	13	79	20	49	49
1992	40	50	70	23	39	55
1991	51	48	78	20	65	35

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	15	0
1995	90	100	42	0
1994	60	75	50	16
1993	70	73	36	20
1992	75	92	20	4
1991	65	67	20	19

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MINNESOTA

Paul Wellstone (D)

Of St. Paul — Elected 1990, 2nd term

Biographical Information

Born: July 21, 1944, Washington, D.C.

Education: U. of North Carolina, B.A. 1965, Ph.D. 1969.

Occupation: Professor.

Family: Wife, Sheila Ison; three children.

Religion: Jewish.

Political Career: Democratic nominee for Minn. auditor, 1982; Democratic National Committee, 1984-91.

Capitol Office: 136 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-5641.

Committees

Foreign Relations

European Affairs; International Economic Policy, Export & Trade Promotion; Near Eastern & South Asian Affairs

Indian Affairs

Labor & Human Resources

Children & Families; Employment & Training (ranking)

Small Business

Veterans' Affairs



In Washington: President Clinton co-opts Republican proposals. The Democratic Leadership Council tries to pull the party from its liberal moorings. The Coalition, better known as the "blue dogs," charts a center-right course in Congress.

And then there's Wellstone. He failed to get a per-

fect 100 percent score from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action only twice in his first six years in the Senate — and in those two years, his score was 95 percent. "I still believe government can be a force for good in people's lives," he told the Star Tribune of Minneapolis in October 1996. "That won't change."

Wellstone was the only senator up for re-election in 1996 who opposed the welfare overhaul bill that Clinton signed into law. "This is to me a very personal point," he said. "I did a lot of community organizing over the years, worked with a lot of poor people, a lot of poor children. And I just can't vote for anything that would create more poor children."

And while he voted to block federal recognition of same-sex marriages — "the idea of same-sex marriage goes beyond the issue of prevention of discrimination," he explained — the place he chose to make the announcement in June 1996 was a "Come Out for Wellstone" fundraiser organized by prominent Wisconsin gays and lesbians.

Wellstone was attacked for his welfare vote and many others as the GOP tried to deny him a second term. But he won re-election by a solid nine-point margin, and as he returned to Washington in 1997, he gave no indication of mellowing with experience.

When the Labor and Human Resources Committee in March 1997 considered legislation to allow businesses to offer workers a choice between overtime pay or compensatory time off for hours worked beyond a traditional 40-hour week, Wellstone, the ranking Democrat on the Employment and Training Subcommittee, worried that companies would coerce employees to

choose what the employer wanted rather than what the worker preferred. "The question becomes, really, 'How voluntary is this?'" he said. "There's a real danger of abuse of power."

That same month, Wellstone protested the Labor Committee's approval of legislation that would allow businesses to establish groups of workers and managers to address such issues as productivity, quality control and workplace safety. He unsuccessfully tried to amend the bill to allow the National Labor Relations Board to take any action it deemed necessary against employers found violating workers' rights to unionize. The proposal, which was defeated 7-11, also would have required the NLRB to issue orders barring businesses from repeating the violations for five years.

The committee then reported out the so-called TEAM Act on a 10-8 party-line vote. "You can't wait to go after labor," Wellstone said to the committee's Republicans. "You can't wait to go after working people in this country. We get the message, and when it gets to the floor, we are going to take this on."

In the 104th Congress, he fought efforts by the Labor Committee's majority Republicans to revamp the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. The GOP bill would have allowed employers to create their own workplace safety plans and hire outside, certified inspectors to approve them. Companies that opted for this approach would be exempt from regular OSHA inspections and would be subject to reduced penalties if a violation occurred.

"This bill goes a long way toward transforming OSHA from a regulatory agency into an agency that provides technical assistance," Wellstone complained in March 1996. He said that the bill put too much faith in employers' good will and took too much power away from OSHA.

As the Senate in February 1997 debated a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget, Wellstone offered an amendment to exempt from balanced-budget calculations social outlays for programs that provide nutrition, health care and education to children in low-income families. "These vital programs have

been neglected and were killed, 64-

Wellstone the way congress has called for campaigns and awareness drive people in this "Because this certainly appears for sale."

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been neglected," Wellstone said. His amendment was killed, 64-36.

Wellstone is a strong supporter of changing the way congressional campaigns are funded. He has called for public financing of political campaigns and for a national campaign finance awareness day styled after Earth Day. "I hope people in this country turn up the heat," he said. "Because this is the ethical issue of our time. It certainly appears that national political leaders are for sale."

He was one of the first Democrats to call for an independent counsel to investigate White House fundraising practices during Clinton's 1996 re-election campaign. And in March 1997, he was one of only three Democrats to buck his party and vote to kill a resolution stating that only Attorney General Janet Reno has the right to name an independent counsel and urging that if a counsel is named, an inquiry explore fundraising in congressional as well as presidential campaigns.

With Republicans running the Senate in the 104th, Wellstone finally achieved a victory he had been denied when his party held the Senate majority — tightening the rules against senators receiving gifts and meals from lobbyists. "We did something very important," he said after the bill passed in July 1995. "We took a step toward changing the political culture in Washington."

The gift-ban effort had died at the end of the 103rd Congress because of a last-minute Republican filibuster of the conference report. After threatening to attach the gift ban to the telecommunications deregulation bill in the 104th Congress, Wellstone and Carl Levin, D-Mich., won a promise from Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., to bring up the measure in July 1995.

The Senate passed the ban, 98-0, but not without a floor battle. The resolution originally would have allowed lawmakers to accept meals and gifts worth no more than \$20, with a maximum of \$50 from any one source. But the Senate approved, 54-46, an amendment by Majority Whip Trent Lott, R-Miss., to raise the individual gift limit to \$50 and allow a maximum of \$100 in gifts from any one source. The amendment also proposed to exempt gifts under \$50 from counting against the \$100 limit.

Wellstone then proposed requiring all gifts above \$10 to count against the \$100 aggregate limit. Supporters told Lott that they would insist on debating the issue and would seek a recorded vote if it was resisted. The threat resonated. Lott accepted Wellstone's modification without floor debate and it passed by voice vote.

His other major success during the 104th Congress came during congressional approval of the fiscal 1997 VA-HUD spending bill. The measure included a provision, co-authored with Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., requiring group health insurance plans that cover mental illness to set the same annual and lifetime limits on that coverage as they set on physical illness. That measure,

which does not apply to companies with 50 or fewer employees, will be in effect only from Jan. 1, 1998, to Sept. 30, 2001, and will be waived for companies if it causes their premiums to rise 1 percent or more. Both senators had watched close relatives struggle with mental illnesses and had been trying for four years to stop health insurance plans from providing far less coverage for the treatment of mental illnesses than for physical illnesses.

Wellstone can also be a lone wolf. He held up approval of a rescissions bill in July 1995, objecting to spending cuts to the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP), education, job training and to a tiny program that offers consumer counseling to senior citizens on medical insurance. "I've been around here for a long time, and I've never dealt with a guy like this," a furious Dole muttered about Wellstone. "Everybody's tired," Wellstone responded. In the end, Wellstone forced the Clinton administration to shift money around to restore \$5.5 million for the senior citizens counseling program. He got his floor amendments on LIHEAP and job training programs. Both lost, and the Senate eventually passed the rescissions bill, 90-7.

In July 1996, Wellstone struck again, threatening to block approval of legislation guaranteeing that individuals who lose or leave their jobs could maintain health insurance coverage, even if they are sick. The conference report stalled because of a provision to renew American Home Products' patent of a single drug, Lodine, that otherwise could be sold in less expensive generic form by other manufacturers. Wellstone threatened to hold up the bill unless the drug patent provision was excised. He succeeded in persuading Lott to allow it to be stricken.

In the 105th Congress, Wellstone took a seat on the Foreign Relations Committee, leaving the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, where, as a devout environmentalist, he frequently was at odds with GOP Chairman Frank H. Murkowski of Alaska, and, when the Democrats were in control, J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana.

Wellstone's style and persistence raised eyebrows in Washington almost from the moment he first arrived at the Capitol in the converted school bus that served as his 1990 campaign symbol. Upon arriving in Washington, Wellstone told reporters that since the age of 19 he had "despised" and "detested" North Carolina Republican Sen. Jesse Helms. In January 1997, Wellstone and Helms once found themselves waiting for the same elevator. Helms made a passing remark about how dramatically radio equipment had changed since his days in the business. "Right?" he asked Wellstone. "He expects me to agree?" Wellstone asked in mock incredulity. "Wrong!" Both men laughed as they entered the elevator together.

At Home: Republican Rudy Boschwitz, the only incumbent senator of either political party to lose a re-election bid in 1990, tried to avenge that

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MINNESOTA

loss to Wellstone by waging a comeback in 1996. Supported with a separate advertising campaign financed by the National Republican Senatorial Committee, Boschwitz called Wellstone "ultraliberal" and "embarrassingly liberal," citing his votes on welfare and Clinton's 1993 deficit-reduction package, which raised income taxes on the wealthiest Americans. Boschwitz erected billboards saying, "Old Math: Wellstone = Welfare. New Math: Boschwitz = Workfare."

Wellstone struck back, criticizing Boschwitz for accepting campaign contributions from tobacco interests and for voting against an increase in the minimum wage while backing a pay increase for senators. As the campaign neared the finish line, polls suggested that Boschwitz's cries of "liberal" were falling on deaf ears. Wellstone ended up winning with votes to spare, 50 percent to 41 percent.

That victory was a landslide compared with his initial 1990 win by 2 percentage points over Boschwitz, when Wellstone was boosted by voter disillusionment with Minnesota elected officials, beginning with Republican Sen. Dave Durenberger's hearings before the Senate Ethics Committee and his subsequent denunciation.

Some state legislators also had well-publicized scandals. Questions about GOP Rep. Arlan Stangeland's office phone bill further contributed to Minnesotans' gloom, as did the October surprise of Republican gubernatorial nominee Jon Grunseth, who was edged off the ballot after he was accused of sexual indiscretions.

Touting a fresh, anti-establishment message,

Wellstone found himself perfectly positioned to exploit voters' antipathy and topple a senator who as late as mid-October had been considered a safe bet for re-election. It was an upset unrivaled since 1980, when several surprise Republican victories propelled the GOP to a 12-seat pickup and a Senate majority.

A political science professor at Carleton College, Wellstone co-chaired the Rev. Jesse Jackson's 1988 presidential campaign in Minnesota. He had lost his only previous outing as a candidate — a 1982 bid for state auditor.

But his humorous television campaign against Boschwitz caught the imagination of voters. In some of the most original advertisements of the year, Wellstone starred in a Minnesota version of Michael Moore's sardonic documentary "Roger and Me," in which Wellstone, instead of stalking General Motors Corp. Chairman Roger Smith, sought out Boschwitz.

In another ad, Wellstone raced across the state speaking increasingly rapidly, explaining that he had to talk fast because he did not have Boschwitz's \$6 million treasury to buy more media time.

