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<b>ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET</b>				
<b>SUBJECT: (Optional)</b> Breakfast with House Foreign Affairs Committee Members, 1 May 1986				
<b>FROM:</b> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> Director, DCI/DDCI Executive Staff		<b>EXTENSION</b> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 50px; height: 15px; margin-top: 5px;"></div>	<b>NO.</b>  <b>DATE</b> 30 April 1986	
TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
	RECEIVED	FORWARDED		
1. DCI ✓	<i>30 Apr.</i>			1 & 2: You are scheduled to have breakfast with the House Foreign Affairs Committee members tomorrow morning. Dave Gries suggested that the members might particularly be interested in our views on Gorbachev's first year in power as well as a description of our new Counterterrorism Center. Attached is some background material on those two subjects.
2. DDCI				
3.				
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30 APR 1986

NOTE FOR: DCI ✓  
DDCI  
VIA: Dave Gries [redacted]  
FROM: [redacted]  
SUBJECT: Attendees at House Foreign Affairs Breakfast

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The following Members have said they will attend the breakfast with you tomorrow. Additional Members may well show up.

Majority Members

Dante B. Fascell, Chairman (FL)  
Lee H. Hamilton (IN)  
Gus Yatron (PA)  
Don Bonker (WA)  
Daniel A. Mica (FL)  
Samuel Gejdenson (CT)  
Ted Weiss (NY)

Minority Members

William S. Broomfield (MI)  
Ranking Minority Member  
Benjamin A. Gilman (NY)  
Robert K. Dornan (CA)

[redacted] STAT

22 April 1986  
OCA 86-1285

NOTE FOR:

DCIV ✓  
DDCI

THROUGH:

D/OCA [redacted]

25X1

FROM:

[redacted]  
Deputy Director for House Affairs

25X1

SUBJECT:

Your Breakfast with the House Foreign Affairs  
Committee on 1 May

On 1 May you are scheduled to have an informal, off-the record session with the Members--and some selected staff--of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. This is billed as a "get-acquainted" session; it will be held at 0830 in 2200 Rayburn House Office Building. You will be seated at the head table with Chairman Fascell and Ranking Minority Member Broomfield, whose bios are attached. There is no set order of questioning, and Members with questions are recognized by the Chairman as he sees them. Dave Gries and I have also been invited to attend.

At the time the invitation was issued, Bob Gates had not been named DDCI. The Committee, I am sure, would be delighted to include him in the breakfast. The DDCI will        will not        attend. *- if Bob is available*

The subjects for discussion are entirely up to you. I would suggest two topics that have been much on Members' minds recently:

25X1

--Terrorism, perhaps to include a brief rundown on the new Counterterrorism Center;

--Gorbachev's first year.

23 APR 1986

CONFIDENTIAL

# Committee on Foreign Affairs

2170 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515

(202) 225-5021

**Jurisdiction:** (1) Relations of the U.S. with foreign nations generally; (2) Acquisition of land and buildings for embassies and legations in foreign countries; (3) Establishment of boundary lines between the U.S. and foreign nations; (4) Foreign loans; (5) International conferences and congresses; (6) Intervention abroad and declarations of war; (7) Measures relating to the diplomatic service; (8) Measures to foster commercial intercourse with foreign nations and to safeguard American business interests abroad; (9) Neutrality; (10) Protection of American citizens abroad and expatriation; (11) The American National Red Cross; (12) United Nations organizations; (13) Measures relating to international economic policy; (14) Export controls, including nonproliferation of nuclear technology and nuclear hardware; (15) International commodity agreements (other than those involving sugar), including all agreements for cooperation in the export of nuclear technology and nuclear hardware; (16) Trading with the enemy; (17) International education. In addition to its legislative jurisdiction under the preceding provisions of this paragraph (and its general oversight function under clause 2 (b) (1) of House Rule X) the committee is mandated to have the special oversight functions provided for in clause 3(d) with respect to Customs administration, intelligence activities relating to foreign policy, international financial and monetary organizations, and international fishing agreements.

