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SUBJECT: mtg w/ Congressional  
Reps on Afghanistan

OCA 89-21133

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**AFGHAN ENDGAME****The CIA Has  
Bungled It**

By Bill McCollum

**A**FTER 10 YEARS and nearly \$2 billion dollars in American aid, something has gone terribly wrong with the war in Afghanistan. But U.S. lawmakers who want to see the major cause of the problem don't have to hike over the Hindu Kush with the *mujaheddin* rebels; they can simply cross the Potomac River to Langley.

Instead of the swift victory by rebel forces expected once Soviet troops withdrew, Najibullah's pro-Moscow regime remains in power and the war is stalemated. Some blame inept *mujaheddin*, bands of extremist guerrillas or even unexpected strength in the Kabul regime. But the root of the problem lies in America's Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA has secretly pursued a wrong-headed Afghan policy for years. That policy has now culminated in a monumentally incompetent program of arms procurement and distribution, and worse yet, in the handing over of the fate of the Afghan people to Pakistan's bumbling military intelligence service.

Last week the CIA tacitly recognized these failures by reassigning the head of its Afghan Task Force. And yesterday The Washington Post reported that the Bush

administration had signaled a possible shift in U.S. policy by making overtures to former Afghan monarch Zahir Shah. The approach to the king is apparently part of a belated effort to shore up the Afghan resistance's faltering interim government now based in Peshawar, Pakistan.

**P**akistan's strategic interest in Afghanistan is natural. Its support for the rebels began four years before the 1979 Soviet invasion, when Pakistani agents trained Afghan Moslem activists eager to overthrow Kabul's pro-Soviet President Mohammed Daoud. In 1976, they recruited Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a fire-brand fundamentalist student-leader at Kabul University, who is now—apart from Najibullah's government—the most dangerous threat to the aims of the *mujaheddin*.

After the Soviet invasion, as millions of Afghan families took refuge in Pakistan and their men took up arms, Hekmatyar's party received the majority of weapons, money and other support from Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI), their equivalent of the CIA.

Afghans wanting refugee status got quicker registration if they moved into Hekmatyar-run refugee camps. Refugees wanting licenses for

their trucks were stalled six months or more unless they joined Hekmatyar's party. And for the next nine years, roughly half of all weapons—provided by America, Europe or the Saudi government—went to Hekmatyar.

While it is the largest resistance group in terms of weapons received, Hekmatyar's faction remains small inside Afghanistan. Unlike the six other *mujaheddin* groups, his has no ethnic, tribal or regional base. Hekmatyar seeks to defeat the communist regime in Kabul but, just as fiercely, to smash Afghanistan's

tribal-family structure and introduce a so-called democratic one-party fundamentalist state with himself at the helm.

This was, and still is, an unpopular position among the traditionalist Afghan people. Despite assurances from Pakistani and U.S. government officials that his group is the largest and most effective militarily, Hekmatyar has attracted a very small group of competent commanders and a somewhat larger collection of rural bandits and would-be warlords. They are choiced with supplies but low on competence and zeal—apart from raiding other parties.

One such Hekmatyar warlord recently kidnapped and tortured to death several officers under the command of Ahmed Shah Massoud, the field commander of another fundamentalist party. This was hardly the first such incident. Throughout the war, as much as three-quarters of internecine *mujaheddin* fighting involved Hekmatyar forces.

In Pakistan's border city of Peshawar, where Hekmatyar's cadre is strong and well-disciplined, his party has been implicated in dozens of disappearances and outright murders of people Hekmatyar considers a threat—rival commanders or even moderate Afghan intellectuals.

Last spring, when supporters of former king Zahir Shah gathered unarmed in Peshawar, young Hekmatyar toughs brandished 2-by-4s and beat old men present on the dais. Weeks later at a press conference, Hekmatyar laughed and warned that it could certainly happen again. A year ago, he threatened Western journalists with kidnapping if they traveled in Afghanistan without his approval, and at least one Western reporter, traveling with another party, was murdered. Recently, he denounced all journalists as Western spies—remarks roundly criticized even by other so-called fundamentalist leaders.

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The Washington Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
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Date 10 SEP 99

Many Afghan leaders and Westerners in Peshawar see him not as a "fundamentalist" close of Ayatollah Khomeini but closer to Libya's power-mad Moammar Gadhafi. After the recent murder of Massoud's troops, the head of the mujaheddin government-in-exile, soft-spoken Sibghatullah Mojaddidi, uncharacteristically denounced Hekmatyar as a criminal.

The reason Hekmatyar gets Pakistani support is his unflinching loyalty to ISI, still manned chiefly by army officers installed by former Pakistan president Zia ul-Haq despite a change at the top engineered by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto this year. Like Zia, the ISI officers admire Hekmatyar's internationalist brand of Islam as much as his political obedience, and what happens in Peshawar or over the border is seen as an internal Afghan affair.

**W**hy the CIA gave ISI its proxy was easier to understand in the beginning. Our intelligence community had little faith in the mujaheddin's ability to drive out the Soviets; for a relatively small sum we could blacken Moscow's eye and get our own back for Vietnam. Even after the mujaheddin showed surprising competence and resolve, Afghanistan would never hold much geopolitical importance for America while Pakistan always will. Throughout the CIA and the State Department, professional reputations were staked on the supposed certainty that Pakistan knew best.

But since about 1985, when complaints against Hekmatyar began mounting from the refugees, the Western press and U.S. lawmakers and government officials repeatedly told us that they had finally "seen the light" and that

Hekmatyar's lion's share of weapons would be reduced. The cut never came.

Indeed, in recent months, as the U.S. Agency for International Development set up its logistics task force for rebuilding post-war Afghanistan, Pakistani pressure ensured that the entire fleet of trucks and command staff was handed to Hekmatyar personnel. If some solution is reached and the refugees return, whatever their party or political viewpoint they will be dependent for food on Hekmatyar's men.

Even so, Hekmatyar is but one symptom of the larger problem: Pakistan's incompetent meddling in the mujaheddin's war.

Apart from Hekmatyar's group as a whole, ISI weapons distributors favor those Afghan commanders they think they can control. If a commander shows signs of independent thinking or refuses to be accompanied by Pakistani military advisers, his supplies are often stopped cold. Other commanders—who refuse the often inept advice of the ISI mid-level officers—get their few weapons from the pittance given to the other six factions, capture what they need or, in some cases, cut deals with independent Arab backers from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf.

As the Soviets withdrew in February, virtually all mujaheddin commanders favored a continued strategy of wearing down the regime by mountain warfare and guerrilla tactics until the regime crumbled from within. Targeting a single city required a major change from guerrilla tactics to set battles, and once liberated a city could be flattened by Kabul bombers and Scud missiles.

However, the CIA and ISI thought victory was imminent and the Pentagon publicly worried about how to get Stinger missiles back from the mujaheddin. ISI, with CIA backing, demanded a quick frontal assault on Jalalabad to "wrap things up." The result was the protracted and bloody stalemate in Jalalabad. To cover their own strategic ineptitude, both Pakistani and American insiders began laying the blame on the "incompetent" mujaheddin who only a few weeks before had been hailed by the same people as brilliant guerrilla fighters.

Worse yet, Langley's tacticians were so certain they were right that they turned off the arms supply. For the past eight months, virtually nothing has reached the mujaheddin. In Jalalabad, major field commanders are fighting Soviet tanks with nothing more than rocket-propelled grenades, useless against Soviet-made armor which is designed to repel projectiles. They have no Stingers to drive off bombers, nor any controller-guided anti-tank missiles and their casualties fighting the regime have run as high as 25 percent a month.

While U.S. officials say the long-delayed arms shipments should be in mujaheddin hands soon, the resistance fighters have nothing at the moment while Kabul troops continue to be stockpiled by an airlift of some 40 flights a day, plus frequent land convoys from the border.

Over the long haul, there has been even more bungling in CIA military supplies for the mujaheddin. The resistance has never received TOW anti-tank missiles even though the United States sold them to Iran, nor have they received any mine-clearing equipment which could even now save tens of thousands of lives. Although Stinger missiles were a major success while supplies lasted, the resistance lacks even rudimentary maps and night optics, and has severe shortages of field communications equipment. The latter two items, far from being too technical or highly classified, could be bought from Radio Shack. Back at Langley, no

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consistent thought was ever given to military supplies.

In the midst of Afghanistan's chaos, several facts remain. First is that Najibullah's regime does not need to be included in any deal, nor should it be. He and his party participated in the slaughter of more than a million of their own countrymen; he and his party are the reason the refugees won't go home. Slipping the Kabul regime into a new deal is no less abhorrent than making DeGaulle share power after World War II with the Nazi collaborators in the Vichy regime.

Secondly, the seeming strength of the Kabul regime arises mostly from American and Pakistani blunders that deprived the mujaheddin of weapons. The war is no less a popular uprising than it ever was, and restoring the supply lines will bring more resistance troops into the field and increase pressure on the already besieged Kabul regime.

Fortunately a mechanism exists for supplying the resistance with the weapons it needs. This spring, ISI ordered the resistance parties to hold a convention in Islamabad and set up a government-in-exile in Peshawar. The interim government, composed of 500 Afghan commanders, politicians, scholars and religious leaders, refused to follow Pakistani orders; their finances were slashed.

State Department officials explained that the interim government's inactivity was due to ever-squabbling Afghans; the Afghans themselves complained that without money or weapons or agricultural supplies to distribute, there was nothing for the departments to do. U.S. officials responded that money and weapons were being "phased in" to the interim government, but this was not true—no weapons and virtually no money were ever sent. The ISI prefers to give the supplies to the seven mujaheddin factions as well as chosen individual commanders, enhancing the opportunities for manipulation.

When Peter Thomsen, the U.S. envoy to the Afghan resistance, visited Peshawar in July, Yunis Khalis, leader of one fundamentalist mujaheddin group, made two requests: Give the mujaheddin realistic offensive weapons instead of guerrilla weapons, and hand over the weapons and finances to the interim government. Getting no response, Khalis threw down the gauntlet in late August, announcing he will turn over all his party's weapons, personnel, schools and hospitals to the interim government. He urged the other parties to follow suit, although his decision is not dependent on whether they join in.

Few of the remaining six leaders, especially Helmatyar, are expected to be so public spirited. But giving the supplies to the interim government could force the parties to go along. Party divisions mean less to the mujaheddin and their field commanders than they do to Peshawar-based politicians. Deciding jointly where the weapons should go, could bring the resistance a combined command both in Peshawar and throughout most of Afghanistan. Helmatyar would have to agree or else desert the resistance altogether.

What's required is a strong decision from the White House to back the Afghan interim government and to include the former king—regardless of which Washington staffers lose face. The CIA and ISI have had their turn running the Afghan war, and they have failed. It might be worthwhile giving the Afghans a chance to win it themselves.