On Election Day, Minnesotans revolted against establishment candidates. They threw out 10-year Democratic Gov. Rudy Perpich, voting in maverick Republican Arne Carlson, who had replaced Grunseth as the party's noninee only a week earlier. (Carlson was the winner over Wellstone in the 1982 auditor's race.) Stangeland lost his re-election bid. And Wellstone beat Boschwitz, 50 percent to 48 percent.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Paul Wellstone (D)	1,098,493	(50%)
Rudy Boschwitz (R)	901,282	(41%)
Dean Barkley (REF)	152,333	(7%)
1996 Primary		
Paul Wellstone (D)	194,699	(86%)
Dick Franson (D)	16,465	(7%)
Ed Hansen (D)	9,990	(5%)
Ole Savior (D)	4,180	(2%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1990 (50%)

KEY VOTES

1997		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		N
Approve chemical weapons treaty		Y
1996		
Approve farm bill		N
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases		N
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage		N
Approve welfare overhaul		N
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation		Y
Overide veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions		N
1995		
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		N
Approve constitutional amendment banning flag desecration		N

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Wellstone (D)	\$5,991,013	\$571,723 (10%)	\$5,979,224
Boschwitz (R)	\$4,423,974	\$1,035,527 (23%)	\$4,409,982
Barkley (REF)	\$37,725	0	\$37,240
Hanson (RES)	\$49,489	0	\$49,487

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	85	15	92	8	11	89
1995	88	12	95	5	7	93
1994	81	18	94	6	3	97
1993	91	8	94	5	5	95
1992	23	75	92	5	8	92
1991	22	75	91	5	8	88

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	31	5
1995	100	100	32	4
1994	100	100	10	4
1993	100	82	10	4
1992	100	92	10	0
1991	95	83	20	5

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Rod

Of Anoka

Biographic
 Born: Feb. 4, 1941
 Education: Anoka
 Carroll College
 Occupation: Con-
 sultant
 Family: Four children
 Religion: Lutheran
 Political Career: 1982-
 1986, Minnesota
 Capitol Office



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Patty Murray (D)

Of Seattle — Elected 1992, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Oct. 11, 1950, Seattle.

Education: Washington State U., B.A. 1972.

Occupation: Educator.

Family: Husband, Rob Murray; two children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Shoreline School Board, 1983-89; Wash. Senate, 1989-93.

Capitol Office: 111 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-2621

Committees

Appropriations

Energy & Water Development; Foreign Operations; Labor, Health & Human Services & Education; Military Construction (ranking); Transportation

Budget

Select Ethics

Labor & Human Resources

Aging; Children & Families

Veterans' Affairs



In Washington: Having survived a brutal 104th Congress as a member of the minority, Patty Murray no longer considers herself "a mom in tennis shoes." She told a Seattle crowd late in 1996 that, while she may still pursue the personal legislative agenda that fits that sobriquet, her style has

changed.

"I stand before you not as a mom in tennis shoes but as a mom in combat boots," she said.

As Republicans took over Congress in 1995, Murray immediately strode into some of the muddiest legislative ground, including the divisive issues of abortion and the environment.

Murray pulled her boots on again in early 1996 for the fight over timber harvesting in the Pacific Northwest. Murray tried to repeal a provision from a bill enacted the previous year that had led to what environmentalists call overharvesting of old-growth forests. The timber companies and their allies in Congress argued that the provision, which exempted certain timber sales from environmental laws, protected jobs in the Northwest and forced the administration to live up to existing contracts with the timber companies.

Murray's amendment would have opened the timber harvesting to legal challenges under environmental laws, allowing sales to be halted in court. "My bill cuts a middle path," she said. "It says to workers: Salvage logging is something we should always be able to do. It says to conservationists: You will have an opportunity to hold the administration to its word." But while the amendment was backed by the Clinton administration, it was rejected by the Senate 42-54.

Another major environmental fight claimed Murray's attention early in the 104th Congress: the debate over the ban on exporting oil from Alaska's North Slope. Murray contended that exporting North Slope oil would increase U.S. dependence on foreign oil and cost jobs in the Pacific Northwest. Although she failed to stop the lifting of the ban, she did win concessions to put in place environ-

mental and other safeguards for the Pacific Northwest.

During the 103rd Congress, Murray had lost a high-profile fight over abortion restrictions. But she won a major round in the 104th with an amendment to a fiscal 1997 defense authorization bill allowing military personnel to have abortions on U.S. bases overseas. The amendment overturned a ban on the procedure that had been enacted the year before, with exceptions for rape or incest or risk to the woman's life. The Defense Department had allowed military women to transfer to non-military hospitals for abortions, but Murray argued that military women should have the same right to an abortion as private citizens back home.

In a floor debate over Murray's amendment, Indiana Republican Daniel R. Coats asserted that the taxpayer money used to operate military hospitals shouldn't be used on abortions. But Murray pointed out that public funds were still being used to fly women back to the United States on military airplanes to obtain their abortions. "It's dangerous, unnecessary and just plain wrong" to ban abortions at overseas bases, she said.

In a 45-51 vote, Murray overcame an attempt to kill her amendment, convincing 13 Republicans to vote with her. The amendment then passed on a voice vote.

Murray was one of the Senate's most ardent backers of surgeon general nominee Dr. Henry W. Foster Jr., who failed to gain enough votes for confirmation after he came under intense scrutiny for his abortion stance.

She was one of five women senators led by Democrat Barbara Boxer of California to pressure the Ethics Committee to hold public hearings on sexual misconduct and other charges against former Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore. In the wake of that controversy, Murray called for the establishment of a clear sexual harassment policy for the U.S. Senate, similar to one she had authored while in the Washington state Senate.

At Home: Murray came to the Senate as one of those political outsiders who seized the inside track in the 1992 election. The self-styled "mom in combat boots," Murray seemed to embody just about every national campaign trend: She was a

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WASHINGTON

woman who sought to enter the predominantly male Senate, an outsider who vowed to oust the incumbent and a relative newcomer seeking a voice among the pros.

Two early breaks gave Murray a decisive boost in her Senate race. First, the disgraced incumbent, Democrat Brock Adams, dropped out in March after a newspaper article detailed similar accounts by eight unidentified women, who said Adams had made unwanted and inappropriate sexual advances toward them.

The only Democrat in the race when Adams pulled out, Murray said she entered because of her outrage over the Senate's handling of the Clarence Thomas Supreme Court confirmation hearings. "It's not just Brock," she told *The Seattle Times*. "It's the whole U.S. Senate."

Murray got another break when the popular Democratic Gov. Booth Gardner, who was leaving office, decided against seeking a Senate seat. Still, to win the primary and the general election, Murray had to get past two better-known and popular moderates who had years of congressional experience, Democratic former Rep. Don Bonker and GOP Rep. Rod Chandler. It was their strength, however, that gave Murray her leverage: She was able to portray both as Washington insiders.

Bonker, who had lost in the 1988 Democratic primary for the Senate, touted his Washington experience, saying that he, unlike Murray, would not need to be trained to be a senator if elected. But on primary day, Murray surpassed Bonker by more than 100,000 votes and outpolled Chandler too (he was on the same ballot in Washington's all-candidate primary). She was the 11th woman

nominated for the Senate in 1992, a record that made national headlines and meant network TV time for Murray and some of the other female nominees.

In the weeks after the primary, Murray maintained a daunting lead. Her suburban populism, level gaze and tone of empathy resonated far beyond expectations. By contrast, Chandler's heavy-handed approach included ending an hour-long, one-on-one debate by reciting the chorus from the late Roger Miller's song "Dang Me." The last line — "Woman would you weep for me?" — prompted Murray to say: "That's just the attitude that got me into this race, Rod."

Murray never relinquished her lead and won on Election Day with 54 percent to Chandler's 46 percent.

Murray had her first taste of politics in 1979 when she petitioned the state Legislature not to cut funding for a co-op preschool program in which she was involved. One legislator gave Murray the mom-in-tennis-shoes label — implying she could have little influence — that she used to such advantage in 1992. She went on to organize 12,000 families statewide and preserve the preschool program.

That just whetted Murray's appetite. She served six years on the Shoreline School Board just outside Seattle before winning election to the state Senate in 1988. She became the Democratic whip two years later. In truth, by the time Murray ran for the U.S. Senate, she was far more the politician than she let on in her campaign, leading the *Seattle Times* to say at one point that she was "neatly packaged as unpackaged."

1 Ric Of Bainbridg

Biographical In
Born: Nov. 6, 1953, I
Education: Dartmou
 Pantheon Sorbonne
Occupation: Lawyer
Family: Wife, Vikki
Religion: Presbyteria
Political Career: No
Capitol Office: 116



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SENATE ELECTIONS

1992 General		
Patty Murray (D)	1,197,973	(54%)
Rod Chandler (R)	1,020,829	(46%)
1992 Primary †		
Patty Murray (D)	318,455	(28%)
Rod Chandler (R)	228,083	(20%)
Don Bonker (D)	208,321	(19%)
Leo K. Thorsness (R)	185,498	(16%)
Tim Hill (R)	128,232	(11%)
Gene David Hart (D)	15,894	(1%)
Marshall (D)	11,659	(1%)

† In Washington's "jungle primary," candidates of all parties are listed on one ballot.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1992			
Murray (D)	\$1,496,204	\$439,766 (29%)	\$1,342,038
Chandler (R)	\$2,592,759	\$1,143,695 (44%)	\$2,504,777

KEY VOTES

1997	Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment
Approve chemical weapons treaty	
1996	Approve farm bill
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	
Approve welfare overhaul	
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	
1995	Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	85	10	94	5	18	82
1995	89	9	92	7	19	87
1994	94	6	97	2	13	89
1993	90	3	85	6	22	77

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	90	n/a	17	0
1995	95	100	33	0
1994	90	88	20	0
1993	90	91	14	0

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Jack Reed (D)

Of Cranston — Elected 1996, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Nov. 12, 1949, Providence, R.I.

Education: U.S. Military Academy, B.S. 1971, Harvard U., M.P.P. 1973, J.D. 1982.

Military Service: Army, 1967-79; Army Reserves, 1979-91

Occupation: Lawyer

Family: Single.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: R.I. Senate, 1985-91; U.S. House, 1991-97

Capitol Office: 320 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-4642.

Committees

Special Aging

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

Financial Institutions & Regulatory Relief; International Finance; Housing Opportunity & Community Development

Labor & Human Resources

Children & Families; Public Health & Safety



The Path to Washington:

The son of working-class parents, Reed stands in stark contrast to the man he succeeded in the Senate, wealthy patrician Claiborne Pell. But while their backgrounds are dramatically different, both are classic liberals. Reed will vote much as Pell did.

Reed's father was a custodian, his mother a factory worker in South Providence. At his Catholic prep school, he was an overachieving, 124-pound defensive back who won admission to West Point in 1967. He later commanded a company of the Army's 82nd Airborne Division.

