

New York - 6th District

6 Joseph P. Addabbo (D)

Of Ozone Park — Elected 1960

Born: March 17, 1925, New York, N.Y.

Education: Attended City College of N.Y. 1942-44; St. Johns Law School, LL.B. 1946.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Grace Salamone; three children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: No previous office.

Capitol Office: 2365 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-3461.



In Washington: A chairman can be smart and tough and still lose most of the time, as Addabbo has proven during more than four years in charge of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee.

Close colleagues know the Queens Democrat as an unobtrusively efficient vote counter — the sort of man who quietly slips into a reception or cocktail party to find out which way opinion is moving on an issue he is interested in. But as a dovish chairman of a hawkish subcommittee, he has nearly always found majority opinion against him, leaving no choice but to accept defeat in his own panel and wait for another day.

On one issue, at least, that day came in December of 1982. After his proposal to block MX missile funding failed both in his subcommittee and at full Appropriations, Addabbo took it to the floor and won. "We won the battle," he said afterward, and promised to continue fighting the war.

A stocky, moon-faced man with a penchant for wisecracks, Addabbo looks the part of an old-fashioned machine Democrat from New York City. But it is a deceptive appearance. Addabbo's interests are national, and over the last decade he became one of the most knowledgeable and effective congressional critics of the Pentagon.

"I'm for a strong defense," he said in 1982, "but I don't take the Pentagon at their word. I don't like the attitude of some members: 'Well, let's give them \$20 million to play around with this year. Let's give them \$40 million next year.' Three years later, the weapon doesn't work, and there's \$100 million down the drain."

Addabbo is not so much anti-military as anti-bureaucracy: He tends to view generals as bureaucrats-in-uniform who share with their civilian counterparts an inclination toward empire-building and tunnel vision.

He supported the Vietnam war throughout

the Johnson years and for a while under President Nixon, then changed his mind and sponsored the first anti-war resolution ever to pass the House — one cutting off funds for the bombing of Cambodia in 1973.

He is convinced that high defense spending not only absorbs scarce funds needed for domestic programs, but elicits a corresponding increase in Soviet military spending.

Addabbo says that bureaucratic biases favor the wrong kinds of weaponry — too expensive to buy sufficient numbers and too complicated to keep operable. He led the congressional fight against the B-1 bomber in the late '70s, arguing that the cruise missile favored by President Carter had a better chance of penetrating Soviet air defenses in the 1980s. He charged that the nuclear-powered carriers favored by the Navy would be sitting ducks for Soviet cruise missiles and would absorb funds better spent on a larger number of smaller ships. With Carter supporting Addabbo's positions from the White House, they prevailed briefly in 1977 and 1978.

The situation changed in 1979. Addabbo assumed the subcommittee chairmanship that year, and with it more control over the defense spending process. But the B-1 and the nuclear carrier were picking up adherents in Congress as Addabbo was maneuvering to block them. By the end of the 96th Congress in 1980, both the B-1 and the carrier had a new lease on life, helped by widespread congressional fear of a Soviet military buildup and contempt for what many members saw as Carter's squeamishness about the role of force in world affairs.

In the first few months of President Reagan's administration, Addabbo predicted confidently that his panel could find at least \$7 billion to cut from the new president's planned military buildup. But he had few successes

Joseph P. Addabbo, D-N.Y.

New York 6

New York's burgeoning Catholic middle class settled this part of Queens a generation ago as it expanded outward from homes closer to the inner city. Now Queens is the inner city, and people are leaving for outer suburbs or other states. Addabbo's district lost nearly 10 percent of its population during the 1970s. The 1982 remap expanded the boundaries south to make up the population deficit.

But the changes did little to affect the district's Democratic character. The area within the redrawn 6th backed Jimmy Carter for president in 1980 with 58 percent of the vote.

The 6th picked up the Rockaways, a narrow peninsula that commuters reach via an elevated train across Jamaica Bay. Popular with beach-goers, the Rockaways have a diverse mix of year-round residents. Far Rockaway has many elderly Jews. Arverne is poor and largely black, and Neponsit is largely populated by wealthy Jews and Wasps. Middle-class blacks increasingly have moved into the quiet, tree-lined sections of the district near the Nassau County line. To the west in Jamaica, a major terminal for Long Island trains, the landscape becomes more urban and the black community poorer.