*Bill McCollum, a Republican congressman from Florida, is chairman of the GOP Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare. Staff members contributed to this article.*

# CIA Removes Afghan Rebel Aid Director

## Handling of Program Was Criticized on Hill

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Central Intelligence Agency has removed the head of its Afghan Task Force following congressional criticism of the handling of the huge covert arms program for the Afghan resistance since the February Soviet withdrawal, according to informed sources.

CIA Director William H. Webster decided to remove the official after legislators who are strong supporters of the Afghan resistance confronted the administration this summer over reports that the Afghan rebels were suffering an acute arms shortage. Webster promised congressional critics that the agency would do a better job getting arms to the *mujaheddin*, and Capitol Hill sources said last week that large quantities of arms recently have reached Pakistan for the resistance.

The removed official was formerly the agency's national intelligence officer for the Middle East, an analytical job, and had little experience in the CIA operations division responsible for purchasing and shipping arms, according to his critics.

The shortages, which became critical early this summer, occurred while the Soviet Union was carrying out a massive airlift of arms to Kabul—estimated at \$1.4 billion worth during the first six months of this year—to bolster the besieged government there.

This figure is more than twice the largest amount the United States sent to the Afghan resistance in any one year of the 10-year conflict. The U.S. covert arms program peaked at slightly more than \$600 million annually in the 1986-88 period.

The confrontation between Congress and the CIA came to a head at an 8 a.m. breakfast in Webster's office on Aug. 3. It involved about 10 members of Congress who were pressing to find out why the flow of U.S.-provided arms to the resistance had slowed drastically as its summer offensive was starting. They asked other questions about U.S. Afghan policy, including why arms were still being given to anti-Western fundamentalist groups.

The sharp reduction in arms shipments, they told Webster, contravened President Bush's commitment to "stay the course" with the resistance's struggle to overthrow the Kabul regime and establish its government. It also appears to contradict the U.S. intelligence community's estimate that it would take six to 12 months of hard fighting after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan before the Kabul regime would fall.

However, there have been indications that CIA officials expected the Kabul government to crumble much more quickly.

Sen. Gordon J. Humphrey (R-N.H.), who heads a special Senate Afghan Task Force and attended the Aug. 3 meeting, said in a telephone interview from New Hampshire Thursday that it appeared the CIA had simply "gone to sleep" after celebrating its most successful covert operation since World War II on Feb. 15, when the last Soviet troops left Afghanistan. Humphrey was referring to reports that Webster held a party in his office on that date to note the first time Soviet troops had been pressured to leave a Third-World nation since World

War II. Humphrey charged that CIA the committed "a real serious case of mismanagement" and said it "just wasn't making it [a continuing flow of arms] happen."

Humphrey estimated that the supply of arms to the resistance during the first half of this year had been "less than half" the level of the same period in 1988.

The worst shortages occurred between March and early August, the best time for launching offensives after the snows melt and for transporting large amounts of arms and ammunition across the mountainous Afghan landscape, according to congressional sources.

The Washington Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The Christian Science Monitor \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
USA Today \_\_\_\_\_  
The Chicago Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 2 SEP 89

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), who with Humphrey wrote a four-page letter in late July to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence outlining the arms shortage crisis, said Friday he felt the fault did not lie with "middle-level guys" in the agency.

"It's the president's fault and Webster's fault," Hatch said.

In the last week of July, the Senate intelligence panel held a special four-hour session with Undersecretary of State Robert M. Kimmitt and CIA officials to discuss the crisis in arms deliveries and overall U.S. policy objectives in Afghanistan.

The House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence also held a special session in early August and, in an unusual gesture of concern, invited an Afghan resistance commander, Gen. Abdul Rahim Wardak, to testify on the arms shortage.

Among those involved in pressing for an explanation of the arms shortages and questioning the administration's Afghan policy have been Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.), chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and Sen. David L. Boren, chairman of the Senate intelligence committee.

Those who met with Webster Aug. 3 in addition to Humphrey included Reps. Bill McCollum (R-Fla.), Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.), Don Ritter (R-Pa.), Porter J. Goss

**CONTINUED**

(R-Fla.), Robert K. Dornan (R-Calif.) and John J. Rhodes III (R-Ariz.).

A CIA spokesman refused to comment on the controversy but indicated that the official removed had not been reprimanded and still had the confidence of the CIA director. The agency routinely refuses to comment on its covert operations.

Senior CIA officials asked The Washington Post not to name the official on grounds that he has worked overseas under State Department cover, and might do so again.

One source who has monitored the flow of CIA-provided arms to the resistance said he believes the agency had become concerned about an oversupply of arms to the *mujaheddin*, particularly sophisticated ones like Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and special "cluster" munitions.

Despite the official CIA estimate of a six- to 12-month struggle before the Soviet-backed Kabul gov-

ernment would fall, many agency officials and other administration Afghan specialists expected it to collapse within weeks or months of the Soviet withdrawal, according to this source.

With this expectation in mind, the CIA did not want the guerrillas to end up with a lot of unused Stingers and other high-technology arms they might later sell to Iran and Middle East terrorist groups, several sources said. In addition, there was what several CIA critics called a "serious miscalculation" on its part, as well as other U.S. intelligence agencies, regarding Soviet intentions after Feb. 15.

They said virtually nobody expected this year's massive Soviet airlift of arms. Shipments between early March and mid-July included 550 Scud missiles, 160 T-55 and T-62 tanks, 615 armored personnel carriers and 1,600 5-ton trucks, according to these sources.

More than 500 Scud missiles, which had never been used in a guerrilla war, have been fired by

the Afghan army to pound resistance positions, 190 during July.

A shortage of arms is one of several problems besetting the U.S.- and Pakistan-backed Afghan resistance based in Peshawar. Its seven factions have fallen into disarray, seemingly battling each other as much as the Kabul government over the past two months and refusing to accept the authority of their interim government.

Congressional and other critics of the CIA's performance say the shortages seriously delayed the resistance's planned summer offensive against strategic Afghan army positions, particularly the half dozen major military airports it had hoped to shut down to end the pounding guerrillas have been taking from the Afghan air force.

The CIA is supposed to provide the resistance with special "cluster" artillery shells and 120 mm heavy Spanish mortars to attack these airports. The shells explode over the target and release hundreds of "bomblets" over a large area.



The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Times A-8  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The Christian Science Monitor \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
USA Today \_\_\_\_\_  
The Chicago Tribune \_\_\_\_\_

Date 4 Sept '89

# Afghan arms stall worries senators

By Bill Gerz  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Two U.S. senators have requested a congressional inquiry into why U.S. arms shipments to Afghanistan's mujahideen rebels have been curtailed, according to congressional officials.

The sources denied reports that a senior CIA official in charge of a task force on covert operations in Afghanistan was removed from his post because of criticism in Congress of the diminution of weapons to the Afghan rebels.

Michael Pillsbury, a staff aide to Sen. Gordon Humphrey, New Hampshire Republican, said the senior CIA official, who hasn't been identified by name, is a veteran operations officer who was routinely transferred from the task force to another post last month.

"We don't know who is responsible [for the weapons curtailment], but it's not the man who was replaced," Mr. Pillsbury said.

Another congressional official, who asked not to be named, said that the CIA official worked as the task-force chief for four months, and that the slowdown in U.S. weapons began in November 1988, prior to his temporary assignment as head of the unit in charge of covert weapons support for the mujahideen.

The CIA official took on the assignment as task-force chief while continuing a second full-time responsibility at the agency, the congressional staffer said. The CIA official had no military experience and is a specialist in the Near East, the staffer said.

A CIA spokesman said the official wasn't removed from the position as

a punitive action and retains Mr. Webster's full support.

According to officials, the CIA has since assigned a new director to the Afghan task force.

Following congressional testimony from a representative of the Afghan rebels earlier this month, Sen. Orrin Hatch, Utah Republican, and Mr. Humphrey wrote a four-page letter to the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Sen. David Boren, Oklahoma Democrat, requesting an inquiry into the CIA's program in Afghanistan.

Sen. Robert Byrd, West Virginia Democrat and chairman of the Appropriations Committee, also received the letter. Mr. Byrd in the past has strongly supported the U.S. program to arm the Afghan rebels.

"I think we need to get back on track," Mr. Hatch, a member of the Intelligence Committee, said yesterday. He said the letter is confidential and wouldn't discuss details of it or committee hearings on the subject.

Mr. Hatch said the Soviets have been sending weapons to the Kabul regime at a rate that costs Moscow between \$250 million to \$300 million a month.

By contrast, U.S. weapons shipments to the mujahideen have "slowed down to nothing," he said.

The cost of CIA weapons shipments to the Afghan rebels — including highly effective Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, mortars and mine-clearing equipment — has been estimated at some \$600 million per year between 1980 and the implementation of a United Nations-brokered agreement ending Soviet occupation last year.

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**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**

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Executive Secretary

8 Aug 89

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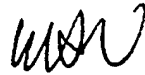
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ER 3309/1 89

7 August 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations  
FROM: Director of Central Intelligence  
SUBJECT: Senator Gordon Humphrey

Senator Gordon Humphrey left this handwritten memo after the breakfast. Most of his points seem well-taken.



William H. Webster

Attachment



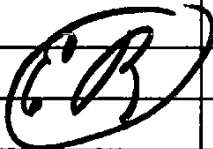
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~~EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT~~

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ER 89-3309

  
 Executive Secretary

8 Aug 89

Date

**3637** (10-81)

ER 3309 89

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D. C. 20505

August 7, 1989

The Honorable Gordon J. Humphrey  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Gordon:

I'm sorry we missed each other on Friday. I've shared your note with key people here and have discussed some of your arguments at the White House. We are in agreement and we'll try to do our part.

Many thanks for your help and support.

Sincerely,



William H. Webster



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✓ XREF: C-305A 1R



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New Hampshire - Senior Senator

**Gordon J. Humphrey (R)**Of **Chichester** — Elected 1978**Born:** Oct. 9, 1940, Bristol, Conn.**Education:** Attended U. of Maryland, 1960-61; George Washington U., 1962-63; Burnside-Ott Aviation Institute, 1965.**Military Career:** Air Force, 1958-62.**Occupation:** Airline pilot.**Family:** Wife, Patricia Greene; one child.**Religion:** Baptist.**Political Career:** No previous office.**Capitol Office:** 531 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-2841.

**In Washington:** Over the course of nearly a decade in the Senate, Humphrey has managed to balance his personal interests and his political needs with a dexterity few would have thought possible when he arrived.

Stuck with an image as a rigid, abrasive ideologue of the right when he began his first term, Humphrey made a sharp turn toward the center as that term drew to a close. Spurred by changes in his own thinking as well as by the dictates of his 1984 re-election campaign, he found himself allied on many issues with the same environmentalists and anti-nuclear activists he was vehemently denouncing a few years before. "I'm man enough and frank enough to admit in public that I've changed my mind," he said at the time.

