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OA/ID Number: 13727
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Folder Title:
Bill Grant for Congress, Tallahassee, FL 9/6/90 [OA 8315] [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	20	7	1

PD --

for Florida and Colorado...

Check on reapportionment -- how many seats in Fla? (Check on Colo., but I don't think it's an issue there>>>>?)

Are events for Senat/Cong candidates -- or for party/ticket as a whole?

What info do we have on the venue? Any color?

We should look over last campaign speech for Brown (December) and last for Florida GOP....

/////

What can we get from campaigns or state party on key issues -- or problems we'll have to watch out for...?

Exec. Sec. Karen Hoffman
694-0732

Did positive statement —
reference to annual report??
When released, Jan 1990

695-4352 I think each
Source Dec 15

(Don't know...)
yes - answered
on Dec 15

697-8241

trying, don - look 4 seats
outright control

17 days - need 21 for
outright control

4 seats - chance to
get all 4

time, change rep.
large rural area - farming
edge
biggest town in state

1988 Presidential Vote

Dukakis (D)	159,407	(83%)
Bush (R)	27,590	(14%)

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Jackson	68,480	(80%)
Dukakis	15,415	(18%)
Simon	769	(1%)
Gore	648	(1%)

1984 Presidential Vote

Mondale (D)	180,408	(85%)
Reagan (R)	29,009	(14%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	5,890	(88%)
Dole	469	(7%)
Robertson	268	(4%)

REPRESENTATIVE

Rep. Walter E. Fauntroy (D)



Elected Mar. 23, 1971; b. Feb. 6, 1933, Washington, D.C.; home, Washington, D.C.; VA Union U., B.A. 1955, Yale U., B.D. 1958; Baptist; married (Dorothy).

Career: Pastor, New Bethel Baptist Church, 1958-present; Founder and former Dir., Model Inner City Commun. Org.; Dir., Washington Bureau, SCLC, 1960-71; Coordinator, Selma to Montgomery March, 1965; Vice Chmn., DC City Cncl., 1967-79; Natl. Coordinator, Poor Peoples Campaign, 1969; Chmn., Bd. of Dirs., Martin Luther King, Jr., Ctr. for Social Change, 1969-present.

Offices: 2135 RHOB 20515, 202-225-8050. Also 2041 Martin Luther King, Jr., Ave., S.E., Ste. 311, Washington, D.C. 20020, 202-426-2530.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (3th of 31 D).

Subcommittees: Domestic Monetary Policy; Housing and Community Development; International Development Institutions and Finance (Chairman); International Finance, Trade, and Monetary Policy. *District of Columbia* (2d of 8 D). Subcommittees: Fiscal Affairs and Health (Chairman); Government Operations and Metropolitan Affairs. *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (10th of 15 D).

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Does Not Vote

Election Results

1988 general	Walter E. Fauntroy (D)	121,517	(71%)	(\$68,523)
	W. Ronald Evans (R)	22,936	(13%)	
	Alvin C. Frost (SP)	13,802	(8%)	
	David H. Dabney (I)	10,449	(6%)	
1988 primary	Walter E. Fauntroy (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Walter E. Fauntroy (D)	101,604	(80%)	(\$74,681)
	Mary L. H. King (R)	17,643	(14%)	
	Julie McCall (SP)	6,122	(5%)	

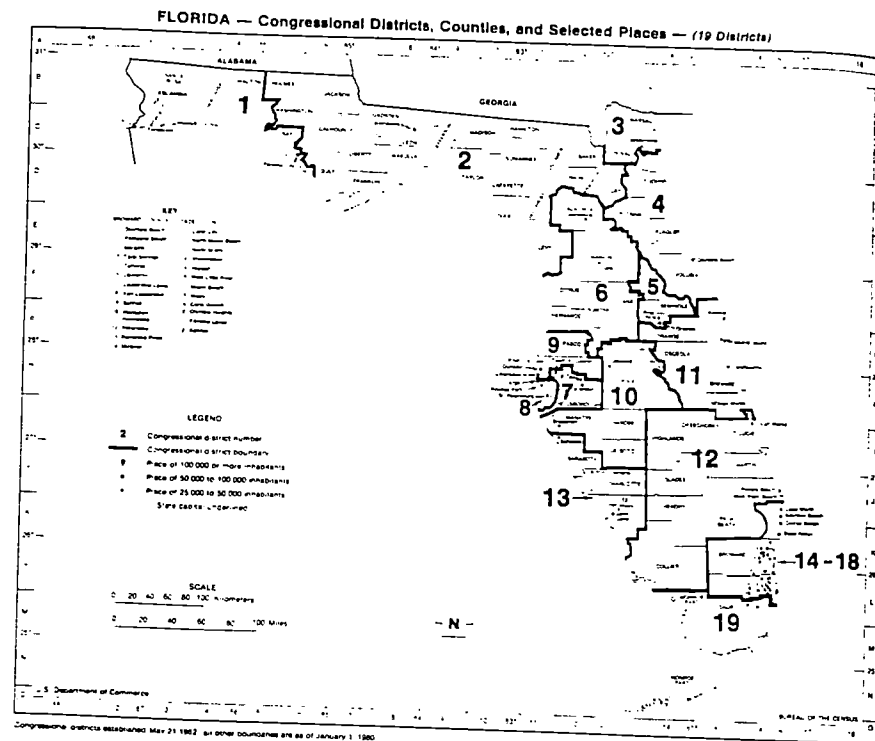
FLORIDA

Who imagined a half century ago that Florida, swamp-ridden, geographically isolated, disease-ridden, bigoted, with no mineral resources but phosphate mines and not much agriculture outside its citrus groves, without major industries or universities, would become one of the most populous American states? Florida in 1940 was studded with a few fabulous resorts but more of its people lived in settlements like LaBelle where the *WPA Guide* found that "rough unpainted pine houses flank the many unpaved roads within the town; on the outskirts are primitive one-story cabins with palm thatched roofs; these cabins are perched high on stilts to provide dry quarters in the rainy season, and on hot days hogs, dogs, and children retire under them to keep cool. Kerosene lamps light the houses, and home-cured hides are sometimes used as bed covers." Florida was the smallest state in the South, with 1.9 million people, its poverty only faintly relieved by winter visitors and northern migrants; it was anything but a model for the rest of the Union.

Now, 50 years later with 12 million people, Florida is the nation's second fastest growing and fourth largest state (it passed Ohio in 1984, Illinois in 1986, Pennsylvania in 1987), and an instructive though exaggerated model of the America that is to be. Florida's population is weighted toward the elderly, its migrants tend to be affluent, its economy is made up mostly of service industries, its voters are disconnected from state and national government—distrustful of neighbors and fellow citizens they scarcely know and alarmed about what they see as the proximate threats to their comfortable lives, crime and drugs. Florida offers the vision of a sunny, carefree, comfortable life in year-round warmth—and provides a glimpse at the dark problems that may lurk ahead.

What brought so many Americans there was warm weather. A climate that in all but the winter months was considered intolerable (and which was genuinely unhealthy) half a century ago is, now that air conditioning became commonplace, deemed desirable. As one cohort of older Americans after another has migrated from the cold industrial belt from Boston to St. Louis down to the funnel of the Florida peninsula, a new megastate was born. More than 90% of Florida's housing units have been built since 1945, hundreds of square miles of swampland have been drained, miles and miles of roads and parking lots have been laid down, shopping centers and restaurants and luxury resorts and trailer parks have been built. For millions of Americans, Florida has been a chance to start over, to create the kind of community they have always wanted to live in, to build if not a city on a hill then a suburb in what was until quite recently a swamp.

The result is a population and an electorate as diverse as any in America—but not in the same proportions. The old, pre-migration Florida, centered in the northern part of the state, was heavily Democratic, strongly segregationist, and interested in state politics because its shrewd legislators could bring money and jobs to impoverished local communities. To that Florida was added two distinct streams of migration. Starting in the late 1940s, affluent and mostly Protestant northerners, from pleasant suburbs and prosperous small towns, started moving to Florida to retire. They were joined, not too long after, by ethnic and blue-collar northerners—Jews moving to Miami were the most visible, but the new migrants included Catholics as well—who were mostly New Deal Democrats. Both streams continued in large volume, with many younger migrants as well; but Florida remains easily the most elderly of states, and the constant turnover in its elderly population has made for constant demographic and political change. Now Florida is becoming the home for much of what appears to be a third wave of migration to this



See pages 1443-1448 for additional metropolitan area maps.

country: not only the Cubans who came here first in the 1960s and then again in 1980 as refugees from Castro's dictatorship, but also immigrants legal and otherwise from Haiti and Nicaragua, Colombia and Jamaica.

This diversity has produced some cultural conflict and has had political repercussions. "Miami Vice" is not just a television program but living image to most Floridians, who see this commercial capital of Latin America and of the U.S. drug trade, with its flamboyantly untraditional Arquitectonica buildings lounging like lizards by the bayside, as beset by violence and dominated by criminals. Reaction to the Cubans is evident in the near-unanimity with which other Floridians voted in 1988 to declare English the official state language (it passed with 62% in Miami's Dade County and 88% in the rest of the state), and reaction to crime is apparent as Jews and other migrants from the East Coast have moved north into Broward and Palm Beach County; WASPs have settled in new condominium communities farther north or on the Gulf Coast. Similarly rapid though less turbulent migration has affected almost every part of the state.

The result is that few Florida voters have any permanent connection with the civic culture of the state: they know nothing of the antics of Governor Claude Kirk (1967-70), or how Reubin Askew came to office in 1970, or how the legislature was dominated for years by conservatives from north Florida called the Pork Chop Gang. Yet for all their diversity and newness Floridians

have some things in common. They have an unfocused concern about Florida's physical environment, though the Florida they live in is anything but pristine. They are against any income tax and favor a high sales tax instead (because one-third of the revenue comes from tourists). They are cautious about proposals for casino gambling and wary of big-money crime.

Contributing also to Florida's political instability is its geographical size and the briefness of its political season. There are eight media markets here, none dominant: Miami's Dade County casts only 11% of the state's votes, and together with the other Gold Coast counties of Broward and Palm Beach only 29%. Another major metropolitan area has two contrasting central cities, bustling Tampa and the retiree-haven of St. Petersburg. Jacksonville is big enough to be significant in the state's economy and politics, and so is Orlando, the home of Disney World and the EPCOT Center as well as the center of the state's citrus industry. There are literally dozens of small cities, from Pensacola to Key West that, for most of their residents, are Florida, and most are growing more rapidly than the big centers. Then too, with no single dominant newspaper and a capital (tiny Tallahassee) tucked away in a corner of the state, state government and what sense of unity it may provide elsewhere is often invisible. Finally, to complete the sense of helter-skelter, Florida's political campaigns are decided in a rush: in 1988 the primary was September 1, the runoff was October 4, followed five weeks later by the general election.

All these factors make Florida elections subject to startling fluctuations. But as the 1980s have gone on, a trend is apparent—toward the Republican party of Ronald Reagan and (he is just about as strong here) George Bush. It is apparent first in presidential contests in which, since Jimmy Carter's razor-thin victory in 1976, Florida has voted Republican 56%-39% in 1980, 65%-35% in 1984, and 61%-39% in 1988. It is also apparent in party registration figures—numbers which in most states just measure historical preferences (because people tend to register in the party which historically has carried their locality) but which in Florida measure the allegiance of its constant streams of new migrants and their judgment about which party will govern in the future. The verdict is plain from the numbers. In the decade from 1978 to 1988 total registration in Florida rose from 4.2 million to 6 million. Democratic registration was up 452,000; Republican registration was up 1.2 million. In percentage terms the Democrats' registration edge dropped from 67% in 1978 to 54% in 1988. Since many southern-accented voters in the panhandle and elsewhere register Democratic and regularly vote Republican in top contests, it's clear that Florida is close to being a solid Republican state. The Democrats' comparative success in statewide races begins to look like evidence not of the strength of their party but of the strength of candidates. Bob Graham, after eight successful years as governor, was able to win only 55% of the vote for senator. Their 1988 Senate candidate, southern-accented moderate Buddy MacKay, managed a near-win by finishing second in the first primary, winning the runoff narrowly, and then rallying in the five weeks of the general election campaign. That used to be a recipe for decisive wins by Democrats like Graham in 1978 and Governor Reubin Askew and Senator Lawton Chiles in 1970. But this time the political balance was tipped enough to the Republicans to produce a narrow victory for Connie Mack.

At the same time, Republicans have been winning state offices. Not just the governorship, which their little-tested candidate Bob Martinez won over a liberal Democrat who in crime-ravaged Florida opposed the death penalty. But also, for first time, down-the-line statewide offices in 1988: party-switcher Jim Smith was elected secretary of state with 63% and a Republican beat a perfectly acceptable Democrat for treasurer 53%-46%. A Republican victory put them behind the Democrats only 23-17 in the state Senate—a shift of three seats could put Republicans in control—of the state Senate at least—in time for post-1990 redistricting.

Demographics helped produce these results. Republicans are helped by increased registration among Miami-area Cuban-Americans, by rapid growth in the affluent Gulf coast south of St. Petersburg and Atlantic coast north of Palm Beach, by Republican trends in family-oriented central Florida around Orlando, and by the continuing Republican trend in the heavily military

panhandle around Pensacola and Panama City. These shifts are only partially offset by Democratic trends in less affluent retirement areas on the Gulf coast north of St. Petersburg, the Atlantic coast between Cape Canaveral and Jacksonville, and in and around Tallahassee.

Issues also play a role. Drugs and crime are the front-burner issues working for Republicans. But they also stand to benefit on tax issues in a state whose elderly voters don't much want to pay to educate other people's kids. And they may be helped by resentment of immigration (although the Cubans in the legislature, all Republicans, split with party leaders over the English referendum).

The problem is that the solutions can make things worse. The legislature rewrote its gun laws in 1987 to allow any citizen without a criminal record to get a permit easily and cheaply to carry a concealed handgun—and, inadvertently, the law let anyone carry a handgun openly. As for holding down spending, Florida like most states needs more prisons and unlike all but the western states and Texas faces a significant increase in its school age population. Martinez and the Democratic legislature did in fact raise taxes (and about as clumsily as possible). But it's still not plain that Florida is providing the base for tomorrow's economic growth to match the pace of yesterday's and today's population growth.

Governor. The nation's fourth largest state has a governor who started off as a high school civics teacher, became an organizer for the teachers' union, and in 1979 became mayor of Tampa, just as this onetime port and cigar factory town was taking off into rapid Sun Belt growth. He is Florida's first Hispanic governor, but his style is not ethnic; he grew up in Tampa and speaks with a decidedly southern accent. A Democrat and supporter of Jimmy Carter in the 1970s, he switched to the Republican Party just in time to take advantage of Florida's Republican trend, the lack of seasoned state Republican politicians (in the 1986 primary he beat Louis Frey, a former congressman who spent most of his time in Washington after he lost the 1980 Senate primary), and the increasing prominence of liberals in the stagnant-sized pool of Democratic primary voters (his general election opponent Steve Pajcic took liberal stands on the death penalty, pornography, and taxes). Martinez campaigned as an experienced public official who would wipe out traffic jams, trim the state budget by \$800 million, and not raise taxes, and won a not-so-narrow 55%-45% victory.

On taking office Martinez promptly changed course—and sailed right into a shoal. Instead of cutting taxes, he worked with Democratic leaders in the legislature to pass a tax on services, including lawyers and advertising. Newspapers claimed it infringed the First Amendment, national advertisers canceled their Florida ad buys, a TV campaign in August (when Floridians, unlike most Americans, tend to stay indoors) turned opinion sharply against the tax and Martinez, and in September 1987 he admitted, "I made a mistake. That mistake has cost me the confidence of the people of Florida." In December the legislature repealed the service tax and increased the sales tax to 6% instead, and his job rating was rock-bottom.

This was not the first such fiasco in Florida: Bob Graham in 1984 had to seek repeal of the unitary business tax he got in 1983—another attempt to make out-of-staters pay for Florida government. Martinez showed more deftness in 1988, hanging back for months and then pushing the legislature to enact solid waste management and transportation bond programs and pony up more money for education. And he was steadfast and early in his support of George Bush (whose son, Jeb Bush, was his commerce secretary from 1987-88), who carried Florida handily in March and November. But Martinez still had no base. His embrace of taxes and spending increases leaves Republicans with little enthusiasm for him; even Cubans were angry because he moved the State Hispanic Commission out of the governor's office. Several stronger candidates are on the scene. But the two who ran in 1986 and might have won if they had done just a little better in the Democratic and Republican primaries are now, after the 1988 elections, Republican statewide officials—Secretary of State (who as a Democrat used to be Attorney General) Jim Smith and Treasurer Tom Gallagher—and may not be well placed to challenge a

governor of their own party. Congressman and onetime Space Shuttle crewmember Bill Nelson is mounting a strong Democratic challenge to Martinez though he has spent most of the 1980s in Washington. The stakes for both parties are high: Florida will gain House districts, and the Republicans would dearly like to control, or at least to prevent the Democrats from controlling, the redistricting process. Martinez's unsteady course is a problem for those wanting to make this a secure Republican state. But it may not be a disabling one.

Senators. Florida's unstable politics has produced flux in its Senate elections: only one senator, Lawton Chiles, has been reelected since 1964. But Chiles—a deeply religious man and a Democrat of southern origins and moderate to liberal views on policy, who won his first term in 1970 as an unknown 40-year-old state senator by inventing the tactic of walking across the state and became Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee—surprised almost everyone (including those who had raised \$1.3 million in amounts no larger than \$100 for his campaign) when he announced in December 1987 that he was retiring. So today, with Connie Mack III just elected and Bob Graham fresh from his victory in 1986, the fourth largest state has the least seniority in the Senate of any state in the union.

Bob Graham is careful, methodical, thorough, hard-working, steady: wearing his Florida ties tight outlines of the state on a field of blue), recording every meeting he attends and meal he eats (but not, it seems, his reactions to any of them) in the notebooks he carries everywhere, scheduling meetings with every member of the Florida House delegation and with lobbyists on both sides of environmental, banking, and crime issues. He comes from a prominent Florida family: his father started out with a Miami area dairy farm, which is now the planned mini-city of Miami Lakes; his half-brother Philip Graham was publisher of the *Washington Post* and proprietor of *Newsweek*. After 12 years in the legislature he ran for governor in 1978, finished second in the first primary, overtook Attorney General Robert Shevin in the runoff, then beat drugstore millionaire Jack Eckerd in the general. The attention-getting device in that campaign (it was invented by Senator Tom Harkin for his 1974 House race) was work days: Graham worked a day a week at some job, from bagging groceries to working construction; he keeps it up still, once a month.

He was a popular governor (one of 15 in the Senate now; 6 others lost governor races), backing some tax increases, setting up a water quality trust fund and passing a wetlands protection act, opposing any income tax and, as a capital punishment backer, signing death warrants. After the permitted two terms, he ran against Senator Paula Hawkins in 1986. She is an original, a spunky conservative who was the driving force behind the Missing Child Assistance Act and whose persistence drove many colleagues bonkers: "unique and irreplaceable" was her slogan. Against any other opponent she probably would have won: Graham beat her 55%-45%.

In the Senate Graham started out tight-lipped, careful not to commit himself until he had to, although his record has turned out to be that of a moderate Democrat, as expected. The issues he has concentrated on are as Florida-oriented as his ties: drug traffic, health care for elderly, campaign finance reform (Florida has a tradition of "sunshine laws," requiring full disclosure). His major legislative initiative was a banking bill, co-sponsored by Colorado's Tim Wirth, which would let banks into the securities business, but which would get non-financial companies like Sears out of banking, and would set up a commission to make sure banks don't endanger deposit in their securities operations—goals sought by Florida's aggressive statewide banks.