Ratio: 25:17

## MAJORITY MEMBERS

### Dante B. Fascell, Fla., Chairman

Lee H. Hamilton, Ind.  
Gus Yatron, Pa.  
Stephen J. Solarz, N.Y.  
Don Bonker, Wash.  
Gerry E. Studds, Mass.  
Daniel A. Mica, Fla.  
Michael D. Barnes, Mo.  
Howard Wolpe, Mich.  
George W. Crockett, Jr., Mich.  
Samuel Gejoerson, Conn.  
Mervyn M. Dymally, Calif.

Tom Lantos, Calif.  
Peter H. Kostmayer, Pa.  
Robert G. Torricelli, N.J.  
Lawrence J. Smith, Fla.  
Howard L. Berman, Calif.  
Harry Reid, Nev.  
Meldon E. Levine, Calif.  
Edward F. Feighan, Ohio.  
Ted Weiss, N.Y.  
Gary L. Ackerman, N.Y.  
Kenneth H. (Buddy) MacKay, Fla.  
Morris K. Udall, Ariz.  
Robert Garcia, N.Y.

## MINORITY MEMBERS

### William S. Broomfield, Mich., Ranking Minority Member

Benjamin A. Gilman, N.Y.  
Robert J. Lagomarsino, Calif.  
Jim Leach, Iowa  
Toby Roth, Wis.  
Olympia J. Snowe, Maine  
Henry J. Hyde, Ill.  
Gerald B. Solomon, N.Y.  
Doug Bereuter, Neb.  
Mark D. Siljander, Mich.  
Edwin V. W. Zschau, Calif.  
Robert K. Dornan, Calif.  
Christopher H. Smith, N.J.  
Connie Mack III, Fla.  
Michael DeWine, Ohio  
Danny L. Burton, Ind.  
John McCain, Ariz.

## Key Staff Aides - Majority

Chief of Staff: John J. Brady, Jr.  
Deputy Chief of Staff: Robert Michael Finley  
Chief Counsel: R. Spencer Oliver  
Senior Staff Consultants:  
Federal Budget: Robert K. Boyer  
Food, Communications: Lewis Gulick  
Special Projects, Parliamentary Exchanges, BiE: John Chapman Chester  
Staff Consultants:  
Internat'l Econ. and Monetary Affairs: George M. Ingram  
NATO Affairs: Peter Abbruzzese  
Security Affairs and Arms Control: George R. Berdes  
Staff Consultants: David P. Barton  
Dawn Calabria  
F. Marian Chambers  
Margaret Donovan  
Margaret E. Gale  
Margaret Goodman  
Bert D. Hammond  
Robert T. Huber  
Vance Hyndman

Staff Consultants (cont'd): Helen C. Mattas  
Gerald E. Piontore  
Arch W. Roberts, Jr.  
Martin Sietzinger  
Elizabeth Dapost  
(6350-C RHOB, 225-2366) Ray Sparks  
Legis. Info. Systems Coordinator: Julie A. Illsley  
Special Assistants: Dennis J. DuBrow  
(2169 RHOB, 225-5515) Robert Stoner  
Budget/Fiscal Affairs: Shelly S. Livingston  
Annex Office Coordinator/Travel: Jeanne M. Salvia  
Staff Associates: Nancy M. Carman  
Emily Claire Howe  
Gwendolyn Strano  
Executive Secretary: Constance Lee Yesh  
Senior Staff Assistant: Carol S. Glassman

Document Requests: 225-5515

(continued on next page)

Florida - 19th District

# 19 Dante B. Fascell (D)

Of Miami — Elected 1954

**Born:** March 9, 1917, Bridgehampton, N.Y.  
**Education:** U. of Miami, J.D. 1938.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1941-46.  
**Profession:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Jeanne-Marie Pelot; two children.  
**Religion:** Protestant.  
**Political Career:** Fla. House, 1951-54.  
**Capitol Office:** 2354 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4506.