Since his convincing re-election victory, however, Humphrey has returned to an emphasis on the conservative goals about which he feels most deeply. Although he has not abandoned the environmental concerns so important to New Hampshire voters, neither has he devoted the energy to them that he has reinvested in such crusades as the one to outlaw abortion and the one supporting anti-Soviet rebels in Afghanistan. At the start of the 100th Congress, he voluntarily gave up his membership on the Environment Committee.

Over the years, Humphrey's strong beliefs have often led him to challenge the Reagan administration from the right. He did that in 1982, when he led the filibuster against the Reagan-backed gasoline tax increase. Although his effort was unsuccessful, Humphrey managed to delay the bill more than a week.

Another clash with the administration came in 1983, when Humphrey joined Jesse Helms of North Carolina in attacking an International Monetary Fund bill strongly backed by Reagan. Accusing the agency of having "all the trappings of socialism," Humphrey offered

a series of amendments aimed at, among other things, forcing the expulsion of communist countries from the fund and requiring cuts in its employee salaries. All his efforts were rejected, however.

Humphrey has had harsh words for the way the administration has supported the Afghan rebels. Accusing the CIA of "mismanagement" of the aid, he charges that few weapons and supplies are actually reaching the embattled guerrillas. Early in 1985, he organized a congressional task force to monitor the aid, and has expressed the fear that the administration might "sell out" the rebels in order to obtain a negotiated settlement of the conflict. Humphrey also has continued his substantive efforts to aid anti-Soviet forces, winning Senate approval in the 99th Congress of amendments providing \$15 million in humanitarian aid to the Afghan people and establishing a Radio Free Afghanistan.

Some of Humphrey's strongest criticisms of administration officials came in the wake of the 1985 incident in which a Ukrainian sailor fled a Soviet ship but was forced to return by U.S. authorities. He pushed hard for an extended Senate investigation of the case, in the process irritating Immigration Subcommittee Chairman Alan K. Simpson, whose panel had already looked into it. Humphrey eventually settled for an inquiry conducted by the congressional commission established to monitor the 1975 Helsinki accords.

In many such foreign policy debates, Humphrey still shows traces of the strident, hectoring style that initially made him rather unpopular among some of his colleagues.

When the issue of communism is not involved, however, he has shown more of a willingness to temper his demands in order to accommodate the interests of his party's presi-

*Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H.*

dent. During work on the 1986 tax-revision bill, Humphrey prepared an amendment to end the tax-exempt status of non-profit hospitals or other institutions that performed or encouraged abortions. But he agreed to hold off on his effort after Reagan asked him not to bog down the tax overhaul in an emotional debate over abortion. Later that year, Humphrey sought to add the provision to a continuing appropriation bill, losing on a 34-64 vote.

It is on environmental matters, and especially acid rain, that Humphrey seems to have strayed farthest from the conservative orthodoxy that marked his early Senate career.

Humphrey initially thought warnings of the danger of acid rain were "the latest alarmist issue seized upon by more extreme environmentalist groups." But after a lengthy lobbying effort by environmental groups, he began joining them in pushing for curbs on the burning of coal, which is believed to account for much of the acid rain so damaging to New Hampshire's rivers and lakes.

His conversion on acid rain was not accompanied by a leading role on the issue in the Environment Committee. But he did offer a successful amendment in the committee to toxic-waste legislation in 1984, an amendment to codify the rules for performing health studies at toxic-dump sites.

Humphrey's other environmental efforts have reflected his devotion to fiscal austerity. His most significant accomplishment was in leading the fight, along with Arkansas Democrat Dale Bumpers, to kill federal funding for the Clinch River nuclear breeder reactor. After failing by only one vote to defeat the project in 1982, the two returned in 1983 with another amendment that finished it off by a comfortable margin.

Humphrey did not succeed, however, in killing another project opposed by environmentalists, the Garrison Diversion water project in North Dakota. Attacking the long-planned irrigation project in 1983, Humphrey said it would provide a poor return for the government's money, as well as threaten the prairie ecology. His amendment to cut funding was rejected easily, but a federal commission reporting the following year recommended some of Humphrey's suggestions for modifying the project.

On Armed Services, Humphrey's most significant role has been as a member of the Subcommittee on Preparedness. Involved in monitoring day-to-day military operations, he has shown sympathy with efforts by Democrats Sam Nunn of Georgia and Carl Levin of Michigan to stress funding for ammunition, spare parts and maintenance instead of procurement

of elaborate new weapons systems sought by the Reagan administration.

**At Home:** For most of his early Senate career, Democrats confidently viewed Humphrey as a sure one-term senator. For much of that term, he feuded not only with liberals in his state but with the arch-conservative Manchester *Union Leader*, which condemned him for opposing its choice in the 1980 GOP Senate primary.

But Humphrey surprised his critics the way he had surprised incumbent Democratic Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre in 1978. Rather than seeking re-election as a doctrinaire supporter of the New Right, Humphrey ran for a second term on a variegated platform that made him difficult to label. He remained the crusty individualist and the self-described Senate "skin-flint," but he also talked about his keen interest in protecting New Hampshire's air, wilderness and fragile coastline.

Humphrey maintained that his belated interest in the environment came after long study, not a result of political pressure. But his Democratic challenger, U.S. Rep. Norman E. D'Amours, saw otherwise, accusing Humphrey of an election-year flip-flop designed to win a large share of the "green" vote that he did not deserve.

The chairman of the House Subcommittee on Oceanography, D'Amours had built much of his congressional record on environmental issues. His Senate candidacy ultimately drew endorsements from both the League of Conservation Voters and the Sierra Club. But he was largely frustrated in his efforts to get voters to believe that the Humphrey of 1984 was little different from the earlier model that had been in lock step with the New Right.

In five terms in the House, D'Amours had cultivated a reputation as a political moderate, becoming virtually invincible in his Manchester-based 1st District. But the Republican had more money, stronger coattails with President Reagan atop the ticket, and the vocal support of the *Union Leader*, which had resolved its differences with Humphrey. Throughout the campaign the paper peppered D'Amours as a liberal ally of House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., who it said was out of step with New Hampshire's common-sense values.

On Election Day, Humphrey swept nine of New Hampshire's 10 counties, en route to a comfortable 68,000-vote victory. He even carried D'Amours' home base of Manchester, which the Democrat had not lost in five House races.

A copilot for Allegheny Airlines, Humphrey moved to New Hampshire in 1974. He

**Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H.**

had no political involvement before 1977, when he attended a meeting of the state Conservative Caucus and was named coordinator.

That post allowed him to develop connections to national New Right figures, who later helped him raise large sums for his Senate race. Humphrey remained at his airline job for the rest of the year, but he devoted increasing amounts of attention to conservative causes, especially fighting the Panama Canal treaties.

In 1978 Humphrey set his sights on McIntyre, a supporter of the Panama accords who had been in the Senate since 1962. Few New Hampshire politicians took the challenger seriously, but Humphrey fought his way to attention in the Republican primary field with a meticulous organization and carefully timed press releases.

The primary provided the first clue to what a stranger could do in New Hampshire politics if he had ideological loyalists, money and skill. Humphrey drew more than twice as many votes as either of his moderate Republican rivals, a former mayor of Keene and a

veteran state senator.

McIntyre saw little reason to panic. In both 1966 and 1972, he had easily defeated conservative Republicans by ridiculing them as tools of the far right. Neither of those challengers, however, had Humphrey's campaign organization, nor the money to buy advertising on Boston television — which reaches the vast majority of New Hampshire voters.

Humphrey attacked McIntyre's canal votes and called for tax reductions, an effective appeal to the voters just across the Massachusetts border who came to New Hampshire to avoid high taxes. The incumbent continued to portray his challenger as a shrill ideologue, even though that notion seemed at variance with his quiet style. The one tactic likely to discredit Humphrey — an all-out attack on him as an opportunist — was not tried because Democrats considered it unnecessary.

On election night they found out otherwise. Humphrey built a surprising lead in early returns, and while McIntyre narrowed it as the night went on, he fell 5,800 votes short.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (3rd of 9 Republicans)  
Readiness, Sustainability and Support (ranking); Projection Forces and Regional Defense; Strategic Forces and Nuclear Deterrence.

**Judiciary** (6th of 6 Republicans)  
Technology and the Law (ranking); Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights.

**Labor and Human Resources** (7th of 7 Republicans)  
Employment and Productivity (ranking); Labor.

**Elections**

**1984 General**  
Gordon J. Humphrey (R) 225,828 (59%)  
Norman E. D'Amours (D) 157,447 (41%)

**Previous Winning Percentage:** 1978 (51%)

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	92	5	83	14	86	9
1985	80	14	87	8	72	22
1984	68	32	76	23	79	17
1983	55	42	70	25	82	11
1982	81	18	84†	16†	80†	20†
1981	82	16	84	13	85	15

S = Support O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

**Campaign Finance**

1984	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
Humphrey (R)	\$1,699,044	\$728,608	(43%)	\$1,683,536
D'Amours (D)	\$1,070,220	\$506,570	(47%)	\$1,066,485

**Key Votes**

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

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	0	86	0	89
1985	5	90	17	83
1984	15	86	0	89
1983	15	86	0	78
1982	15	95	8	50
1981	10	93	5	83

California - 38th District

## 38 Bob Dornan (R)

**Of Garden Grove — Elected 1976**

Did not serve 1983-1985

**Born:** April 3, 1933, New York, N.Y.

**Education:** Attended Loyola U. (California), 1950-53.

**Military Career:** Air Force, 1953-58.

**Occupation:** Broadcast journalist and producer.

**Family:** Wife, Sallie Hansen; five children.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** Candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, 1973; served in U.S. House, 1977-83; sought Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, 1982.

**Capitol Office:** 301 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-2965.



**In Washington:** Dornan was an actor long before he was a politician, and one way to understand his congressional style is to treat it as a form of theater. The incendiary rhetoric and exaggerated political gestures that are Dornan's hallmark sometimes seem more appropriate to the stage than to a legislative body.

Dornan defends conservative causes with a flamboyance and lack of inhibition that give him a distinctive place in the House's cast of characters. In 1986, when Marine Lt. Col. Oliver L. North appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Iran-contra affair, Dornan greeted him with his usual dramatic flair. He recited part of a Rudyard Kipling poem, with North's name inserted, paying tribute to soldiers who fight for their countries.

Dornan seems happiest when he is provoking his opponents. He never tires of saying that his father raised him to be "fearless but not foolhardy." But he has a penchant for carrying his rhetoric well beyond the point where it does him any good. Even some fellow Republicans thought he went too far in a bitter 1985 debate on the House floor, when he accused some Democrats of undermining their country.

"You voted for nothing in your life for defense," he told one Democrat. "You sit up here with your mouth dripping spleen and bile." And he called a San Francisco Democrat the "gentlelady from Babylon by the Bay."