At 29, Reed left the Army for Harvard Law School. He took a job at Rhode Island's biggest corporate law firm and a year later, in 1984, was elected to the state Senate.

In 1990, he ran for the House, emerging from a pack of Democratic hopefuls and then in November defeating Republican Gertrude M. "Trudy" Coxe, a well-known environmentalist. He took the 2nd District seat that GOP Rep. Claudine Schneider (1981-91) had given up to wage an unsuccessful challenge to Pell.

Reed easily won two House re-elections, building up a reputation as a nice guy who delivered crackerjack constituent service. Before long he was widely regarded as heir-apparent to Pell, whose health was failing.

In the 104th Congress, Reed did battle with the GOP majority on some high-profile issues. During work on a welfare overhaul bill, he tried but failed to ensure that welfare block grants to the states would grow automatically when the national unemployment rate rose above 6 percent. He opposed the GOP on welfare until late July 1996, when Republicans made enough adjustments in their legislation to elicit a promise from President Clinton that he would sign it.

On immigration law overhaul, Reed voted against a Republican proposal to deny public education to illegal immigrants, a provision that passed the House but then died. Reed succeeded

in amending the immigration bill to include a provision that bars people who renounce their U.S. citizenship from avoiding taxes when re-entering the country.

When Pell announced in September 1995 his plans to retire, Reed was well-prepared to expand his campaign operation into the state's other district, where, because of Rhode Island's small size, his name recognition already was high.

He avoided a potentially contentious primary when Joseph Paolino Jr., a former Providence mayor and former U.S. ambassador to Malta, passed up the race, running instead for Reed's open House seat. Reed wound up with only token opposition in the Senate primary.

In the fall campaign, Reed's opponent was state Treasurer Nancy J. Mayer, a socially moderate, fiscally conservative Republican in the mold of the state's GOP senior senator, John H. Chafee.

Mayer said she would bring the fiscal acumen she had demonstrated at the state level to Washington and put it to work trying to eliminate the federal deficit.

However, her campaign had problems from the beginning. She managed to get the official party endorsement by only one vote over conservative businessman Thomas R. Post Jr., who had unsuccessfully challenged Chafee two years earlier. The deciding vote was cast by the state party chairman, John A. Holmes Jr.

Although Mayer was an easy winner in the primary over Post and another even more conservative candidate, she entered the general-election campaign a decided underdog, with Reed enjoying a comfortable lead in public opinion polls.

Reed stayed well ahead despite negative advertising paid for by the National Republican Senatorial Committee, which sought to convince voters that Reed was a tax-and-spend liberal. The ads did not have the desired impact, in part because Reed had always worn his party label proudly in his previous campaigns, to no ill effect at the polls.

In fact, Reed turned the GOP ads to his advantage during a debate with Mayer. When she tried to back an overhaul of the campaign finance system, including banning "soft money,"

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RHODE ISLAND

the unregulated contributions that both political parties used to run attack ads in the fall campaign. Reed countered that Mayer should have stopped the NRSC's ad campaign against him if she believed soft money was wrong. "You could have taken a stand," he told her. "You could have stood up and said, 'This is wrong.'"

The final outcome was a rout for Reed, as he took 63 percent of the vote.

During his first week in the Senate, Reed left Washington to tour Bosnia and neighboring regions involved in the conflict there. He told *The Providence Journal-Bulletin* that he was looking at how soon the United States realistically could plan to bring home its peacekeeping troops.

Reed's committee assignments primarily will involve him in domestic policy concerns: He serves on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; Labor and Human Resources; and Special Aging.

Reed opposes "means testing" for Medicare and favors the creation of a commission to determine what should be done to stabilize the

system when Baby Boomers start to become eligible. "One of the strengths of the system is that it doesn't depend on the income of people or their illness" he said. "Everyone is covered." Otherwise, he told *The Journal-Bulletin*, "we'll get to the point increasingly where the affluent will sense that they're putting a lot of money [and] if you're poor you get it and if you're rich you don't get much."

Reed also opposes Republican-backed legislation that would allow companies to offer their employees comp time in lieu of overtime pay, saying it "undermines longstanding wage protections." Organized labor, a major force in Rhode Island politics, opposes the idea.

Reed's early moves in the Senate were consistent with his past loyalty to the liberal Democratic line. In March 1997 he voted against a balanced-budget constitutional amendment, and he joined a coalition of Democratic senators and citizen-activist groups in calling for public financing of congressional elections.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Jack Reed (D)	230,676	(63%)
Nancy J. Mayer (R)	127,368	(35%)
Donald W. Lovejoy (I)	5,327	(1%)
1996 Primary		
Jack Reed (D)	59,336	(86%)
Don Gil (D)	9,554	(14%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1994* (68%) 1992* (71%)
1990* (59%)

* House elections

KEY VOTES

1997	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y
House Service:	
1996	
Approve farm bill	N
Deny public education to illegal immigrants	N
Increase minimum wage	Y
Freeze defense spending	N
Approve welfare overhaul	Y
1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations	N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations	Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending	N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts		Expenditures
	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	
1996			
Reed (D)	\$2,688,136	\$1,031,702 (38%)	\$2,732,011
Mayer (R)	\$787,231	\$132,368 (17%)	\$773,785

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
House Service:						
1996	80	19	88	12	27	71
1995	82	18	91	8	26	74
1994	90	9	96	3	28	72
1993	82	17	96	4	23	75
1992	14	86	94	5	17	83
1991	29	71	92	7	27	70

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
House Service:				
1996	80	0	31	55
1995	90	100	25	12
1994	85	78	50	55
1993	90	100	18	55
1992	90	92	13	55
1991	95	92	20	55

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Biographical
Born: July 14, 19
Education: Provinc
Occupation: Pub
Family: Single
Religion: Roman
Political Career:
Capitol Office: E



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1997 Sept 17-18

89/18/97

Senate Votes on NEA Funding

On September 17 and 18, the Senate voted on four amendments to FY'98 funding for the NEA. The following is a vote count on those proposals.

Amendment 1: Ashcroft/Helms amendment to eliminate the NEA.

Defeated: 77/23

Amendment 2: Abraham amendment to privatize the NEA over a three year period.

Defeated: 73/26

Amendment 3: Hutchinson/Sessions amendment to block grant 99% of the funding to the states.

Defeated: 62/37

Amendment 4: Hutchison amendment to allocate 75% of the funds to states and 25% at the national level.

Defeated: 61/39

The Alliance's position was NO on all four amendments. Alliance position = pro NEA

Member Labor & Human Resources Committee

Senator	Amendment 1	Amendment 2	Amendment 3	Amendment 4
Spencer Abraham (R-MI)	NO	YES	YES	YES
Daniel K. Akaka (D-HI)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Wayne Allard (R-CO)	YES	YES	YES	YES
John Ashcroft (R-MO)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Max Baucus (D-MT)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Robert Bennett (R-UT)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D-DE)	NO	NO	NO	NO
* Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Christopher S. Bond (R-MO)	NO	NO	NO	YES
Barbara Boxer (D-CA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
John B. Breaux (D-LA)	NO	NO	YES	NO
Sam Brownback (R-KS)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Richard H. Bryan (D-NV)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Dale Gumpers (D-AR)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Conrad Burns (R-MT)	NO	NO	YES	YES
Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-CO)	NO	NO	NO	NO
John H. Chafee (R-RI)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Max W. Cleland (D-GA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
* Dan Coats (R-IN)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Thad Cochran (R-MS)	NO	NO	NO	NO
* Susan M. Collins (R-ME)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Kent Conrad (D-ND)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Paul Coverdell (R-GA)	NO	YES	YES	YES
Larry E. Craig (R-ID)	NO	NO	YES	YES
Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Thomas A. Daschle (D-SD)	NO	NO	NO	NO
* Mike DeWine (R-OH)	NO	NO	YES	YES
* Christopher J. Dodd (D-CT)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Pete V. Domenici (R-NM)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Byron L. Dorgan (D-ND)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Richard J. Durbin (D-IL)	NO	NO	NO	NO
* Michael B. Enzi (R-WY)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Lauch Faircloth (R-NC)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Russ Feingold (D-WI)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Dianne Feinstein (D-CA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Wendell H. Ford (D-KY)	NO	NO	NO	NO
* Bill Frist (R-TN)	NO	YES	YES	YES
John Glenn (D-OH)	NO	NO	NO	NO

Slade Gorton (R-WA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Bob Graham (D-FL)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Phil Gramm (R-TX)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Rod Grams (R-MN)	YES	YES	NO	YES
Charles E. Grassley (R-IA)	NO	NO	YES	YES
* Judd Gregg (R-NH)	NO	NO	NO	YES
Chuck Hagel (R-NE)	YES	YES	YES	YES
* Tom Harkin (D-IA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Omn G. Hatch (R-UT)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Jesse Helms (R-NC)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Ernest F. Hollings (D-SC)	NO	NO	NO	NO
* Tim Hutchinson (R-AR)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Key Bailey Hutchison (R-TX)	NO	NO	YES	YES
James M. Inhofe (R-OK)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Daniel K. Inouye (D-HI)	NO	NO	NO	NO
* Jim M. Jeffords (R-VT)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Tim Johnson (D-SD)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Dirk Kempthorne (R-ID)	NO	NO	YES	YES
* Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
J. Robert Kerrey (D-NE)	NO	NO	NO	NO
John F. Kerry (D-MA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Herbert H. Kohl (D-WI)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Jon L. Kyl (R-AZ)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Mary Landrieu (D-LA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Frank R. Lautenberg (D-NJ)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Patrick J. Leahy (D-VT)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Carl Levin (D-MI)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Joseph I. Lieberman (D-CT)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Trent Lott (R-MS)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Richard G. Lugar (R-IN)	NO	NO	YES	YES
Connie Mack (R-FL)	YES	YES	YES	YES
John McCain (R-AZ)	YES	DIDN'T VOTE	DIDN'T VOTE	YES
* Mitch McConnell (R-KY)	YES	YES	YES	YES
* Barbara A. Mikulski (D-MD)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Frank H. Murkowski (R-AK)	NO	NO	YES	YES
* Patty Murray (D-WA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Don Nickles (R-OK)	YES	YES	YES	YES
* Jack Reed (D-RI)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Harry Reid (D-NV)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Charles S. Robb (D-VA)	NO	NO	YES	NO
Pat Roberts (R-KS)	NO	YES	YES	YES
John D. Rockefeller IV (D-WV)	NO	NO	NO	NO
William V. Roth, Jr. (R-DE)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Rick Santorum (R-PA)	NO	NO	YES	YES
Paul S. Sarbanes (D-MD)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Jeff Sessions (R-AL)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Richard C. Shelby (R-AL)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Gordon Smith (R-OR)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Robert C. Smith (R-NH)	YES	YES	YES	YES

Olympia J. Snowe (R-ME)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Arlen Specter (R-PA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Ted Stevens (R-AK)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Craig Thomas (R-WY)	NO	NO	YES	YES
Fred Thompson (R-TN)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Strom Thurmond (R-SC)	YES	YES	YES	YES
Robert G. Torricelli (D-NJ)	NO	NO	NO	NO
* John W. Warner (R-VA)	NO	NO	NO	NO
* Paul David Wellstone (D-MN)	NO	NO	NO	NO
Ron Wyden (D-OR)	NO	NO	NO	NO

*Senator Robb's office later stated that his vote had been recorded incorrectly.