Graham holds a jinx seat: the last Senator reelected to it was George Smathers in 1962. He seems in strong shape for reelection in 1992, but must be careful of Florida's Republican trend. In national politics, Graham was a vehement Jimmy Carter backer in 1980 and a leader of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council later in the 1980s. He was mentioned as a possible vice presidential nominee in 1988, but had only spent 18 months on national issues at the time and didn't get the nod. But he could be a national candidate in the future. Florida's filing deadlines are late enough to let him run for President in 1992 and run for the Senate again if it

doesn't work out. He is clearly able, well-positioned on issues, from a critical state; and perhaps not unwilling; his 1986 campaign manager has said, "I've always thought that doing work days in New Hampshire would look awfully good."

The election of Connie Mack III as only the third Florida Republican Senator in this century must be counted more as a triumph for his party and his positions than for him personally. A grandson and namesake of the longtime owner and manager of the Philadelphia Athletics (another grandfather was Morris Sheppard, Senator from Texas from 1913 to 1941), a banker in the comfortable Gulf Coast town of Cape Coral, Mack was a Democrat until 1979 and little involved in politics. When he ran for and won the heavily Republican newly created 13th District seat in 1982, he was attacked as insufficiently conservative, and led the first primary only 29%-22% and won the runoff by only 58%-42%. In 1987 he was still pro-choice on abortion and for the Equal Rights Amendment (though he switched positions on both issues the following year); he admitted in 1987 that he had smoked marijuana as a young adult. In the House he was part of Newt Gingrich's Conservative Opportunity Society, and by the mid-1980s was a fervent supply-sider. He delighted in hazing the Democrats and showcasing his ideas on C-SPAN; he was lead sponsor in the House of the Gramm-Rudman deficit-cutting measure that originated in the Senate.

Mack had good fortune along the way. He got out of the Senate race in April 1987, hesitating to take on Lawton Chiles; when Chiles got out in December, Mack got back in. For a time Mack was far overshadowed by former Governor Reubin Askew, a clear favorite for the nomination and election; but Askew, tired of the demands of fundraising, left the race abruptly in May 1988. Then Mack drew a primary opponent, former Tampa U.S. Attorney Robert "Mad Dog" Merkle, who carried a cutout of Mack around the state and called him "Cardboard Connie." But Merkle raised little money, and while carrying the Tampa-St. Petersburg media market 58%-42% lost statewide to Mack 62%-38%. Meanwhile the Democrats were having one of those multi-candidate primaries which in 1970 and 1978 produced their party's strongest candidates—and seemed about to do so again. Congressman Buddy MacKay, a southern-accented moderate who had worked hard on budget issues and for environmental causes, whose record as a legislator got him endorsements of 18 of the 20 papers who made a choice, finished ahead of Palm Beach County Congressman Dan Mica in the first primary by 26% to 18% and behind Insurance Commissioner Bill Gunter who had 38%. Gunter had been around the track many times: he was elected to Congress in 1972 and ran for the Senate in 1974 and 1980 (when he edged MacKay out of second place in the primary); as Insurance Commissioner he was collecting vast sums from insurance executives. MacKay scrambled to counter attacks in the heavily Jewish Gold Coast condo precincts for his support of a Saudi arms sale, and won 52%-48%.

MacKay's campaign emphasized his special talents: Mack's emphasized his stands on national issues. "Hey, Buddy, you're liberal," the chipped-tooth handsome Mack said in his ads, and called for "less taxing, less spending, less government, and more freedom." He attacked MacKay for opposing contra aid and the balanced budget amendment. He was the beneficiary of the undignified withdrawal of the Dukakis campaign from Florida and of \$300,000 spent on ads by an import car dealer PAC. Worries about Social Security clearly helped MacKay, who carried St. Petersburg and ran far ahead of most Democrats in Mack's own retiree-heavy House district. But Mack ran far ahead of Paula Hawkins's losing showing in the heavily military Jacksonville area and in the family-oriented Orlando area. Mack was the subject of unfavorable newspaper stories and Bob Graham called him an "ideological wacko."

A majority of those who went to the polls and quite possibly a majority of all those voting were for MacKay. But Mack won the absentee vote heavily, and the ballot makeup in Palm Beach and Hillsborough (Tampa) Counties, where the Senate race appeared at the bottom of page 1 rather than at the top of page 2 as in most counties, apparently caused many voters to overlook

the race. In Palm Beach the total voting in the Senate race was 16% lower than in the presidential race and in Hillsborough it was 24% lower—and much lower than the total voting for Insurance Commissioner and on the widowers' property tax exemption. Quite possibly this ballot design (which MacKay's campaign could have challenged, but didn't) cost MacKay the Senate seat. Mack went to bed thinking he had lost and was awakened Wednesday by a call from President Reagan saying he'd won. "I think we just won one more for the Gipper," Mack said, but the truth is that it was the other way around. Having arrived in the Senate much blessed by luck, Mack needs to prove he is the thoughtful innovator some of his House allies say he is rather than the lightweight who happens to take (after some false starts) the popular stands on issues, as his opponents and many Florida observers think.

Presidential politics. Florida now seems to be the safest Republican big state in presidential elections: Democratic presidential nominees throughout the 1980s won 39%, 35%, and 39% here. It still has a potentially pivotal primary, scheduled for years in early March, a date which other southern states adopted to make 1988's Super Tuesday. Florida's conservative southern Democrats, enough to give George Wallace a 42% victory here in 1972, are not so numerous now, and the last two Democratic primaries have been won by Michael Dukakis and Gary Hart. On the Republican side George Bush was a very big winner here in 1988, with percentages in some congressional districts—the hawkish Gulf Coast, Cuban Miami—as high as those he got anywhere while the contest was still on.

Congressional districting. Florida gained four House seats in the 1980 Census, more than any other state, and it stands to gain four to six more from the 1990 Census. The Democrats drew the lines last time, but it's not at all clear who will be in control in 1991, or if anyone will. There are two notable things about the House delegation now. One is that it continues to contain talented and powerful senior members, notably Dante Fascell, chairman of Foreign Affairs, and Sam Gibbons, number two on Ways and Means. The second thing is that the Democrats' edge was reduced to 10-9 by the Republicans' 1988 pickup of two seats. Florida's House delegation, once entirely Democratic, is now more heavily Republican than that of any megastate except Ohio.

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 12,377,000; Pop. 1980: 9,746,324, up 27% 1980-88 and 43.5% 1970-80; 4.84% of U.S. total, 5th largest. 17% with 1-3 yrs. col., 15% with 4+ yrs. col.; 13.5% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 12% English, 6% German, 4% Irish, 3% Italian, 1% Polish, Russian, French, Scottish, Dutch. Households (1980): 72% family, 33% with children, 59% married couples; 31.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$209; median house value: \$45,300. Voting age pop. (1980): 7,386,688; 11% Black, 9% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin. Registered voters (1988): 6,047,347; 3,264,105 D (54%), 2,360,434 R (39%), 422,808 unaffiliated and minor parties (7%).

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: \$45,687,000,000; 5.17% of U.S. total, 5th largest.

1988 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	\$42,997m	(4.86%)	\$32,679m	(4.98%)	\$11,585m	(5.07%)
St./Lcl Grants	3,419m	(2.98%)	3,414m	(2.98%)	5m	(4.06%)
Salary/Wages	5,662m	(4.22%)	2,586m	(3.86%)	3,076m	(3.86%)
Pymnts to Indiv	26,800m	(6.55%)	24,891m	(6.37%)	1,909m	(10.24%)
Procurement	6,590m	(3.49%)	1,267m	(2.72%)	6,590m	(3.49%)
Research/Other	526m	(1.41%)	521m	(1.41%)	5m	(1.41%)

Political Lineup: Governor, Bob Martinez (R); Lt. Gov., Bobby Brantley (R); Secy. of State, Jim Smith (R); Atty. Gen., Robert A. Butterworth (D); Treasurer, Tom Gallagher (R); Comptroller, Gerald Lewis (D). State Senate, 40 (23 D and 17 R); State House of Representatives, 120 (73 D, 47 R). Senators, Robert Graham (D) and Connie Mack, III (R). Representatives, 19 (10 D, 9 R).

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	2,618,885	(61%)
Dukakis (D)	1,656,701	(39%)

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Dukakis	520,868	(41%)
Jackson	254,825	(20%)
Gephardt	182,779	(14%)
Gore	161,106	(13%)
Hart	36,266	(3%)
Simon	27,592	(2%)
Babbitt	10,277	(1%)
Uncommitted	78,997	(6%)

1984 Presidential Vote

Reagan (R)	2,730,350	(65%)
Mondale (D)	1,448,816	(35%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	559,359	(62%)
Dole	190,934	(21%)
Robertson	95,721	(11%)
Kemp	41,716	(4%)
Du Pont	6,717	(1%)
Haig	5,839	(1%)

GOVERNOR

Gov. Bob Martinez (R)



Elected 1986, term expires Jan. 1991; b. Dec. 25, 1934, Tampa; home, Tallahassee; U. of Tampa, B.A. 1957, U. of IL, M.A. 1964; Roman Catholic; married (Mary Jane).

Career: Teacher, 1952-62, 1963-66; Labor Relations Consult., 1963-67; Exec. Dir., Hillsboro Cnty. Classroom Teachers Assoc., 1966-75; Restaurant owner/mngr., 1975-83; Mayor of Tampa, 1979-86.

Office: The Capitol, Tallahassee 32301, 904-488-2272.

Election Results

1986 gen.	Bob Martinez (R)	1,847,525	(55%)
	Steve Pajcic (D)	1,538,620	(45%)
1986 runoff	Bob Martinez (R)	259,333	(66%)
	Lou Frey, Jr. (R)	131,652	(34%)
1986 prim.	Bob Martinez (R)	244,499	(44%)
	Lou Frey, Jr. (R)	138,017	(25%)
	Tom Gallagher (R)	127,709	(23%)
	Chester Clem (R)	44,438	(8%)
1982 gen.	Robert (Bob) Graham (D)	1,739,553	(65%)
	Lewis A. Bafalis (R)	949,023	(35%)

SENATORS

Sen. Robert (Bob) Graham (D)



Elected 1986, seat up 1992; b. Nov. 9, 1936, Coral Gables; home, Miami Lakes; U. of FL, B.A. 1959, Harvard U., J.D. 1962; United Church of Christ; married (Adele).

Career: Vice Pres., Chmn., Sengra Development Corp.; FL House of Reps., 1966-70; FL Senate, 1970-78; Gov. of FL, 1978-1986.

Offices: 241 DSOB 20510, 202-224-3041. Also 44 W. Flagler St., Miami 33130, 305-536-7293; and 325 John Knox Rd., Bldg. 600, Tallahassee 32308, 904-681-7726; and 101 E. Kennedy Blvd., Tampa 33602, 813-228-2476.

Committees: *Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs* (9th of 12 D), *Subcommittees:* Consumer and Regulatory Affairs; International Finance and Monetary Policy; *Environment and Public Works* (8th of 9 D) *Subcommittees:* Environmental Protection; Superfund, Ocean and Water Protection; Water Resources, Transportation and Infrastructure, *Veterans' Affairs* (6th of 6 D), *Special Committee on Aging* (9th of 10 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	59	83	92	70	28	22	90	38	26
1987	60	—	100	83	—	23	—	—	28	28

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	74% — 19%	51% — 45%
Social	56% — 41%	90% — 4%
Foreign	51% — 48%	41% — 57%

Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing S	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	AGN	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	FOR	6) Ban Plastic Guns	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	7) Deny Abortions	FOR	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
4) Min Wage Increase	FOR	8) Japanese Reparations	FOR	12) Reagan Defense S	AGN

Election Results

1986 general	Robert (Bob) Graham (D)	1,877,231	(55%)	(\$6,173,663)
	Paula Hawkins (R)	1,551,888	(45%)	(\$6,723,729)
1986 primary	Robert (Bob) Graham (D)	851,586	(85%)	
	Robert P. (Bob) Kunst (D)	149,797	(15%)	
1980 general	Paula Hawkins (R)	1,822,460	(52%)	(\$696,969)
	Bill Gunter (D)	1,705,409	(48%)	(\$2,164,560)

Sen. Connie Mack III (R)



Elected 1988, seat up 1994; b. Oct. 29, 1949, Philadelphia, PA; home, Cape Coral; U. of FL, B.A. 1966; Roman Catholic; married (Priscilla).

Career: Banker, 1966-82; U.S. House of Reps., 1982-88.

Offices: 902 HSOB 20510, 202-224-5274. Also 1342 Colonial Blvd., Fort Myers 33907, 813-275-6252.

Committees: *Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs* (6th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Housing and Urban Affairs; International Finance and Monetary Policy. *Foreign Relations* (9th of 9 R). Subcommittees: African Affairs; Western Hemisphere and Peace Corps Affairs. *Joint Economic Committee*. Subcommittees: International Economic Policy; National Security Economics; Economic Growth, Trade and Taxes

Group Ratings (as Member of the U.S. House of Representatives)

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	0	0	9	0	19	100	85	100	86	73
1987	0	—	10	0	—	95	—	—	93	88

National Journal Ratings (as Member of the U.S. House of Representatives)

	1988 LIB	1988 CONS	1987 LIB	1987 CONS
Economic	9%	91%	0%	89%
Social	0%	95%	0%	90%
Foreign	0%	84%	0%	80%

Key Votes (as Member of the U.S. House of Representatives)

1) Homeless S	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	—	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	—	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Connie Mack, III (R)	2,049,329	(50%)	(\$5,181,639)
	Kenneth H. (Buddy) MacKay (D)	2,015,717	(50%)	(\$3,714,852)
1988 primary	Connie Mack, III (R)	405,296	(62%)	
	Robert W. Merkle (R)	250,730	(38%)	
1986 general	Lawton-Chiles (D)	1,636,857	(62%)	(\$806,629)
	Van B. Poole (R)	1,014,551	(38%)	(\$472,505)

FIRST DISTRICT

The "Redneck Riviera" is the impolite name for the western end of Florida's northern panhandle, a part of the state that was always part of Dixie. Fifty years ago this was swamp and poor farmland; the beaches were little used—they were too chilly in the winter, too steamy in the summer, too far away from the ritzy resorts of the Gold and Gulf Coasts and not close to many people able to afford vacations. This land along the Gulf owes much of its current prosperity to the military. Since John Quincy Adams persuaded Spain to sell Florida to the United States in 1819 to get the port of Pensacola, the United States Navy had a base there (except for a spot of trouble in the 1860s); this was the birthplace of carrier aviation, a major base in World War II,

and a Navy homeport once again (though Pensacola had to threaten to join Alabama to get the state of Florida to pay for dredging the harbor). Inland to the east is Eglin Air Force Base, which spreads over the lion's share of three counties. In the 1940s and 1950s these facilities were the main engines of growth; since the 1960s, when the rural South started getting prosperous, this American Riviera has become a major vacation and retirement spot for southerners.

Pensacola and the panhandle are 1,000 miles from Miami—and economically, culturally, and politically they have little to do with the rest of Florida. They are part of the Gulf Coast crescent that goes west through the southern tips of Alabama and Mississippi to the oil rigs of Louisiana and Texas and which in the 1980s has become arguably the most Republican part of the United States. Looking southward toward Castro's Cuba and the Sandinistas' Nicaragua, imbued with patriotic values and military experience, blessed with large families and religious faith, most voters here have difficulty understanding how any American could vote against Ronald Reagan and George Bush; Bush's highest winning percentage outside the state of Texas was in the Florida panhandle. Their Republicanism now goes far down the ballot: the panhandle is solidly Republican in statewide races now, even for the lower offices, and even elects Republicans as well as Democrats to the legislature.

The panhandle, which from Panama City west to Pensacola makes up Florida's 1st Congressional District, still elects a Democratic congressman—but one who comes about as close to a Republican voting record as any member of the majority caucus. He is Earl Hutto, who when he first ran in 1978 was probably more familiar in these small media markets for his work as a sportscaster than for his service in the state legislature. Hutto may have won because his politics was similar to that of his predecessor, Bob Sikes, first elected in 1940 and for years chairman of the Military Construction Appropriations Subcommittee, who pumped money into the 1st until he was reprimanded for unethical practices in 1976 and stripped of his chairmanship in 1977. Hutto does not have Sikes's forcefulness or seniority, but he does have seats on locally important committees—Armed Services and Merchant Marine—and he tends to the particular needs of the district: medicine for military retirees (this is one of the favorite spots for retired military personnel), the Pensacola homeport, funding for the Coast Guard. He's chaired a Coast Guard subcommittee, a hot spot with the drug issue, and he now chairs the Armed Services Readiness Subcommittee.

On other national issues, Hutto stays close to the district's views, a little mixed on economics, solidly conservative on foreign and cultural issues. That record, his practice of producing his own videotapes and popping them on the next airplane to local TV stations, and the benefits that accrue from his seniority have enabled him to withstand by comfortable margins challenges both from Democrats in the primary and Republicans in the general election.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 619,500, up 20.8% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,821, up 22.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 78% family, 44% with children, 64% married couples; 31.5% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$162; median house value: \$35,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 362,491; 12% Black, 2% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin, 1% American Indian.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	161,314	(73%)
	Dukakis (D)	59,014	(27%)

Rep. Earl Dewitt Hutto (D)



Elected 1978; b. May 12, 1926, Midland City, AL; home, Panama City; Troy St. U., B.S. 1949, Northwestern U., 1951; Baptist; married (Nancy).

Career: Navy, WWII; Pres., Earl Hutto Ad. Agency, 1974-78; Founder and Pres., WPEN Radio, 1960-65; TV Sports Dir., WEAR, WSFA, WJHG, 1954-72; FL House of Reps., 1972-78.

Offices: 2435 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4136. Also Fed. Bldg., Panama City 32401, 904-763-0709; and 4300 Bayou Blvd., Pensacola 32503, 904-478-1123.

Committees: *Armed Services* (8th of 31 D), Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Readiness (Chairman); Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (5th of 26 D), Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Navigation; Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	20	38	36	73	44	76	40	100	69	36
1987	24	—	34	29	—	68	—	—	64	35

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	44% — 55%	41% — 58%
Social	24% — 75%	37% — 63%
Foreign	0% — 84%	0% — 80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	—	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Earl Dewitt Hutto (D)	142,449	(67%)	(\$210,940)
	E.D. Armbruster (R)	70,534	(33%)	(\$23,912)
1988 primary	Earl Dewitt Hutto (D)	72,508	(72%)	
	Durell Peaden, Jr. (D)	28,883	(28%)	
1986 general	Earl Dewitt Hutto (D)	97,465	(64%)	(\$134,745)
	Greg Neubeck (R)	55,415	(36%)	(\$54,046)

SECOND DISTRICT

Dixie, the still distinct culture of the rural South, dips south into the Florida counties just below the Georgia line. Here you find catfish farms, large families, small towns with big churches, black and white. But the new Florida full of migrants from the North is expanding into the rural counties between Jacksonville and the panhandle. The catalyst is Tallahassee, the state capital located here in the 19th century when it seemed unlikely that any non-Seminole would penetrate the swampy vastness south of Jacksonville. With a fast-growing state government, plus Florida State University, Tallahassee has boomed and with surrounding Leon County now is approach-

ing 200,000 in population. Tallahassee has not attained the critical mass of the capitals of the three more populous states, Albany, Austin, and Sacramento. But it is growing and spreading into the surrounding counties which otherwise have been losing population for decades.

Tallahassee's growth has changed the political complexion of the 2d Congressional District of Florida, which extends westward almost to Panama City and eastward almost to Jacksonville. Historically, this was Democratic country, Jeffersonian and segregationist. In the 1980s, unlike so much of the South, it has remained Democratic, not voting for the national ticket to be sure except for Carter in 1980, but supporting statewide Democrats by large margins. The district's blacks are joined by Tallahassee whites who believe in—sometimes have a vested interest in—an active and generous government, and together they support liberals in Democratic primaries and Democrats in November. The 2d District was solidly for Bob Graham in 1986 and Buddy MacKay in 1988, and nearly went for Steve Pajcic for governor in 1986.