**In Washington:** Thrust into the Foreign Affairs chairmanship in 1983, on the sudden death of Clement J. Zablocki, Fascell has worked hard to put his own stamp of authority on the panel and restore the central control that had eroded over the previous decade.

It has not been an easy job. Despite the considerable popularity and legislative skill that Fascell brings to his chairmanship, he is burdened with one of the most difficult and contentious subjects in the House: foreign aid. Given the committee's deep philosophical and partisan divisions on that issue, Fascell may never be the force he would like to be. Still, the change has been noticeable.

Under Zablocki, Foreign Affairs had become a rather disorderly and quarrelsome collective of subcommittee fiefdoms, most of which are dominated by strongly liberal Democrats who are at least as interested in challenging the Reagan administration as working with it.

Fascell has kept a tighter rein on the panel than Zablocki did, and has given it more cohesion, often bringing subcommittee chairmen together in private to thrash out disputes before public meetings are held. Under his leadership, Foreign Affairs marked up its foreign aid authorization quickly in 1984 and got it through the House — the first foreign aid bill to make it past the floor in three years. It later died in the Senate.

One problem for Fascell, though, is that on many foreign policy issues, he tends to be much more conservative than many of his Democratic colleagues on the committee. He has consistently supported Reagan's requests for increased military aid to El Salvador, and has opposed human rights restrictions on that aid. He has backed the president's aid requests for the anti-leftist guerrillas in Nicaragua — something that sets him apart from the entire House Democratic leadership.

On other issues, Fascell joins the liberal Democrats in fighting the administration. He opposes the MX missile, and in 1984 cast a tie-breaking vote against it on the House floor. As chairman of the Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs, he has actively opposed Reagan's requests for binary nerve gas weapons and the "Star Wars" orbiting anti-missile system. Following the bombing of the U.S. Marine Corps barracks in Lebanon, Fascell loudly denounced the administration for cutting back on an embassy security program Congress had funded.

Fascell is a short, aggressive bulldog of a man. He has always been impatient with the slow pace of House business and niceties of floor debate. He likes to cut through the rhetoric, get to the point of an argument, outline a compromise and move on to the next issue.

But over the years, he has been one of the most effective operators within the system that frustrates him. Shrewd and combative, he is among the most respected veteran Democrats, a small man who can be loud and tough when he wants to. In the days when Wayne Hays of Ohio was the House bully, Fascell faced him down in a cloakroom shouting match over a campaign finance bill.

Fascell knows how to protect his turf. He stalemated Republican Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas in a two-year personal feud over chairmanship of the so-called "Helsinki commission" human rights panel. At the end of 1984, he was instrumental in persuading House Democrats to reject a move to set up a special committee on arms control. He said creating the committee was an unjustified slap at Foreign Affairs.

Over the years, as his committee's senior expert on Latin America, Fascell has been an

## Florida 19

Florida's southernmost district once included the whole Miami area. Now it has moved almost entirely out of the city and into the suburbs and rural country extending to the Florida Keys.

Redistricting in 1981 removed liberal areas of Miami as well as Miami Beach, replacing them with more conservative new territory. But there are still plenty of Democratic votes in the 19th.

Some of the conservative Democrats are preoccupied with south Florida's frustrating refugee problem. The symbol of that problem is located in the 19th — the Krome Avenue detention center, where about 400 Haitians were held until a federal judge in June of 1982 ordered their release under the supervision of local relief agencies.

Floridians took in some 150,000 Cuban and Haitian refugees in the early 1980s, and many local residents were enraged that, within days of their departure from Krome Avenue, some of the Haitians showed up at local welfare offices seeking assistance.

Much of the land in the 19th is taken up by the Everglades National Park; the

## South — Coral Gables; Key West

people are in eastern Dade County suburbs or farming areas or are scattered through the Florida Keys.