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U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
105th Congress, 1st Session
(As of: 1-15-97)

Chairman: James M. Jeffords (VT)
Ranking Member: Edward M. Kennedy (MA)

(NB: **BOLD** indicates new members from 104th Congress and
* indicates freshmen.)

REPUBLICANS (10)

James M. Jeffords (VT) 100% Pro
Dan Coats (IN) 0%
Judd Gregg (NH) 75%
Bill Frist (TN) 25%
Mike DeWine (OH) 5%
*Mike Enzi (WY) 0%
*Tim Hutchinson (AR) 0%
*Susan Collins (ME) 100%
John Warner (VA) 100%
Mitch McConnell (KY) 0%

DEMOCRATS (8)

Edward M. Kennedy (MA) 100%
Christopher J. Dodd (CT) 100%
Tom Harkin (IA) 100%
Barbara A. Mikulski (MD) 100%
Jeff Bingaman (NM) 100%
Paul Wellstone (MN) 100%
Patty Murray (WA) 100%
*Jack Reed (RI) 100%

NB: In the 105th Congress, matters relating to the Arts and Humanities will be kept at the full committee level -- there is no subcommittee.

1997 voting record based
on 4 NEA - related votes
conducted Sept 17-18, 1997.

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Appropriations Committee

PROFILE

Agenda: Appropriators like to boast that they have the heaviest load of any committee — 13 major bills that must be finished by the Oct. 1 start of the fiscal year. Add to that this year a potentially controversial supplemental spending bill for U.S. military operations in Bosnia and other purposes, plus a looming fight between the GOP and President Clinton — and between House and Senate Republicans — over how much to spend on defense and non-defense appropriations in fiscal 1998. Senate appropriators have been more spending-oriented than their House counterparts since the GOP took control of Congress two years ago, and this panel's subcommittee chairmen have been some of the fiercest opponents of House plans to slash spending on social programs. That said, though, neither panel has been quite as generous as Clinton would be, and the two sides start off this year far apart on the amount appropriators should spend in 1998: Clinton's \$531 billion versus the \$494 billion Republicans designated for 1998 in their fiscal 1997 budget resolution last year.

Chairman's role: The combustible Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, has taken over as chairman, following two of the Senate's most courtly traditionalists: Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., who retired after chairing the committee during the 104th Congress, and Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., who chaired the panel in 1989-95 and now sits as ranking Democrat. Both fostered a bipartisan atmosphere in which time-consuming disagreements were routinely deferred to the Senate floor. Whether Stevens wants to continue that tradition — or can, as the Senate and the committee itself grow more polarized — remains to be seen. Though he also serves as chairman of the Defense Subcommittee, Stevens is no foe of domestic spending, which he has unabashedly sought for his home state. Stevens will come under pressure to help balance the budget, which means short rations for both parties' priorities.

Democratic clout: Byrd is close to Stevens and shares his view that properly directed federal spending can be a transforming force, both for his home state (Byrd brought enormous resources to West Virginia when he was chairman) and for the nation at large. There was much less partisan warfare here than in House Appropriations in 1995-96, but that could change.

Other key players: Labor-HHS-Education Subcommittee Chairman Arlen Specter, R-Pa., VA-HUD Subcommittee Chairman Christopher S. Bond, R-Mo., and Energy-Water Subcommittee Chairman (and Senate Budget Committee Chairman) Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., are among the GOP chairmen who have played particularly important roles in trying to work out spending levels with their House Appropriations counterparts and with the Clinton White House.

Geographic consideration: All major regions are represented.

Top aides: Steven J. Cortese takes on the top job of GOP staff director, in addition to his role as clerk of the Defense Subcommittee; James H. English is the committee's Democratic staff director.



**Ted Stevens, Alaska
Chairman**



**Robert C. Byrd, W.Va.
Ranking Member**

Republicans (15)

Ted Stevens, Alaska, chairman
Thad Cochran, Miss.
Arlen Specter, Pa.
Pete V. Domenici, N.M.
Christopher S. Bond, Mo.
Slade Gorton, Wash.
Mitch McConnell, Ky.
Conrad Burns, Mont.
Richard C. Shelby, Ala.
Judd Gregg, N.H.
Robert F. Bennett, Utah
Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Colo.
Larry E. Craig, Idaho
Lauch Faircloth, N.C.
Kay Bailey Hutchison, Texas

Democrats (13)

Robert C. Byrd, W.Va., ranking member
Daniel K. Inouye, Hawaii
Ernest F. Hollings, S.C.
Patrick J. Leahy, Vt.
Dale Bumpers, Ark.
Frank R. Lautenberg, N.J.
Tom Harkin, Iowa
Barbara A. Mikulski, Md.
Harry Reid, Nev.
Herb Kohl, Wis.
Patty Murray, Wash.
Byron L. Dorgan, N.D.
Barbara Boxer, Calif.

Full Committee

■ PHONE: (202) 224-3471 ■ OFFICE: S-128 Capitol

Staff Director: Steve Cortese 224-3471 S-128 Capitol
Minority Staff Director: James H. English 224-7200 S-216 Capitol

Jurisdiction: Appropriation of revenue; rescission of appropriations; new spending authority under the Congressional Budget Act. Chairman and ranking minority member are non-voting members ex officio of all subcommittees.

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Subcommittees

Appropriations

WHO'S WHO

Subcommittees

Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies

- PHONE: (202) 224-5270
- ROOM: SD-136

Clerk: Rebecca M. Davies
224-5270 SD-136

Minority Clerk: Galen H. Fountain
224-7202 SH-123

- Cochran, chairman
- | | |
|-----------|---------|
| Specter | Bumpers |
| Bond | Harkin |
| Gorton | Kohl |
| McConnell | Byrd |
| Burns | Leahy |

Defense

- PHONE: (202) 224-7255
- ROOM: SD-122

Clerk: Steve Cortese
224-7255 SD-122

Minority Clerk: Charles J. Houy
224-7293 SD-117

- Stevens, chairman
- | | |
|-------------------|------------|
| Cochran | Inouye |
| Specter | Hollings |
| Domenici | Byrd |
| Bond | Leahy |
| McConnell | Bumpers |
| Shelby | Lautenberg |
| Gregg | Harkin |
| Hutchison (Texas) | Dorgan |



Gregg



McConnell



Boxer

SENATE

Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary

- PHONE: (202) 224-7277
- ROOM: S-146A Capitol

Clerk: Jim Moorhead
224-7277 S-146A Capitol

Minority Clerk: Scott B. Gudes
224-7270 SD-160

- Gregg, chairman
- | | |
|-------------------|------------|
| Stevens | Hollings |
| Domenici | Inouye |
| McConnell | Bumpers |
| Hutchison (Texas) | Lautenberg |
| Campbell | Mikulski |

District of Columbia

- PHONE: (202) 224-2731
- ROOM: S-128 Capitol

Clerk: Vacant
224-2731 SD-128

Minority Clerk: Terrence E. Sauwain
224-4338 SD-144

- Faircloth, chairman
- | | |
|-------------------|-------|
| Hutchison (Texas) | Boxer |
|-------------------|-------|

Energy and Water Development

- PHONE: (202) 224-7260
- ROOM: SD-127

Clerk: Alex Flint
224-7260 SD-127

Minority Clerk: Greg Daines
224-0335 SD-156

- Domenici, chairman
- | | |
|-----------|----------|
| Cochran | Reid |
| Gorton | Byrd |
| McConnell | Hollings |
| Bennett | Murray |
| Burns | Kohl |
| Craig | Dorgan |

Interior

- PHONE: (202) 224-7233
- ROOM: SD-131

Clerk: Vacant
224-7233 SD-131

Minority Clerk: Sue Masica
224-5271 SH-123

- Gorton, chairman
- | | |
|----------|----------|
| Stevens | Byrd |
| Cochran | Leahy |
| Domenici | Bumpers |
| Burns | Hollings |
| Bennett | Reid |
| Gregg | Dorgan |
| Campbell | Boxer |

Foreign Operations

- PHONE: (202) 224-2104
- ROOM: SD-142

Clerk: Robin Cleveland
224-2104 SD-142

Minority Staff Director: Tim Rieser
224-7284 SH-123

- McConnell, chairman
- | | |
|----------|------------|
| Specter | Leahy |
| Gregg | Inouye |
| Shelby | Lautenberg |
| Bennett | Harkin |
| Campbell | Mikulski |
| Stevens | Murray |

Jurisdiction over NEA budget

S3

House Authorizing Education and The Workforce Committee

PROFILE

Agenda: The committee, which changed its name for the second time in two years, has a full plate of education and labor issues to handle. A top priority is to reauthorize and revise the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), which helps states pay for special education and related services for disabled students. The reauthorization effort died in the Senate last year. Major higher education programs also are set for reauthorization. And the committee will probably help shape President Clinton's many education initiatives for fiscal 1998. On work force issues, the panel is likely to devote much of its energy to proposals that died in the last Congress. Republicans say they want to allow businesses to give private sector workers a choice between overtime pay or time off. And they want to pass the "TEAM Act" to make clear that businesses can establish management-employee groups that could discuss such issues as quality control, productivity and safety. Clinton vetoed a similar measure last year.

Chairman's role: Bill Goodling, R-Pa., was among the committee's several top-ranking Republicans who had been considered moderates but who hewed more closely to a conservative GOP line in the 104th Congress. He was rebuffed in his efforts to give states control over the school lunch program. An outspoken critic of federal mandates and government intrusion, Goodling has been critical this year of some of Clinton's education initiatives. But he supports many of Clinton's goals and said so in a recent visit to the White House. He prefers, though, to study the usefulness of existing federal education programs before embarking on new ones. A former teacher and school administrator, Goodling generally shies away from intimate involvement with labor policy.

Democratic clout: On education issues, major Democratic players are Dale E. Kildee of Michigan and George Miller and Matthew G. Martinez, both of California. Expected to play significant roles on labor policy are Miller and William L. Clay of Missouri, ranking Democrat on the full committee.

Other key players: Frank Riggs, R-Calif., takes over the Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Youth and Families, with responsibility for IDEA legislation. Howard P. "Buck" McKeon, R-Calif., chairs the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, Training and Life-Long Learning. Peter Hoekstra, R-Mich., is analyzing the effectiveness of current federal education programs as chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations. Cass Ballenger, R-N.C., will lead the Subcommittee on Workforce Protections, while Harris W. Fawell, R-Ill., will again chair the Employer-Employee Relations Subcommittee.