The congressman from the 2d, Bill Grant, has seen in his adult lifespan this shift from old to new Democratic politics—and has decided to shift himself, to the Republican Party. Grant grew up poor in a rural county at a time when north Florida's Pork Chop Gang ran state government from the legislature. He made his way upward in life as the district itself was growing economically, graduating at 20 from Florida State and becoming one of the prominent citizens of Madison County as a local banker. In 1982, with a rural base, he was elected to the Florida Senate from the district that includes Tallahassee. In 1986, when Congressman Don Fuqua, chairman of the Science and Technology Committee, decided to retire after 24 years in the House, Grant ran for the seat and won the Democratic primary with 51%, avoiding a runoff in a district in which the Republicans didn't even bother to run a candidate.

In his first 25 months in the House, Grant made little splash, compiling a record rather middle of the road. But in February 1989 he suddenly switched parties and became a Republican. His motives were not entirely clear. Electorally, he would certainly have found it easier to win reelection in this Democratic district as a Democrat who could normally expect little (or, as in 1988, no) opposition than as a Republican who would virtually be guaranteed an opponent every time. As a Republican he would find it easier to win a spot on the statewide ticket in 1990—but for all the Republicans' recent gains in Florida, that would still be a chancy proposition at best. Being a member of the minority rather than the majority offers, certainly in the short run, no particular advantages. So perhaps the best explanation is that Grant acted out of conviction, and that his first term voting record was an attempt at accommodation with his then fellow Democrats of which he tired in early 1989. Should he run for reelection, he can certainly expect a seriously contested race: this will be one district both parties will be anxious to win.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 586,800, up 14.5% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,127, up 33.5% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 42% with children, 60% married couples; 29.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$142; median house value: \$30,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 363,447; 22% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	123,524	(59%)
	Dukakis (D)	83,458	(40%)

Rep. Bill Grant (R)



Elected 1986; b. Feb. 21, 1943, Lake City; home, Madison; FL St. U., B.A. 1963; Baptist; married (Janet).

Career: Bank pres., 1973-86; FL Senate, 1982-86.

Offices: 1330 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5235, 930 Thomasville Rd., Ste. 103, Tallahassee 32303, 904-681-7434; 1990-A S. 1st St., Lake City 32055, 904-755-5657; and P.O. Bldg., #109, Marianna 32446, 904-526-3525.

Committees: *Agriculture* (18th of 18 R). Subcommittees: Tobacco and Peanuts; Livestock, Dairy and Poultry. *Public Works and Transportation* (20th of 20 R). *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (12th of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	50	45	73	73	50	54	15	67	5	23
1987	52	—	69	50	—	25	—	—	4	17

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	54%	—	44%	68%
Social	42%	—	57%	38%
Foreign	46%	—	53%	46%

Key Votes

1) Homeless S	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Bill Grant (D)	134,269	(100%)	(\$223,117)
1988 primary	Bill Grant (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Bill Grant (D)	110,120	(100%)	(\$266,070)

THIRD DISTRICT

In 1940 Jacksonville was Florida's largest metropolitan area, the biggest city on the whole southeastern coast from the Chesapeake Bay to the Florida Keys, a port surrounded by a swampy, sleepy rural South whose ways had changed little since Reconstruction. Today it is much larger and more prosperous, spreading over the lowlands on either side of the St. Johns River and along the Atlantic coast; if it has been overshadowed by larger Florida metro areas and by the big metro areas which dominate smaller southern states, it is still a big city itself: an important port, paper manufacturer, banking and insurance center, and site of military bases, with a metropolitan population approaching 1 million. More than other Florida cities, it is part of the South, with a large black population, plenty of blue-collar whites with southern accents, lots of children and relatively few retirees. Politically, its heritage is Democratic but it has been

trending Republican in state as well as national elections.

Florida's 3d Congressional District, which includes almost all of Jacksonville and one county to the north, is represented by one of the senior members of the House, Charles Bennett, a Democrat first elected in 1948. A punctilious man and a stickler for propriety, he is one of the last World War II veterans in Congress; he enlisted after he was 30, performed heroically, and contracted polio in the service. Though he must use canes to walk, he answers every roll call. He was a pioneer supporter in the 1950s of ethical codes and disclosure of congressmen's finances; it was years before his code of ethics was applied to federal employees, and when the House finally did set up an Ethics Committee in 1967, he was pointedly kept off it for years. House leaders feared, justifiably, that he would not be understanding of members' difficulties. Finally, in 1978, with the Koreagate scandal looming and Bennett the committee's senior member, when he could no longer be denied the chair, he oversaw the Abscam investigation and recommended and secured the expulsion of Representative Ozzie Myers from the House.

Bennett's delay in receiving the ethics chair was not his only disappointment. He was deeply shaken by the death of his 22-year-old son from a drug overdose in 1977. "It was the greatest wound in my life," he said, and in the 1980s championed a measure to require the military to interdict drug traffickers outside U.S. borders. Opposed by the Defense Department, contrary to the principle of separation of the military from civilian life, it was passed by an overwhelming vote in the House in 1985. His major committee is Armed Services, and here too he has suffered disappointments. After the 1984 election, he supported aging Chairman Mel Price, and after Price was voted out by the Democratic Caucus sought the chair himself. But he was beaten by Les Aspin, whose seniority dates only to 1970. After the 1986 election, he opposed Aspin again, and was again painfully rejected, as the main opposition to the chairman came from the much less senior Marvin Leath.

Yet, at an age when most people are slowing down, and when many bowed down with disappointment simply withdraw, Bennett has returned to the fray in the late 1980s with apparently renewed zest. In May 1987 he led a successful floor fight to cut \$500 million from the Administration's \$3.1 billion Strategic Defense Initiative; Bennett questions whether it will be destabilizing or vulnerable to Soviet anti-satellite weapons or low-flying missiles. A vigorous supporter of the 600-ship Navy as chairman of the Seapower Subcommittee, he felt that the U.S. reflagging operation in the Persian Gulf did not have clear goals.

Back home in Jacksonville, support of the military leads to other local causes. Near Mayport Bennett has coerced Congress to establish the 35,000-acre Timucuan Historic Preserve. He sponsored the Abandoned Shipwreck Act and the Bennett-Moss Act allotting federal money to archaeology. He shepherded through the House money for a light rail system in Jacksonville and the Acosta Bridge Replacement project in Jacksonville. On issues like the MX and SDI, Bennett has become more of a national Democrat than ever, and he made a point of appearing with Michael Dukakis in Jacksonville in 1988. That has not made any difference in his local standing, which remains high: after 40 years he was reelected without opposition.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 575,500, up 12.2% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,692, up 4.7% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 42% with children, 55% married couples; 36.6% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$165; median house value: \$29,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 362,272; 25% Black, 2% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	97,659	(60%)
	Dukakis (D)	65,215	(40%)

Rep. Charles E. Bennett (D)



Elected 1948; b. Dec. 2, 1910, Canton, NY; home, Jacksonville; U. of FL. B.A., J.D. 1934; Disciples of Christ; married (Jean).

Career: Practicing atty., 1934-42, 1947-48; FL House of Reps., 1941-42; Army, WWII.

Offices: 2107 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2501. Also 314 Palmetto St., Jacksonville 32202, 904-791-2587.

Committees: *Armed Services* (2d of 31 D). Subcommittees: Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials (Chairman); Research and Development. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (16th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Navigation. Merchant Marine: Oceanography.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	65	43	48	82	75	28	34	60	43	25
1987	48	—	47	79	—	22	—	—	—	18

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	54%	—	44%	—
Social	47%	—	52%	—
Foreign	55%	—	45%	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless S	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt: Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Charles E. Bennett (D), unopposed	
1988 primary	Charles E. Bennett (D), unopposed	(\$19,500)
1986 general	Charles E. Bennett (D), unopposed	(\$19,564)

FOURTH DISTRICT

Between the broad St. Johns River, flowing northward from the swamps of central Florida toward Jacksonville and the ocean, and the hard sand beaches that stretch south from Jacksonville to Daytona Beach toward Cape Canaveral is the 4th Congressional District of Florida. Two generations ago the land was mostly swamps and orange groves: tourists on U.S. 1 heading south stopped to poke around the narrow streets of St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States, settled by the Spanish in the 16th century. In the years since World War II, the beaches attracted migrants from North and South, while the little orange grove towns inland burgeoned: more recently the overspill of Jacksonville and its large military population spread south inland from the beaches and along the St. Johns River. Politically, this became border country, between northern migrants who tended to be Republicans or southerners who were

often Democrats. For the moment none of these groups—white Southern Baptists or northern Episcopalians, southern country clubbers or factory-town ethnics—dominates.

In 1988 the 4th District was the scene of the biggest upset in any of the nation's 435 House districts. Congressman Bill Chappell had much going for him. He had deep roots in north Florida: he was elected to the legislature in 1956; he was part of the legendary Pork Chop Gang and served as speaker. He had 20 years of seniority in the House. He was chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, responsible for the lion's share of the Pentagon spending—one of the weightiest responsibilities in Congress and one of the best perches from which to raise campaign money. Yet after the counting was over, Chappell had lost to Craig James, a 47-year-old lawyer who had never run for office before, had decided to run only 9 days before the July 1988 filing date, and then had to change his registration from Democratic to Republican.

"What happened was [that] he beat himself," James said after the election. Chappell was an old-style pol who smoked cigars and hated to issue press releases; he hid out from reporters and said little on the campaign trail. He made little of his record as a Navy pilot in World War II and the expertise he brought to his defense work—he liked to fly a lot of the planes he funded. What did get publicized were his ethical problems. Press reports said he was a target of the 1987 Pentagon procurement scandal, though that was never officially confirmed. Closer to home, from his 1983 income tax he deducted \$30,000 for rent to a company he owned, which then promptly loaned him back the money; and he sold a failed health club in Palatka to a subsidiary of Martin Marietta for \$195,000 in 1986. On top of that, his campaign raked in huge amounts—over \$250,000—of contributions from defense-related PACs and individuals.

Chappell had little trouble beating a retired military officer in the primary 70%-30%. But James was made of tougher stuff. In his primary James showed that opponent Tom Visconti, a boyhood friend and recent legal client, had 42 bad check convictions in 1965-67; James won the three-man race with 50.3%—exactly 100 more votes than he needed to avoid a runoff. In the general he called Chappell "the embodiment of everything that is wrong with Congress," and marched into Chappell's Jacksonville headquarters and challenged him to a debate. The Republican campaign committee ran \$55,000 worth of TV ads calling Chappell—whom national Republicans had not vigorously opposed in years because of his defense record—"an embarrassment." James, financed partly with his own money, started heavy advertising two weeks out; he called for abolishing PACs and limiting congressional terms. The result was exceedingly close. Chappell hoped the result would be overturned by military absentees, but absentee votes as usual went heavily Republican. Then Chappell argued that Flagler County's votes shouldn't be counted because they had not been handed in by the clerk by the legal deadline: this was brushed aside. James won by a 50.1%-49.9% margin. In March 1989 Chappell died of cancer.

James comes to Washington as a Mr. Smith decrying the way things are done. He wants to abolish PACs, long favored by House Republicans (though not any more by many), and when he was asked if losing Chappell's clout would hurt Florida, he said, "That's the kind of clout they need to lose. If he used that clout to bring companies to Florida, that was an abuse of power." He took on controversial causes as a lawyer, he says, including defending a local private school against sex abuse charges in the 1970s and stopping Volusia County from building a jail outside De Land in 1982. It will be interesting to see how he—and Washington—get along. His chances for reelection should be good. The 4th is used to Republicans; it elects as many Republicans as Democrats to the legislature; if he makes a credible record and takes the trouble to use the electoral advantages of incumbency as Chappell did not, he may be in solid shape.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 652,200, up 27.2% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,672, up 56.8% 1970-80. Households (1980): 72% family, 33% with children, 61% married couples; 28.7% housing units rented;

median monthly rent: \$196; median house value: \$41,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 385,967; 9% Black, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 169,949 (64%)
Dukakis (D) 95,362 (36%)

Rep. Craig T. James (R)



Elected 1988; b. May 5, 1941, Augusta, Georgia; home, Deland; Stetson U., B.S. 1963, J.D. 1967; Baptist; married (Katherine).

Career: Practicing Atty. 1967-88.

Offices: 1408 LHOB, 20515, 202-225-4035. Also 101 N. Woodland Blvd., Ste. 201, Deland 32720, 904-734-5523; 116 Seabreeze Blvd., St. 126, Daytona Beach 32018, 904-239-9823; and One San Jose Pl., Ste. 28, Jacksonville, 32207, 904-268-2035.

Committees: Judiciary (14th of 14 R). Subcommittees: Administrative Law and Governmental Relations; Civil and Constitutional Rights. Veterans' Affairs (11th of 12 R). Subcommittee: Oversight and Investigations. Select Committee on Aging (27 of 27 R).

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected Election Results

1988 general	Craig T. James (R)	125,608	(50%)	(\$313,415)
	Bill Chappell, Jr. (D)	124,817	(50%)	(\$1,069,699)
1988 primary	Craig T. James (R)	19,275	(50%)	
	Tom Visconti (R)	10,380	(27%)	
	Ken C. McCarthy (R)	8,694	(23%)	
1986 general	Bill Chappell, Jr. (D) unopposed			(\$139,758)

FIFTH DISTRICT

Orlando 50 years ago was a town of 40,000 amid acres of citrus grove; today it is the number one tourist destination in the world. It is also the center of a metropolitan area of about 1 million which has been growing more rapidly than just about any other in the country, with a diversified high-tech economy and a population weighted toward young families with children rather than retirees. Much of this change can be traced to the decision and vision of one man, Walt Disney invented the theme park in the flatlands of Orange County, California, but he perfected it in the 17,000 acres of swamp and lakes in Florida's Orange County. Disney not only invented the theme park, but he also pioneered in sophisticated communications, utility, and waste disposal methods—all out of sight and underground. Yet Disney World does not work mechanically; it requires some 17,000 people, with know-how and unfailing cheerfulness. Disney's vision of a future that was labor-intensive as well as high-tech, in which the critical variable is not industrial production but the provision of services, was a forecast of the service-driven economy that has grown so lustily—and despite adverse predictions—in the 1980s.

Disney World, on acreage bigger than a city itself, is 15 miles southwest of Orlando; but the city's growth is elsewhere—high income areas like Maitland and Altamonte Springs to the north, more modest places like Winter Garden and Apopka to the west and northwest. This means that the 5th Congressional District of Florida, which includes most of the Orlando

metropolitan area, actually doesn't contain Disney World, though it is home to most of its work force. Once Democratic, Orlando is now Republican, and the 5th District is one of the most Republican in Florida, and in state and congressional as well as national elections.

Bill McCollum, the 5th District's congressman, was first elected in 1980, when the district ousted Richard Kelly, a dimwitted Republican caught stuffing bribe money in his pockets by Abscam cameramen. McCollum is not blow-dry handsome nor is he a speculative thinker, but he has become one of his party's most active and accomplished legislators. On Judiciary he was the lead spokesman in the debate on the immigration bill against an amnesty for illegal aliens, though he supported the bill when amnesty won. He supports a cutback in class-action work by the Legal Services Corporation. When a seven-day waiting period was proposed for gun purchases, McCollum substituted an amendment commanding the government to produce a nationwide list of convicted felons to which all gun dealers would have access; gun control advocates charged this would gut their bill, but McCollum called it a better way to see that the wrong people can't buy guns. On drugs he wrote a money laundering provision into the 1987 drug law, and sponsored the death penalty in drug-related matters and the "user accountability" provisions that went into the 1988 act—depriving convicted drug users of federal mortgage aid and student loans, for example. On AIDS he tried unsuccessfully to get the federal government to require marriage license testing in states with high AIDS incidences and notification of the spouses of HIV-positive patients.

Despite the lack of a relevant committee assignment, McCollum has also ventured into foreign policy. He organized a volunteer airlift of medical supplies to El Salvador in 1983 and he sponsored the law to airlift "non-lethal" supplies to the Afghan rebels, whose cause he strongly supported. He was one of the vocal Republican critics of the critics of the Reagan Administration on the Iran-contra committee. His proficiency at detail work and popularity among younger and older Republicans help explain why Minority Leader Robert Michel chose him as one of the Republicans on the Iran-contra investigating committee.

McCollum had his last serious challenge at home in 1982 and won 59%—41%; he had no opposition in 1988.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 644,200, up 25.6% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,005, up 47.0% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 38% with children, 59% married couples; 33.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$200; median house value: \$45,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 373,987; 14% Black, 3% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 131,585 (68%)
Dukakis (D) 59,038 (31%)

Rep. Bill McCollum (R)



Elected 1980; b. July 12, 1944, Brooksville; home, Altamonte Springs; U. of FL, B.A. 1965, J.D. 1968; Episcopalian; married (Ingrid).

Career: Navy, 1969-72; Practicing atty., 1973-81; Chmn., Seminole Cnty. Repub. Exec. Cmtees., 1976.

Offices: 1507 LHOB 20515, 202-225-2176. Also 1801 Lee Rd., Ste. 301, Winter Park 32789, 305-645-3100.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (5th of 20 R). Subcommittees: Domestic Monetary Policy (Ranking Member); Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; Housing and Community Development. *Judiciary*: (5th of 14 R). Subcommittees: Crime (Ranking Member); Immigration, Refugees and International Law.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	0	14	7	36	25	100	55	100	75	66
1987	0	—	6	29	—	87	—	—	100	73

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	21%	77%	19%	78%
Social	13%	84%	10%	85%
Foreign	0%	84%	0%	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless S	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem. Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Pint Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Bill McCollum (R), unopposed	
1988 primary	Bill McCollum (R), unopposed	(\$304,853)
1986 general	Bill McCollum (R), unopposed	(\$121,052)

SIXTH DISTRICT

The growth that has transformed Florida's coasts for the last 50 years has now moved inland as well, to the lush grasslands of northern Florida. This is the site of some of the earliest development of the state. Here in Gainesville the state placed the University of Florida, where a large share of Florida's political elite share fond memories of the Gator Bowl. Here also is the bluegrass horse farm country around Ocala, where many of the nation's top thoroughbreds are raised and trained. Up Florida's turnpike and Interstate 75 the developers come with blueprints for new condominium villages and shopping centers and office blocks and trailer parks. This is the land that makes up the 6th Congressional District of Florida, from Gainesville and Ocala in the north to Lake County outside of Orlando and fast-growing, modest-income Hernando and Citrus Counties on the Gulf Coast.

Development has changed the politics of this area, which 25 years ago was simply southern Democratic. Now you can see the origins of the newcomers in the voting totals. Marion County around Ocala, like the bluegrass land around Lexington, Kentucky, is trending Republican. While Gainesville, like Ann Arbor, Michigan, is liberal and Democratic. The Gulf Coast counties, with many blue- as well as white-collar retirees, are mixed.

Change is also apparent in the election results, for the 6th District produced the nation's biggest upset in an open-seat race in 1988. This was created to be a Democratic district, and was won easily in 1982 by Buddy MacKay, a 12-year legislator who had come within 5% of making the runoff in the 1980 primary for U.S. Senator. He had no primary opposition for this House seat and won 61% in the general. In 1988 MacKay ran for Senate again, winning the Democratic nomination but losing to Connie Mack III by less than 1% and carrying the 6th with 56%. Jon Mills, the Speaker of the Florida House, who was unopposed for the 6th District seat in the Democratic primary and expected to win the general as MacKay had, instead lost 53%-47% to Republican Cliff Stearns.