Coral Gables has liberal academics around the University of Miami, and there are poor and middle-class black neighborhoods, as well as a large Cuban community. The Jewish vote out of Kendall is sizable. Homestead and Florida City are markets for a vegetable and fruit-growing area and the domain of traditional rural Democratic voters.

In the Keys, there is a dispute over development policies. Some who have retired to the area want to discourage growth in order to preserve the islands in their current state. They are opposed by the Conchs, Keys' natives who see tourism and development as their livelihood and want to encourage growth.

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Population: 512,886. White 430,795 (84%), Black 61,598 (12%), Spanish origin 111,934 (22%), 18 and over 373,329 (73%), 65 and over 45,187 (9%). Median age: 30.

aggressive anti-communist, vehement in his opposition to anyone who suggests that the U.S. move toward close relations with the Castro regime in Cuba. Many of Fascell's constituents are exiled Cubans who have fled the Castro government.

In 1982, when the House debated setting up Radio Marti, a government-financed radio station to broadcast pro-U.S. programs inside Cuba, Fascell endorsed it in typically deafening fashion on the floor. When critics of the scheme tried to defeat it on a voice vote, Fascell's "aye" was louder than all the opposition put together.

Before he took over the Foreign Affairs chairmanship, Fascell was spending much of his time trying to deal with the impact of Cuban and Haitian newcomers in Florida. In 1980, he added an amendment to the foreign aid authorization bill giving state and local governments extra funds to replace tax money used to care for their refugees. Technically, Fascell's amendment had no business in the foreign aid bill (some colleagues privately derided it as "foreign aid for Miami"), but Fascell pushed it anyway and won some relief from the

financial pressure on south Florida governments.

Outside foreign policy, Fascell has specialized in changing House procedures he has considered less than modern.

He spent a decade lobbying to open House committee meetings to the public. It was his amendment, adopted by the Democratic Caucus in 1973, that required the sessions to be open unless a committee voted in public to close them. Later he moved successfully for the opening of House-Senate conferences.

As a member of the Government Operations Committee until 1984, he played a key role in enactment of legislation that opened executive agency meetings to the public. Long before it was required by law, he issued his own personal financial disclosure statement — one that included such facts as his part-ownership of a horse that ran in the Kentucky Derby. He is still arguing for more complete disclosure of foreign travel expenses by members of Congress.

Fascell backed a federal Consumer Protection Agency and a new Department of Educa-

*Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla.*

tion. Earlier in his career, in 1965, he managed the legislation that created the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s Fascell used his membership on both Government Operations and Foreign Affairs to oppose what he saw as usurpation of power by President Nixon. He helped write the War Powers Act, defining a congressional role in the commitment of U.S. troops abroad, and sponsored a bill curbing the use of executive privilege. In 1973, presiding over the House, he cast the deciding vote in a 206-205 decision making it easier for Congress to force the executive branch to spend appropriated funds.

Fascell also has a strong law and order streak. He had little sympathy for the peace demonstrators or urban rioters of the 1960s. He sponsored legislation setting stiff penalties for inciting a riot. He has favored the death penalty for hijackers.

**At Home:** Like many of the people he represents, Fascell is not a native Southerner. He was brought to Florida from Long Island by his parents when he was eight, and he earned his law degree from the University of Miami before leaving to fight in World War II.

After the war, he used the Dade County Young Democrats and the Italian-American club as an entry into politics, then ran successfully for the state Legislature in 1950.

Four years later, U.S. Rep. William Lantaff announced his retirement. With the slogan "Ring the bell for Dante Fascell," the 37-year-old lawyer won a majority in the five-man primary and was unopposed in the general election.

His first real re-election test was in 1962. Democratic state Rep. David C. Eldredge, a segregationist, criticized Fascell as a consistent supporter of an intrusive federal government and hinted that the incumbent was sympathetic to communism.