Geographic concentration: Six members are from California, and nine are from the Northeastern states of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. There are few Southerners among committee Democrats.

Top aides: James M. "Jay" Eagen III is majority staff director. Republicans also rely on labor coordinator Randel K. Johnson and education coordinator Victor F. Klatt III. Key Democratic aides include staff director Gail Weiss and general counsel Broderick Johnson.



Bill Goodling, Pa.
Chairman



William L. Clay, Mo.
Ranking Member

Republicans (25)

Bill Goodling, Pa., chairman
 Tom Petri, Wis.
 Marge Roukema, N.J.
 Harris W. Fawell, Ill.
 Cass Ballenger, N.C.
 Bill Barrett, Neb.
 Peter Hoekstra, Mich.
 Howard P. "Buck" McKeon, Calif.
 Michael N. Castle, Del.
 Sam Johnson, Texas
 James M. Talent, Mo.
 James C. Greenwood, Pa.
 Joe Knollenberg, Mich.
 Frank Riggs, Calif.
 Lindsey Graham, S.C.
 Mark Souder, Ind.
 David M. McIntosh, Ind.
 Charlie Norwood, Ga.
 Ron Paul, Texas †
 Bob Schaffer, Colo. †
 John E. Peterson, Pa. †
 Fred Upton, Mich.
 Nathan Deal, Ga.
 Van Hilleary, Tenn.
 Joe Scarborough, Fla.

† Includes freshmen

Democrats (20)

William L. Clay, Mo., ranking member
 George Miller, Calif.
 Dale E. Kildee, Mich.
 Matthew G. Martinez, Calif.
 Major R. Owens, N.Y.
 Donald M. Payne, N.J.
 Patsy T. Mink, Hawaii
 Robert E. Andrews, N.J.
 Tim Roemer, Ind.
 Robert C. Scott, Va.
 Lynn Woolsey, Calif.
 Carlos Romero-Barceló, Puerto Rico
 Chaka Fattah, Pa.
 Earl Blumenauer, Ore.
 Rubén Hinojosa, Texas †
 Carolyn McCarthy, N.Y. †
 John F. Tierney, Mass. †
 Ron Kind, Wis. †
 Loretta Sanchez, Calif. †
 Harold E. Ford Jr., Tenn. †

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House Authorizing Committee

HOUSE COMMITTEES

Education and The Workforce

WHO'S WHO

Full Committee

- PHONE: (202) 225-4527
- FAX: (202) 225-9571
- OFFICE: 2181 RHOB
- HEARING ROOM: 2175 RHOB

Staff Director: James M. "Jay" Eagen III 225-4527 2181 RHOB
 Minority Staff Director: Gail Weiss 225-3725 2101 RHOB

Jurisdiction: Measures relating to education or labor generally; child labor; Columbia Institution for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind; Howard University; Freedmen's Hospital; convict labor and the entry of goods made by convicts into interstate commerce; food programs for children in schools; labor standards and statistics; mediation and arbitration of labor disputes; regulation or prevention of importation of foreign laborers under contract; U.S. Employees' Compensation Commission; vocational rehabilitation; wages and hours of labor; welfare of miners; work incentive programs. The chairman and ranking minority member are non-voting members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.



Hoekstra



Ballenger



Martinez

Subcommittees

Early Childhood, Youth and Families

- PHONE: (202) 225-4527
- ROOM: 2181 RHOB

Staff Director: James M. "Jay" Eagen III 225-4527 2181 RHOB
 Minority Staff Director: Gail Weiss 225-3725 2101 RHOB

Riggs, chairman	Martinez
Castle	Miller (Calif.)
Johnson, Sam	Scott
Souder	Fattah
Pau†	Kildee
Goodling	Owens
Greenwood	Payne
McIntosh	Mink
Peterson (Pa.)†	Roemer
Upton	
Hilleary	

Employer-Employee Relations

- PHONE: (202) 225-4527
- ROOM: 2181 RHOB

Staff Director: James M. "Jay" Eagen III 225-4527 2181 RHOB
 Minority Staff Director: Gail Weiss 225-3725 2101 RHOB

Fawell, chairman	Payne
Talent	Fattah
Knollenberg	Hinojos†
Petri	McCarthy (N.Y.)†
Roukema	Tierney†
Ballenger	
Goodling	

Oversight and Investigations

- PHONE: (202) 225-4527
- ROOM: 2181 RHOB

Staff Director: James M. "Jay" Eagen III 225-4527 2181 RHOB
 Minority Staff Director: Gail Weiss 225-3725 2101 RHOB

Hoekstra, chairman	Mink
Norwood	Kind†
Hilleary	Sanchez†
Scarborough	Ford†
McKeon	
Fawell	

Workforce Protections

HOUSE

- PHONE: (202) 225-4527
- ROOM: 2181 RHOB

Staff Director: James M. "Jay" Eagen III 225-4527 2181 RHOB
 Minority Staff Director: Gail Weiss 225-3725 2101 RHOB

Ballenger, chairman	Owens
Fawell	Miller (Calif.)
Barrett (Neb.)	Martinez
Hoekstra	Andrews
Graham	Woolsey
Pau†	
Schaffer, Bob†	

Postsecondary Education, Training and Life-Long Learning

- PHONE: (202) 225-4527
- ROOM: 2181 RHOB

Staff Director: James M. "Jay" Eagen III 225-4527 2181 RHOB
 Minority Staff Director: Gail Weiss 225-3725 2101 RHOB

McKeon, chairman	Kildee
Goodling	Andrews
Petri	Roemer
Roukema	Woolsey
Barrett (Neb.)	Romero
Greenwood	Barcelo
Graham	Blumenauer
McIntosh	Hinojos†
Schaffer, Bob†	McCarthy (N.Y.)†
Peterson (Pa.)†	Tierney†
Castle	Kind†
Riggs	Sanchez†
Souder	Ford†
Upton	
Deal	

Subcommittee w/ oversight jurisdiction

Subcommittee w/ NEA jurisdiction

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Appropriations *Committee*

PROFILE

Agenda: To the committee's usual heavy load — 13 regular spending bills that must be done by the Oct. 1 start of the fiscal year — add a potentially contentious supplemental appropriations bill for Bosnia military operations and another showdown with President Clinton over total appropriations spending. As they began work on the fiscal 1998 appropriations bills, congressional Republicans and the president were more than \$35 billion apart — Clinton's \$531 billion versus the \$494 billion Republicans proposed for 1998 in the fiscal 1997 budget resolution. Under pressure to balance the budget, policy-makers have consistently looked to appropriations to bear some of the heaviest cuts — a decision that helps politicians avoid more difficult cuts in entitlement programs such as Medicare but which puts enormous pressure on appropriators to cut or kill hundreds of established programs.

Chairman's role: Now in his third year as chairman, Robert L. Livingston, R-La., could benefit from the political eclipse of House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., who kept committee chairmen on a tight leash in 1995-96. Livingston had a near-impossible job — move all 13 spending bills as efficiently as possible, while substantially reducing spending and accommodating dozens of explosive legislative provisions that Gingrich and others insisted he try to graft onto the bills. When Livingston complained that the riders were slowing or stalling must-pass bills, leaders told him to get with the program. Now, with Gingrich weakened by ethics problems, Livingston and other chairmen could assume some of the independence that made their Democratic forbears so powerful.

Democratic clout: Ranking Democrat David R. Obey of Wisconsin is a perfect foil for Livingston — just as hot-tempered, just as dedicated to his job and just as passionately liberal as Livingston is devoutly conservative. Obey has led the fight for Democratic priorities as the GOP majority attempted to scale back programs that Democrats spent years building up. By late 1996, Republicans had found it politically mandatory to go along with Democratic demands that they add back money for education, the environment and other priorities.

Other key players: Most appropriations bills are comparatively non-controversial, but a select few have sparked such disagreements between the Democratic White House and the GOP Congress that they have threatened to collapse the process. That makes the subcommittee chairmen with responsibility for some of the toughest bills important to watch. They include Labor-HHS-Education Subcommittee Chairman John Edward Porter, R-Ill., Commerce-Justice-State Subcommittee Chairman Harold Rogers, R-Ky., and Interior Subcommittee Chairman Ralph Regula, R-Ohio.

Geographic concentration: Virtually all areas of the country are represented.

Top aides: James W. Dyer is the committee's clerk and Republican staff director; R. Scott Lilly is staff director for the Democrats.



Robert L. Livingston, La.
Chairman



David R. Obey, Wis.
Ranking Member

Republicans (34)

Robert L. Livingston, La., chairman
Joseph M. McDade, Pa.
C.W. Bill Young, Fla.
Ralph Regula, Ohio
Jerry Lewis, Calif.
John Edward Porter, Ill.
Harold Rogers, Ky.
Joe Skeen, N.M.
Frank R. Wolf, Va.
Tom DeLay, Texas
Jim Kolbe, Ariz.
Ron Packard, Calif.
Sonny Callahan, Ala.
James T. Walsh, N.Y.
Charles H. Taylor, N.C.
David L. Hobson, Ohio
Ernest Istook, Okla.
Henry Bonilla, Texas
Joe Knollenberg, Mich.
Dan Miller, Fla.
Jay Dickey, Ark.
Jack Kingston, Ga.
Mike Parker, Miss.
Rodney Frelinghuysen, N.J.
Roger Wicker, Miss.
Michael P. Forbes, N.Y.
George Nethercutt, Wash.
Mark W. Neumann, Wis.
Randy "Duke" Cunningham, Calif.
Todd Tiahrt, Kan.
Zach Wamp, Tenn.
Tom Latham, Iowa
Anne M. Northup, Ky. †
Robert B. Aderholt, Ala. †

Democrats (26)

David R. Obey, Wis., ranking member
Sidney R. Yates, Ill.
Louis Stokes, Ohio
John P. Murtha, Pa.
Norm Dicks, Wash.
Martin Olav Sabo, Minn.
Julian C. Dixon, Calif.
Vic Fazio, Calif.
W.G. "Bill" Hefner, N.C.
Steny H. Hoyer, Md.
Alan B. Mollohan, W.Va.
Marcy Kaptur, Ohio
David E. Skaggs, Colo.
Nancy Pelosi, Calif.
Peter J. Visclosky, Ind.
Thomas M. Foglietta, Pa.
Espan E. Torres, Calif.
Nita M. Lowey, N.Y.
Jose E. Serrano, N.Y.
Rosa DeLauro, Conn.
James P. Moran, Va.
John W. Olver, Mass.
Ed Pastor, Ariz.
Carrie P. Meek, Fla.
David E. Price, N.C. †
Chet Edwards, Texas

† Denotes freshmen

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Appropriations

WHO'S WHO

Full Committee

- PHONE: (202) 225-2771
- OFFICE: H-218 Capitol
- HEARING ROOM: 2360 RHOB

Clerk and Staff Director: James W. Dyer 225-2771 H-218 Capitol
 Minority Staff Director: R. Scott Lilly 225-3481 1016 LHOB

Jurisdiction: Appropriation of the revenue for the support of the government; rescissions of appropriations contained in appropriation acts; transfers of unexpended balances; new spending authority under the Congressional Budget Act. The chairman and ranking minority member are voting members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.