Jamaica in Queens has become a home for significant numbers of blacks from the island of Jamaica in the Caribbean, many of whom have traveled north to settle with relatives. The district also takes in the Ja-

Southern Queens — Ozone Park; Jamaica

maica Bay Wildlife Refuge, reputed to be the largest urban nature reserve in the world.

Addabbo's old constituency was 45 percent black by 1980, and map makers brought that figure to 50 percent for the 1980s. The area has seen occasional conflict between the races. White parents in Rosedale staged demonstrations in 1981 over a court order to transfer their children to a mostly black school. With blacks accounting for a majority of the new 6th's population, local politicians have to be careful to seem responsive to both black and white voters.

South of Jamaica lie Ozone Park and Howard Beach, white working-class areas populated by Italians and Jews. Aqueduct Race Track ("the Big A") is in this part of the district.

The John F. Kennedy International Airport is an abiding concern in the 6th. JFK provides employment for the district but also a great deal of jet noise. Flight routes and hours preoccupy community groups. In the early 1970s, Addabbo joined local residents in an unsuccessful bid to stop the supersonic Concorde from landing at JFK.

Population: 516,844. White 227,843 (44%), Black 260,124 (50%), Asian and Pacific Islander 6,512 (1%). Spanish origin 48,688 (9%). 18 and over 368,903 (71%), 65 and over 61,592 (12%). Median age: 32.

either in committee or on the floor in 1981, as most members responded to pleas that they retain the B-1, MX, nuclear carriers and other weapons systems as "bargaining chips" for future U.S.-Soviet negotiations. Addabbo was reduced to predicting that "a severe shortage of dollars will force pruning of programs in later years."

By the spring of 1982, things seemed to be moving in Addabbo's direction. His plan to reduce the 1983 Reagan defense budget by at least \$15 billion did not differ too much from what Republican Budget Chairman Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico was advocating in the Senate. Later in the year, Addabbo's subcommittee actually reduced the Reagan request

by over \$17 billion, more than many expected. The Pershing missile, another favorite Addabbo target, also went down in subcommittee.

Still, the MX and B-1 survived, and few cuts were made in any of the larger and more controversial weapons systems. "I lost," Addabbo said after his panel finished. "I wish I knew why." Later the MX made it through full committee on a tie vote after Reagan personally called every committee member. "I want to cry," Addabbo had told the committee, "every time I think about what we're spending on defense."

The floor, however, was a different story. Voting only weeks after a national election in which most candidates of both parties pledged

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reductions in defense, Addabbo mustered a 245-176 majority for his amendment to block MX production. It was the most dramatic victory of his career as chairman.

Addabbo called that vote "a forerunner of things to come," but there was no immediate sign that he was right. The day after the MX decision, Addabbo lost on amendments to kill the B-1 (which he called "a bummer of a bomber") and other major weapons.

Addabbo is not afraid to oppose his home state defense industries on a major issue — he points out that some of the B-1 would be subcontracted to New York — but he normally sees to it that local contractors such as Fairchild Republic, Grumman and Sperry, all based on Long Island, are well taken care of in subcommittee. He has boasted that defense contracts awarded to New York have increased by 30 percent since he took over as chairman. In 1982 he argued successfully for \$357 million for production of 20 A-10 attack planes opposed by the Air Force but made by Fairchild.

Earlier in the year, New York lost a plum when the Navy Department announced that a contract of nearly \$500 million for refitting the battleship *Iowa* would go to a Mississippi firm rather than the Brooklyn Navy Yard. After that decision was made, Addabbo's panel cut Navy shipbuilding funds by \$546 million.

Addabbo led a long battle, successful in 1980, to obtain a larger slice of the defense spending pie for Northeastern and Midwestern states. This was done by repealing the so-called Maybank amendment, a rider that had been routinely attached to every defense appropriations bill since 1953. It barred the Pentagon from buying materiel at a premium for the sake of putting contracts into areas of high unemployment.

At Home: Unlike most New York City congressmen, Addabbo rarely dabbles in local politics. He is a legislative-oriented House member who leaves politics to the Queens organization. He was never an insurgent and he has never tried to run for city office.