When President Kennedy spoke at a Democratic fund-raiser in Miami Beach, he made a point of endorsing Fascell. That hurt Eldredge; he protested Kennedy's intervention, but faded to receive only 35 percent of the primary vote.

Since then Fascell generally has won well over 60 percent of the vote. Even in the infrequent instances when he has faced vigorous

challengers, Fascell has never dropped below 57 percent.

National Republican strategists essentially left Fascell alone until 1982, when they were hopeful that redistricting had made the 19th promising territory for a candidate younger and more conservative than Fascell. In that year's remap, the 19th lost 20,000 solid Democratic votes in south Miami Beach, including poor, elderly people dependent on Social Security.

Fascell's admirers trembled in midsummer 1982, when pollster V. Lance Tarrance released a survey showing the veteran incumbent only 10 percentage points ahead of Republican Glenn Rinker, a television news anchorman who had not even announced his House candidacy.

Rinker owed his strong showing in the survey to his name recognition, which was remarkably high for a congressional challenger. Prior to his bid, Rinker had appeared regularly for six years on a Miami television station. Fascell, meanwhile, had been gliding through quiet and easy re-elections; many of the district's residents had moved in after his last serious challenge, in 1972.

Fascell responded to Rinker with a campaign that had both positive and negative sides. He not only reminded voters of the federal largess he had brought the area during his 28 years in the House, but he portrayed Rinker as a shallow ideologue, a tool of the national Republican Party who would be little more than a Reagan puppet in Congress.

Fascell enjoyed a significant organizational advantage over Rinker, whose campaign started late. The Democrat raised and spent vastly more than he had in any of his previous campaigns — over \$450,000. As Fascell's aggressive response became clear, Republican contributors backed out on Rinker, and in the end the challenger was badly outspent.

As it turned out, Rinker's strength just about peaked at the time of that midsummer poll. Fascell scored a solid victory, taking 59 percent of the vote. In 1984, Fascell coasted to re-election against a bizarre Republican challenger — substitute teacher Bill "Shower Shoes" Flanagan, a virtual recluse who made no public appearances and refused all requests for interviews.



### Committees

Foreign Affairs (Chairman)  
 Arms Control, International Security and Science (chairman)  
 Select Narcotics Abuse and Control (9th of 15 Democrats)

### Elections

**1984 General**  
 Dante E. Fascell (D) 115,631 (64%)  
 Bill Flanagan (R) 64,317 (36%)

**1982 General**  
 Dante E. Fascell (D) 74,312 (59%)  
 Glenn Rinke (R) 51,969 (41%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1980 (65%) 1978 (74%)  
 1976 (70%) 1974 (71%) 1972 (57%) 1970 (72%)  
 1968 (57%) 1966 (57%) 1964 (64%) 1962 (65%)  
 1960 (71%) 1958 (100%) 1956 (61%) 1954 (100%)

#### District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	65,440 (36%)	D	56,728 (34%)	D	84,684 (54%)
R	118,424 (64%)	R	90,859 (55%)	R	70,567 (45%)
		I	17,628 (11%)		

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1984</b>			
Fascell (D)	\$465,607	\$162,220 (35%)	\$290,912
<b>1982</b>			
Fascell (D)	\$529,625	\$190,911 (36%)	\$466,502
Rinke (R)	\$235,048	\$68,518 (29%)	\$233,716

### Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	40	54	84	10	32	68
1983	33	62	86	11	31	66

1982	39	51	71	10	44	45
1981	41	54	83	10	19	73
1980	86	9	90	6	21	75
1979	83	11	89	6	18	73
1978	76	13	88	6	14	80
1977	78	18	90	8	14	81
1976	25	69	91	6	17	80
1975	40	57	85	12	17	81
1974 (Ford)	50	50				
1974	49	47	87	11	23	77
1973	31	64	89	8	17	80
1972	62	32	84	12	20	76
1971	47	47	80	14	20	76