Skeen



Taylor (N.C.)



Yates

Subcommittees

Agriculture, Rural Development, FDA and Related Agencies

- PHONE: (202) 225-2638
- ROOM: 2362A RHOB

Staff Director: Timothy K. Sanders 225-2638 2362A RHOB

Minority Staff Assistant: Del Davis 225-3481 1016 LHOB

- | | |
|-----------------|---------|
| Skeen, chairman | |
| Walsh | Kaptur |
| Dickey | Fazio |
| Kingston | Serrano |
| Nethercutt | DeLauro |
| Bonilla | |
| Latham | |

District of Columbia

- PHONE: (202) 225-5338
- ROOM: H-147 Capitol

Staff Director: America S. Mironi 225-5338 H-147 Capitol

Minority Staff Assistant: Cheryl Smith 225-3481 1016 LHOB

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Taylor (N.C.), chairman | |
| Neumann | Moran (Va.) |
| Cunningham | Sabo |
| Tiahrt | Dixon |
| Northrup | |
| Aderholt | |

Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs

- PHONE: (202) 225-2041
- ROOM: H-150 Capitol

Staff Director: Charles O. Flickner 225-2041 H-150 Capitol

Minority Staff Assistant: Mark Murray 225-3481 1016 LHOB

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------|
| Callahan, chairman | |
| Porter | Pelosi |
| Wolf | Yates |
| Packard | Lowey |
| Knollenberg | Foglietta |
| Forbes | Torres |
| Kingston | |
| Frelinghuysen | |

Interior

- PHONE: (202) 225-3081
- ROOM: B-308 RHOB

Staff Director: Deborah A. Weatherly 225-3081 B-308 RHOB

Minority Staff Assistant: Del Davis 225-3481 1016 LHOB

- | | |
|------------------|-------------|
| Regula, chairman | Yates |
| McDade | Murtha |
| Kolbe | Dicks |
| Skeen | Skaggs |
| Taylor (N.C.) | Moran (Va.) |
| Nethercutt | |
| Miller (Fla.) | |
| Wamp | |

Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary

- PHONE: (202) 225-3351
- ROOM: H-309 Capitol

Staff Director: James Kulikowski 225-3351 H-309 Capitol

Minority Staff Assistant: Pat Schlueter 225-3481 1016 LHOB

- | | |
|------------------|----------|
| Rogers, chairman | |
| Kolbe | Mollohan |
| Taylor (N.C.) | Skaggs |
| Regula | Dixon |
| Forbes | |
| Latham | |

Energy and Water Development

- PHONE: (202) 225-3421
- ROOM: 2362 RHOB

Staff Director: James Ogshury 225-3421 2362 RHOB

Minority Staff Assistant: Mark Murray 225-3481 1016 LHOB

- | | |
|------------------|-----------|
| McDade, chairman | |
| Rogers | Fazio |
| Knollenberg | Visclosky |
| Frelinghuysen | Edwards |
| Parker | Pastor |
| Callahan | |
| Dickey | |

Subcommittee w/ jurisdiction over NEA budget

NOTE: FY '99 Budget hearing scheduled 3/12/98

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Interior Subcommittee Rep. Regula Presiding

**NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS
YEAR-END REVIEW**

NOVEMBER 24, 1997

FISCAL 1997

In Fiscal Year 1997 (October 1, 1996 - September 30, 1997), the NEA operated with a budget of \$99.5 million, the same amount provided in FY 96. Legislation also continued the prohibition of grants to most individual artists, seasonal support, and subgrants by any grantee except state, regional, and local arts agencies.

APPROPRIATIONS -- FISCAL 1998

On February 6, 1997, President Clinton requested \$136 million for the National Endowment for the Arts in FY 98, a 37% increase over the FY 96 level.

The FY 98 NEA appropriations process began March 13, 1997, with a hearing of the House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee chaired by Representative Ralph Regula (R-OH-16). The Senate Interior Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by Slade Gorton (R-WA), held an NEA budget hearing on April 24, 1997.

The House Appropriations Subcommittee marked up H.R. 2107, the FY 98 Interior Appropriations bill, on June 17. The bill presented by Chairman Regula (R-OH-16) recommended "an appropriation of \$10 million dollars for an orderly termination" of the agency. An amendment offered by Representative Yates (D-IL-9) to strike the termination language was agreed to on a voice vote. A second Yates amendment to increase the FY 98 appropriation to \$99.5 million was defeated on a 6-5 party line vote.

On June 26th, the full House Appropriations Committee completed committee action on the bill. Representatives Sidney Yates and Michael Forbes (R-NY-1) again offered the amendment to increase the NEA appropriation to \$99.5 million. The amendment failed, by a vote of 28-31.

Prior to the full Committee markup, the President's Budget Director, Franklin Raines, wrote to the House Appropriations Committee Chairman Bob Livingston threatening to veto the Interior bill because of its lack of support for NEA. The letter stated:

The Administration strongly objects to the Subcommittee's drastic reduction in funding for the National Endowment for the Arts. The President's senior advisors would recommend that he veto the bill if this funding level were to remain.

On Wednesday, July 9, the House Rules Committee reported out a Rule governing subsequent consideration of H.R. 2107 on the House floor. The Rules Committee at the behest of the House Republican leadership, essentially ruled out of order any amendment to increase NEA funding on the House floor. The only arts-related amendment ruled in order was an amendment to be offered



by Representative Vernon Ehlers (R- MI-3) that would have eliminated the NEA and provided \$80 million in block grant funds to the local education boards (60 percent) and to the state arts agencies (37 percent).

On Thursday, July 10, the Rule was debated by the full House. Because the Rule severely restricted amendments on NEA, the debate and vote on the Rule became the de facto vote on whether members supported or opposed continuation of NEA. Unfortunately, the Rule passed by a narrow, one-vote margin, 217-216. All but five Democrats voted against the Rule and they were joined by 15 Republicans who went against their leadership to support NEA.

After adoption of the Rule, the House began consideration of H.R. 2107. Representative Philip Crane (R-IL-8) raised a technical point of order striking even the \$10 million that the bill provided for the NEA in the bill for close out.

Representatives Vernon Ehlers (R-MI-3) and Duncan Hunter (R-CA-52) then offered the block grant amendment, which was defeated by a vote of 155-271. Democrats and moderate Republicans who supported NEA teamed up with conservatives who opposed all arts funding to defeat the amendment.

The final bill passed the House on July 15, 1997, by a vote of 238-192, with 18 Republican members voting against final passage.

Following the House action, the Senate Interior Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by Slade Gorton (R-WA), marked up its version of H.R. 2107 on Friday, July 17, providing \$100.060 million (the current FY 97 amount plus a small addition for inflation) for the agency.

On Thursday, September 11, 1997, the Senate began debate on the FY 98 Interior Appropriations bill. Prior to Senate debate, the Executive Office of the President released another Statement of Administration Policy that reiterated the President's strong support for full funding of the Endowment. The statement said:

The Administration appreciates the Committee's commitment to providing funding for the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). The Administration would like to work with the Congress to increase funding for both the NEA and the National Endowment for the Humanities up to the President's requested level [\$136 million] as the bill moves through the process.

The Administration understands that an amendment may be offered to increase significantly block grants to the States, thus severely diminishing the Federal leadership role of the NEA. In addition, the Administration understands that an amendment may be offered making it administratively impossible for NEA to carry out its function. If such amendments were adopted, the President's senior advisors would recommend that the President veto the bill.

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Debate concerning the NEA began on Monday, September 15, and continued through September 18. On September 17, the Senate began a series of votes on four amendments to eliminate or to substantially restructure the agency. All four amendments were defeated by substantial bipartisan margins. The amendments, in order of consideration, were:

- A Jesse Helms (R-NC)/John Ashcroft (R-MO) amendment to eliminate the agency was defeated by a vote of 23-77;
- A Spencer Abraham (R-MI) amendment to cut the NEA's funds by 1/3 this year and give the funds to the Smithsonian, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Park Service for various projects was defeated by a vote of 26-73;
- A Tim Hutchinson (R-AR)/Jeff Sessions (R-AL) amendment that would have eliminated the NEA and block granted 99 percent of the \$100 million to the governors and send 1 percent to the Treasury to issue the checks was defeated by a vote of 37-62;
- A Kay Bailey Hutchison amendment that would have sent 75 percent of the agency's funds to the states in block grants, retained 20 percent for national grants, and 5 percent for administrative costs was defeated by 39-61. Sixteen Republicans joined with all the Democrats to defeat this amendment.

Two amendments concerning the NEA were adopted by voice vote:

- An amendment by Senator Ted Stevens (R-AK) and Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT) expressing the Sense of the Senate that hearings should be held and legislation addressing the proper mechanism for federal funding in the arts and the role of the private sector to supplement support of the arts should be brought before the full Senate for debate and passage during this Congress; and
- An amendment by Senator Mike DeWine (R-OH) stating that the agency shall ensure that priority is given to projects that serve underserved populations.

The full Senate passed the FY 98 Interior Appropriations bill by a vote of 93-3 on September 18.

After passage by the Senate, a conference to reconcile the differences between the two versions of the bill was held. During Conference, a compromise concerning the NEA was struck that will provide the agency with a budget of \$98 million for FY 98. Although the respective House and Senate Interior Subcommittee Chairmen, Ralph Regula (R-OH-16) and Slade Gorton (R-WA), had agreed to \$100.060 million (the Senate number) prior to the formal conference meeting, House conferees led by the full committee Chairman Bob Livingston (R-LA-1) and Subcommittee member George Nethercutt, Jr. (R-WA-5) offered an amendment that would have cut \$10 million

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from the budget, forcing Chairman Regula to offer the \$2.060 million cut as an alternative. The Regula compromise was approved by the House conferees, and quickly accepted by the Senate conferees in order to seal the entire NEA agreement.

The following additional terms were included by Chairman Regula in the Conference Report in return for accepting the Senate's general position on funding:

- Increased the reservation of grant monies for state arts agencies from 35 percent of grant-making funds to 40 percent;
- Established an overarching 15 percent cap on the total amount of NEA grant funds arts organizations in any one state may receive. However, grants for projects that are of "national impact or availability or are able to tour to several states" are excluded from this cap;
- Gave the Arts Endowment the authority to "solicit and invest" funds;
- Required NEA "to ensure that priority is given to providing services or awarding financial assistance for projects...that serve underserved populations";
- Required NEA to "ensure that priority is given to providing services or awarding financial assistance for projects...that will encourage public knowledge, education, understanding and appreciation of the arts";
- Froze the agency's administrative expenses at the FY 97 level;
- Reduced the National Council on the Arts to 20 members: 14 appointed by the President and 6 Members of Congress (4 appointed by the Speaker and Majority Leader of the House and Senate, and 2 by the Minority Leaders of the House and Senate.) The provision required the immediate retirement of current members of the National Council whose terms expired in September 1996. (Council members previously had served until their replacement was confirmed by the Senate.) No additional Presidential nominees may be added until 8 sitting members retire in September 1998, bringing the number of sitting Presidential appointees to fewer than 14 members. The Members of Congress are supposed to be appointed not later than December 31, 1997, and will serve one year. Thereafter, the Members of Congress will serve two-year terms to run concurrently with the Congressional term. Finally, the Congressional Members will serve in a non-voting, ex-officio capacity, advising on matters of policy.