But Dornan's most notorious confrontation on the House floor came early in the 99th Congress when he angrily grabbed Thomas J. Downey of New York by the necktie after Downey confronted him with reports that Dornan called him a "draft-dodging wimp." No fight ensued: Downey, 15 years younger and perhaps a little leaner than Dornan, chose to walk away.

During his first three terms in Congress,

before he left the House for his unsuccessful 1982 Senate campaign. Dornan proudly carried the nickname "B-1 Bob," for his zealous support of the B-1 bomber and higher military spending. He was also militant on the floor opposing communism and supporting Israel.

During his two years out of office, he spent his time as a fund-raiser for "High Frontier," a pro-military group dedicated to the realization of President Reagan's space defense plan. When the issue came up on the House floor in 1986, Dornan proposed authorizing virtually the full amount requested, but his amendment was overwhelmed, 94-324.

Still, Dornan sometimes shows up in unexpected alliances. When liberal Democrats spearheaded the opposition to selling Stinger missiles to Saudi Arabia in 1986, they had an ally in Dornan, who agreed with the argument that the weapon might fall into terrorist hands.

For all his impassioned rhetoric, Dornan does not have a reputation as one of the more effective conservative legislators. His focus on the occasional moments of drama the chamber offers, rather than the routine committee business, works against his image. An impulsive man with a short attention span, he sometimes seems to lack the temperament to hammer out detailed legislation.

But Dornan is sensitive to suggestions that his record of legislative accomplishment is thin. His office compiles long lists of Dornan amendments that have passed the House. Some have survived conference with the Senate and been enacted into law, but most tend to be high-decibel crusades on emotional issues that do not change public policy very much in the end.

In 1985, Congress enacted a Dornan amendment to allow the surgeon general to close down bathhouses if they are found to

**Bob Dornan, R-Calif.**

## California 38

Situated between coastal Orange County and the Disneyland corridor, this is an older suburban area that is primarily home for young families and their children. Since the 1983 redistricting, it has included the western half of Anaheim, taking in Anaheim Stadium and Disneyland itself.

For years, the 38th was receptive to Democrats if they did not veer to the left of center; many of its residents came from Texas and Oklahoma, and some conservative Democratic sentiments remained a generation later. Jerry M. Patterson represented the district for a decade, riding his genial manner and moderate image to repeated reelection until Dornan stopped him in 1984.

But as Dornan's election demonstrated, Republicans have been chipping away at this area. In 1984, a popular Democratic legislator from Garden Grove nearly lost his seat as Reagan took 75 percent in his Assembly territory.

About half of the 38th's residents live in Garden Grove and Santa Ana in the southern part. They are for the most part

## Northwestern Orange County; Santa Ana; Garden Grove

working-class people, employed in Orange County's industrial and aerospace plants.

Santa Ana (population 225,000), the county seat, is 45 percent Hispanic. The city is split between two districts, but the 38th includes most of the Hispanic neighborhoods, and they cast much of the district's Democratic vote.

Garden Grove has a much smaller minority population, although the city's comfortable middle-American ethos, symbolized by the nationwide "positive thinking" television ministry of Robert Schuller from his Crystal Cathedral, has been shaken in recent years by a heavy influx of Indochinese refugees. With an undercurrent of racial backlash, Garden Grove's blue-collar white voters have turned increasingly conservative. Patterson narrowly carried the city in 1982, but Dornan won it two years later.

**Population:** 525,919. White 392,707 (75%), Black 13,438 (3%), Asian and Pacific Islander 36,819 (7%), Other 4,386 (1%), Spanish origin 149,578 (28%), 18 and over 364,684 (69%), 65 and over 36,462 (7%). Median age: 27.

facilitate transmission of acquired immune deficiency syndrome. His adversaries did not put up much of a fight because, they said, the surgeon general already had such authority.

Several times Dornan has won House approval of amendments preventing the District of Columbia from paying for abortions with public funds; each time the measure has been dropped at a later stage in favor of somewhat looser anti-abortion language.

Dornan has been one of the most militant and eloquent abortion opponents throughout his four terms. He refused to go along in 1979, when anti-abortion leader Henry J. Hyde agreed not to fight compromise language allowing federally funded abortions in cases of rape and incest. The deal was negotiated to allow passage of an appropriations bill providing paychecks to the unemployed and disabled, as well as federal workers. "I don't care if 2 million paychecks are held up," Dornan said, "if it means 2 million babies are being killed."

**At Home:** Dornan entered politics after an eclectic career that included five years as an Air Force pilot, various journalism jobs, parts as an extra in TV dramas, and several years as a TV talk show host. He spent much time on the

road, registering black voters in Alabama in the 1960s and trying to ban objectionable textbooks in West Virginia in the 1970s. The prisoner-of-war issue also occupied his attention. He boasts of inventing the POW bracelet.

By 1976 Dornan had been off the air for three years and had lost an election for mayor of Los Angeles. But the old 27th District provided him an opening: Moderate Republican Rep. Alphonzo Bell was running for the Senate. Former Peace Corps Director Joseph Blatchford and state GOP Treasurer Michael C. Donaldson were the front-runners in the Republican primary, but they split the moderate vote, allowing Dornan to win the nomination on the strength of his conservative support.

The general election between Dornan and Gary Familian, a wealthy Marina del Rey businessman, was an exercise in name calling, the first of a series of vituperative campaigns in which Dornan has been involved. Dornan called Familian a "warmed-over McGovernite." Familian said Dornan was a "paid propagandist" linked to the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan. When it was over, Dornan had won by nearly 20,000 votes.

In the two elections after that, Dornan's

**California - 38th District**

opponent was Carey Peck, the son of actor Gregory Peck. Peck was inexperienced and awkward, but he came within 3,500 votes of Dornan in 1978, charging that the incumbent had little to show for all the sound and fury he had generated in Washington. Dornan countered that Peck was simply a rich young man playing at politics. He also scored points by describing his B-1 bomber support efforts.

Dornan was determined to trounce Peck in their 1980 rematch, and he spent nearly \$2 million in the effort. Although Peck improved his campaign style somewhat in the rematch, Dornan pulled through once again.

In the 1981 redistricting, however, Democrats exacted revenge by stripping Dornan's district of its most Republican areas. Dornan declared for the Senate the following year, but wound up running fourth in the GOP primary.

In 1984, he moved from his previous base in Santa Monica to Orange County to make his House comeback. Changing demographics in the 38th had made Democratic Rep. Jerry M. Patterson more vulnerable, and Dornan's national conservative credentials guaranteed him access to as much money as he needed for what was certain to be a difficult effort.

This, too, was a nasty campaign. Patterson called Dornan "a far-right extremist" and "nearly a lunatic"; Dornan called him a

"sneaky little dirtbag." Some Republicans were concerned that Dornan would be unable to surmount charges of carpetbagging (he used four different voting addresses at times during the campaign), but in the end his residence mattered less than the fact that he was an articulate conservative in a district that was unhappy with the national Democratic ticket.

In the end, Dornan spent \$1 million on his campaign (compared with \$700,000 spent by Patterson), and was boosted home by Reagan's sweeping 3-to-1 margin in Orange County.

Two years later, Dornan held on against a scrappy attack from state Assemblyman Richard Robinson, who accused him of ignoring Orange County in favor of an obsession with foreign policy.

Though Robinson's speeches and direct mail dwelled on that point, the battle was not really joined until Robinson's campaign accused Dornan of having implied that he had served in combat in the Korean War. Dornan angrily denied having falsified his record — he was on active duty after the war had ended — and then charged that Robinson had misrepresented his own service as a Marine in Vietnam.

The closing weeks of the campaign were taken up largely by that controversy. When the dust settled, Dornan had won with 55 percent of the vote.

**Committees**

**Foreign Affairs** (9th of 17 Republicans)  
Africa; International Economic Policy and Trade; Western Hemisphere Affairs.

**Select Narcotics Abuse and Control** (9th of 10 Republicans)

**Veterans' Affairs** (11th of 13 Republicans)  
Education, Training and Employment; Oversight and Investigations.

**Elections**

**1986 General**  
Bob Dornan (R) 66,032 (55%)  
Richard Robinson (D) 50,625 (42%)

**1984 General**  
Bob Dornan (R) 86,545 (53%)  
Jerry M. Patterson (D) 73,231 (45%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1980 (51%) 1978 (51%) 1976 (55%)

**District Vote For President**

1984		1980		1978	
D	48,856 (30%)	D	43,851 (29%)	D	51,102 (46%)
R	114,786 (69%)	R	93,281 (62%)	R	58,138 (53%)

**Campaign Finance**

Year	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1986			
Dornan (R)†	\$1,190,237	\$163,273 (14%)	\$1,174,637
Robinson (D)	\$592,412	\$302,974 (51%)	\$561,864

Year	Dornan (R)	Patterson (D)
1984	\$1,046,909	\$713,958
	\$157,110 (15%)	\$444,506 (62%)
	\$1,023,001	\$699,747

† Totals based on incomplete data.

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	80	13	82	10	88	12
1985	80	16	79	10	82	13
1982	61	5	68	5	73	4
1981	57	26	67	9	63	8

S = Support O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

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

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	5	95	8	81
1985	10	95	12	81
1982	5	87	0	85
1981	10	93	8	93

California - 33rd District

## 33 David Dreier (R)

Of La Verne — Elected 1980

**Born:** July 5, 1952, Kansas City, Mo.  
**Education:** Claremont Men's College, B.A. 1975; Claremont Graduate School, M.A. 1976.  
**Occupation:** Public relations executive.  
**Family:** Single.  
**Religion:** Christian Scientist.  
**Political Career:** GOP nominee for U.S. House. 1978.  
**Capitol Office:** 410 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-2305.



**In Washington:** Dreier uses his positions on the Banking and Small Business committees to promote an economic agenda that includes the privatization of government services and elimination of numerous federal agencies. But he has had little success in getting the House to consider his proposals.

Most House members serve on the Small Business Committee to obtain help for their constituents from the Small Business Administration; Dreier uses his place there to call for eliminating the SBA entirely, as the Reagan administration has wanted to do. "We need to get our fiscal house in order," he says, "and there's no better place to start than at the SBA." But Dreier's bill in the 99th Congress to eliminate the SBA's lending programs and transfer those functions to the Commerce Department never reached a vote in the Small Business Committee.

The SBA is only one of many governmental dragons Dreier would like to slay. He also has called for elimination of the Export-Import Bank and Amtrak. "Selling federal assets won't make the deficit go away," admits Dreier, "but neither will congressional intransigence at shedding those activities that might be more properly conducted by private entities."