S = Support O = Oppositor

### Key Votes

Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1983)	N
Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1983)	N
Reduce dairy price supports (1983)	N
Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1983)	Y
Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1984)	N
Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1984)	N
Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1984)	Y
Cut education spending (1984)	N
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)	N

### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1984	70	14	85	35
1983	85	21	86	30
1982	75	30	79	25
1981	80	5	87	21
1980	83	25	83	56
1979	74	4	68	18
1978	65	17	85	29
1977	80	8	78	12
1976	75	4	77	20
1975	89	11	95	25
1974	87	13	100	0
1973	80	7	90	27
1972	81	17	91	11
1971	61	6	82	

# 18 William S. Broomfield (R)

Of Birmingham — Elected 1956

**Born:** April 28, 1922, Royal Oak, Mich.  
**Education:** Attended Michigan State U., 1951.  
**Military Career:** Army Air Corps, 1942  
**Occupation:** Insurance executive.  
**Family:** Wife, Jane Smith Thompson, three children.  
**Religion:** Presbyterian  
**Political Career:** Mich. House, 1949-55; Mich. Senate, 1955-57.  
**Capitol Office:** 2306 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6135.



**In Washington:** Genial and mild-mannered, Broomfield has taken limited substantive advantage of his ranking position on Foreign Affairs and his nearly 30 years of seniority in the House. As his committee's senior GOP member, he is involved in controversial decisions all the time, but he is no activist. While he has been the official sponsor of important foreign policy amendments in recent years, others have done most of the work in promoting them.

Broomfield gets along well with the new chairman of Foreign Affairs, Florida's Dante B. Fascell, a moderate Democrat who shares his own frequent annoyance at some of the committee's liberal foreign policy entrepreneurs. "Dante ... doesn't try to pretend he's secretary of state," Broomfield said approvingly in 1985.

In the 98th Congress, in perhaps the most crucial vote on El Salvador, it was a Broomfield substitute to a Democratic foreign aid bill that gave Reagan most of the military aid he wanted for that country. The House adopted Broomfield's measure by a vote of 212-208 — a tribute to the support it drew from both Minority Leader Robert H. Michel and Majority Leader Jim Wright. The vast majority of Democrats were against it.

The Broomfield amendment was devoid of the stringent human rights conditions attached to El Salvador aid in the past, requiring only a presidential report on human rights progress in that country, rather than achievement of fixed goals. However, it did not give the president the multi-year aid funding he wanted.

Over the previous two years, Broomfield had drawn more attention than usual as the sponsor of a softened version of a nuclear weapons freeze. Backed by President Reagan, it was designed to delay a freeze until both the

U.S. and the Soviet Union reduced their nuclear stockpiles. As senior committee Republican, Broomfield was the nominal Reagan standard-bearer and met at the White House to discuss tactics with Reagan and key aides. Even here, however, Broomfield's role was largely ceremonial.

In 1982, the House voted narrowly for a Broomfield amendment calling for an eventual freeze but at "substantially reduced levels," rather than current ones. In 1983, with 26 more Democrats in the House, it was clear that something considerably stronger would be passed to replace the previous language. Again Broomfield was the nominal leader of conservatives arguing that no freeze should take place at existing force levels.

Again, however, Broomfield was not the key man on his side of the aisle. Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, a far more effective debater and strategist, assumed the leadership of the pro-Reagan forces, while an "attack squad" of junior Republicans peppered the opposition with questions about the freeze during more than 40 hours of debate.

In the end, the resolution was modified by language calling for U.S. negotiators to pursue reductions while a freeze took effect, with the implication that the freeze would lapse if there were no progress toward reductions.

After that change was made, Broomfield agreed to move quickly to a final vote on the resolution itself, and some 60 Republicans joined a majority of Democrats in voting for the freeze. Broomfield was not among them; he felt it would still put the United States in an unfavorable competitive situation. But he claimed afterward that the pro-Reagan side had exacted major concessions. "We weren't rolled," he said. "We won a clear victory."