NEA has been advised by the U.S. Department of Justice Office of Legal Counsel that, based on legal precedent, "the amendment's provision for Congressional representatives on the Council must be considered constitutionally questionable in

the absence of contrary authority from the Supreme Court." Nevertheless, it appears the provision will stand until successfully challenged by a party with standing before the court.

The Conference Report also retained the ban on grants to most individual artists, subgrants and seasonal support first enacted two years ago (FY 96).

Finally, the report included the non-binding Sense of the Senate resolution offered by Senators Stevens and Dodd calling for hearings and legislation on the subject of arts funding in 1998.

On October 24, the House passed the Conference Report by a vote of 233-171, and on October 28, it passed the Senate by a vote of 84-14. The President signed the bill into law on November 14, 1997 (PL 105-83).

REAUTHORIZATION

The reauthorization process began in the 105th Congress with a hearing held on April 29, 1997, chaired by Senator James M. Jeffords (R-VT), head of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. On July 15, 1997, Senators Jeffords (R-VT), Kennedy (D-MA), and Chafee (R-RI) introduced a five-year bill (S. 1020) authorizing appropriations of up to \$175 million in 1998 and "such sums as necessary" thereafter. The bill is similar in form to the Kassebaum-Jeffords bill introduced and reported from committee in the previous Congress with a few significant exceptions. The measure would divide the agency's grant-making funds into four areas: 40 percent to the states; 40 percent for national grants that will require 3:1 or 5:1 matches from the grantee, depending upon the grantee's annual budget; 10 percent for grants that will require a 1:1 match; and 10 percent for arts education and grants to underserved and rural areas. In addition, the bill mandates that any funds appropriated in excess of \$99.5 million be used exclusively for arts education projects.

On July 23, 1997, the full Labor Committee marked up S. 1020, and added a number of significant amendments to the bill by voice vote:

- By Senator John Warner (R-VA): Dropped the 1998 authorization level for the NEA from \$175 million to \$105 million, continued the "such sums as necessary" for the next four years.
- By Senator John Warner (R-VA): Capped administrative expenses at 12 percent, to be phased in one year from enactment of the legislation. This is an extremely problematic amendment that would require a massive staff reduction-in-force at NEA, and would prevent NEA from serving the public.

- By Senator Susan Collins (R-ME): To direct the agency to give priority consideration to proposed arts education project applications in all funding areas.

The only significant amendment defeated in Committee was offered by Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH). The amendment would have block granted 60 percent of the agency's grant budget to the states.

The full Committee then voted to report out the amended bill by a bipartisan vote of 14 to 4 -- Senators Jeffords (R-VT), Gregg (R-NH), Collins (R-ME), Warner (R-VA), McConnell (R-KY), DeWine (R-OH), Reed (D-RI), Wellstone (D-MN), Murray (D-WA), Bingaman (D-NM), Mikulski (D-MD), Kennedy (D-MA), Dodd (D-CT), and Harkin (D-IA) voted for the bill, and Senators Frist (R-TN), Hutchinson (R-AR), Enzi (R-WY), and Coats (R-IN) voted against.

The bill is currently pending on the Senate Calendar. No further action has been scheduled as of this time.

In the House of Representatives, the Chairman of the Early Childhood, Youth and Families Subcommittee, Representative Frank Riggs (R-CA-1), and the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, Representative Peter Hoekstra (R-MI-2), held a joint hearing on the National Endowment for the Arts on May 13, 1997. Neither chairman committed to moving a reauthorization bill through the Committee. The House Leadership remains opposed to NEA reauthorization.

The Congress has adjourned for the year and will not reconvene for the Second Session of the 105th Congress until January 27, 1998. We expect no action on significant legislative matters before that time.

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MOST RECENT NEA-
Related hearing
of Senate Labor
Committee

**REAUTHORIZATION OF THE NATIONAL EN-
DOWMENTS FOR THE ARTS AND HUMAN-
ITIES: A FOCUS ON EDUCATION**

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1997

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:13 a.m., in room SD-430, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Jeffords (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Jeffords, DeWine, Hutchinson, Warner, Kennedy, Dodd, Bingaman, and Reed.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR JEFFORDS

The CHAIRMAN. Good morning. Today we will be discussing the reauthorization of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

As we have a number of people to hear from this morning, my comments will be brief. While we will cover the issue of reauthorization with a broad brush today, the particular focus of this hearing is education. Both agencies have great potential to enhance and improve the educational opportunities for the people of our Nation. We must explore ways in which we can increase the capacity each agency has to feed the need for learning that exists throughout the country.

The NEH and the NEA are agencies that have had some serious problems over the years—there is no doubt about that—not created by them, I will say. Congress tends to spend a lot of time discussing controversial grants. In response to these concerns, the Senate during the last Congress closed the loopholes that existed in the administration of the NEA, greatly reducing the likelihood of past mistakes being repeated in the future.

Still, what I have come to realize in the perennial debate that occurs on the Federal role in supporting the arts and humanities is that most times, the meaningful accomplishments of these agencies are lost in the shuffle.

Education is primary among these accomplishments. Both of these agencies provide support for extraordinary education programs which benefit kids in elementary and secondary schools, college students, parents, day care providers—in other words, all kinds of people in all parts of the country.

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There are other noteworthy programs that, with a little investment from the NEA or the NEH, could be replicated and their benefits realized by a broader audience.

This committee passed a reauthorization bill last Congress by a bipartisan vote of 12 to 4. That bill made substantial changes aimed at tightening up the administration of both agencies, closing loopholes, providing more direction as to how Federal funds should be spent, and merging and streamlining some functions. It is legislation that I hope we can use as a basis for the discussion this year.

I am confident that we will be able to move forward this Congress and craft legislation that addresses concerns yet allows the agencies to continue to fulfill their mission of increasing access to the arts and humanities for the benefit of the American public.

Senator Kennedy?

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR KENNEDY

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for convening this hearing on the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities. These agencies are small, but their impact is enormous. Programs supported by the Endowments are found in communities in every corner of the country.

Amid the reckless calls for dismantling these agencies, Chairman Jeffords has been a strong and determined voice calling for their renewal, and I commend him for his leadership.

It is a privilege to welcome Chairmen Jane Alexander and Sheldon Hackney. They have done exceptional jobs guiding their agencies through this period of attacks and controversies. Under their skillful guidance, the agencies have reached even higher levels of excellence, if not funding; and we will have to keep working on the funding. As chairmen, they have provided impressive leadership as well as a refreshing openness and cooperation with the Congress.

All of us who know him regret very much that Dr. Hackney has decided to return to teaching at the University of Pennsylvania. He will be greatly missed at the Humanities Endowment. He is well-known for his integrity and scholarship, and I thank him for his efforts on behalf of the Endowment and wish him well in the years to come.

Our country is strengthened and enriched by its cultural heritage. The sculptures of Frederic Remington, musical scores of Aaron Copland, photographs of Mathew Brady, and choreography of Agnes deMille have captured and immortalized essential aspects of our history. Their images bring an understanding and context of the early American spirit for every subsequent generation.

So, too, jazz and the great musicals of Broadway are uniquely American expressions. They are part of the American cultural legacy that reflects, chronicles and explains who we are as a Nation.

The mission of the Endowments is to provide support for cultural programs in communities across America and to sustain an environment in the country which encourages the growth and development of the arts and humanities. By any fair accounting, the Endowments are doing an excellent job under very difficult conditions.

There will always be naysayers who reject any role at all for government in the preservation of the Nation's culture and heritage

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and who spend their time looking at the Endowments with a microscope, trying to find an inappropriate grant. Occasionally, these critics discover a grant they dislike among the tens of thousands of grants that the Endowments have awarded since 1965. They then misuse these discoveries to try to taint the entire Endowments and claim that they should be eliminated.

American families want the arts and humanities in their lives. They agree that government has a valid role. Perhaps that role can be improved, but it certainly should not be eliminated.

As we on this committee are well aware, the arts are an effective tool in education. Arts education helps young people find fulfillment in their lives. It also gives teachers useful new learning tools in their classrooms. In preparation for the hearing this morning, I looked at the College Board's report on those who have been studying the arts—we will get into this perhaps later on—and one of their observations is that, "In 1995, SAT takers with course work experience in music performance scored 51 points higher on the verbal portions of the test and 39 points higher on the math portion than students with no course work or experience in the arts. Scores for those with course work in music appreciation were 61 points higher on the verbal and 46 points higher on the math portion." The report goes on in further detail. It is really extraordinary.

As the country prepares a millennium celebration, cultural activities will be in the forefront. The Library of Congress intends to convene a conference of the great thinkers of our time. In Massachusetts, the Boston Symphony has plans to commission new work for the celebration. Similar cultural activities are likely to occur in every city and town in the country, and the Endowments have an indispensable role to play in preparing for these occasions.

We have enjoyed the opportunity to talk with Jane Alexander and also with Sheldon Hackney about how, as we enter the next millennium, the role of the arts and humanities can be recognized and projected into the next century.

So I look forward to our hearing this morning and to the reports by Chairman Alexander and Chairman Hackney on the activities of the Endowments and to early action by the Congress to reauthorize these two agencies and enable them to carry on their important work.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for that excellent information as well as a very pertinent and appropriate statement, Senator.

Before we begin I have statements from Senators Enzi and Hutchinson.

[The prepared statements of Senators Enzi and Hutchinson follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR ENZI

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for holding this hearing today on the reauthorization of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. I would also like to welcome our witnesses and particularly Dr. Hackney and Ms. Alexander for taking time to be here to present their testimonies.

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Everyone involved in this hearing today is familiar with the troubles surrounding the issue of funding for the National Endowments. As a new member of this Committee, I want to add some of my own perspective to this debate. I believe the driving force behind the ongoing controversy is that the agencies have been on auto-pilot—with little direction from Congress—for four years. I was not here when the Committee debated this issue two years ago, but I think it is time to get something done. It is a circumvention of the legislative process to continue trickling funds to the Foundation, without authorization, while putting off any legislative discussion. Nobody seems to want to talk about it. It's like some embarrassing relative.

As policy-makers, we cannot responsibly allow an agency to linger on without authorization. Since 1993, Congress has left the NEA and the NEH to drift in a sea of uncertainty. The result is that the chairpersons have had to maintain the course of least resistance with little direction from Capitol Hill. With that in mind, I would like to commend the witnesses here today for making some tough decisions and using real initiative to redefine and reorganize their agencies.