Dreier's conservatism fits reasonably well into the House GOP consensus. But he paid an unusual price for it early on. He was in line in the 98th Congress to become ranking minority member of the Banking subcommittee dealing with the World Bank and other international lending bodies. But the panel's Republicans, who tended to favor an internationalist approach, worried that Dreier would be hostile to the U.S. role in international lending, and they maneuvered Doug Bereuter, a Nebraska Republican more in tune with World Bank concerns, into the position.

**At Home:** Using the Claremont Colleges as his political base and training ground, Dreier waged a four-year campaign against Democratic Rep. Jim Lloyd and defeated him on the second try. From the start, Dreier had the support of the influential Claremont College Republican establishment.

Under-financed and only 26 years old, Dreier came within 12,000 votes of beating Lloyd on his first try, in 1978. His second campaign, two years later, was marked by greater maturity and a more substantive effort to discuss issues. Dreier followed much of the national Republican line for the 1980 elections, supporting the Kemp-Roth tax-cut bill and Ronald Reagan's presidential candidacy.

National GOP sources, considering Lloyd the most vulnerable Democratic incumbent in the state that year, helped Dreier out-raise Lloyd by almost 2-to-1 and brought in Reagan to campaign for him. Again there was a 12,000-vote margin, but it was in Dreier's favor.

Dreier ended up in another fight two years later, this time with a fellow Republican. Redistricting had moved his Pomona political base out of the 35th, where he had won in 1980, into the neighboring 33rd District. But the 33rd was also home to GOP Rep. Wayne Grisham.

The resulting primary pitted a sedate, casual Grisham against an aggressive and dynamic Dreier. With the battle stressing different personalities rather than ideological contrast, Dreier's organization and fund-raising contacts saw him coasting through the election.

Though he is about as safe as can be now, Dreier still acts as if he expects trouble. An extraordinarily ambitious fund-raiser, he had nearly \$1-million cash-on-hand at the end of 1986, more than any other House member.



David Dreier, R-Calif.

### California 33

Most of the land in this sprawling outer suburban district is given over to uninhabitable mountains and hills. The majority of the people are at the southern end, where a mountain named after cornflakes king W. K. Kellogg separates working-class Covina from the white-collar communities of Pomona and Claremont, home of the several Claremont Colleges. Farther west, the La Puente Hills isolate Whittier and La Mirada from the rest of the district.

Pomona, with 92,000 residents, is the largest city in the district. Living more than 30 miles from downtown Los Angeles, Pomona residents are more likely to commute to San Bernardino and Riverside counties to the east, or work in the Pomona-Claremont area, than to make the daily trip into Los Angeles.

The district combines two divergent elements of California's suburban culture.

### Eastern Los Angeles — Pomona; Whittier

Voters south of the La Puente hills tend to be middle-aged homeowners with grown children. Those to the north are more likely to be young people who have come to California in the last 15 years.

Though far from unified geographically or culturally, the district is united in its Republican leanings. There are a few more registered Republicans than Democrats, which in California means a decided GOP advantage in most elections. In the last several years most Republican statewide candidates have carried the district easily.

The only major GOP candidate to lose in the past decade was Evelle Younger, challenging Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in 1978.

**Population:** 525,348. White 431,594 (82%). Black 28,402 (5%). Other 25,049 (5%). Spanish origin 100,478 (19%). 18 and over 370,470 (71%). 65 and over 42,959 (8%). Median age: 29.

#### Committees

**Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs** (9th of 20 Republicans)  
Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; General Oversight and Investigations; Housing and Community Development.

**Small Business** (6th of 17 Republicans)  
Energy and Agriculture (ranking).

#### Elections

**1986 General**  
David Dreier (R) 118,541 (72%)  
Monty Hempel (D) 44,312 (27%)

**1984 General**  
David Dreier (R) 147,363 (71%)  
Claire K. McDonald (D) 54,147 (26%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1982 (65%) 1980 (52%)

#### District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D 63,307 (29%)	D 50,062 (27%)	D 60,050 (39%)	R 152,606 (70%)	R 117,761 (64%)	R 89,237 (59%)

#### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1986</b>			
Dreier (R)	\$491,587	\$106,800 (22%)	\$148,242
Hempel (D)	\$23,124	\$4,799 (21%)	\$22,733
<b>1984</b>			
Dreier (R)	\$524,940	\$132,200 (25%)	\$101,742
McDonald (D)	\$42,980	\$3,395 (8%)	\$40,121

#### Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	83	16	95	4	94	2
1985	84	14	92	4	91	9
1984	73	25	95	4	88	8
1983	85	15	97	2	97	2
1982	78	17	87	2	95	1
1981	78	21	95	5	93	7

S = Support O = Opposition

#### Key Votes

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

#### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	0	95	0	100
1985	10	90	0	95
1984	5	92	8	81
1983	0	100	0	84
1982	0	100	0	95
1981	5	100	0	95

## **Porter J. Goss**



R—Florida, 13th District

509 Cannon House  
Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515-0913

(202) 225-2536

**BIOGRAPHICAL** Born: 11/26/38 • Home: Sanibel  
• Educ.: B.A., Yale U. • Prof.: Businessman • Rel.:  
Presbyterian

### **KEY STAFF AIDES**

Administrative Assistant: Mark Dyckman  
Press Secretary: Wendy Donath  
Senior Legislative Assistant: Sarah Holmes  
Appointments Secretary: Maggie Knutson

**COMMITTEES:** Foreign Affairs • Merchant Marine and  
Fisheries

STAT

Florida - 5th District

## 5 Bill McCollum (R)

Of Altamonte Springs — Elected 1980

**Born:** July 12, 1944, Brooksville, Fla.  
**Education:** U. of Florida, B.A. 1965, J.D. 1968.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1969-72; Naval Reserve, 1972 to present.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Ingrid Seebom; three children.  
**Religion:** Episcopalian.  
**Political Career:** Chairman, Seminole County Republican Executive Committee, 1976-80.  
**Capitol Office:** 1507 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-2176.



**In Washington:** In the flood of Republican freshmen who came to Washington with President Reagan in 1981, McCollum did not stand out. Neither his political background nor his physical presence was imposing; he was a lawyer who never had held public office, and on first impression he seemed boy-scoutish in appearance and manner.

But in his brief House career, McCollum has displayed a knack for operating in the institution that has made him one of the more influential junior Republicans. He is conservative without being inflexible, and persistent without being tiresome.

The influx of refugees to Florida in the past decade has led McCollum to take a hard line against illegal aliens, and he played a central role in the long congressional battle over the nation's immigration laws. In 1986, after five years of effort, Congress cleared a bill overhauling those immigration laws.

At the heart of the legislation was a provision granting legal resident status to millions of aliens now in the country illegally. McCollum argued that such a move was a "slap in the face" to would-be immigrants who wait their turn to enter, and would encourage more unauthorized entries by aliens hoping for another amnesty in the future.

McCollum led the opposition to amnesty provisions in the 97th, 98th and 99th Congresses. "We are going to be rewarding law-breakers," he warned in 1986, as the House spurned his amendment to strike the bill's amnesty provision by a close 199-192 vote. He then voted against House passage of the bill, although he later voted for the final House-Senate agreement.

McCollum fared considerably better on another immigration issue in the 99th Congress, as President Reagan signed into law his

bill to tighten restrictions on weddings involving aliens. The bill, designed to curb the use of fraudulent marriages to circumvent immigration laws, would impose a fine and prison term for marriage fraud, which McCollum called "a thriving cottage industry." "We need to halt a new alien theory — buy a bride, get a green card," he said.

McCollum combined his assignments on Judiciary and Banking in 1986 and contributed to legislation to bar "money laundering," the practice by which criminals — particularly drug dealers — convert illegal profits into usable cash. McCollum and Crime Subcommittee Chairman William J. Hughes of New Jersey co-authored Judiciary's bill, which made a new federal crime of money laundering; it breezed through the House by voice vote during Congress' drive to enact major anti-drug legislation. The Banking bill addressed federal banking law rather than criminal law. Portions of both bills were included in the \$1.7 billion anti-drug package.

On the Banking Committee's Housing Subcommittee, McCollum and Texas Republican Steve Bartlett led conservative opposition to the Democratic majority's efforts in behalf of federally subsidized housing programs. In 1985, McCollum offered an amendment to kill a \$265 million program providing matching grants to stimulate rental housing construction. The subcommittee rejected it 26-11. In 1986 he proposed to kill a program designed to help finance housing construction in distressed areas for low-income families. He said the money could be better spent on rehabilitation of existing housing. The House turned back that attempt 300-123.

McCollum's committee assignments do not give him a direct entree to foreign policy issues, but his visit to El Salvador in July 1983 led him

Bill McCollum, R-Fla.

## Florida 5

In a state famous for its coastline, the 5th is the only Florida district without one. But that has been no hindrance to economic development or population growth in and around Orlando. In fact, metropolitan Orlando (encompassing Orange and Seminole counties) has a more diversified economic base than many of Florida's beach meccas, where the economy is skewed toward tourism, condo construction and real estate speculation.

Orlando has its share of builders and bankers, but it also produces electronic equipment, boats, elevators and pharmaceuticals. It is the base of the Burger King empire and the site of numerous aerospace and defense contractors working on missiles and aircraft control systems. Tourism is also a major contributor to the economy because the Orlando area is dotted with theme parks. Disney World is across the border in the 11th District, but many of its employees live in the 5th.

When McCollum won the 5th in 1980, it was a much larger district, stretching from the Gulf almost to the Atlantic. But because it had nearly doubled in population during the 1970s, it was divided in redistricting. The part that McCollum kept contains all

## North Central — Orlando and Northern Suburbs

of downtown Orlando and the city's northern suburbs in Orange and southern Seminole counties.

The affluent Orange County communities of Winter Park and Maitland are home to Orlando's older, established elite, which provides strong support for Republican candidates. Another reliable source of Republican votes is Seminole County, north of Orlando, where many of the upper-level executives new to the area settle. In 1984, Reagan won three-fourths of the presidential vote in Seminole. Most of the district's Democratic votes come out of working-class areas within the city of Orlando.

Growth has brought its share of problems to the Orlando area. The city's sewage threatens the health of Lake Tohopekaliga to the south, and paying for capital improvements to control the problem is costly. Demand for water has increased dramatically; lowering of the water table causes occasional sinkholes to open up, swallowing buildings, cars and swimming pools.

**Population:** 513,005. White 420,215 (82%), Black 84,264 (16%), Other 4,178 (1%), Spanish origin 15,041 (3%), 18 and over 373,987 (73%), 65 and over 61,889 (12%). Median age: 31.

to play a more personal role in that nation's affairs than do most congressmen.

Dismayed by the suffering at a Salvadoran refugee camp he visited, McCollum returned to the United States and organized private relief efforts to get medical supplies to people displaced by El Salvador's civil war. McCollum helped accumulate three plane-loads' worth of donated supplies, and he persuaded pilots from Rosie O'Grady's Flying Circus in Orlando to volunteer time to fly the planes to El Salvador.