William S. Broomfield, R-Mich

## Michigan 18

## Oakland County

This district is the one GOP bastion in metropolitan Detroit. Its Republican core is in the cluster of towns on both sides of Woodward Avenue, the artery running northwest from Detroit and the route along which the city's wealthy first escaped to the suburbs. In this area, Republicans and golf courses abound, and GOP presidential candidates typically prevail by margins exceeding 2-to-1.

Bloomfield Hills and Birmingham, like the Grosse Pointes, are dotted with the 1920s' mansions and newer ranch houses of top-level auto executives and professionals. Bloomfield Hills was former GOP Gov. George Romney's hometown in his days as an auto executive.

To the west are the only slightly more modest shaded streets of Farmington Hills, a town of lawyers, doctors and business executives. To the east is Troy, a gathering ground for gleaming suburban business headquarters and professionals' offices; off the main roads live upper-middle-class Protestant voters.

The southwestern end of the 18th is a jumble of suburbs whose exploding populations helped make the district the second fastest-growing constituency in the state in the 1970s. Its far western end jabs into two Livingston County townships: the older blue-collar suburbs of Green Oak Township, some of its houses sporting two or three rusting cars in front, and Brighton Town-

ship, whose newer subdivisions have attracted a mix of factory workers and professionals from Ann Arbor and Detroit.

The old horse country of western Oakland County over the years has been squeezed by development, and the countryside has taken on a decidedly blue-collar cast around South Lyon and in more ethnic Commerce Township. The small apartments and trailer parks of Wixom and Walled Lake house factory workers, who tend toward conservatism on social issues.

The northern end of the district is less wealthy. Pontiac Township, east of Pontiac, is a melting pot into whose 20-year-old subdivisions the surrounding area's auto workers, mid-level managers and small-business people have poured. The outlying townships in northeastern Oakland County are strongly Republican and rural, although much of the farm land north of Rochester has been sold off for development.

One of the few Democratic toeholds in the district is in Shelby Township in Macomb County. Shelby's small, postwar brick houses hold blue-collar workers from Utica and Warren.

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Population: 514,560. White 500,199 (97%), Black 4,160 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 7,036 (1%), Spanish origin 4,792 (1%), 18 and over 360,726 (70%), 65 and over 36,119 (7%), Median age: 31.

One issue on which Broomfield expressed uncharacteristic independence was the U.S. effort in Lebanon. In the early months of 1983, he grew increasingly skeptical of Reagan's decision to keep Marines in Beirut. He was even more critical early in 1984, when the Navy bombarded Syrian positions just one day after Reagan announced he was pulling the Marines out. "I'm not normally a nervous Nellie," Broomfield said, "but I'm concerned that it was overreaction and what bothers me is what this might lead to."

If there is no administration position, Broomfield does not express strong feelings on many foreign aid questions. One issue he does become involved in is the dispute between Greece and Turkey. He introduced legislation

in 1981 to block Turkey from using U.S.-built military equipment on the island of Cyprus.

The one political issue that might have hurt Broomfield was one in which he was skillful enough not to become trapped — school busing. In the early 1970s, when busing became an emotional and volatile issue in the Detroit area, several of the area's incumbents suffered for their tardiness in responding to constituent feelings. Broomfield took the lead against busing. He won approval on the House floor of his 1971 amendment to delay the effect of federal court orders on busing until all appeals had been exhausted.

**At Home:** Broomfield's longevity at home has little to do with his work on Foreign

Michigan - 18th District

Affairs. It is a result of his ability to project himself to his suburban district as a pleasant, service-oriented Republican. Handling constituent requests and flooding the district with newsletters over a quarter-century have made Broomfield all but untouchable, as frustrated Democrats in the area admit.