It is time we move forward and reach some consensus on funding for the arts and humanities. I am pleased that the Committee is taking a look at the issue and that we will have a chance to review the facts. We will have a chance to see how recent changes will affect program delivery. We will also be able to judge for ourselves whether the taxpayers are getting value for their money. That is what we must do. Responsible legislating requires that we separate out the rhetoric that is used to blur distinctions on both sides of this debate. Then we will get at the heart of the issue. That is, should we fund art? If so, who gets to decide how we do it?

I view financial support for our cultural resources the same way I view spending on education. If we are going to spend federal dollars, then they should be administered at the state or local level. Programming decisions, like education curriculum decisions, must be subject to local sensitivities and needs. So often, Washingtonians get caught up in the phraseology of the moment—particularly when it comes to children. I believe—as do most parents—that education is a local priority, that our kids go to local schools, not to national ones. But some Washingtonians seem to confuse “local priority across the nation” with “national priority.” That view, inevitably, results in some bureaucrat trying to expand Washington's control.

I feel the same way about funding for our cultural resources. We should administer all of the grants at the local level. People live at the local level, not at the national level. Adults and children learn at the local level, not at the national level. And people produce and appreciate art at the local level, not at the national level. Even the Smithsonian, National Gallery and Kennedy Center produce and display collections of local art. So if we are going to fund our cultural resources with taxpayer's dollars, then let's give the taxpayers—people who live at the local level—the opportunity and the responsibility to do it right.

In my hometown of Gillette, for example, where I served as mayor for eight years, we are particularly proud of Complex, our Campbell County arts and activities center. Residents from all over

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northeastern Wyoming take advantage of the performances and exhibits offered at Camp Complex, and many of those productions are made possible using Wyoming Arts Council support to leverage additional matching funds from local, state and national sources. We do understand the importance of arts and humanities funding in places like Wyoming. I know that both Ms. Alexander and Dr. Hackney have visited my state and have had an opportunity to experience some of the institutions, activities and education programs supported there. I hope they would agree that the State is doing a fine job administering the arts and humanities grants.

Before I conclude, I want to make this Committee aware of a Joint Resolution that was recently adopted by the Wyoming State Legislature in support of state and national funding for the Wyoming Arts Council. That is a pretty heavy endorsement from a fairly conservative crowd. Sixty-seven Republicans and twenty-three Democrats made up the 54th Wyoming Legislature, and sixty eight of them signed the Resolution. I believe that voice indicates the nature of support for the arts and humanities in my state.

There is some misconception out there that conservatives do not appreciate the value of arts and humanities in our society. That is not an accurate view because I know that support funding for the arts and humanities. A number of my "conservative" colleagues support the arts and humanities. I do believe there is a place for cultural resources and education—but that place is not in Washington. I will work for a reauthorization that leaves Foundation funding in the hands of the state arts and humanities councils.

Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing and thank you to the witnesses for sharing your thoughts with us.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR HUTCHINSON

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for calling this hearing today, and for giving us the opportunity to hear from these various witnesses their thoughts on the role of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). I look forward to the opportunity to ask questions of them as well.

Let me begin by stating that I believe the arts are extremely important to American society. That's why I'm happy to report the arts are thriving in our country! To that end, I realize how NEA grants have been beneficial to many fine Arkansas art-related organizations, and how much these organizations, in turn, have done to enrich the cultural life of many Arkansans.

Last year alone, nearly \$10 billion was contributed by the private sector, which traditionally has funded the arts in America, while the federal share was only \$99 million—just 1% of total funding.

It's a myth that the multi-billion dollar U.S. arts community depends on a small Washington bureaucracy to succeed, and is interesting to note that while NEA funding has been cut over the past several years, private giving and state and local government contributions to the arts have increased significantly.

Americans will spend close to \$4.2 billion this year on spectator sporting events, and almost that much—\$4.1 billion—to attend performing arts events. I doubt anyone would suggest we need to subsidize major league sports, yet the debate continues as to whether our hard-earned tax dollars should go to the NEA.

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I believe it is a question of priorities. Although I am committed to ensuring that America's rich history in the arts is preserved, in light of the current federal budget crisis, we must carefully consider every tax dollar we spend.

Our budget deficit continues to rise annually, and our national debt increases by a trillion dollars nearly every four years. Our children and grandchildren are going to be burdened with this crushing debt unless our nation finds the will to begin acting now. That's why nearly every program in the federal budget is facing reductions.

I believe that the \$99 million spent on NEA funding could go a long way in reducing our national debt and providing for American families. This year alone, that \$99 million could be used to provide a \$500-per-child tax credit for 198,000 children, cover the Medicare costs of almost 17,000 Americans, or be used to eliminate what almost 5,000 hard-working Americans owe toward the national debt. Instead, our tax dollars continue to support artwork that is often offensive, sacrilegious and sexually explicit.

In addition, states like Arkansas aren't treated fairly by the NEA's funding decisions, as the NEA continues to send much of its direct grant money to the largest U.S. cities, such as New York, Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.

In fact, out of 12 grant applications my home state submitted last year, only ONE was approved for funding! It is very difficult for me to believe that the NEA's funding formula is fair and equitable across our nation when the entire state of Arkansas, through the Arkansas Arts Council, received \$410,200, while just one museum in one big city was awarded a \$400,000 grant for a single exhibit.

Furthermore, it becomes increasingly harder to justify the existence of the NEA when one takes a careful look at the overhead and salary costs of the agency. For example, from 1994 to 1996, the administrative costs of the NEA rose from over 14% to almost 19% at a time when the agency was cut by 39%, and was faced with the loss of 89 positions.

A more careful review of the Administration's budget proposal for permanent positions shows an increase of 22 from the 1996 level with 80 of 161 positions to be filled by individuals at the GS-11 level or higher with salaries ranging from \$45,939—\$98,714. This number does not include the Director's Executive level salary or the other 5 individuals who also earn between \$101,000—\$123,000.

These high administrative costs may be due in part to the lack of strict accounting and management at the NEA. The NEA is not subject to the types of accounting standards, such as the Chief Financial Officers Act, maintained in the private sector, and which have recently been placed on other federal agencies.

Just as millions of American families are required to do each year in their own household budgets, decisions must be made at the federal level concerning what items are absolutely essential and what items fall into the nice-to-have category. At a time when we are trying to balance the budget and reduce the size and scope of the federal government, we must carefully consider every tax dollar we spend.

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Nearly \$10 billion in private donations last year alone prove the arts are alive and well in America, and that government funding is no longer necessary or appropriate. Mr. Chairman, I again want to thank you for calling this hearing, and look forward to future discussions on this important issue.

The CHAIRMAN. Our first witness is the honorable Sheldon Hackney, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. It is with some sadness that I greet you today, Dr. Hackney, knowing that, in a brief period of time, we will not have the pleasure of working with you and I just want to commend you for all the work that you have done.

As many of you know, last week, Dr. Hackney announced that he would be leaving the NEH and returning to the University of Pennsylvania to teach history. I wish we had a little bit of history for you in this particular endeavor we are discussing today. Anyway, I would like to commend you for your extraordinary service these past years and for the extraordinary accomplishments that the NEH has achieved under your leadership in rather difficult times.

I have truly enjoyed working with you, and I am sure I am not alone in praising you for your work and missing you.

We will also have the pleasure of hearing from the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, the honorable Jane Alexander. Thank you for being with us today, and we look forward to your testimony as we always do.

Dr. Hackney, please proceed.

STATEMENTS OF HON. SHELDON HACKNEY, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES, WASHINGTON, DC; AND HON. JANE ALEXANDER, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. HACKNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for those nice words. I must say that these last 4 years have been very exciting ones for me—not exactly what I had planned to do when I came to Washington—but probably the most satisfying professional period of my life because I have worked with an extraordinary staff at the NEH, and we have done some good things through some difficult times, and I have enjoyed very much the opportunity to work with you.

And I thank you also for the opportunity to appear before your committee this morning to talk a bit about the National Endowment for the Humanities. With your permission, I will not read my statement, but I would appreciate it being included in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that will happen.

Mr. HACKNEY. What I would like to do is very briefly make two general points about the NEH, to illustrate the first with one example and to illustrate the second with three examples.

The first point is that all of our activities in the National Endowment for the Humanities—and here, I am thinking of activities in the area of research, of preservation, of formal education programs, public programs, the activities of the State Humanities Councils—all of those various fields of activity that the NEH is engaged in are mutually dependent; they are interrelated in a very real way. They depend on each other. And if our task is really to ensure progress in the humanities, as our legislation requires us to do, the

NEH really must be active in all of those areas because they depend on each other.

Let me give you a dramatic example in a single person, that is, Laurel Ulrich, who was teaching at the University of New Hampshire in 1982, having started her academic career after her family responsibilities were over, and she was therefore a rather young historian at that time. And she got from the NEH a summer stipend, which she used to go to Maine to look through the State archives there. And in the State archives, she found a diary that nobody had worked with before and that nobody had seen. It was the diary of Martha Ballard, who was an 18th century midwife.

It was fascinating. Of course, diaries are episodic, and you cannot simply read them and know exactly what is going on, so the life of Martha Ballard needed to be reconstructed if it was going to tell us anything about how people live in the 18th century.

So Laurel Ulrich worked away on that. She got a full year's fellowship from the NEH in 1985 and spent that year reconstructing the life of Martha Ballard, really, decoding that diary, and turned that decoding, her work, into a book called "A Midwife's Tale." It won the Pulitzer Prize in 1991 and also the Bancroft Award given by the American Historical Association.

That book, "A Midwife's Tale," has now been turned into a film by the independent filmmaker, Laurie Kahn Levitt, and the film is very interesting. It will be shown on PBS next fall, and it is fascinating, and I recommend it to you. It will tell you more about the 18th century than you have probably learned from books, because it is quite graphic. It is in part a documentary of the reconstruction of life in the 18th century by Laurel Ulrich, the historian, and it is partly a dramatization of the life of Martha Ballard, done with great attention to authentic detail. And it is quite a powerful educational piece.

Now, while she was going through this business of research and writing the book, Laurel Ulrich was also engaged in doing seminars for the State Humanities Council in Maine and in New Hampshire, appearing in public, and teaching her students using the material that she had gleaned from her research itself.

So here is a single project that has gone from a summer stipend and a full year's fellowship through teaching and public programs into a book form, and now has been translated into a film that will reach millions of people and provide a sense of life in the 18th century and therefore some perspective of our life today. I think it is a dramatic example of how all of these areas of humanistic activity are related to each other and how they support each other.

So I think the NEH must be engaged in all of those areas of activity.

The second general point is that everything we do is in some sense educational, both formal, in classrooms with students who think of themselves as students, and informal, as continuing education, if you will, in public programs, in films on television, in exhibits, in reading and discussion programs.

So we are engaged fundamentally in education. We are focused now in education and technology and are funding programs that do two things. They provide high-quality content in education and also

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