In the 99th Congress, McCollum expanded his foreign policy interests to include the rebels fighting the Soviet-backed government in Afghanistan. The House adopted his amendment to a 1985 defense bill authorizing non-lethal aid to Afghan refugees.

Also a supporter of the guerrillas battling the Marxist government of Angola, McCollum sponsored a bill in 1986 that would prohibit new U.S. business investment in that country. He later offered a successful amendment to

curtail new Export-Import Bank loans to Angola until all Cuban troops left the country.

Late in 1986, McCollum was selected to sit on the 15-member House select committee investigating the Iran-contra affair.

**At Home:** Spurred by Republican Rep. Richard Kelly's near-defeat in 1978, McCollum was already campaigning for the 5th District GOP nomination in 1980 when it was reported in early February that the FBI had snared Kelly in its Abscam investigation.

McCollum, a former Seminole County GOP chairman making his first bid for public office, used his early start to develop a stronger organization than either Kelly or state Sen. Vince Fechtel, who joined the field in April. Since there were few issue differences among the three men, image rather than substance dominated the campaign. McCollum portrayed himself as a morally upstanding family man qualified to fill a "leadership vacuum" in the district.

**Bill McCollum, R-Fla.**

McCollum received 43 percent of the primary vote. He ran first in Seminole County and in the Orange County suburbs of Orlando, and also carried Pasco and Pinellas counties, GOP strongholds on the west coast. Fechtler trailed McCollum by 2,210 votes and Kelly ran a poor third. In the runoff, McCollum again brought his organizational strength to bear, carrying six of the district's eight counties and winning nomination with 54 percent.

Democrats chose lawyer David Best, who two years earlier had polled 49 percent against Kelly. McCollum, clearly more conservative than Best, caught the district's prevailing mood and was elected with 56 percent.

In 1982 McCollum's Democratic opponent was Dick Batchelor, a popular Orange County state representative who was considered a for-

midable, although under-funded, campaigner.

Fearful that he might be dragged down by voter discontent with Reaganomics or concern over Social Security, McCollum did not emphasize his party affiliation against Batchelor. He claimed that he voted an independent line.

His main theme was one he took from the 1980 campaign — McCollum as the all-American husband and father (compared with the unmarried Batchelor) who had "restored integrity" to the district. McCollum's superior financial resources enabled him to use media more extensively, and he succeeded in casting Batchelor as a liberal. McCollum's strong showing — he won his second term with 59 percent of the vote — cowed local Democrats, who did not field a candidate against him in 1984 and 1986.

**Committees**

**Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs** (5th of 20 Republicans)  
Domestic Monetary Policy (ranking); Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; Housing and Community Development.

**Judiciary** (6th of 14 Republicans)  
Crime (ranking); Immigration, Refugees and International Law.

**Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran** (5th of 6 Republicans)

**Elections**

**1986 General**  
Bill McCollum (R) Unopposed

**1984 General**  
Bill McCollum (R) Unopposed

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1982 (59%) 1980 (56%)

**District Vote For President**

1984		1980		1976	
D	50,693 (29%)	D	51,295 (34%)	D	59,891 (46%)
R	125,106 (71%)	R	93,796 (62%)	R	68,991 (53%)
		I	5,775 (4%)		

**Campaign Finance**

Year	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1986			
McCollum (R)	\$165,986	\$79,700 (48%)	\$121,052
1984			
McCollum (R)	\$174,468	\$75,110 (43%)	\$85,004

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	84	14	81	16	96	4
1985	80	19	82	13	91	9
1984	66	33	85	11	93	7
1983	78	17	89	6	94	3
1982	78	17	91	8	93	7
1981	67	28	83	14	85	12

S = Support O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

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

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	0	82	7	82
1985	5	90	6	90
1984	10	78	8	88
1983	0	100	0	89
1982	10	82	10	82
1981	0	93	13	94

## **Bill Paxon**



R—New York, 31st District

1723 Longworth House  
Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515-3231

(202) 225-5265

**BIOGRAPHICAL** Born: 4/29/54 • Home: East Aurora  
• Educ.: B.A., Canisius Col. • Prof.: Public Official; N.Y.  
Assembly, 1983-89 • Rel.: Catholic

### **KEY STAFF AIDES**

Administrative Assistant: Maria Cino  
Press Secretary: Colin Chapman  
Legislative Director: Christopher Dawe  
Appointments Secretary: Alicia Rizzo

**COMMITTEES:** Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs

Illinois - 10th District

# 10 John Edward Porter (R)

Of Winnetka — Elected 1980

**Born:** June 1, 1935, Evanston, Ill.  
**Education:** Attended Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1953-54; Northwestern U., B.S., B.A. 1957; U. of Michigan, J.D. 1961.  
**Military Career:** Army Reserve. 1958-64.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Kathryn Cameron; five children.  
**Religion:** Presbyterian.  
**Political Career:** Ill. House, 1973-79; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1978; Republican nominee for Cook County circuit court judge, 1970.  
**Capitol Office:** 1131 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-4835.



**In Washington:** Porter's overall voting record places him near the middle of the political spectrum, but he has an unusual way of arriving there: He converges on the center from both ends. When he fights the Reagan administration on population control or chemical weapons, he lines up with the most liberal members of the House. When he takes Democrats to task for wasting federal money on useless programs, he sounds like a spokesman for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The chemical weapons issue is Porter's main claim to fame. He is critical of the Defense Department claim that these weapons could be quickly deployed in Europe in the event of an armed confrontation with the Soviet Union. "This policy could, in fact, precipitate a Soviet first strike with chemicals," Porter said in 1986. "As the Soviets observe us engaging in a massive airlift ... they could logically conclude that we were about to use chemicals first on them."

After four years of defeat, chemical weapons proponents attached an amendment to the 1985 defense authorization bill approving \$124 million for production. But later that year, Porter pushed an amendment through Appropriations, by a 26-24 margin, deleting funding for the weapons. In 1986, Porter and his allies, Foreign Relations Chairman Dante B. Fascell of Florida and Republican Marge Roukema of New Jersey, again blocked the weapons, but by the barest of margins; their amendment to the defense authorization bill that year passed by a vote of 210 to 209.

Meanwhile, as a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations,

Porter has taken on the president and social conservatives by fighting to preserve U.S. funding for international population control efforts. He is a leading member of the Congressional Coalition on Population and Development.

But conservatives unnerved by Porter's stands on these issues have little reason to find fault with him on foreign policy. For all the vehemence of his rhetoric against chemical weapons, he has backed the Reagan administration on most crucial defense questions, supporting the MX missile and aid to the Nicaraguan contras. And notwithstanding his population control efforts, he is skeptical of most other forms of humanitarian foreign aid.

Porter favors requiring international development banks to demand that Third World governments receiving aid adopt low-tax, low-spending policies he regards as vital to economic growth. When the House was considering a 1985 proposal to provide \$175 million in emergency aid to African countries, Porter was opposed. "Where is the money going to come from?" he asked.

This approach typifies Porter's conservative position on most budget questions. He has co-authored alternative budgets that call for freezes in all programs, and criticized Congress' failure to meet the targets in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-reduction law. Porter blasts the overall budget process for lacking the discipline necessary to make a dent in the federal deficit, and refers to the yearly omnibus spending bill, known as the continuing resolution, as "public enemy No. 1."

Sometimes Porter's conservative budget rhetoric goes beyond what is normally offered

John Edward Porter, R-Ill.

## Illinois 10

The 10th begins in the northern Chicago suburbs in Cook County, crosses into Lake County and extends all the way to the Wisconsin border. It is firmly Republican.

Much of the district's vote is cast in Lake County towns such as Lake Forest and Deerfield, where most voters tend to prefer moderate Republican candidates but rarely cross over to the Democratic column no matter who the GOP nominee is. These communities along Lake Michigan north of Chicago are among the city's oldest suburbs and, generally, its most affluent. Fully developed long ago, they declined in population in the 1970s as the younger residents grew up and moved away.

Lake County, most of which votes in the 10th, is a GOP stronghold. In the last two gubernatorial elections, Republican Gov. James R. Thompson has won Lake with well over 60 percent of the vote. In 1984, GOP Sen. Charles H. Percy won 59 percent of Lake County's vote, while losing

## North and Northwest Suburbs — Waukegan

narrowly statewide.

The only major Democratic enclave in the county — or in the district — is the old port city of Waukegan. Now a manufacturing center producing pharmaceuticals, hospital supplies and outboard motors, Waukegan has a population that is about one-quarter Hispanic.

Many of the people who live in the district commute to professional jobs in downtown Chicago, but in recent years corporate outposts have sprung up among the bedroom communities. Allstate and Kemper Insurance, Walgreen's and Household Finance are major employers in the district. Also in the 10th is the Great Lakes Naval Training Center, on the lake near North Chicago. The largest such operation in the country, it employs well over 20,000 people.

**Population:** 519,660. White 469,474 (90%), Black 28,339 (6%), Other 10,315 (2%), Spanish origin 22,202 (4%), 18 and over 368,611 (71%), 65 and over 40,566 (8%). Median age: 30.

on the floor even by the most militant Republicans. "Ladies and gentlemen of the far left, you are the problem," he once said in a floor speech. "The stagnation and unemployment we are suffering you have caused. Not President Reagan. Not supply-side economics. Not tax cuts. You."

As a result of speeches like that one, some of Porter's colleagues across the aisle tend to bristle when he lobbies the Appropriations Committee to provide funds for projects in his district. But so far, little revenge seems to have been exacted. In the 99th Congress, for example, Porter helped obtain over \$30 million in military construction funds for three military installations in or near his district.

Porter also defends federal spending on several favored programs from his position on the Appropriations subcommittee that funds the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education. He has worked for higher funding for the National Eye Institute, and tried to establish centers around the country to educate and ease resettlement of refugees. He is a vocal backer of impact aid to school districts affected by a local presence of the federal government.

At Home: Porter's political life has revolved around the Cook County suburbs of

Chicago ever since he set up law practice there after a stint with the Kennedy Justice Department in Washington.

The son of a well-known judge in Evanston, Porter had a judgeship for himself in mind when he returned home. The path he chose, though — work in the Young Republicans organization — was not necessarily the best for an ambitious young lawyer in an area dominated at a countywide level by Chicago Democrats. In 1970, he tried unsuccessfully to win election as Cook County circuit court judge as part of a Republican slate dubbed "the suicide squad."

But the bid helped build his credentials within GOP circles. Immersed in Evanston Republican affairs, Porter had no trouble winning a state House seat in 1972, and in winning re-election twice.

His first run for Congress came in 1978. Democratic Rep. Abner J. Mikva, one of the most liberal Democrats in the House, had won the old 10th by scanty margins in both 1974 and 1976. Porter was one of seven Republicans who wanted to take him on again.