The few political struggles have come within his own party. But at the two critical junctures in his political career, when he seemed to be up against unfavorable odds, Broomfield managed to be on the popular side of locally sensitive issues.

The first time was 1956, when he challenged a more senior state senator for the succession to retiring Republican George A. Dundero, who had served in Congress from suburban Detroit since 1932. The major issue was construction of a toll road through a residential section of Oakland County. Broomfield's opponent, George N. Higgins, supported it. Broomfield, who had fought it in the state Legislature, argued that any new highway should go through the more rural part of the

county. Most of Oakland County's voters shared Broomfield's view, and he narrowly won the primary. The highway was never built.

Sixteen years later, Broomfield faced his second political crisis, following the realignment of Oakland County's congressional districts. Since 1964, he had been winning re-election easily in the eastern, more densely populated part of the county. But in 1972, when this area was attached to a blue-collar section of Macomb County, Broomfield decided he would have better luck in western Oakland County, even though that meant running against another Republican incumbent, Jack H. McDonald.

McDonald was already representing most of the district they were fighting over, but again Broomfield had the paramount issue on his side: busing. His House amendment had put him in the forefront of the opposition to federally mandated busing. Even though McDonald was just as firmly opposed to busing, Broomfield's opposition had been more vocal. He won the primary with 59 percent.

**Committees**

- Foreign Affairs (Ranking)
- Arms Control, International Security and Science (ranking)
- Small Business (3rd of 17 Republicans)
- Energy, Environment and Safety Issues Affecting Small Business (ranking)

**Elections**

<b>1984 General</b>			
William S. Broomfield (R)	186,505	(79%)	
Vivian H. Smargon (D)	46,191	(20%)	
<b>1982 General</b>			
William S. Broomfield (R)	132,902	(73%)	
Allen Sipher (D)	46,545	(26%)	
<b>Previous Winning Percentages</b>			
1976 (67%)	1974 (63%)	1972 (70%)	1970 (65%)
1968 (60%)	1966 (68%)	1964 (60%)	1962 (60%)
1960 (56%)	1958 (53%)	1956 (57%)	

**District Vote For President**

<b>1984</b>			<b>1980</b>			<b>1976</b>		
D	65,252	(25%)	D	67,833	(28%)	D	76,445	(37%)
R	190,866	(74%)	R	150,366	(62%)	R	127,570	(61%)
			I	20,583	(9%)			

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1984</b>			
Broomfield (R)	\$229,274	\$45,800 (20%)	\$103,521
Smargon (D)	\$14,677	\$2,675 (18%)	\$13,461
<b>1982</b>			
Broomfield (R)	\$166,705	\$22,216 (13%)	\$62,599

**Key Votes**

- Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1983) Y
- Bar cover U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1983) N
- Reduce dairy price supports (1983) Y
- Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1983) N
- Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1984) Y

- Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1984) N
- Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1984) N
- Cut education spending (1984) Y
- Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985) Y

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	61	31	76	17	90	10
1983	77	15	77	16	80	16
1982	65	26	72	20	82	12
1981	63	26	77	19	73	24
1980	45	49	79	15	74	20
1979	45	51	73	22	78	17
1978	36	50	76	16	74	14
1977	52	44	75	16	77	17
1976	65	24	65	23	69	18
1975	67	15	67	21	73	18
1974 (Ford)	63	26				
1974	66	28	59	27	65	21
1973	65	29	67	26	68	23
1972	54	11	45	6	54	5
1971	72	26	65	31	67	32

S = Support O = Oppositor

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1984	5	79	25	80
1983	5	70	7	95
1982	10	78	16	77
1981	20	70	13	94
1980	11	75	17	76
1979	16	76	32	94
1978	10	76	5	80
1977	15	70	26	100
1976	15	65	23	76
1975	11	72	9	86
1974	22	43	22	36
1973	20	71	9	100
1972	6	54	33	75
1971	22	82	17	

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Next 15 Page(s) In Document Denied