It was a race of somebody versus nobody. Mills, born in Miami, went to college in Gainesville and stayed; he was in the legislature 10 years, was Speaker for four, was head of a university Center for Governmental Responsibility he set up. In presidential politics he supported Gary Hart in 1984 and Albert Gore in 1988. He was endorsed by every newspaper in the district. Stearns moved from Massachusetts to Ocala and started a business that owns five motels and three restaurants. He campaigned as "someone who works in the community, goes to church with his neighbors, and doesn't live in Tallahassee." He attacked Mills for his support of the sales tax on services, which had to be repealed because of public outcry. He campaigned less on George Bush's national issues than against the incumbent Congress, calling for limiting PACs and protecting congressional employees. Mills, expecting to win, took moderate lines on national issues and criticized Stearns for switching on long-term health care. The interesting question now is whether Stearns can sustain his citizen-in-politics appeal as an incumbent congressman—and whether this approach can work for Republican candidates elsewhere.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 679,800, up 32.5% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,950, up 70.9% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 31% with children, 62% married couples; 27.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$174; median house value: \$37,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 394,134; 12% Black, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	159,938	(61%)
	Dukakis (D)	101,833	(39%)

Rep. Clifford B. Stearns (R)



Elected 1988; b. April 16, 1941, Washington, DC; home, Ocala; Geo. Wash. U., B.S. 1963; Presbyterian; married (Joan).

Career: Air Force, 1963-67; Data Control Systems, Inc.; Negotiator, CBS, 1969-70; Pres., Stearns House Inc., 1972-present.

Offices: 1630 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5744. Also 501 S.E. 26th Ct., #125, Ocala 32671, 904-351-8777; and 401 S.E. First Ave., #316, Gainesville 32601, 904-372-0382.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (18th of 20 R). Subcommittees: Housing and Community Development; Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance. *Veterans' Affairs* (12th of 12 R). Subcommittee: Oversight and Investigations.

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected

Election Results

1988 general	Clifford B. Stearns (R)	136,415	(54%)	(\$408,292)
	Jon Mills (D)	118,756	(46%)	(\$503,654)
1988 runoff	Clifford B. Stearns (R)	15,205	(54%)	
	Jim Cherry (R)	12,882	(46%)	
1988 primary	Jim Cherry (R)	13,355	(32%)	
	Clifford B. Stearns (R)	10,875	(26%)	
	Roy Abshier (R)	6,459	(16%)	
	Larry Gallagher (R)	5,984	(15%)	
	Others	4,532	(11%)	
	Kenneth H. (Buddy) MacKay (D)	143,583	(70%)	(\$462,732)
1986 general	Larry Gallagher (R)	61,053	(30%)	(\$14,522)

SEVENTH DISTRICT

Tampa, much to the surprise of many, has turned out to be one of Florida's boom communities in the 1980s. This is not what one would have predicted: 50 years ago Tampa was Florida's one industrial city, with a port and cigar factories—just the kind of place that had been stagnating for 20 years. But in the 1980s Tampa has a growing, gleaming skyline, a first-class airport, room for its subdivisions and condominiums to spread inland across swamps and lowlands, and the world's longest sidewalk (6.5 miles along Bayshore Boulevard). It is a city of families and younger people, a place with a blue-collar past which is fast moving upscale as it expands.

Tampa and most of surrounding Hillsborough County form the 7th Congressional District of Florida. This district has had the same congressman since it was created in 1962. Democrat Sam Gibbons. Historically Tampa has been as Democratic as St. Petersburg has been Republican, and the cities' legislative delegations still reflect this. But in seriously contested statewide races they have tended to converge and sometimes, as in the 1988 presidential election, Tampa is more Republican than St. Petersburg. It was Tampa, not some long-Republican-held constituency, that produced Republican Governor Bob Martinez in 1986.

Sam Gibbons has deep roots in Tampa and in the Democratic Party. He has the look of an old-fashioned southern congressman, and the philosophy of one: specifically, of Cordell Hull, who in decades in Congress and as Secretary of State singlemindedly championed the cause of free trade. From his study of the years before and after World War II Gibbons carries the conviction

that free trade expands every economy and that the ties made by healthy trade relations help to prevent the outbreak of war. Gibbons has moved around a lot, at least when measured against his fellow Democrats, on other issues: he was one of the few southern Democrats to support the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations faithfully, but balked at some civil rights bills; he championed reforms to open up House procedures, and he ran a quixotic and aborted race for majority leader against Tip O'Neill in 1972; a foreign policy hawk, he wasn't in tandem opposing the Vietnam war, nor was he a champion of liberated cultural values.

But beyond all that he kept his interest in trade. He had a seat on Ways and Means and on its Trade Subcommittee, and by 1981, when he was number two in seniority on the full committee, he succeeded to the subcommittee chair. There he has been unable in the 1980s to do exactly as he wanted. He has recognized that the demand of House Democrats for restrictive trade legislation cannot be resisted without damaging his chances at succeeding to Rostenkowski's full committee chair some day. He allowed some restrictive trade bills—the textile bill, for example—to reach the floor despite his own opposition, and he voted for bills with provisions he found obnoxious—like the Gephardt trade retaliation measure—on the floor. He has reason to believe that Rostenkowski and Senate Finance Chairman Lloyd Bentsen are free traders too, but he is close to neither man and seems to have a grating relationship with Rostenkowski. Gibbons had hoped Rostenkowski would become party whip in 1981 and leave the chairmanship to him: Rostenkowski, who supports his other subcommittee chairmen, seems cool to Gibbons. Gibbons played virtually no part in the 1985 and 1986 tax reform bill, and Rostenkowski pointedly left him off the conference committee on the bill.

Events work against him too: it is hard to argue that the United States is not the target of some unfair trade practices in East Asia. And Gibbons has supported trade sanctions against South Africa and its apartheid policies. But he has also had his satisfactions, the success of the free trade treaty with Canada being the most notable.

Gibbons was challenged once at home in the 1980s, when Tampa Judge Michael Kavouklis held him to 59%—far below his earlier showings. Gibbons vowed to spend more time in the district and to raise more money for his campaigns. So he has become what anyone in his seat in Ways and Means can easily become, one of the leading PAC and individual fundraisers on Capitol Hill, with a pile of cash half a million or so high to spend if someone runs against him. In 1986 and 1988 no one has.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 600,500, up 17.1% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,905, up 25.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 71% family, 37% with children, 56% married couples; 35.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$188; median house value: \$35,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 376,478; 13% Black, 11% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	107,474	(58%)
	Dukakis (D)	76,831	(41%)

Rep. Sam M. Gibbons (D)



Elected 1962; b. Jan. 20, 1920, Tampa; home, Tampa; U. of FL, J.D. 1947; Presbyterian; married (Martha).

Career: Army, WWII; Practicing atty., 1947-62, FL House of Reps., 1952-58; FL Senate, 1958-62.

Offices: 2204 RHOB 20515, 202-225-3376. Also 101 E. Kennedy Blvd., Tampa 33602, 813-228-2101; and 201 S. Kings Ave., #6, Brandon 33511, 813-689-2847.

Committees: *Ways and Means* (2d of 23 D). Subcommittees: Social Security; Trade (Chairman). *Joint Committee on Taxation*.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	60	65	55	73	63	35	20	40	64	31
1987	52	—	54	64	—	32	—	—	53	22

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	40%	—	58%	—
Social	52%	—	40%	—
Foreign	54%	—	40%	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless S	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Sam M. Gibbons (D), unopposed	
1988 primary	Sam M. Gibbons (D), unopposed	\$382,889)
1986 general	Sam M. Gibbons (D), unopposed	\$563,509)

EIGHTH DISTRICT

St. Petersburg has long been America's premier retiree city, a stereotype of old folks on a park bench, a butt of jokes, a bit of shorthand. Even before World War II a few retirees had come here: in the years afterward the Pinellas Peninsula on which St. Petersburg sits seemed to fill up with them. Others came too: St. Petersburg does have its young families and light manufacturing. But in the 8th Congressional District, which includes St. Petersburg and Pinellas County suburbs as far north as Clearwater, only 23% of households contain children, and 34% of adults are 65 or older—the highest percentage in any congressional district in the country. There are more than 40,000 people over 65 living alone in the constituency, accounting for one out of every six households.

Over four decades the politics of St. Petersburg has shifted at least twice, thanks to new migrants. In the 1940s and 1950s Yankee migrants of at least modest affluence—blue-collar

workers at the time didn't get much in the way of pensions—voted as they had back home and made St. Petersburg Republican. It voted Republican for President in 1948 and elected a Republican congressman in 1954. Then in the 1970s St. Petersburg started trending Democratic. In 1976, Pinellas County almost went for Carter and in the 1980s it voted for Bob Graham and Buddy MacKay for senator. The inevitable turnover in elderly population was replacing affluent Republicans with retired blue-collar Democrats who increasingly could afford to retire to Florida. They settled in St. Petersburg, while their more affluent counterparts went to the newer, more glittery retirement towns.

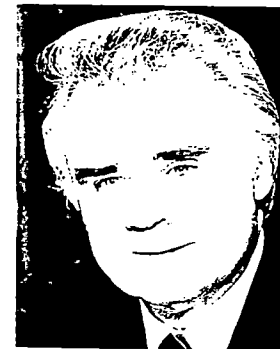
This elderly district is represented by a man named Young, a Republican elected by white-collar retirees who comes from blue-collar Pennsylvania and started off in politics at an early age. In the 1950s, while he was in his 20s, Bill Young worked for Congressman William Cramer; in the 1960s, he served in the Florida Senate; in 1970, he was elected to the House from the St. Petersburg district to replace Cramer when he ran unsuccessfully for the Senate. Through careful attention to the district and devotion to Social Security, Young has gained a reputation for political strength, and has encountered no serious challenges. Against a respectable opponent in 1988 he won by nearly 3 to 1.

Young spends most of his time in Washington on his Appropriations subcommittees, Defense and Labor-HHS-Education. On the latter he is able to protect Social Security, but he devotes more attention to Defense, where he ranks just behind Republican Joseph McDade. Young is a strong supporter of Republican Administration military programs and is often the point man against Democrats.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 559,200, up 9.0% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,909, up 30.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 65% family, 23% with children, 54% married couples; 28.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$201; median house value: \$39,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 413,853; 7% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	131,100	(56%)
	Dukakis (D)	103,040	(44%)

Rep. C. W. (Bill) Young (R)



Elected 1970; b. Dec. 16, 1930, Harmarville, PA; home, Largo; United Methodist; married (Beverly).

Career: Aide to U.S. Rep. William C. Cramer, 1957-60; FL Senate, 1960-70, Minority Leader, 1966-70.

Offices: 2407 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5961. Also 627 Fed. Bldg., St. Petersburg 33701, 813-893-3191.

Committees: *Appropriations* (6th of 22 R). Subcommittees: Defense; Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	18	15	36	31	88	61	100	79	60
1987	8	—	14	43	—	87	—	—	93	62

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	30%	69%	24%	74%
Social	12%	87%	19%	78%
Foreign	16%	78%	25%	74%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Pint Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	C. W. (Bill) Young (R)	169,165	(73%)	(\$208,320)
	C. Bette Wimbish (D)	62,539	(27%)	(\$37,947)
1988 primary	C. W. (Bill) Young (R), unopposed			
1986 general	C. W. (Bill) Young (R), unopposed			(\$96,142)

NINTH DISTRICT

In 1940—even in the late 1950s—you could have driven U.S. 19 north from St. Petersburg's Pinellas County and never noticed anything but the swamp. The road passed through intersections marked by gas stations, and every so often there was a sleepy little town, with low brick buildings constructed in some northern style, baking in the Florida sun. There weren't many people here. The coastline that looks so tempting on the map was then under the kind of water that fills a swamp. Any large development would have required investment in an infrastructure—water and sewer lines, underground electricity—that would have seemed hopelessly uneconomical.

Today all that investment has been made, and the Gulf Coast for 50 miles north of St. Petersburg is home now to half a million people (and that doesn't include the 350,000 right around St. Petersburg). This is not the Florida where the rich of Greenwich and Winnetka retire; it is the final home of more modest people, many of them blue-collar, most of them probably with Democratic rather than Republican heritages. Most of this area is in the 9th Congressional District, one of the four new districts created by the Florida legislature after the 1980 Census. The district begins in Largo and Clearwater, some eight miles from St. Petersburg, and continues up past the old resort of Tarpon Springs to the new condominium communities of Holiday, Elfers, New Port Richey, Bayonet Point, and Hudson in Pasco County. It also sweeps inland, circling Tampa and including the agricultural center of Plant City inland; but more than two-thirds of its population is along the coast.

The legislature intended this to be a Democratic district; it elects many Democrats to the legislature and voted in 1988 for Senate candidate Buddy MacKay; it can be mobilized for the Democrats if anyone suggests a Republican will cut Social Security. But it was won by Republican Michael Bilirakis in 1982 and he has made it a safe seat. Bilirakis is a lawyer and restaurant owner from the large Greek-American community in Tarpon Springs; he grew up in Pittsburgh and worked his way through college toiling in a steel mill; he served in the Air Force during the Korean War; he is pleasant and has been active in civic affairs. In 1982 he ran as a citizen-politician and beat experienced state legislators in the primary and general; he has won overwhelmingly since. He is a foe in general of government spending and profligacy, but is all for generous Social Security benefits and government-funded research on Alzheimer's disease. In Washington he has a plum committee assignment, Energy and Commerce, where he works

heavily with Health Subcommittee Chairman Henry Waxman on issues important in Florida retirement spots, like health care for the elderly and clean air. But he is not a forceful or front rank legislator.

the People: Est. Pop. 1986: 636,900, up 24.1% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,191, up 91.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 27% with children, 65% married couples; 22.2% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$208; median house value: \$44,600. Voting age pop (1980): 404,361; 3% Black, Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	175,253	(60%)
	Dukakis (D)	116,408	(39%)

Rep. Michael Bilirakis (R)



Elected 1982; b. July 16, 1930, Tarpon Springs; home, Palm Harbor; U. of Pittsburgh, B.S. 1959, U. of FL, J.D. 1963; Greek Orthodox; married (Evelyn).

Career: Air Force, Korea; Steelworker, 1955-59; Govt. contract negotiator, 1959-60; Petroleum engineer, 1960-63; Practicing atty., 1969-83.

Offices: 1130 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5755. Also 1100 Cleveland St., Ste. 1600, Clearwater 33515, 813-441-3721.

Committees: *Energy and Commerce* (14th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Energy and Power; Oversight and Investigations; Health and the Environment. *Veterans' Affairs* (7th of 21 R). Subcommittees: Compensation, Pensions and Insurance; Hospitals and Health Care.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	39	22	45	44	96	86	100	93	72
1987	16	—	23	29	—	78	—	—	87	74

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	21%	77%	24%	74%
Social	13%	87%	25%	73%
Foreign	0%	84%	0%	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Pint Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Michael Bilirakis (R)	223,925	(100%)	(\$193,901)
1988 primary	Michael Bilirakis, unopposed			
1986 general	Michael Bilirakis (R)	166,504	(71%)	(\$509,321)
	Gabe Cazares (D)	68,574	(29%)	(\$83,619)

TENTH DISTRICT

If you want to see what Florida looked like before the huge growth of the last 50 years, the best way is to drive inland from the coast and look at the parts of the state that have changed least. One such area is the citrus country of central Florida, south of Orlando. Of course there has been growth here: the population figures have grown by percentages unheard of in the Northeast; new shopping malls have sprung up on four-lane highways leading out of the old downtowns, and most people live in small, air-conditioned stucco houses or apartments built since 1950.

Yet a visitor from that year would not find utterly unrecognizable Lakeland or Winter Haven or Lake Wales or the citrus fields lying between these towns and the dozens of lakes of central Florida. None of these towns has grown to metropolitan size. None has reclaimed and developed hundreds of acres of swamp, as in so many other places in Florida. Nor would attitudes here be totally unrecognizable to our hypothetical visitor. Racial segregation, once firmly embedded in central Florida, is of course gone. But political attitudes associated with rural southern Democrats are not. People here tend to be southern in origin, faithful churchgoers, believers in traditional values, sympathetic to the idea of government intervention in the economy to help the ordinary person (though not always the poor). They still register Democratic and vote for local Democrats.

But in national and often in state elections they vote Republican. This is the country that forms most of Florida's 10th Congressional District, and its representation has reflected local changes in political attitudes. Most of the 10th District's people live in Polk County; it also extends to the Gulf Coast, taking in Bradenton, one of the more modest and less Yankeeified towns on the Gulf Coast. For years the 10th was represented by conservative southern Democrats. Then suddenly, in March 1984, it found itself represented by a Republican—not because of some election result, but because of the decision of Congressman Andy Ireland to switch parties. Ireland has always looked Republican anyway: he is from Republican Cincinnati, he went to prep school and the Ivy League, and he is a banker by trade. From his base in Winter Haven he ran for Congress as a Democrat in 1976 when the incumbent retired; he won the primary without a runoff and won the general decisively. In seven years he had made the seat utterly safe, and he had seniority on committees he liked—Foreign Relations, Small Business. Unlike some others, Ireland seems to have switched not out of opportunism, but because of his convictions, and somewhat against his political interest.

But only somewhat. He did lose his seat on Foreign Affairs, but moved to Armed Services and kept his committee assignment on Small Business. Ireland is all for spending more on defense, but he is a stickler for propriety and seems genuinely appalled by waste, fraud, and abuse. He sponsored a 1986 law to protect and compensate whistleblowers. In 1988 he served on a special panel on burden-sharing, which looked ahead toward significant reduction in American ground forces in Europe, but he spoke against Tommy Robinson's amendment to automatically cut troops in certain countries. He has looked after home causes, criticizing the 1986 treaty with the European Community for being too restrictive on citrus products and hailing the 1988 citrus accord with Japan, which is expected to increase Florida's citrus exports there manyfold. On the environment this booster of small businesses pushed through a one-year moratorium on offshore oil drilling in Florida's Gulf Coast.

Back home, the new party label was no handicap either in 1984, a very good year for Republicans, nor in 1986 or 1988, when Democrats Bob Graham and Buddy MacKay ran well in the district. Ireland won with more than 70% each time. In an age when voters split tickets and switch party preferences freely, party-switching is looked down on only when it seems opportunistic, and Ireland, in his quiet, thoughtful way, seems to have made his once safe Democratic seat safely Republican.

the People: Est. Pop. 1986: 605,700, up 18.1% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 512,890, up 44.3% 1970–80. Households (1980): 75% family, 35% with children, 63% married couples; 27.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$170; median house value: \$38,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 381,628; 11% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 138,108 (66%)
Dukakis (D) 69,786 (33%)

Rep. Andy Ireland (R)



Elected 1976; b. Aug. 23, 1930, Cincinnati, OH; home, Winter Haven; Yale U., B.S. 1952, Columbia Univ., 1953–54, LA St. U., 1959; Episcopalian; married (Nancy).

Career: City Commissioner, Winter Haven, 1966–68; Dir., Federal Reserve Bank, Jacksonville; Chmn., Barnett Bank of Cypress Gardens, Winter Haven, Cleverdale, 1970–76.

Offices: 2416 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5015. Also 120 W. Central Ave., Winter Haven 33883, 813-299-4041; 1101 6th Ave., W., Bradenton 34206, 813-746-0766; and 1805 Bartow Hwy., P.O. Box 8758, Lakeland 33803, 813-687-8015.

Committees: *Armed Services* (12th of 21 R). Subcommittees: Investigations; Military Installations and Facilities; Procurement; and Military Nuclear Systems. *Small Business* (4th of 17 R). Subcommittee: Exports, Tax Policy, and Special Problems (Ranking Member).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	13	14	18	38	100	81	100	100	69
1987	4	—	14	21	—	96	—	—	100	73

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	10%	88%	0%	89%
Social	9%	89%	0%	90%
Foreign	16%	78%	0%	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Andy Ireland (R)	156,563	(74%)	(\$460,468)
	David B. Higginbottom (D)	56,536	(26%)	(\$33,823)
1988 primary	Andy Ireland (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Andy Ireland (R)	122,368	(71%)	(\$402,873)
	David Higginbottom (D)	49,559	(29%)	(\$12,903)

ELEVENTH DISTRICT

In the 1940s, when Cape Canaveral was chosen as the nation's rocket testing site, there were only 20,000 people then in all of Brevard County, which stretches along 60 miles of the coast and includes the cape. It was a backward place, with no industry, picked because it was sunny and on the Atlantic coast: rockets have to be launched eastward and spent parts should fall into the ocean. Today Brevard County north and south of the cape, with more than 300,000 people, is a prototype of a future America, with no city center but plenty of shopping centers along strip highways, with a white collar and service economy, knit together by an interest in the space program.