During his six years in the state Legislature, Porter had been viewed as a moderate, at least on social issues, and had received high ratings from the liberal Independent Voters of



**John Edward Porter, R-Ill.**

Illinois. His chief opponent in the 1978 primary, Daniel Hales, had support from national New Right organizations. The crucial asset for Porter was the backing of the local GOP apparatus, including the two key Republican township organizations in the district. He won the primary comfortably.

His contest with Mikva proved rougher. Porter raised more money from political action committees than any other House candidate in the country that year, and spent it freely. But Mikva, who was no mean fund-raiser himself, had a slight edge in organization, and nudged Porter out by 650 votes.

Mikva was appointed to a federal judgeship only a few months later, and both parties realized that the seat probably would not remain Democratic without him. This time, Porter had no trouble winning nomination. And in his 1980 special election against Democrat Robert Weinberger, a former Commerce Department aide, he had a massive spending advan-

tage and emerged with 54 percent. Seeking a full term in November of 1980, he was returned to office by a convincing margin of nearly 50,000 votes.

It seemed at first that he would have no chance to rest. In the 1981 remap, Porter's Evanston home was placed in the heavily Democratic 9th District. Porter announced he would move north to challenge GOP Rep. Robert McClory in the newly drawn 10th, where Republican loyalties were solid. But the show-down never took place. The 74-year-old McClory, after filing and announcing for an 11th term, decided in January 1982 that he would step down for his younger colleague.

Though only one-fifth of the people in the new 10th came from Porter's old district, no one challenged him in the primary, and he won comfortably in November against an experienced Democratic state legislator, Eugenia S. Chapman. His elections since have been routine.

**Committee**

**Appropriations (15th of 22 Republicans)**  
Foreign Operations; Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies; Legislative Branch.

**Elections**

<b>1980 General</b>			
John Edward Porter (R)	87,530	(75%)	
Robert A. Cleland (D)	28,990	(25%)	
<b>1984 General</b>			
John Edward Porter (R)	153,330	(73%)	
Ruth C. Braver (D)	57,809	(27%)	
<b>Previous Winning Percentages:</b> 1982 (59%) 1980 (61%)			
1980* (54%)			

\* Special election.

**District Vote For President**

<b>1984</b>		<b>1980</b>		<b>1976</b>	
D 70,881 (31%)	D 60,308 (28%)	D 70,251 (33%)	R 154,106 (68%)	R 129,386 (59%)	R 139,680 (65%)
R 154,106 (68%)	I 25,273 (12%)				

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1986</b>			
Porter (R)	\$188,340	\$77,041 (41%)	\$176,228
Cleland (D)	\$104,263	\$100 (0.1%)	\$103,817
<b>1984</b>			
Porter (R)	\$223,322	\$89,967 (40%)	\$141,959
Braver (D)	\$30,661	\$5,348 (17%)	\$28,938

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	59	39	68	28	68	32
1985	68	30	71	25	73	25
1984	58	40	65	31	80	19
1983	73	22	69	29	67	30
1982	60	32	66	28	62	32
1981	68	32	65	33	61	36

S = Support      O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

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

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	15	64	7	94
1985	20	71	24	82
1984	40	42	23	81
1983	25	52	6	95
1982	35	67	17	81
1981	30	67	7	89

*Arizona - 1st District*

# 1 John J. Rhodes III (R)

**Of Mesa — Elected 1986**

**Born:** Sept. 8, 1943, Mesa, Ariz.  
**Education:** Yale U., B.A. 1965; U. of Arizona, J.D. 1968.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1968-70.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Ann Chase; four children.  
**Religion:** Protestant.  
**Political Career:** Mesa School Board, 1972-76; GOP district chairman, 1973-75; vice-pres., Central Arizona Water Conservation District, 1983-87.  
**Capitol Office:** 510 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-2635.



**The Path to Washington:** All candidates in the Arizona 1st last year faced inevitable comparisons with energetic Republican John McCain, who was leaving the seat to run for the Senate. But Rhodes had two tough acts to follow. The son of former GOP House leader John J. Rhodes, he also faced comparisons with his father. Those comparisons were not always flattering, but yet the familiar name proved crucial to the younger Rhodes' political success.

Rhodes, whose father had represented the district for 30 years before retiring in 1982, became the immediate front-runner upon entering the contest. He had more than a name; he also had a résumé that would have made him credible on its own.

Like McCain, he had military credentials, having won a bronze star for service as an intelligence adviser in Vietnam. And the younger Rhodes had been active in local party affairs, including a stint as district chairman. He was president of the Mesa Board of Education, and in 1982 he was elected to the board of the Central Arizona Water Project, which oversees allocations for the politically sensitive facility. Judged by his background alone, Rhodes clearly had the potential to be a capable legislator.

But despite his political nurturing, Rhodes quickly demonstrated that he was not a natural on the campaign trail. Though known for having a good sense of humor in private, Rhodes was neither entertaining nor inspirational on the stump. One local journalist, describing his campaign announcement, wrote that Rhodes "was about as exciting as cold spaghetti sandwiches at a team's victory banquet." And Rhodes, when questioned about his ability to match McCain's vigor, said simply: "I don't have the stamina of McCain."

Rhodes' shortcomings as a candidate pro-

vided an opening for Ray Russell, a Mesa veterinarian who had waged a strong effort against McCain in 1982. Russell began with a base of support among Mesa's politically active Mormon community, although he had to renew his ties to the district, having moved away following his 1982 loss.

Russell sought to highlight Rhodes' problems by renting billboards that proclaimed: "Vote for a leader, not a name." But he did little to broaden his appeal outside Mesa or present a positive image of himself as the alternative to Rhodes.

And if Rhodes was lacking as a campaigner, in experience and outlook he was an acceptable candidate for mainstream Republicans. A lawyer and former president of the Mesa Chamber of Commerce, Rhodes stressed his background and presented himself as a pragmatic conservative.

His most significant departure from the traditional conservative line was on the issue of a balanced-budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution. He called such a plan "a waste of time" and "a gimmick" that could simply force Congress to raise taxes rather than cut spending. But that stand was hardly enough to bring about strong opposition to Rhodes within party ranks. His father had once denounced such an amendment as a leader in the House, though he later switched his position.

The suspense in the 1st turned out to be bearable. Rhodes took the primary by more than 5,000 votes, and that was tantamount to election in this Republican stronghold. His Democratic opponent, Harry Braun III, based his campaign on a proposal to create a \$3 trillion privately financed solar-dish industry that would employ 6 million people. That may have won points for creativity, but it brought him few votes.

John J. Rhodes III, R-Ariz.

## Arizona 1

Arizona's only truly urban district, the 1st is a collection of Sun Belt cities growing at a breakneck pace. According to one study done in 1984, some 40 percent of the population had lived there less than five years.

The balance of power clearly lies in the suburbs of Phoenix, where the bulk of the area's growth has occurred. Mesa expanded almost 150 percent during the 1970s and now has more than 150,000 residents. Tempe (106,000) and Chandler (29,000) add to the suburban totals.

Electronics and high-technology firms such as Motorola — the Phoenix area's largest employer — have thrived here in recent years. This has reinforced the district's Republican tendencies. Managers and technicians flocking to the 1st have brought their GOP loyalties with them, augmenting those of the retirees who earlier had hastened the area's conservative shift.

Mesa is a reliable source of Republican votes. Founded by Mormons in 1878, it still has a politically active Mormon community and is the site of a large Mormon temple. It also has a Hughes Aircraft Co. plant, and Williams Air Force Base is nearby.

The adjacent community of Tempe was developed around a flour mill built in 1871 and Tempe today has light industries, electronics plants and garment factories. The

## Eastern Phoenix; Tempe; Mesa

city usually votes Republican for state and local offices. But Tempe has a significant Democratic presence, thanks in large part to the Arizona State University community. The university's football stadium is host to the Fiesta Bowl, a post-season college football attraction that annually draws national attention to the Tempe area.

The 1st also takes in a politically diverse portion of southeastern Phoenix, a tabletop flat area of the "Valley of the Sun" that includes upper-middle-class neighborhoods with a distinctly Republican bent as well as the district's only significant populations of blacks and Hispanics. Many of the minority voters live in neighborhoods around the Sky Harbor Airport, the busy point of entry and departure for Phoenix-area visitors.

Democrats who avoid a liberal label can sometimes win a narrow majority in the 1st in statewide elections. Sen. Dennis DeConcini has done so, as did former Gov. Bruce Babbitt. But in recent congressional and presidential contests, Republicans have had solid margins here.

**Population:** 543,747. White 474,724 (87%), Black 19,556 (4%), Other 12,582 (2%), Spanish origin 62,119 (11%). 18 and over 399,698 (74%), 65 and over 62,119 (11%). Median age: 29.

### Committees

**Interior and Insular Affairs** (12th of 14 Republicans)  
Energy and the Environment; National Parks and Public Lands; Water and Power Resources.

**Small Business** (13th of 17 Republicans)  
Antitrust, Impact of Deregulation and Privatization; Procurement, Innovation and Minority Enterprise Development.

### Campaign Finance

1986	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
Rhodes (R)	\$498,408	\$112,065 (23%)	\$493,182
Braun (D)	\$32,180	\$650 (2%)	\$31,528

### Elections

<b>1986 General</b>			
John J. Rhodes III (R)	127,370	(71%)	
Harry Braun III (D)	51,163	(29%)	
<b>1986 Primary</b>			
John J. Rhodes III (R)	25,091	(44%)	
Ray Russell (R)	20,720	(37%)	
Bob Edens (R)	5,407	(10%)	
Rick C. Lavis (R)	5,222	(9%)	

### District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	58,492 (27%)	D	44,473 (25%)	D	57,839 (37%)
R	154,845 (72%)	R	113,755 (63%)	R	93,155 (59%)
		I	15,916 (9%)		

Pennsylvania - 15th District

## 15 Don Ritter (R)

Of Coopersburg — Elected 1978

**Born:** Oct. 21, 1940, New York, N.Y.  
**Education:** Lehigh U., B.S. 1961; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, M.S. 1963, Sc.D. 1966.  
**Occupation:** Engineering consultant; professor.  
**Family:** Wife, Edith Duerksen; two children.  
**Religion:** Unitarian.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 2447 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6411.



**In Washington:** An intense, energetic conservative, this former metallurgy professor is determined to represent his labor-oriented district on his own terms, selling a pro-business voting record rather than accommodating himself to traditional union goals, as others in the state GOP delegation have done. He has made the protectionist moves expected of anybody who represents the industrial Lehigh Valley, but he has never abandoned the rhetoric of the Republican right.

Much of that rhetoric is expressed on foreign policy issues. Ritter lived in Moscow for a year, and he returned home with an intense anti-Soviet mentality that marks most of his comments on the floor of the House. For several years, he inserted a statement or article in the *Congressional Record* nearly every day supporting the workers' movement in Poland and protesting Soviet interference there.