In fact, Addabbo was only modestly involved in politics before his election. As a young Queens lawyer active in civic and community affairs, he had headed Italian-American committees for the election of various candidates. But his 1960 bid for the House was his first political contest.

Throughout the 1950s, the district was represented by a Republican, Albert Bosch. Though Democratic by registration, it was made up of middle-class homeowners who went along with the Eisenhower tide in 1952 and 1956. But during that decade there was a building boom, and new residents, mostly Irish and Italian Catholics from Brooklyn, began moving in.

In 1960 Bosch retired to seek a judgeship and Democrats exploited the opportunity to win the seat. Addabbo, with his Italian name and background, was able to appeal to an important segment of the district. Moreover, John F. Kennedy's drawing power among Catholic voters gave Addabbo's campaign a major boost. He took the district with 53.5 percent of the vote.

Addabbo has always been loyal to traditional organization politics, listening to constituent problems and complaints. He has held to a fairly regular liberal record. When he ran for the House in 1960, Addabbo espoused federal aid to education, assistance for the aged and civil rights. He was a member of the NAACP.

Since his first election, Addabbo has had little trouble keeping his seat. The district has become a Democratic bastion, even going strongly for George McGovern in 1972. From 1974 on, Addabbo has also received the Republican nomination. In the years since then, he has been below 60 percent of the vote just twice — both times by a hair, in the 1962 general election and the 1982 primary.

In 1982 redistricting increased the number of blacks in the 6th, and a prominent black candidate challenged him for renomination. The vote in the contest between Addabbo and Simeon Golar, a former New York City housing commissioner, broke largely along racial lines.

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Committees

Appropriations (5th of 36 Democrats)
 Defense (chairman); Military Construction; Treasury-Postal Service-General Government.

Small Business (3rd of 26 Democrats)
 General Oversight and the Economy; SBA and SBIC Authority, Minority Enterprise and General Small Business Problems.

Elections

1982 General
 Joseph Addabbo (D) 95,483 (96%)
 Mark Scott (C) 4,074 (4%)

1982 Primary
 Joseph Addabbo (D) 26,831 (59%)
 Simeon Golar (D) 18,893 (41%)

1980 General
 Joseph Addabbo (D) 96,137 (95%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (95%) 1976 (95%)
 1974 (100%) 1972 (75%) 1970 (91%) 1968 (66%)
 1966 (65%) 1964 (70%) 1962 (59%) 1960 (54%)

District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	89,495 (58%)	D	115,346 (69%)
R	55,064 (36%)	R	50,369 (30%)
I	7,737 (5%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Addabbo (D)	\$361,344	\$123,977 (34%)		\$172,130
1980				
Addabbo (D)	\$104,420	\$72,250 (69%)		\$88,159

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	\$	O	\$	O	\$	O
1982	26	57	83	5	14	75
1981	32	64	88	7	12	76
1980	56	22	85	4	11	75
1979	66	22	80	12	18	72
1978	68	25	83	8	13	79
1977	66	19	85	6	9	81

1978	25	71	89	3	8	83
1975	35	61	88	4	5	86
1974 (Ford)	46	52				
1974	32	62	85	9	11	85
1973	31	63	85	9	11	86
1972	43	51	81	12	11	83
1971	39	58	79	14	16	79
1970	54	35	75	15	5	84
1969	49	47	73	11	16	78
1968	76	17	77	13	14	75
1967	89	7	91	2	7	85
1966	81	8	85	9	11	76
1965	79	9	75	10	8	82
1964	90	8	82	10	8	92
1963	89	6	91	3	7	80
1962	78	17	77	14	12	81
1961	91	6	91	7	4	96

S - Support O - Opposition

Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	85	0	90	26
1981	75	9	93	16
1980	72	5	100	54
1979	79	8	94	28
1978	70	12	95	20
1977	80	4	91	6
1976	90	4	83	6
1975	95	4	96	18
1974	83	13	100	10
1973	80	20	100	27
1972	94	4	91	11
1971	76	23	92	-
1970	80	12	100	0
1969	80	33	90	-
1968	75	17	100	-
1967	80	4	100	10
1966	82	22	92	-
1965	68	8	-	30
1964	88	0	100	-
1963	-	11	-	-
1962	100	14	91	-
1961	100	-	-	-