The 11th Congressional District of Florida includes all of Brevard County and extends westward into booming metropolitan Orlando to include Walt Disney World—which brings in lots of tourists and almost no voters. To the south, the 11th extends as far as Vero Beach, once an old Dixie town with a large black community and now bristling with condominiums full of retirees from the affluent suburbs of the North. This has been Republican territory for three decades and elected a Republican congressman as long ago as 1962. Gratitude to the Kennedy Administration for its commitment to space is scanty, and locals spurred their politicians to get the cape's name changed back to Canaveral (though it's still the John F. Kennedy Space Center). Engineers and high-tech workers typically like the order and certitude of traditional Republican fiscal policy and traditional religious mores.

In congressional elections, however, it elects Democrat Bill Nelson. He is part of the generation of Democrats that came to the House in the 1970s: handsome, well educated, ambitious, and able to finance much of his own campaign. He was elected at 30 to the Florida legislature and at 36 to the House. In his first term, he was politically shrewd enough to get a seat on the Budget Committee, but once there, with a conservative district and moderate to conservative instincts himself, he wobbled under pressure, voting both for and against Reagan Administration tax and budget cuts—votes he came to regret later. After the 1984 election, the Democratic Caucus declined to change the rule limiting Budget Committee service to three terms, and Nelson rotated off.

At which point he put aside any statewide ambitions he had for 1986, stopped concentrating on broad national issues, and concentrated on an issue that in this district is local: space. Scrambling for committee assignments after rotating off Budget, he got on Banking, of major importance in booming Florida, and on Science and Technology he got his fellow Democrats to vote him rather than California's George Brown (a longtime dove and skeptic about space flight programs) as head of the Space Science Subcommittee. Nelson not only boosted the space program in every possible way, he also rode the space shuttle himself, in early January, 1986, and landed safely. Then, weeks later, the next shuttle, *Challenger*, blew up.

Nelson has not wavered in his support of the shuttle program, and he has used his chair and spent his time promoting the manned space station. In 1988 after shepherding the authorization bill through the Science Committee, he lobbied the Appropriations subcommittee. He ended up with \$900 million in the bill, on top of the \$800 million already spent; these funds institutionalize the program, Nelson says, just about assuring construction. He was pleased too when Lloyd Bentsen and other Texans twisted Michael Dukakis's arm and got him to join George Bush in promising to build the space station. Nelson can draw on his own experience in space and argue that manned programs like the shuttle and the space station capture people's imagination and promote scientific discovery. But he prefers to step lightly around the arguments that neither program stands to be routinized or commercially viable as originally promised, and that much more is to be learned from unmanned probes farther out in the solar system. Nelson's political career, for the moment, depends on building the space station.

Nelson is considered highly popular in the 11th District; an old saying there is that "running against Bill Nelson in this district is like practicing bleeding." In 1988, against a retired lobbyist, Nelson won with 61%—not overwhelming, but about 30% better than Michael Dukakis was running in the district. His longtime statewide ambitions were put aside when he took over the Space subcommittee in 1985, and he passed up chances to run for governor or senator in 1986. But Governor Bob Martinez's unpopularity has Nelson traveling around the state and thinking about running for governor in 1990.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 683,900, up 33.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,691, up 39.8% 1970-80. Households (1980): 76% family, 37% with children, 64% married couples; 30.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$219; median house value: \$47,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 380,011; 6% Black, 3% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 191,722 (70%)
Dukakis (D) 83,493 (29%)

Rep. Bill Nelson (D)



Elected 1978; b. Sept. 29, 1942, Miami; home, Melbourne; Yale U., B.A. 1965, U. of VA. J.D. 1968; Episcopalian; married (Grace).

Career: Army, 1968-70; Practicing atty., 1970-72; FL House of Reps., 1972-78.

Offices: 2404 RHOB 20515, 202-225-3671. Also Fed. Bldg., Ste. 300, Orlando 32801 407-841-1776; and 780 S. Apollo Blvd., Ste. 12, Melbourne 32901, 407-676-1776.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (20th of 31 D), Subcommittees: Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance, *Science, Space and Technology* (9th of 30 D), Subcommittees: Space Science and Applications (Chairman); Transportation, Aviation and Materials.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	45	35	43	73	75	56	20	100	43	26
1987	52	—	40	64	—	35	—	—	53	18

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	57%	41%	57%	43%
Social	45%	54%	41%	59%
Foreign	33%	67%	42%	58%

Key Votes

1) Homeless S	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Bill Nelson (D)	168,390	(61%)	(\$565,632)
	Bill Tolley (R)	108,373	(39%)	(\$158,208)
1988 primary	Bill Nelson (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Bill Nelson (D)	149,036	(73%)	(\$304,914)
	Scott Ellis (R)	55,904	(27%)	(\$11,896)

TWELFTH DISTRICT

The 12th Congressional District crosses the Florida peninsula, spanning the citrus groves and swamplands around Lake Okeechobee and the Everglades (which is actually a giant river with millions of islands draining Okeechobee out into the Gulf of Mexico). This was almost entirely uninhabited land before World War II, with perhaps 50,000 people scattered in little towns in territory that held 500,000 in 1980 and many more today. (The number of postal patrons in the district rose from 292,000 in 1982 to 430,000 in 1988—a rise of 47%). Inland the district extends all the way to super-rich Naples on the Gulf Coast. It takes in Sebring, in whimsically named Highlands County, where a Grand Prix auto race is held yearly, and the citrus and other farmlands around Lake Okeechobee. In cleared and drained swampland, acres of crops are planted, raised, sprayed, and finally harvested, mostly by blacks and Mexican-Americans whose wages and working conditions have long been among America's worst.

But most of the 12th's people and growth are on the Atlantic coast. The drowsy southern towns north of Palm Beach, where on steaming hot nights blacks and whites would fish off the causeways that connected the beach strips with the main town, were in the path of the northward movement of affluent development. Hobe Sound and Jupiter, longtime resorts of the wealthy, were joined by huge new developments around Stuart and Fort Pierce. Like Fort Lauderdale and West Palm Beach in earlier decades, so these towns in the 1980s became the centers of Yankee metropolises. But the 12th is not just a series of retirement villages. Palm Beach County has had lots of job growth too, over a wide range of wages. So the 12th also includes some modest suburbs and much of the area's black population on the north side of West Palm and in neighboring Riviera Beach.

Before the 1980 Census, most of what are now the 12th and 13th Districts was in a single district; so great has population growth been that both may split again into two districts after the 1990 Census. The boundaries of this district were designed to give Democrats a chance to pick up the seat in 1982, but the 1980s Republican trend and a strong Republican candidate prevailed instead. The candidate was Tom Lewis, who served 11 years in the Air Force and worked 17 years for Pratt & Whitney in West Palm Beach. He spent seven years on his town council and 10 years in the legislature. Lewis is anything but flashy in style, but in substance he has had impressive accomplishments in the House. He sponsored a program for a computerized study on how to manage Lake Okeechobee. With Senator Lawton Chiles he got through in 1988 expansion of the Big Cypress wilderness area in the Everglades; he signed onto the bill to trade Everglades land owned by the Barron Collier company for the government's Indian School on Central Avenue in Phoenix, Arizona. He sponsored a bill to set up outreach centers for Vietnam veterans' counseling and to reimburse veterans for expenses if they have to travel far to veterans' hospitals. With Democrat Dan Glickman of Kansas, he got \$800 million for NASA for a study of metal fatigue and corrosion on aircraft. A pilot for 40 years, he sponsored a bill to make airplane interiors more survivable in case of a crash. He worked to open up Japan to U.S. (and Florida) citrus and beef imports; he characterized the 1988 citrus and beef accord (mixing up his Asian cuisines) as "sweet and sour."

On the voting charts Lewis stacks up as a pretty reliable conservative. But his more important

one in Congress is to come up with creative solutions to questions that few other legislators have thought much about. His constituents seem to have concluded he has done a fine job. He was first elected in 1982 with large majorities in the Naples area and in the counties north of Palm Beach—a victory for Yankee Republicans. He has not had any opposition since.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 678,700, up 32.3% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 513,121, up 67.0% 1970–80; Households (1980): 73% family, 32% with children, 61% married couples; 30.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$190; median house value: \$47,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 384,221; 16% Black, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	165,433	(64%)
	Dukakis (D)	92,448	(35%)

Rep. Tom Lewis (R)



Elected 1982; b. Oct. 26, 1924, Philadelphia, PA; home, North Palm Beach; Palm Beach Jr. Coll., 1956–57, U. of FL., 1958–59; United Methodist; married (Marion).

Career: Air Force, WWII and Korea; Corp. Exec., Pratt & Whitney Aircraft, 1957–73; Mayor, Councilman, North Palm Beach, 1964–71; FL House of Reps., 1972–80; FL Senate 1980–82.

Offices: 1216 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5792. Also 2700 PGA Blvd Ste. 1, Palm Beach Gardens 33410, 407-627-6192; and 2500 Midport Rd., Ste. 120, Port St. Lucie 33452, 407-283-7989.

Committees: *Agriculture* (10th of 18 R). Subcommittees: Cotton, Rice and Sugar; Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition; Livestock Dairy, and Poultry. *Science, Space and Technology* (5th of 19 R). Subcommittee: Space Science and Applications; Transportation, Aviation and Materials (Ranking Member). *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (7th of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	17	14	27	31	100	50	100	93	67
1987	4	—	14	29	—	53	—	—	93	64

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	16% — 83%	24% — 74%
Social	16% — 83%	10% — 85%
Foreign	16% — 78%	0% — 80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless S	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Tom Lewis (R), unopposed	(\$256,081)
1988 primary	Tom Lewis (R), unopposed	
1986 general	Tom Lewis (R), unopposed	(\$285,685)

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT

It was where Thomas Edison had his winter home, where Henry Ford used to visit, where even Walter Reuther took time off in the modest house he built with his own hands: Fort Myers, back in the days of World War II, when the Gulf Coast, with a permanent population from Sarasota all the way south to Naples of only 42,000, was the closest thing in the continental United States to a tropical paradise. The coastland is more varied than on the Atlantic side, the breakers gentler, the weather seems a bit milder, the geography of the coastline is more various: there are barrier islands on the Gulf, but they are not monotonous like those on the ocean; there are big gaps between them, wide estuaries, and places where the swampy lowlands seem to step right into the ocean. This environment (and Florida's lack of an income tax) has brought affluent people, retirees and professionals, mostly from the Midwest down to the lower Gulf Coast, to the point that there are close to 700,000 people living today where there were 42,000 half a century ago. And living comfortably. The sea is not blocked by miles of high-rise apartments; there are relatively few of the high rises that line the Atlantic, and the favored community is not the high-rise, but the sprawling, city-sized development like Cape Coral or Port Charlotte.

The Gulf Coast, Sarasota south to Naples, is Florida's 13th Congressional District. The population of the district is heavily tilted toward retirees: only 24% of households include children, and 33% of the adults are over 65—one of the highest percentages in the country. The population is also almost entirely white and usually affluent, and not surprisingly, this is one of the most Republican districts in Florida, and perhaps in the nation. From 1982 to 1988 it was represented by Connie Mack III, now U.S. senator. The real contest here in 1988 was in the Republican primary. Retired General Jim Dozier, who was held hostage by Italy's Red Brigades and then rescued in 1981, got just 19% here. Congressman Skip Bafalis, who gave up a seat containing most of this territory to run for governor in 1982, returned, but after a long absence got only 29%. The leader was Lee County Commissioner Porter Goss, who worked 10 years for the CIA, then moved to Sanibel Island, founded a prize-winning local newspaper, served on the city council and passed growth management laws, and was appointed originally to the Lee County Commission by Democratic Governor Bob Graham. He raised plenty of money, got 38% of the vote in the first primary and against Bafalis in the runoff won 72%-28%.

The Democratic nominee was high quality: Jack Conway, a top aide to Reuther in the UAW in the 1950s, one of the founding fathers of the anti-poverty program, and the first president of Common Cause. Conway got some 93,000 votes—more than several Democrats who won—but in this fast-growing district that was only 29% of the vote. Goss won 231,000 votes, more than any other House candidate in the country.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 674,300, up 31.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,048, up 86.5% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 24% with children, 65% married couples; 23.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$238; median house value: \$53,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 413,477; 4% Black, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 225,798 (68%)
Dukakis (D) 106,428 (32%)

Rep. Porter J. Goss (R)



Elected 1988; b. Nov. 26, 1938, Waterbury, CT; home, Sanibel; Yale U., B.A., 1960; Presbyterian; married (Mariel).

Career: CIA Clandestine Svcs. 1962-72; City Council Mbr., Mayor of Sanibel 1974-82; Lee Cnty. Commissioner 1982-88.

Offices: 509 CHOB, 20515, 202-225-2536. Also 2000 Main St., Ste. 407, Fort Myers 33901, 813-332-4677; and 2002 Ringling Blvd., Ste. 152, Sarasota 34237, 813-951-7878.

Committees: Foreign Affairs (18th of 18 R). Subcommittees: Arms Control, International Security and Science; Western Hemisphere Affairs. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (17th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Navigation; Oceanography.

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected Election Results

1988 general	Porter J. Goss (R)	231,170	(71%)	(\$836,224)
	Jack Conway (D)	93,700	(29%)	(\$210,296)
1988 runoff	Porter J. Goss (R)	49,272	(72%)	
	Skip Bafalis (R)	19,413	(28%)	
1988 primary	Porter J. Goss (R)	36,875	(38%)	
	Skip Bafalis (R)	27,955	(29%)	
	Jim Dozier (R)	18,048	(19%)	
	Others	13,222	(14%)	
1986 general	Connie Mack III (R)	187,794	(75%)	(\$313,639)
	Addison S. Gilbert III (D)	62,694	(25%)	(\$42,898)

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT

Palm Beach, on a barrier island created by nature, is a town that sprang entirely from the imagination of man. When Henry Flagler built his railroad this far south in 1894, he had the vision of a subtropical resort easily reachable from America's snowbound industrial cities in wintertime: the architect Addison Mizner, who came in 1918, had the vision of a pseudo-Spanish, pseudo-Mediterranean style that he used to build huge mansions and posh clubs and modest-sized storefront blocks. By the 1920s Palm Beach had become the premier winter resort for America's very rich, and to a considerable extent it still is; workers and help have since Flagler's time been sent to live in West Palm Beach, across Lake Worth, and resorts that cater to other tastes and pocketbooks have proliferated on both of Florida's coasts.

What Flagler, Mizner, and other Palm Beach pioneers didn't foresee is that the area around Palm Beach would become in time a workaday, commercial, even industrial metropolis on its own. In the 1970s and 1980s Palm Beach County has been one of the fastest-growing parts of the United States, spawning subdivisions and condominiums and even whole suburbs faster than the mapmakers can draw. In effect two paths of migration have converged here. One is the southward movement of retirees and of young working families as well to Florida's warm climate and suddenly growing, high-tech and service economy (Palm Beach County is where IBM developed its PC). The other is the northward movement along Florida's Gulf Coast of older and middle-aged residents looking for the quiet ambiance and crime-free atmosphere they can no longer find in Miami's Dade County or even Fort Lauderdale's Broward.

These two migrations have produced countervailing political trends in Florida's 14th Congressional District, which extends along the coast from Palm Beach to ultra-expensive Boca Raton (where Corky's delicatessen now serves "Flatbush special" and "Far Rockaway" sandwiches) and goes 12 miles inland, taking in fast-growing Florida Gardens, Country Club Acres, and, to the south along Broward County's Sawgrass Expressway, Margate and Tamarac. The Sun Belt family migration made the Palm Beach area, already heavily Republican in national elections, Republican in state and local elections as well. The condominium retiree migration, particularly by Jews heading north from Miami and Broward County, moves Palm Beach County toward the Democrats at all levels. For many years, while Miami was the most Democratic part of Florida, Palm Beach County was several points more Republican than the state as a whole. But starting in 1984, even as Miami's Cubans have been putting Dade County into the Republican column, Palm Beach County has been a few points more Democratic than Florida. In 1988 Florida voted for Republican Connie Mack III for the Senate, but Palm Beach County voted for Democrat Buddy MacKay.

This was all the more striking because MacKay won his nomination by edging 14th District Congressman Dan Mica out of second place in the first primary. Mica had held the district for the Democrats for 10 sometimes difficult years, despite his disappointment at being denied, because of his strong anti-Communist positions, the Latin America subcommittee chair he wanted on Foreign Affairs. The vacancy in the 14th attracted a large field, and both parties' nominations were won by men active in local government. Republican Ken Adams, who built a chain of hardware stores in New York, campaigned as a conservative on national issues, but stressed his work as a county commissioner aiding the poor and setting up an AIDS hospice. Harry Johnston, from a civically prominent West Palm Beach family, said he knew how to cut spending from his experience as state Senate president. Johnston served 12 years in the legislature. He was a candidate for governor in 1986, running third behind Steve Pajcic and Jim Smith in the primary; if he had run a few percentage points better, he might well have beaten either man in a runoff and could quite possibly have beaten Bob Martinez in the general and be governor of the nation's fourth largest state today.

Instead Johnston spent the fall of 1988 campaigning in condominiums and classrooms, sometimes caustically, sometimes in the more conciliatory manner of a man whose lifespan and career connects the older, southern-and-small-town-oriented Florida with the gleaming new, economically booming, environment-conscious metropolitan Florida of today. While citizen-politician Republicans were beating experienced Democratic legislators in the 4th and 6th Districts, the changing population of Palm Beach and Broward Counties was enough to enable Johnston to beat a candidate with a somewhat similar appeal. His 55%-45% victory gives him the chance to bring his considerable legislative talents to Washington and to make the 14th once again a safe Democratic district.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 674,200, up 31.5% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,803, up 126.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 27% with children, 65% married couples; 22.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$278; median house value: \$62,200. Voting age pop. (1980): 406,873; 4% Spanish origin, 3% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 167,352 (53%)
Dukakis (D) 147,665 (47%)

Rep. Harry A. Johnston (D)



Elected 1988; b. Dec. 2, 1931, West Palm Beach; home, West Palm Beach; VA Military Inst., B.A. 1953; U. of FL, J.D. 1958; Presbyterian, married (Mary).

Career: Practicing atty. 1958-88; FL Senate, 1974-86, Pres., 1985-86.

Offices: 1517 LHOB 20515, 202-225-3001. Also Pylon Park, 1501 Corporate Dr., Boynton Beach 33435, 407-732-4000.

Committees: *Foreign Affairs* (23d of 28 D). Subcommittees: Western Hemisphere Affairs; International Economic Policy and Trade. *Science, Space and Technology* (28th of 30 D). Subcommittees: Science, Research and Technology; Space Science and Applications; Oversight and Investigations

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected

Election Results

1988 general	Harry A. Johnston (D)	173,292	(55%)	(\$971,883)
	Ken Adams (R)	142,635	(45%)	(\$777,988)
1988 primary	Harry A. Johnston (D)	36,874	(59%)	
	Dorothy H. Wilken (D)	26,116	(41%)	
1986 general	Daniel (Dan) Mica (D)	171,961	(74%)	(\$386,905)
	Rick Martin (R)	61,155	(26%)	(\$11,072)

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT

Half a century ago it was a town of 17,000, with a long, mostly empty beach and a set of canal-surrounded streets just inland, before the gas station-lined strip of U.S. 1. Today Fort Lauderdale is the center of a county of nearly one million people, the centerpoint of the 10-to-20-mile strip of Gold Coast running from south of Miami to north of Palm Beach which is now home to four million people. Behind the lines of condominiums stalking along the Atlantic Coast, somewhere between the commercial strip boulevards, is the kernel of this development. But it is of little moment today, for Fort Lauderdale and surrounding Broward County have been changed beyond recognition, not once but several times, since the days before World War II.