After the United States invaded the Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983, Ritter and several other conservative Republicans toured the island to refute criticisms from liberal Democrats who had returned from their own tour decrying the invasion as a breach of international law. Ritter has promoted military aid to rebels fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and persuaded the House to adopt a policy statement opposing the Soviet occupation there.

In 1985, he prepared editorial page articles for major newspapers to express his support of U.S. help for guerrillas fighting against the leftist regime in Nicaragua. "Desperate people are seeking freedom from communist totalitarian rule by taking up arms against their oppressors," Ritter wrote. "Our failure to assist such groups makes a mockery of our own defense efforts."

When he is not decrying Soviet adventurism, Ritter looks for ways to put his profes-

sional credentials to use in Congress. Like other scientists who have served in recent years, he is sometimes impatient with members from lay backgrounds who plunge into complex technical issues. This attitude rankles a few liberal colleagues who are not willing to cede science policy to scientists — especially conservative ones.

Given his experience, Ritter was uniquely qualified to debate the Clean Air Act when it came up in the Commerce Committee in the 97th Congress. Alone among members of Commerce and its Health Subcommittee, he was familiar with the chemical effects of air pollutants, and he used that knowledge to try to shoot down the arguments of those who lobbied for tougher standards.

If his arguments were technical, they also coincided with the interests of his district. Unemployed steel and automobile workers wanted relief from Clean Air Act regulation. Ritter joined the rest of the Republicans on the subcommittee who, along with four Democrats, defeated virtually every attempt by the environmentalist faction to tighten standards. But the environmentalists won most of the arguments at the full committee level, and the industry side had to give up on its efforts to modify the act.

Ritter again took a pro-industry stand during debate over expansion of the "superfund" toxic-waste cleanup program. In the 98th Congress, Ritter and New York Republican Norman F. Lent won adoption of committee amendments limiting the fund to \$9 billion and blocking the power of victims to sue polluters in federal court. Ritter ultimately voted for the bill as it passed the House, even though it had been increased to \$10.2 billion and dropped his lawsuit prohibition.

When the bill was taken up again in the

Don Ritter, R-Pa.

## Pennsylvania 15

### East — Allentown; Bethlehem

The heavy industry, strong unions and large ethnic population of the Lehigh Valley bespeak Democratic sentiments. But disaffection with Democratic candidates, both local and national, has lured voters in the valley to the GOP in recent years. Jimmy Carter carried the area within the 15th in 1976, but Ronald Reagan won it in both 1980 and 1984.

Lehigh County (Allentown) has the largest population and is competitive between the two parties. Allentown had a Republican mayor until 1981, and in 1984 Lehigh County gave Reagan 60 percent. Although singer Billy Joel chose Allentown in 1982 to represent the plight of the new unemployed, the recession did not hit the city quite as hard as some other places because of its diversified economy, which spins out Mack trucks, appliances and clothing.

The showpiece of the "new" Allentown economy is a huge AT&T facility that produces some of the world's most advanced electronic circuitry. Some local factories depend on the high-quality craftsmanship of Pennsylvania Dutch workers, who are at-

tractive to corporations because they are conservative and resist unionization.

Pennsylvania's fourth-largest city, with a population of about 100,000, Allentown has neat and pleasant residential sections, a legacy of its Pennsylvania Dutch founders. The prosperous West End is Republican, with blue-collar Democrats spread through the rest of the town.

Neighboring Northampton County has a grittier ambience, thanks to the presence of heavier industry there. The smokestacks of Bethlehem Steel dominate the Bethlehem landscape, and the massive corporation dominates the city, providing its tax base and financing urban renewal projects. Nearby Easton produces chemicals and paper products.

Outside the Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton corridor, Lehigh and Northampton counties are a steady source of Republican votes. Many of the farmers are of Pennsylvania Dutch heritage.

**Population:** 515,259. White 497,609 (97%), Black 8,189 (2%), Other 2,936 (1%), Spanish origin 14,193 (3%), 18 and over 385,814 (75%), 65 and over 65,768 (13%). Median age: 33.

99th Congress, Ritter opposed efforts to require companies to make public an inventory of their chemical emissions known or suspected to cause cancer or birth defects. He argued that there was no scientific evidence of a crisis of hazardous emissions. "Our modern technological society cannot afford to conduct a Salem-type witch hunt on every polysyllabic chemical substance," he said. The House adopted the inventory requirement, but Ritter still voted for the \$10 billion package.

In 1986, Ritter proposed an innovative approach to pay for job retraining for displaced workers: use funds already being saved in individual retirement accounts. His bill would have allowed individuals to withdraw up to \$4,000 of their IRAs over a two-year period, without penalty, to use for job training or retraining. It was introduced late in the Congress, however, and was not acted on.

**At Home:** It was Ritter's extraordinary energy, rather than his political program, that brought him victory in 1978 over Democratic Rep. Fred Rooney, chairman of the Commerce Subcommittee on Transportation. Rooney nev-

er really made enemies in the Lehigh Valley; he simply grew less and less visible. By 1978 he was sending telegrams to gatherings he once had attended. Ritter courted Democrats who wondered where Rooney was, and it paid off with a 53 percent victory.

Since then, Ritter has been both a salesman for his philosophy and a spokesman for his district's needs. In an area where steel and other old industries are struggling, he talks fervently about how important it is for government to give private enterprise free rein so it can generate a new industrial revolution based on high technology.

But Ritter balances his interest in high technology with responsiveness to immediate economic problems. In 1984, his advocacy of import quotas for steel won him valuable publicity at home. Though Reagan did not impose the mandatory quotas sought by Ritter and others, steelworkers in the 15th ended up convinced that Ritter had gone to bat for them.

The traditionally Democratic 15th may not be sold on Ritter, but local Democratic leaders seem at a loss to find the right kind of candi-

**Don Ritter, R-Pa.**

date to challenge him. Against each of his four re-election opponents, he has won nearly 60 percent of the vote.

The recession brought heavy unemployment to the Lehigh Valley in 1982, but Democrats failed to take advantage of the situation with a seasoned candidate. They put up Richard J. Orloski, whose lone government experience was as a state deputy attorney general. Four Republican incumbents in Pennsylvania lost, but Ritter won comfortably.

The 1984 Democratic nominee was not the type one would expect to find seeking office in a working-class district. Jane Wells-Schooley came out of the feminist movement, serving as vice president of the National Organization for Women until 1982.

A number of her positions were controversial; she backed legalized abortion, for example, and supported a nuclear weapons freeze. She tried to focus voters' attention on economic issues, but the dialogue often strayed onto other topics. At an event kicking off Ritter's campaign, one speaker noted Wells-Schooley's

ties to NOW and said that promoting homosexual rights is "the No. 1 goal" of NOW. Most voters saw Wells-Schooley's views as too exotic, and Ritter won easily.

In 1986, Ritter's challenger was Joe Simonetta, a former commander of a NATO missile team in Greece, who made the need to slow down the nuclear arms race one of the focal points of his campaign. Strapped for money, the challenger ran his low-budget, door-to-door effort out of his parents' basement.

Ritter was breezing to re-election when he jolted district voters with an unexpected issue — his past drug use. The incumbent had initially brought up the topic of drug abuse when he announced that he and his staff would take drug tests. Ritter's admission that he had smoked marijuana a decade or so earlier came only after Simonetta questioned him about past drug use.

While the issue provided Simonetta with an opening that he did not previously have, it did not derail Ritter's candidacy. He won re-election by nearly 20,000 votes.

**Committees**

**Energy and Commerce** (8th of 17 Republicans)  
Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness; Telecommunications and Finance.

**Science, Space and Technology** (7th of 18 Republicans)  
Investigations and Oversight (ranking); Science, Research and Technology.

**Elections**

**1986 General**  
Don Ritter (R) 74,829 (57%)  
Joe Simonetta (D) 56,972 (43%)

**1984 General**  
Don Ritter (R) 110,338 (58%)  
Jane Wells-Schooley (D) 79,490 (42%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1982 (58%) 1980 (60%)  
1978 (53%)

**District Vote For President**

1984		1980		1978	
D	81,072 (42%)	D	68,570 (39%)	D	91,229 (52%)
R	110,142 (57%)	R	89,260 (50%)	R	81,662 (46%)
		I	16,201 (9%)		

**Key Votes**

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

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1986</b>			
Ritter (R)	\$439,700	\$153,178 (35%)	\$440,370
Simonetta (D)	\$51,656	0	\$51,639
<b>1984</b>			
Ritter (R)	\$573,765	\$266,299 (46%)	\$537,795
Wells-Schooley (D)	\$496,032	\$220,701 (44%)	\$482,892

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	70	29	65	29	88	10
1985	75	23	71	22	76	20
1984	56	42	74	21	73	20
1983	76	22	81	16	82	16
1982	73	26	83	16	78	21
1981	71	24	82	17	76	19

S = Support      O = Opposition

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	10	90	57	64
1985	10	86	38	52
1984	15	52	50	63
1983	10	86	29	79
1982	20	82	30	76
1981	10	100	21	84

## **Dana Rohrabacher**



R—California, 42nd District

1017 Longworth House  
Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515-0542

(202) 225-2415

**BIOGRAPHICAL** Born: 6/21/47 • Home: Lomita  
• Educ.: B.A., Calif. State U. (Long Beach); M.A., U. of  
S'n. Calif. • Prof.: Writer • Rel.: Protestant

### **KEY STAFF AIDES**

Administrative Assistant: Richard T. (Rick) Dykema

Press Secretary:

Legislative Director:

Appointments Secretary: Lisa Bierer

**COMMITTEES:** District of Columbia • Science, Space,  
and Technology

ROUTING SLIP

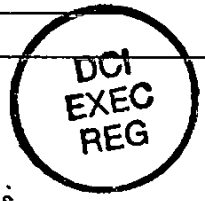
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8	DDS&T				
9	Chm/NIC				
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11	IG				
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Remarks

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ER 89-3321  
ER 89-3321/1

Executive Secretary

8 Aug 89

Date

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**Page Denied**

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

August 8, 1989

*Aug 10 1989?*

The Honorable David Dreier  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear David:

Thanks for your note. It was a pleasure to have you with us for breakfast and I can assure you that we have taken your concerns on board and we'll be doing all that we can to support our own program and to enlist Administration efforts on the public record.

I mentioned your visit to my son Bill who is an Upper School '74 graduate. He mentioned that Dana was a good friend at school and at the ranches.

Hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

William H. Webster

*B-008-R*

DCI  
EXEC  
REG

ER 89-3321



AUGUST

JUDGE —

JUST A BRIEF NOTE TO THANK  
YOU FOR THIS MORNING'S BREAKFAST  
MEETING.

I APPRECIATE YOUR RESOLVE AND  
I WANT TO DO ANYTHING POSSIBLE TO  
HELP YOU SUCCEED.

AS EVER - *David Dreier*

REFERENCE