Those changes can be charted, among other places, in the election returns. In the 1950s and 1960s, when it was famous for college students' spring vacation sand-and-beer brawls, Fort Lauderdale was growing as a retirement and vacation spot for WASPs from the high-income suburbs of the East and Midwest, the Locust Valleys and Winnetkas of America. Through the middle 1960s, Fort Lauderdale tended to exclude Jews; this was the WASPy part of south Florida. Its politics was straight out of the old *Chicago Tribune*: solidly Republican and conservative, even when that went against national trends. Broward County switched from the Democrats to Thomas E. Dewey and the Republicans in 1948 and stuck with the Republicans through 1964 when it voted for Barry Goldwater. Then in the late 1960s restrictions against Jews eased in Broward County. Hollywood, just south of Fort Lauderdale, became a mostly Jewish city; in Fort Lauderdale and towns inland rose huge condominium complexes most of whose residents were Jews. In 1976 Broward County went for Jimmy Carter, and by 1978 it started to vote more Democratic than the state as a whole. By 1984 it was consistently more Democratic than Miami's Dade County, as the Cuban voting population there increased and Jews moved

north into Broward from Dade or moved directly there from their homes in the North.

Entirely within Broward County is the 15th Congressional District of Florida, centered on Fort Lauderdale. On the coast it goes past Pompano Beach and Deerfield Beach up to the Palm Beach County line; inland it includes golf-course-laden suburbs like Plantation, Lauderdale Lakes and just beyond the Sawgrass Expressway. As recently as 10 years ago this was solidly Republican country; Hollywood, to the south, was much more Jewish and much more Democratic. But today party registration is as Democratic as in the 16th, 18th, and 19th Districts, and more Democratic than in the 14th which the Democrats held in Republican 1988. Republican Congressman Clay Shaw owes his hold on the seat more to his own record in Fort Lauderdale politics and in the House than to his party's appeal.

Shaw first won the seat in 1980, after serving as mayor of Fort Lauderdale for five years; he was helped by a Democratic primary fight in which a conservative incumbent was dumped and the nomination went to a legislator who had represented Dade rather than Broward. Shaw won with 55% that time and with 57% against his predecessor who was attempting a comeback in 1982. Since then he has had no serious opposition.

Shaw has spent much of his House career visibly fighting crime and drugs. With a seat on the Judiciary Committee, he came forward with amendments to the drug laws that have become almost a part of the annual routine. Three of them were the death penalty for major drug dealers, a federal drug czar, and the use of the military to interdict drug smuggling; all were deleted from the drug bill in 1986, but were voted into the 1988 law. Three more would require drug testing as a condition of parole for drug-related offenders, property seizures for those in possession of illegal drugs, and higher penalties for crack use. He has also pushed for more drug testing of airline and railroad personnel. Presumably he will remain interested in these matters, though he had to give up his seats on Judiciary and Public Works when he won a place on Ways and Means in July 1988.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 552,200, up 7.7% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,950, up 34.0% 1970-80. Households (1980): 65% family, 24% with children, 53% married couples; 33.2% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$261; median house value: \$59,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 411,562; 13% Black, 3% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 102,768 (53%)
Dukakis (D) 90,113 (46%)

Rep. E. Clay Shaw, Jr. (R)



Elected 1980: b. Apr. 19, 1939, Miami; home, Ft. Lauderdale; Stetson U., B.A. 1961, U. of AL, M.B.A. 1963, Stetson U., J.D. 1966; Roman Catholic; married (Emilie).

Career: Practicing atty., 1966-68; Chf. City Prosecutor, 1968-69; Assoc. Municipal Judge, 1969-71; City Commissioner, 1971-73; Vice Mayor of Ft. Lauderdale, 1973-75; Mayor, 1975-80.

Offices: 440 CHOB 20515, 202-225-3026. Also 299 E. Broward Blvd., Ste. 100, Ft. Lauderdale 33301, 305-522-1800.

Committees: *Ways and Means* (11th of 13 R). Subcommittees: Oversight: Human Resources (Ranking Member)

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	9	10	36	31	96	80	100	92	59
1987	4	—	9	14	—	78	—	—	93	68

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB	—	1988 CONS	1987 LIB	—	1987 CONS
Economic	21%	—	77%	19%	—	78%
Social	5%	—	91%	10%	—	85%
Foreign	0%	—	84%	0%	—	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	E. Clay Shaw, Jr. (R)	132,090	(66%)	(\$455,578)
	Michael A. (Mike) Kuhle (D)	67,746	(34%)	(\$36,084)
1988 primary	E. Clay Shaw, Jr. (R), unopposed			
1986 general	E. Clay Shaw, Jr. (R), unopposed			(\$102,671)

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT

Fifty years ago the Florida land that is now its 16th Congressional District was almost entirely uninhabited; some empty coastal land between Miami and the small town of Fort Lauderdale and thousands of acres of unreclaimed Everglades that started just west of Miami and continued for miles inland. Today more than half a million people live here, in closely packed subdivisions, around new golf courses, or in high-rise condominiums. And some of the most explosive growth in south Florida is taking place here, on either side of the newly completed Sawgrass Expressway in Broward County, 12 to 15 miles west of the ocean, built in record time to meet the demand for development, and in the former swamplands west of the Paimetto Expressway that used to mark the edge of urban settlement in Miami's Dade County.

The 16th was the new district south Florida's Gold Coast got after the 1980 Census (the 17th, 18th, and 19th are descendants of the new districts the area got after the 1970, 1960, and 1950 Censuses respectively). In effect the 16th includes the products of two migrations. The first, and larger, is the migration of Jews and others who originally came from New York and the Northeast out from Dade County and into Broward. The most populous city here now is Hollywood, whose high-rise condominiums facing the ocean are full of former New Yorkers and Miamians; and similar populations live in Pembroke Pines to the west, Hallandale to the south, and Miramar to the southwest. Condominium activists are the big political force here. Large high-rise condominiums bring into one handy location, to which access can be controlled, hundreds and sometimes even thousands of voters. In many cases, they are articulate people with organizational literacy, an interest in issues, a knack for politics, and plenty of time on their hands. Properly organized, a condominium can give an endorsed candidate a margin of hundreds of votes—a huge advantage in a closely contested primary where most ordinary precincts are carried by 10 or 20 votes. In partisan politics this part of Broward County is heavily Democratic, with a 61%-32% Democratic registration edge.

The second part of the 16th District is in Miami's Dade County, not directly south of the Broward County portion of the 16th, but to the west. There it stretches south past the Tamiami

Trail, also known as Southwest 8th Street or, to Cuban-Americans, Calle Ocho. Between 60% and 80% of the residents here are of Spanish origin, living around and behind Miami International Airport in upwardly mobile communities like Westchester and Westwood Lakes. The Dade portion of the district is Republican in registrations (58%-34%) and usually in elections. Cuban-Americans know the evils of Communism, appreciate the virtues of free enterprise, cherish traditional moral values, and prefer Republicans to Democrats on all these counts. But Broward, though it has about 40% of the district's residents, casts only 25% of its votes, because many Cubans are still not citizens or are not registered.

The congressman from the 16th is Larry Smith, brought up in Brooklyn and Long Island, and possessed of a zest for argument and a brash New York style. He is voluble and argumentative, but seems to have no nasty or cynical edge; and his motives—to stop the drug trade, to aid Israel—are transparently sincere. Smith sits on Foreign Affairs, and in this district filled with residents who themselves or whose parents or grandparents fled tyranny, and who now live on a peninsula thrust downward toward Latin America, foreign issues arouse more passion than domestic. Smith is one of the House's leading and most aggressive backers of aid to Israel, and in the late 1980s was one of the first to oppose arms sales to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait; occasionally he has been successful in stopping them and on other occasions has seen the list of weapons cut. He was on both sides of the contra aid issue, depending on the circumstances, but has never been a romantic admirer of the Sandinistas like some of his Democratic colleagues.

Much of his effort in the late 1980s was directed against the drug trade, and he has been fairly bubbling over with proposals. He originated the law outlawing Quaaludes. From his seat on Foreign Affairs, he favored decertification of the Bahamas, Mexico, Peru, and Paraguay—a declaration that they were not enforcing drug laws, which would then require a cutoff of some U.S. aid. He wants assets of accused and convicted drug violators forfeited. He wants to revoke the passports of drug violators. He wants to sell more weapons and ammunition to drug enforcement officers in Latin countries. As chairman of the Task Force on International Economics Control, he wants to cut off drug traffickers like Manuel Noriega and give special aid to Colombia for its anti-drug efforts.

It would be easy to dismiss Smith's record as catering to the prejudices of his constituents, concerned about Israel, worried about Central America, cautious about leaving their condominium compounds for fear of drug-driven crime. But Smith seems to share their passions and fears, and seems determined to do something about them.

Smith first won this newly created seat in 1982, with a 55%-45% victory in a Democratic party battle of the condominiums. In general elections, he has not run strong in the Dade County portion of the district, leading Republicans to think about targeting him, as they did in 1984 when they held him to 56%. In 1988, his opponent, a young chiropractor who has become a perennial candidate, charged him with causing the October 1987 stock market crash. Smith was worried because this man's name is Joseph Smith, and so the Democrat ran ads saying "send the real Mr. Smith to Washington." They worked: Smith won with 69%. But he got only 55% in Dade County; when redistricting comes around, he might like to shed some of that territory, and probably will be able to, because the 16th's population has been rapidly increasing.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 578,200, up 12.6% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,365, up 74.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 33% with children, 63% married couples; 25.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$278; median house value: \$62,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 396,409; 20% Spanish origin, 4% Black, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 121,521 (55%)
Dukakis (D) 97,110 (44%)

Rep. Lawrence J. (Larry) Smith (D)



Elected 1982; b. Apr. 25, 1941, Brooklyn, NY; home, Hollywood; NYC, Brooklyn Law Sch., LL.B. 1964, J.D. 1976; Jewish; married (Sheila).

Career: Practicing atty., 1964-82; Hollywood Planning and Zoning Bd., 1974-78, Chmn., 1975-78; Broward Cnty. Advisory Bd., 1978; FL House of Reps., 1978-82.

Offices: 113 CHOB 20515, 202-225-7931. Also 4747 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 33021, 305-937-6484.

Committees: *Foreign Affairs* (13th of 28 D). Subcommittees: Europe and the Middle East; International Operations. *Judiciary* (15th of 21 D). Subcommittees: Crime; Economic and Commercial Law; Criminal Justice. *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (13th of 18 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	85	70	96	64	75	17	6	30	23	14
1987	80	—	95	79	—	9	—	—	20	3

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	79% — 17%	73% — 0%
Social	68% — 31%	73% — 0%
Foreign	58% — 41%	68% — 32%

Key Votes

1) Homeless S	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Lawrence J. (Larry) Smith (D)	153,032	(69%)	(\$555,473)
	Joseph Smith (R)	67,461	(31%)	(\$15,325)
1988 primary	Lawrence J. (Larry) Smith (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Lawrence J. (Larry) Smith (D)	121,213	(70%)	(\$878,922)
	Mary Collins (R)	52,807	(30%)	(\$60,337)

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT

The northern corner of Miami's Dade County, from the beach above Bal Harbour to the new town suburb of Miami Lakes developed by Senator Bob Graham in the west, makes up Florida's 17th Congressional District. It includes only a small part of Miami itself, but more than any other district votes like an old-style northern urban district: this is the only Florida district that regularly votes for national Democratic candidates. That is true even though about one-quarter of its residents, many in the once white working-class suburb of Hialeah, around the race track, are Cuban: they are heavily Republican, but don't all vote yet. The 17th is also about one-quarter black: just as Cubans move out from Miami along Southwest 8th Street, blacks tend to move north in a corridor between Northwest 7th and 27th Avenues. Yet the dominant political

tone in the 17th is set by a group less numerous than either: the Jews, who tend to live in the communities along Biscayne Bay, especially North Miami and North Miami Beach. They turn out in Democratic primaries, which are tantamount to election here: they organize in condominium and neighborhood associations, which can deliver large margins to candidates.

William Lehman, the congressman from the 17th, was first elected in 1972, when the district was newly created; he had been active on the school board. Before that he had a long and successful career selling used cars under the name "Alabama Bill." Lehman entered Congress when he was almost 60, and is now one of the House's oldest members. He serves rather quietly on the Appropriations Committee, and since 1982 he has been chairman of the Transportation Subcommittee. This is a position of potentially vast influence, but Lehman, a pleasant man, does not seem to have the aggressiveness and ambition to make high policy, although he has been successful in advancing Miami's Metrorail mass transit system and downtown Metromover. On other issues he votes with liberal Democrats more often than any other Florida congressman; he is one of only two Florida members to oppose contra aid regularly. At home, he has not had serious competition since his first and second campaigns: his major electoral effort is to scotch rumors that he is going to retire.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 560,100, up 9.2% 1980-86: Pop. 1980: 513,048, up 25.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 72% family, 35% with children, 55% married couples; 38.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$237; median house value: \$46,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 385,199; 24% Spanish origin, 22% Black, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Dukakis (D).....	\$4,029	(59%)
	Bush (R).....	\$5,053	(41%)

Rep. William Lehman (D)



Elected 1972; b. Oct. 5, 1913, Selma, AL; home, Biscayne Park; U. of AL, B.S. 1934; Jewish; married (Joan).

Career: Auto dealer, 1936-42, 1946-72; Teacher, airplane mechanics, Brazil, 1942-45; Teacher, Dade Cnty. Pub. Schools, 1963, Miami-Dade Jr. Col., 1964-66; Dade Cnty. Sch. Bd., 1966-72, Chmn., 1971-72.

Offices: 2347 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4211. Also 2020 N.E. 163rd St., N. Miami Beach 33162, 305-945-7518.

Committees: *Appropriations* (17th of 35 D). Subcommittees: Foreign Operations; Transportation (Chairman). *Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families* (2d of 18 D).

Group Ratings	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	100	96	88	82	81	8	5	0	36	17
1987	92	—	87	79	—	9	—	—	21	5

National Journal Ratings	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	54% — 44%	68% — 27%
Social	86% — 0%	78% — 0%
Foreign	79% — 16%	81% — 0%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	William Lehman (D), unopposed	(\$257,487)
1988 primary	William Lehman (D), unopposed	
1986 general	William Lehman (D), unopposed	(\$172,800)

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT

The hot night air, the moonlight reflecting off the bay onto the surrealistic high rises, the pastel, random-shaped, sharp-angled style of clothes and furniture and typography—a style that comes from Italian designers—the air of menace in streets where many are armed and vast quantities of drugs and cash are regularly changing hands: this is Miami as the 1990s begin. A resort city known for its pseudo-Spanish mansions and Art Deco beach hotels two generations ago, a city on its way to becoming a fairly typical American metropolitan area one generation ago, Miami today cannot be mistaken for any other American—or Latin American—city: its faults and its flair are all its own. It lives on the cusp of two civilizations: one English-speaking, confident that its liberty and property are secure, tolerant of diversity, and little interested in politics; the other Spanish-speaking, its liberty and property always under threat, ready to use violence to destroy contrary opinion, preoccupied with a politics of revenge. Miami's Dade County by the late 1980s was about 42% Hispanic (almost entirely Cuban), 40% white Anglo, and 18% black, and the Cuban community was growing. Miami is the one city in the country where you can rise to the top of your profession or business, patronize the best stores and restaurants, live in the best residential areas—and still speak nothing but Spanish. Miami is the economic capital of Latin America and the place of exile for many a loser in Latin American political wars: it is also the number one center of the U.S. drug trade. Young Cuban-Americans all know English, but the fact is that Cuban Miami has remained separate, is growing larger, and remains estranged from Anglo society—culturally and especially politically.

Miami is no longer the murder capital of the nation, as it was in the early 1980s; the drug trade has dispersed to other cities and west along the Gulf Coast: the kind of clothes Don Johnson wore in *Miami Vice* can now be seen in Wal-Marts in Arkansas and in Holidomes in South Dakota. Still, Miami is different. Concealed weapons and barely concealed bribery, vast sums of cash (most of the \$100 bills in the country are in the Miami Federal Reserve district) and a constant commerce in illegal drugs, rampant police corruption (59 officers were suspended in the Miami River scandal); these are all part of Miami's daily life. Relations between Cubans and others are not growing more mellow. To goodhearted Anglo liberals, like those who run the *Miami Herald*, the Cubans' fanatic hatred of Fidel Castro's regime, their frequent disregard for the rules of political behavior here (remember that it was Cuban-Americans who burglarized the Watergate—not the first such operation by Cuban exiles), and their unwillingness to compromise or smooth over their differences on Cuban and other Latin American issues make them a dangerous force in American politics. To the Cubans, the Anglos' lack of sympathy for the tragedy that has befallen Cuba and their benign neutrality (or worse) toward Communist dictators who seize property and imprison their opponents make them an enemy force who must be opposed at all costs. From the 1940s to the 1970s, Miami was a Democratic town, dominated by a liberal establishment and a large Jewish community that stayed with the Democrats even

during the civil rights revolution. But the Cubans—not just the initial exiles, but the younger generation, brought up and often born in the United States—are overwhelmingly Republican, even more enthusiastic in their support of George Bush (whose son Jeb and daughter-in-law Columba live in Miami) than they were of Ronald Reagan. So Miami and Dade County are now Republican—and likely to become more so.

Florida's 18th Congressional District covers most of the city of Miami and all of Miami Beach and Coral Gables. Its center is Southwest 8th Street—Calle Ocho—the main street of the Cuban community. Miami Beach is still mostly Jewish, and there are blacks in the corridor running north from the gleaming downtown. But in 1980, 50% of the district's residents were Cuban, and today the percentage is surely much higher.

Claude Pepper, who died of cancer May 30, 1989, represented the 18th District of Florida since 1962. He had been a pivotal figure in American politics and government over a longer span of time than anyone else in American history. Born in 1900 in Alabama, Pepper moved to Florida after Harvard Law School, was elected to the legislature in 1928, ran for the Senate and lost in 1934, and was appointed to the Senate to fill a vacancy in 1936. In 1938 Pepper was a vocal supporter of Franklin Roosevelt's minimum wage bill, which was thought unpopular in the South and which seemed to threaten his chances to win a full term. But he campaigned hard for the seat, and won 58% of the vote against an incumbent congressman and a former governor—and Congress passed the stalled bill within weeks. Pepper quickly became known as a brilliant orator, in the grandiloquent southern tradition but also of a high enough intellectual order that Robert Taft, no admirer of his New Deal politics, said he always made it a point to be on the floor when Pepper spoke because the man had a first-class mind. When Lyndon Johnson set about to provide speakers for Democratic House candidates in 1940, one of those most in demand was Senator Claude Pepper.

Pepper was also a force on foreign affairs, an opponent of isolationism before World War II and a skeptic about the cold war afterwards. That, plus his continuing support for unfashionable New Deal measures and his support of civil rights (he supported an anti-lynching bill in the 1930s), made him vulnerable to challenge, and he was beaten 55%–45% by George Smathers in a bitter primary in 1950. When Miami got a second House seat after the 1960 Census, Pepper was the obvious man to fill it and he won easily, as he did from that time on—even as the district changed from heavily Jewish to mostly Cuban. No member of the House spoke more passionately against Fidel Castro and for supporting the resistance to Communists in Latin America.

Pepper made an impact in the House early on, chairing a special crime committee from 1969 to 1974 and chairing the Select Committee on Aging; he pushed to passage the 1978 law raising the minimum mandatory retirement age from 65 to 70 and the 1986 law banning any compulsory retirement age. Always a New Dealer, he was not much concerned about costs; he denounced bitterly colleagues who did not share his generosity and perhaps his own experiences, from growing up poor in backward rural Alabama to living in rich urban Miami, that contribute to a belief that the United States will always prove rich enough to deliver on the promises he would have it make. In the 1980s he played a major role in resisting any Reagan cuts in social security, and in 1982 was the Democrats' most active and effective national campaigner, flying around to 70 districts denouncing Republicans and boosting Democrats. But he also suffered disappointments. When the Social Security Commission in 1983 came in with a bipartisan compromise, he tried to stop the proposal to gradually raise the retirement age. His colleagues gave him a standing ovation but most voted against him. The same thing happened in 1988 on his proposal for long-term health care. Ways and Means came forward with a catastrophic health care plan that would be paid for by a tax on the elderly's earnings; Pepper wanted instead a more generous program to be paid for by lifting the top limit on income subject to workers' payroll tax. Opposed by Dan Rostenkowski and John Dingell, Pepper spoke movingly, segueing

gracefully from vivid descriptions of the plight of the infirm to an eloquent plea for generosity. But in a deficit-conscious House he didn't have the votes.

Pepper became chairman of the Rules Committee after Richard Bolling retired in 1982, and while he generally worked in tandem with the House leadership he used the committee's power to allow or prohibit votes on amendments to advance his pet causes. He was hard of hearing, but he could explain the complexities of legislation and procedure and stir the emotions of any listener much as he did 50 years ago. The Republicans once targeted him, but did not do better than 40% in 1980. Most politically active Cubans, it seems, thought it was more useful to have a sympathetic chairman of the Rules Committee than a freshman Cuban Republican representing them, though for the first time since the district was carved out for Pepper in 1962, it is possible for an Hispanic Republican to win the seat.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 542,600, up 5.7% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 513,250, up 6.4% 1970–80. Households (1980): 62% family, 25% with children, 46% married couples; 64.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$210; median house value: \$53,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 416,969; 50% Spanish origin, 13% Black, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 72,421 (58%)
Dukakis (D) 52,368 (42%)

Rep. Claude Pepper (D)



Elected 1962; b. Sept. 5, 1900, Dudleyville, AL, d. May 30, 1989; home, Miami; U. of AL, A.B. 1921, Harvard U., LL.B. 1924; Baptist; widowed.

Career: Instructor in Law, U. of AR, 1924–25; Practicing atty., 1925–36, 1951–62; FL House of Reps., 1929–30; FL Bd. of Pub. Welfare, 1931–32; FL Bd. of Law Examiners, 1933–34; U.S. Senate, 1937–51.

Offices: 2239 RHOB 20515, 202-225-3931. Also 300 Courthouse Tower, 44 W. Flagler St., Miami 33130, 305-536-5565.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	65	69	94	73	25	18	1	50	17	8
1987	68	—	94	93	—	14	—	—	9	3

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	87%	—	8%	73%	—	0%
Social	58%	—	42%	62%	—	38%
Foreign	51%	—	48%	56%	—	44%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	—	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	—	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Claude Pepper (D), unopposed			(S405,551)
1988 primary	Claude Pepper (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Claude Pepper (D)	80,047	(74%)	(S1,395,549)
	Tom Brodie (R)	28,803	(26%)	(S15,888)

NINETEENTH DISTRICT

Fifty years ago, U.S. 1 heading southwest from Miami toward the 113-mile Florida Keys Highway was a narrow ribbon of highway next to Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railroad passing between acres of Everglades swamp, marked with an occasional tourist attraction and gas stations with red machines full of five cent Cokes. In the years since, the land three to 10 miles on each side of U.S. 1 has been reclaimed and subdivided into middle-class neighborhoods and has become as a result the southernmost inhabited part of the continental United States and the closest thing in the Miami area to the typical middle-class American ideal. This is Florida's 19th Congressional District, which starts in Miami's Coconut Grove area and passes through Coral Gables, planned as a ritzy suburb in the 1920s, to newer offspring of Miami like Kendall, Olympia Heights, Richmond Heights, and Perrine. In one way this constituency is not typical: 22% of its population is of Spanish origin. But if the Cubans still speak Spanish at home and at work, they also are upwardly striving, young, and family-oriented (40% of the households here contain children, one of the highest figures in Florida). More than many Americans whose immigrant ancestors are more remote, they are believers in the American dream.

The political tone here is still set mainly by Anglos, but Cubans have entered the electorate in significant numbers. For 40 years south Dade County has generally been Democratic. But some of the white residents have been moving to the Republicans, and Cuban-Americans tend to vote heavily Republican in serious contests. In congressional elections, however, the south Dade County district (numbered 4th in the 1950s, 12th in the 1960s, and 15th in the 1970s) has since 1954 regularly elected Dante Fascell. He is now Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and was a member as well of the special committee investigating the Iran-contra affair. These are strategic posts for a man who has been a force in foreign policy since the years of the bipartisan foreign policy of the 1950s and who, unlike most members of the House, has a district with two constituency groups strongly interested in foreign policy matters. Fascell has always been in sympathy with their views: he is pro-Israel and anti-Castro.

Institutionally, Fascell's chairmanship does not confer great power. The House is usually overshadowed in foreign policy by the Senate, with its power to approve treaties and nominations, and its chairman before Fascell had allowed Foreign Affairs subcommittee chairmen, most of them young liberals, to pretty much have their way. Fascell agrees with them on many issues, but not on Latin America, where he has strongly opposed Fidel Castro and strongly favored contra aid, nor does he share the mistrust many of the politicians who came of age during the Vietnam era seem to have in any assertion of American power in the Third World. On the contrary, Fascell has shown a desire to propagate the ideas of democracy, and a faith that the values America stands for are better than those espoused by Marxist-leaning Third World politicians. He has been part of the offensive for freedom as the main patron of the National Endowment for Democracy, which has helped advance democratic politics in Latin America and East Asia. He is also the prime sponsor of Radio Martí, which infuriates Castro by sending messages to Cubans he cannot control, and Fascell has proposed that it be joined by a Television Martí. Increasingly, he seems to be operating in bipartisan fashion with ranking Republican William Broomfield, backing the INF treaty, backing measures to combat the international drug trade, seeking investigations of Cuban human rights violations, launching a major review of

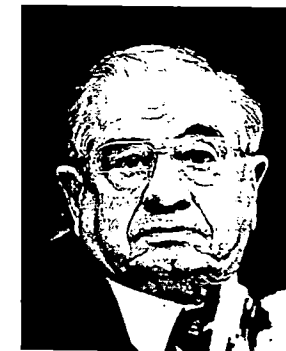
foreign aid. But, fierce and ready to bellow with outrage, he is a force to be reckoned with on the House floor, determined and aggressive and well-informed.

He also tends to district matters, like keeping oil drillers out of the Gulf of Mexico and away from the Florida Keys and setting up nature sanctuaries there. In the 19th District he has been reelected by wide margins, despite Republican inroads in other contests in south Dade. His last serious opponent was TV newscaster Glenn Rinker in 1982, who held him to 59%, and it's possible he'll get another serious challenger again. But Cuban-Americans, who provide the vote base for any Republican challenge here, may very well conclude they're better off with a sympathetic and powerful Foreign Affairs chairman as their congressman.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 569,500, up 11.0% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,886, up 45.0% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 40% with children, 60% married couples; 33.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$263; median house value: \$69,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 373,329; 21% Spanish origin, 10% Black, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	111,913	(59%)
	Dukakis (D)	78,062	(41%)

Rep. Dante B. Fascell (D)



Elected 1954; b. Mar. 9, 1917, Bridgehampton, L.I., NY; home, Miami; U. of Miami, J.D. 1935; Protestant; married (Jeanne-Marie).

Career: Practicing atty., 1938-42, 1946-54; Army, WWII; Legal Attaché, Dade Cnty. St. Legis. Delegation, 1947-50; FL House of Reps., 1950-54; U.S. Delegation to U.N., 1969.

Offices: 2354 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4506. Also 7855 S.W. 104 St., Ste. 220, Miami 33156, 305-536-5301.

Committees: *Foreign Affairs* (Chairman of 28 D), Subcommittee: Arms Control, International Security and Science (Chairman), *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (8th of 18 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	75	74	84	73	75	17	2	30	36	15
1987	80	—	84	86	—	9	—	—	20	4

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	71%	—	23%	73%	—	0%
Social	68%	—	31%	78%	—	0%
Foreign	53%	—	47%	64%	—	35%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Dante B. Fascell (D).....	135,355	(72%)	(\$337,596)
	Ralph Carlos Rocheteau (R).....	51,628	(28%)	(\$4,907)
1988 primary	Dante B. Fascell (D).....	35,630	(85%)	
	Wesley F. (Wes) White (D).....	6,416	(15%)	
1986 general	Dante B. Fascell (D).....	99,203	(69%)	(\$293,227)
	Bill Flanagan (R).....	44,455	(31%)	(\$359,382)

GEORGIA

A New South is rising in the red clay hills around Atlanta. You can see it in the clusters of high-rises towering above the thick trees near interchanges several miles apart, in the subdivisions leapfrogging miles out into the countryside, in the heaviest concentration of office complexes and shopping centers in the South in "the donut," as it is called, extending up to 60 miles around Atlanta. This is not the first time proclamations of a New South have rung out in Atlanta, and in the past the prophecies have often turned out false. In 1877, Atlanta editor Henry Grady predicted that an industrialized, progressive "New South" (he coined the term) would rise from the ashes of the Civil War. But, except for a few enterprises like Coca-Cola and many low-wage textile mills, the South had very little industrial development until after World War II. In the 1940s, Georgia Governor Ellis Arnall, in *The Shore Dimly Seen* envisioned a South that would embrace New Deal economic programs and labor unions, and where the race problem would be solved without struggle by greater education and higher incomes. Incomes *did* rise and legal segregation was ended—but not through unionization or economic redistribution, and not without a searing and sometimes violent struggle. In the 1980s, surging economic growth around Atlanta has made Georgia one of the nation's fastest growing states. But it's still not clear whether this version of the New South will produce enough well-educated young people to sustain the boom, and whether there will be room in the mostly white donut around Atlanta for many blacks, as well as whites, to get ahead.

The boom has strengthened Atlanta's and Georgia's claims to being the heart of the South. This is where the coastal South and the inland South meet, where the Appalachian chain ends and the Black Belt moves from the Carolina lowlands toward the Mississippi Delta. Georgia had inauspicious beginnings—philanthropist James Oglethorpe settling and trying to rehabilitate convicts around Savannah misfired. Andrew Jackson's troops driving the Civilized Tribes west over the Trail of Tears, slave proprietors extending their Cotton Kingdom across the hot flatlands. But Georgia did not lead the South in secession: it became the key to the outcome of the war because its geography made it the site of Sherman's march to the sea. The Union army cut a 60-mile swath through Georgia, burning towns and houses, destroying crops and the food they couldn't eat, not just to split the Confederacy but to humble a culture by teaching the Rebels that they were utterly beaten. Georgia and the South remained deeply moved by the memory of this terrible defeat, and *Gone With the Wind* sent chills up spines when it premiered in Atlanta in 1939, and still does 50 years later. Politically, Sherman made Georgia the most Democratic state, the number two state for John Kennedy in 1960 as well as the number one for Jimmy Carter in 1980, and the best Deep South state for Walter Mondale in 1984 (though it had switched to Barry Goldwater, George Wallace, and Richard Nixon in the civil rights years in between).

For Atlanta, defeat proved invigorating: Scarlett O'Hara's Atlanta was just a tiny railroad

junction, but the Atlanta that grew after the Civil War became clearly the chief city of the South. Atlanta was the hub first of railroads and then airlines, the home of Joel Chandler Harris and Coca-Cola, of the South's biggest white establishment and of the black colleges and black middle class that were the backbone of the civil rights movement. And Georgia was the home of the first President produced from a southern statehouse in American history, Jimmy Carter, who was elected from a rural base and as governor placed a picture of Martin Luther King Jr. in the Capitol. Carter's 1970 victory was a turning point for Georgia and the South: it was the first time a candidate conspicuously supported by blacks still got enough white votes to win (Atlanta blacks used to send out endorsements in letters to arrive on election day, so that white voters wouldn't know whom black voters were backing). Similarly, Carter's nomination and election in 1976 marked a political union of black and white southerners—symbolized by Carter's endorsement by civil rights movement veteran Andrew Young.

Georgia politics before Carter's success was often a struggle between prosperous, relatively tolerant metropolitan Atlanta—"the city too busy to hate," as it liked to call itself—and rural Georgia. The rural counties, which cast 60% of the votes in general elections and 75% in Democratic primaries, usually won; the system was tilted even more toward these counties before a 1964 Supreme Court decision by Georgia's unit rule system, which gave each of the state's 159 counties 2, 4, or 6 votes in the decisive Democratic primary. Up through Carter's term as governor, Atlanta tended to favor candidates who favored civil rights, who were close to their national parties, whose accents were broadcaster-neutral, and whose clothes and bearing reflected the sophistication Atlanta is proud of. Rural Georgia went just the other way. Carter in 1970, Senator Sam Nunn in 1972, and Governor Joe Frank Harris in 1982 were all elected initially with majorities in the rural counties but, unlike the buffoonish Lester Maddox, they proved acceptable to Atlanta.

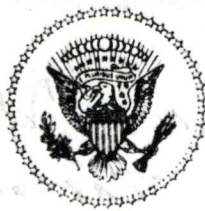
Over time the differences between the two areas diminished. The outlying parts of the Atlanta donut filled up with affluent young whites, mostly from the South, upbeat in mood and increasingly Republican in their politics; while in the rural counties, desegregation has long since been accepted and whites no longer see themselves as inevitably in conflict with blacks.

The two regions have not quite converged: metro Atlanta tends to be less tradition-minded on cultural issues and more market-oriented on economics. And there are interesting movements within the regions. In close-in Atlanta, notably DeKalb County just east of the city, where young people are moving close to universities and cultural institutions, high-toned shopping centers and black neighbors, the movement is toward the Democrats. Republicans are making their biggest gains in once entirely rural counties which are now filling up with blue- and white-collar breadwinners willing to commute 20 or 50 miles so they can raise their children in a country atmosphere.

But these trends tend to balance out, and on the bottom line, metropolitan and rural Georgia tend to end up same. In the 1982 Democratic primary for governor, there were no sharp differences between metro Atlanta and the rural counties. In the close 1986 election for Senate, Democrat Wyche Fowler, a congressman from Atlanta, got 51% of the vote in metropolitan Atlanta and 51% in the other 144 counties. And in 1988, George Bush, the son of a Connecticut Yankee, carried metropolitan Atlanta with 59% and rural Georgia with 61%, for a total of 60% statewide—exactly Ronald Reagan's percentage in 1984. In only six of the 159 counties were Bush's and Reagan's share of the vote more than 5% apart.

Today's Georgia seems fairly solidly Republican in presidential elections and fairly solidly Democratic in state and congressional elections. Yet the New South around Atlanta is strongly Republican and may provide a base for the party to be at last competitive in state contests. Symbolic of that trend was the defeat in 1988 in fast-growing Cobb County of 28-year legislator Joe Mack Wilson, attacked by Republicans for late tax filings, abuses of his expense account, and racial slurs. But there is a countervailing Democratic trend in some rural areas, which may

Janet Grant - wife



City/State: Tallahassee, FL
 Event: Grant for Congress
 Date: 8/22/90

OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE CONTACT SHEET

Name	Office	Phone Number
Presidential Advance Office		202/456-7565
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Carol Blymire	WH Speechwriting	(202) 456-7750
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Cathy Hutchinson	" Political	" " - 6510
Sally Salmon	" "	" " - 6573
GARY COX	GENERAL PARTNER LAFAYETTE VINEYARDS	878-9041
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Maj. Lee Vivrette	MARINE ONE Advance	703-640-2364
DAVID Cole	Bill Grant Campaign	904-222-4252
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Pete Berlin	Finance Director Grant Campaign	904-222-4252
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JOE SAMOZISKY	Southeastern Decorators	904 353-4341
Michael McInnis	US Secret Service / Tallahassee	904/668-9111
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City/State: Tallahassee, Florida
Event: Florida G.O.P. Victory '90
Date: 8/22/90

OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE CONTACT SHEET

Name	Office	Phone Number
Presidential Advance Office		202/456-7565
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Carol Blymire	WH Speechwriting	456-7750
Major Dave Bonwit	Military Aide	202-395-1747

BILL GRANT
20 DISTRICT FLORIDA

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

SUBCOMMITTEES
TOBACCO AND PEANUTS
LIVESTOCK DAIRY AND POULTRY

PUBLIC WORKS AND
TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON NARCOTICS
ABUSE AND CONTROL

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House of Representatives
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TELECOPY FORM - CONGRESSMAN BILL GRANT

TELEFAX TO:

Peggy O'Boyle

DATE:

8/20

FROM:

Steven Cohen

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news from Congressman **BILL GRANT**

2nd District, Florida

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- AUGUST 16, 1990

For more information contact Steven Cohen

GRANT BACKED MEASURE TO HELP EASE RURAL DOCTOR SHORTAGE

Congressman Bill Grant said that the recent passage of a bill reauthorizing the National Health Service Corps was a great step forward toward the goal of bringing more physicians and other health professionals to underserved rural areas.

The National Health Service Corps provides Federal scholarships and loan repayment benefits to health professionals who agree to serve in medically needy areas.

"Myself and other members of the Rural Health Care Coalition worked long and hard to improve National Health Service Corps programs to make them more responsive to the needs of our area," Grant said. "Physician recruitment and retention are vitally important and this bill will go a long way toward attaining both of these objectives."

Grant said the bill considerably strengthens the current program in a number of ways.

"We have authorized \$63.9 million for this program next year, which is eight times what the program received last year," Grant said. "The bill gives states incentive grants to establish offices of rural health and their own loan repayment programs and it provides money for communities which lose their National Service Corps physician before his or her obligation has been completed."

"There are about 12.5 million Americans living in more than 1,900 communities with a shortage of primary care practitioners," Grant said. "We have had success in bringing National Health Service Corps doctors to North Florida, but the need is great. This bill will allow many more physicians, nurse practitioners, nurse midwives and physicians' assistants to take advantage of the program and will do much more to assign personnel to areas where they will be likely to stay after they complete their service obligation."



news from Congressman **BILL GRANT**

2nd District, Florida

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- JULY 24, 1990

For more information contact Steven Cohen

GRANT PLAN TO CANCEL GULF LEASE SALE PASSED BY PANEL

Congressman Bill Grant today announced that the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the Interior has passed his plan to stop an offshore oil and gas lease sale planned for the Panhandle coast of Florida.

The panel included language in its 1991 spending bill preventing the Department of Interior from carrying out lease Sale 137 in the Eastern Gulf of Mexico. The sale is scheduled for November, 1991. Grant's proposal was supported by the entire Florida congressional delegation.

"This is the first step, but a very critical one, in a long process," Grant said. "I am very grateful to Chairman Yates and the members of the subcommittee for recognizing that lease Sale 137 was ill-conceived by the Department of the Interior. Hopefully, the language banning lease Sale 137 will survive the full Appropriations Committee and be supported by the Senate as well."

Lease Sale 137 would make 47.5 million acres in the Gulf of Mexico subject to oil and gas exploration, including areas as close as 10 miles from Cape San Blas and 20 miles from Apalachicola Bay.

"Thousands of our people depend on the irreplaceable resources of Apalachicola Bay for their livelihoods," Grant said. "We can't allow the Department of Interior to carry out a program which could put Apalachicola Bay in jeopardy. We have seen too many pollution tragedies to take chances with the future of our coastal resources."



news from Congressman **BILL GRANT**

2nd District, Florida

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- JUNE 14, 1990

For more information contact Steven Cohen

GRANT SPONSORS NEW ANTI-CRIME AND DRUG LEGISLATION

Congressman Bill Grant today joined U.S. Drug Czar William Bennett and members of the House Republican leadership in introducing the **Violent Crime and Drug Control Act of 1990**, a comprehensive anti-crime and drug legislative package.

"Of the issues facing our country, the people I represent have said repeatedly that they are most concerned about drug abuse and violent crime, which often go hand in hand," Grant said at a Capitol press conference. "I have always said that we would need time and a deep commitment to win the war against drugs. The passage of this legislation won't wipe out these problems, but it will give us additional tools to attack the people who spread this sickness in our communities."

The legislation was formulated in conjunction with the Administration's Office of Drug Control Policy to implement parts of the federally-mandated drug strategy. The bill stresses user accountability, drug criminal justice and interdiction improvements, and drug abuse treatment. Some of the provisions include:

- * Required development of statewide plans and centralized referral systems to develop and implement effective drug abuse treatment;
- * Expanded drug testing programs within state and Federal criminal justice systems;
- * New penalties for firearms violations and new fine and forfeiture authority over boats and aircraft for law enforcement officials;
- * The death penalty for drug kingpins and enhanced penalties for narcotics-related public corruption;
- * Death penalty process reforms to stop endless delays;
- * Mandated loss of Federal benefits for convicted drug traffickers and users, and revocation of drivers' licenses for drug offenders in states that receive Federal law enforcement

funds;

- * Expanded drug testing programs within state and Federal criminal justice systems;
- * Required development of statewide plans and centralized referral systems to ensure effective drug abuse treatment.

"This legislation builds on the foundation of anti-drug initiatives passed in 1988 and 1989," Grant said. "Next year, we will spend close to \$10.6 billion on programs to bring drug pushers to justice, to help the victims of drug addiction and to give direct assistance to our local law enforcement officials. I believe it is money well spent. The Violent Crime and Drug Control Act of 1990 will put new and improved tools in the hands of our front line fighters in the war against drugs and allow us to improve the effectiveness of our drug treatment efforts."



news from Congressman **BILL GRANT**

2nd District, Florida

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- JUNE 26, 1990

For more information contact Steven Cohen

GRANT CALLS BUSH DECISION GOOD FIRST STEP

Congressman Bill Grant today characterized President George Bush's decision to prohibit oil exploration near the Florida Keys and Everglades as a good first step toward ensuring protection for Florida's precious natural resources.

Bush announced that 74 existing oil and gas leases between Tampa and the Florida Keys would be terminated and future Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) programs would be revamped to reflect a new emphasis on environmental protection and more input by local communities.

"The Florida Congressional delegation has been united in its opposition to oil and gas exploration near Florida's most sensitive areas and our commitment has been rewarded," Grant said. "President Bush obviously understands the national significance of these delicate treasures and is committed to a future policy which places environmental considerations at the core of any future OCS program."

Recently, in a letter signed by every member of the Florida delegation, Grant requested that the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Interior impose a moratorium on prelease steps for lease Sale 137 in the Eastern Gulf of Mexico. The sale is scheduled for November 1991 and includes 47.5 million acres off the Florida Panhandle coast.

"Although the President's Task Force did not address issues other than existing leases near the Keys and Everglades, I am optimistic that we can prevail on this issue as well," Grant said.



news from Congressman **BILL GRANT**

2nd District, Florida

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- MARCH 21, 1990

For more information contact Steven Cohen

GRANT NAMED FOREST CONSERVATIONIST OF THE YEAR

Congressman Bill Grant has been named Forest Conservationist of the Year by the Florida Wildlife Federation.

Federation President Manley K. Fuller said Grant was chosen because of his many years of dedicated service to the cause of forest conservation in Florida.

"Congressman Grant has been a strong proponent of acquisition of the Pinhook Swamp addition to the Osceola National Forest and he has advocated adding important habitat areas to the Apalachicola and Ocala National Forests for wildlife and recreation purposes," Fuller said. "He is a lifelong hunter and fisherman who strongly supports panther re-establishment in North Florida forests and multiple-use management of our public forests."

Grant was successful in adding 25,000 acres of wildlife habitat to the Osceola National Forest. The land provides some of the best black bear habitat in Florida. He also joined the Wildlife Federation in establishing a reward fund to help apprehend cougar poachers.

Grant said he was honored to be singled out by the Wildlife Federation for such a prestigious award.

"The Florida Wildlife Federation has been a leader in the drive to provide sound management of our national forests for fishing, hunting, recreation and timber production," Grant said. "Florida is a better place for their efforts and I appreciate their continued support and advice on conservation and wildlife issues."

outline -- Congressman Bill Grant is presented with the Conservationist of the Year award by President Manley Fuller and Federation Board Member Irene Haley of Tallahassee.



news from Congressman **BILL GRANT**

2nd District, Florida

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- APRIL 26, 1990

For more information contact Steven Cohen

HOUSE DECLARES MAY 13 INFANT MORTALITY AWARENESS DAY

Congressman Bill Grant announced that the House of Representatives passed a resolution declaring May 13, 1990 Infant Mortality Awareness Day.

"As a member of the Sunbelt Caucus Task Force on Infant Mortality and a cosponsor of the resolution, I believe it is very fitting that we chose Mother's Day to call attention to the tragedy of infant mortality in America," Grant said. "Although we spend more per person on health care than any other nation, in 1987, 38,000 babies died before their first birthday. That ranks us 20th among developed nations. Among states, Florida is 38th with a death rate of 10.6. Some of our North Florida counties have rates as high as 20 per 1,000 live births."

Grant said expanding prenatal care is an effective and economical way to improve the chances of mothers having healthy babies.

"We have found that only 1 in 3 pregnant women in America receives prenatal care," Grant said. "We have been successful in passing legislation to expand health and nutrition benefits for low income women and children and we want to do more. For every dollar we spend on prenatal care, we save \$3 in medical costs associated with premature, low birthweight infants."

"Infant mortality is a complex problem and only through widespread community awareness will we make long term progress," Grant said. "Healthy mothers giving birth to healthy babies is in the interest of everyone and everyone can play a role in the effort."



news from Congressman **BILL GRANT**

2nd District, Florida

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- APRIL 11, 1990

For more information contact Steven Cohen

RURAL HEALTH COALITION ANNOUNCES 1990 AGENDA

Congressman Bill Grant and fellow members of the House Rural Health Care Coalition announced their 1990 agenda designed to improve access to primary health care services and make Medicare hospital reimbursements for rural facilities more equitable.

"Our agenda for 1990 builds on the past successes of the Coalition," Grant said. "In recent years we succeeded in creating the office of rural health in the Department of Health and Human Services; narrowed the gap between what urban and rural hospitals get paid by Medicare for similar services; established loan programs for nurses and other allied health professionals; created an infant mortality initiative; and established the rural hospital transition grant program. We are seeing, however, that adequate health care for the 60 million Americans living in rural areas is continuing to be threatened by manpower shortages, hospital closures, the high cost of medical care and the overall stress on the rural economy."

The number one goal of the Coalition continues to be equitable payment to rural health care providers under the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

"In the last three years, rural hospitals have been given a larger payment increase than other hospitals," Grant said. "The so-called urban-rural differential has narrowed. "Our goal is to accelerate the process of completely eliminating this payment disparity."

In 1989, Congress adopted a new system for reimbursing physicians under Medicare. That system, known as the Resource-Based Relative Value Scale (RBRVS), will reward physicians serving in rural areas.

"The RBRVS system will take six years before it is fully

implemented," Grant said. "We would like to shorten the phase in period. "Also, we will be working to ensure that other health professionals, from certified registered nurse anesthetists to physical therapists, are receiving equitable reimbursement from Medicare for their highly skilled services."

Grant said the Coalition is very concerned about the shortage of health professionals in rural areas and has proposed a number of initiatives to remedy the situation.

"Our Coalition has worked to encourage health professionals to locate in rural areas and we intend to build on that effort this year," Grant said. "First, we are pushing legislation to revitalize the National Health Service Corps, which provides scholarships to doctors in exchange for service in medically underserved areas of the country. In the last 10 years, the number of professionals entering the program has declined dramatically, but we believe we can reverse that trend by reforming the program and providing additional money for scholarships. We also intend to push for other loan repayment programs to bring nurses and allied health professionals into rural communities. I believe there are many young health professionals who want to serve needy communities but can't because they come out of school burdened with so much debt. We want to give these dedicated people the opportunity to serve where they are needed the most."

Since the Rural Health Care Coalition was formed, one of its goals has been to document and publicize the health care problems of rural America, Grant said.

"That is one reason our Coalition will continue to support funds for state offices of rural health and highlight in Congress the continuing health needs of people living beyond the population centers of our nation," Grant said. "Specifically, this year we will focus on the unmet mental health needs of rural Americans and the need to develop home health care and hospice care programs in rural areas.

"The point we need to keep in mind is that rural Americans deserve quality health care and that not all national health care policies work in sparsely populated areas," Grant said. "Our Coalition will fight those policies which stand in the way of quality health care and push for the programs which improve the level of care available to our citizens."



news from Congressman **BILL GRANT** 2nd District, Florida



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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- MARCH 13, 1990

For more information contact Steven Cohen

GRANT HONORED FOR COST CUTTING VOTES

Congressman Bill Grant was presented with the Golden Bulldog Award by the Watchdogs of the Treasury, Inc., for his 1989 voting efforts to reduce the deficit, cut Federal spending and eliminate government waste.

Watchdogs of the Treasury is a nonpartisan organization which annually awards Members of Congress who vote to contain unnecessary government spending at least 75 percent of the time, based on a compilation of selected votes on economic and fiscal issues. Bill Grant supported Watchdog positions 96 percent of the time in 1989.

Grant voted to cut the 1990 budget by nearly \$11 billion; close unneeded military bases; cut foreign aid; reduce spending for the State Department and the Congress; and repeal the Catastrophic Health Care Act.

Watchdogs of the Treasury also applauded Grant's votes to prevent free-spending Members of Congress to violate the Budget Act and spend money without counting it against the deficit.

Grant said he was honored to be recognized for his cost cutting votes.

"The people I represent want true deficit reduction and I believe my votes reflect that," Grant said. "Watchdogs of the Treasury, by singling out Members of Congress who cast the tough votes to bring our deficit under control, encourages others to join us."

Cutline -- Congressman Bill Grant is presented with his GOLDEN BULLDOG AWARD by Marvin Womack, Vice President of Procter and Gamble Corporation.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- FEBRUARY 9, 1990

From Congressman Bill Grant
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Washington, D.C. 20515

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Steven Cohen - 202-225-5157

GRANT 100 PERCENT WITH U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Congressman Bill Grant announced that his voting record for 1989 has earned him a 100 percent rating from the U.S Chamber of Commerce.

"The U.S. Chamber of Commerce closely monitors those issues and policies that enhance free enterprise and foster continued economic expansion," Grant said. "I am very honored to have scored a perfect 100 on their rating scale."

Grant will be presented with the Chamber's "Spirit of Enterprise" award this spring. The award signifies the Chamber's appreciation of those legislators who strongly support the free enterprise system.

Key business issues addressed last year in Congress included a major minimum wage increase, repeal of Section 89 and further deregulation of natural gas. Congress also considered various proposals that would have imposed new restrictions on the private pension system, established a line-item veto, reformed the Davis Bacon Act and reduced the capital gains tax rate.

"The votes selected reflect the Chamber's legislative mission to create and protect a climate for business that promotes economic growth, creates new and better jobs and fosters greater reliance on the private enterprise system," said Al Hourland, the Chamber's vice president for congressional relations. "We feel sure we can count on Bill Grant for his support during the tough battles business will face during the second session of the 101st Congress."

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- FEBRUARY 15, 1990

From Congressman Bill Grant
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GRANT TO HOLD ANTI-DRUG SUMMIT MARCH 2

Congressman Bill Grant announced that on March 2, the sheriffs and police chiefs of the 2nd Congressional District will gather in Tallahassee for an anti-drug summit with representatives of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, the Department of Defense and the General Services Administration.

"Local law enforcement is our first line of defense in the war against drugs and I want to find ways to bolster their capabilities to impact this enormous problem," Grant said.

Addressing the meeting will be Judge Reggie Walton, Associate Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, Col. Mac Macullough from the Department of Defense and General Services Administration Florida Director Jim Naff. The meeting will be held at the Silver Slipper restaurant.

"I have spoken at length with Sec. William Bennett about the extent of the drug problem in rural areas," Grant said. "I am delighted that Judge Walton will be able to get a firsthand look at the programs we have developed in our local schools as well as talk with the law enforcement professionals who face this issue every day. I am hopeful the things he will learn can be incorporated into our anti-drug initiatives for 1991."

Grant said he was excited about the possibility of directing additional resources to law enforcement through DOD and GSA programs.

"Col. Macullough will discuss a new program in which both equipment and manpower can be dedicated to ongoing local anti-drug efforts," Grant said. "Also, we believe the GSA surplus property program holds great potential for supplementing the budgets of sheriffs and police chiefs. Jim Naff is an expert in this area and he will talk about identifying and acquiring, for little or no cost, the specific items our local officials need. In this way, a greater portion of their fiscal resources can be dedicated to drug war activities."

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- DECEMBER 6, 1989

From Congressman Bill Grant
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For more information contact
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GRANT LEADS FIGHT FOR EDA RURAL FUNDING

Congressman Bill Grant said he will continue to fight to give the U.S. Economic Development Administration the flexibility to respond to the special needs of rural communities.

Recently, in passing legislation to reauthorize the Economic Development Administration, the Public Works and Transportation Committee approved a change limiting EDA grants to a maximum of 50 percent of project costs. The change was prompted by allegations that overly broad regulations have allowed undeserving communities to qualify for 80 percent Federal funding.

Grant argued that EDA should continue to be able to contribute up to 80 percent of the money for very needy projects. He was praised for his work by senior members of the Committee, who conceded that some exceptions to the law were needed.

"I believe as strongly as ever that we need to give EDA the flexibility to give special attention to those communities that need it most," Grant said. "Most grants should be and are awarded on a 50-50 matching basis. But for some towns, raising half the total grant is impossible and without the money, people go wanting for jobs."

Grant said he believes a better approach would be to require the Secretary of Commerce to establish clear standards which a community must meet before it can qualify as "distressed" and receive up to 80 percent Federal matching funds. He added that he may offer such an amendment when the bill reaches the House floor for a vote.

Grant also plans to urge the Bush Administration to reconsider its position concerning EDA. The Office of Management and Budget has suggested the elimination of EDA to provide additional funds for the war on drugs.

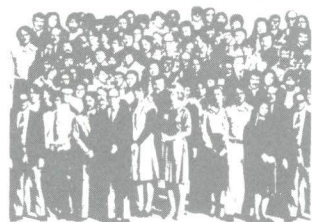
"To my way of thinking, the best way to keep people away from drugs is to help create stable jobs and hope," Grant said. "I believe that EDA funded projects are a major step towards achieving that goal."

TRAVELS THROUGH TIME

When you visit Florida's capital city, you can become a time traveler—exploring the past, the present, and the future. At the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee, the whole panorama of the state's past unfolds before you. The Museum's permanent and changing exhibits document the people, events, and material culture of Florida from prehistoric times to the present. Situated within the Capitol Complex, the Museum offers a special view of contemporary culture, a setting where Florida's future is always the concern of the moment. At the Museum's associated historic sites—The Old Capitol, The Union Bank, and San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site—you can experience the past as it was lived, where it was lived.

You can travel in many directions at the Museum of Florida History, and each trip will be unique, but all journeys are exciting, entertaining, and educational. Come see for yourself. Come visit the past . . . and return to the present with visions and hopes for the future.

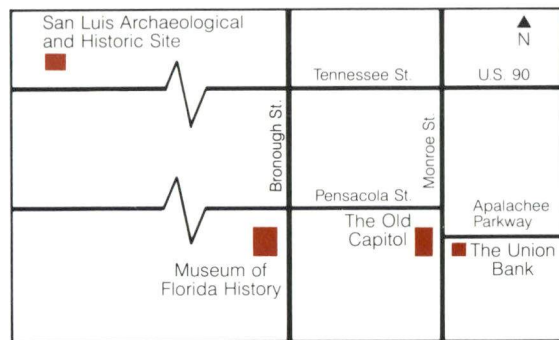
Florida History Associates



Florida History Associates, Inc., is a nonprofit support organization for the Museum of Florida History. Anyone interested in preserving Florida's heritage and promoting its appreciation may join. To inquire about membership, donations, and benefits, please write or call the Museum.



The Museum of Florida History is located in Tallahassee, Florida's capital city, which is accessible from I-10, west of I-75. U.S. 27, Monroe Street, runs directly in front of The Old Capitol. Two blocks west is the Museum, and one block east is The Union Bank.



Address:
Museum of Florida History
R. A. Gray Building
500 S. Bronough Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399-0250
(904) 488-1673

Hours:
Museum of Florida History
The Old Capitol
San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site
Monday–Friday, 9:00 a.m.–4:30 p.m.
Saturday, 10:00 a.m.–4:30 p.m.
Sunday, 12:00 noon–4:30 p.m.

The Union Bank
Tuesday–Friday, 10:00 a.m.–1:00 p.m.
Saturday–Sunday, 1:00 p.m.–4:00 p.m.
Closed Monday

Museum and sites closed on Christmas day.

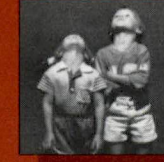
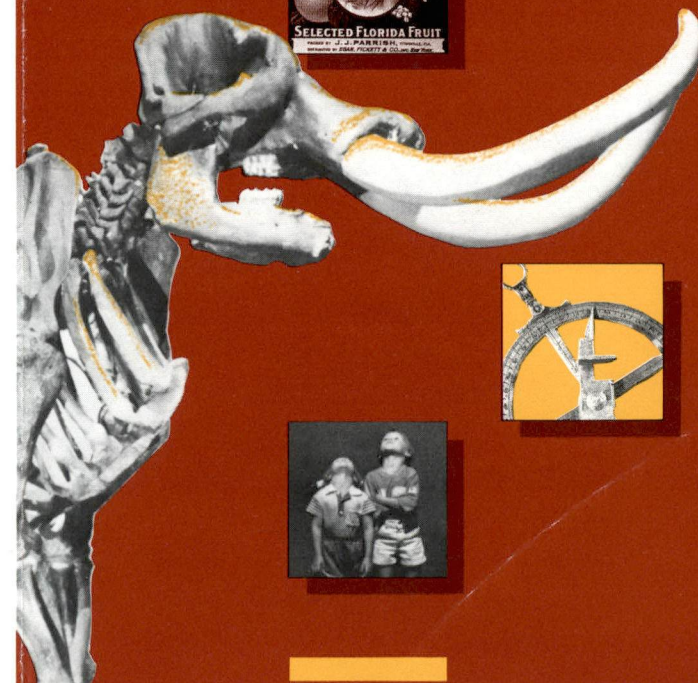
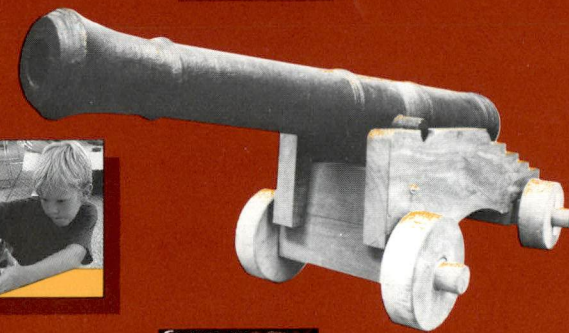
Admission to the Museum and historic sites is free.

The Museum Shops in the R. A. Gray Building and The Old Capitol offer an excellent selection of carefully chosen gifts in all price ranges. Each is chosen for its quality, value, and relation to Florida history.

This brochure was produced by the Museum of Florida History, Division of Historical Resources, Department of State, Jim Smith, Secretary of State.

This public document was promulgated at an annual cost of \$2747, or \$.02747 per copy, to inform the public about the programs of the Museum of Florida History.

THE MUSEUM OF FLORIDA HISTORY

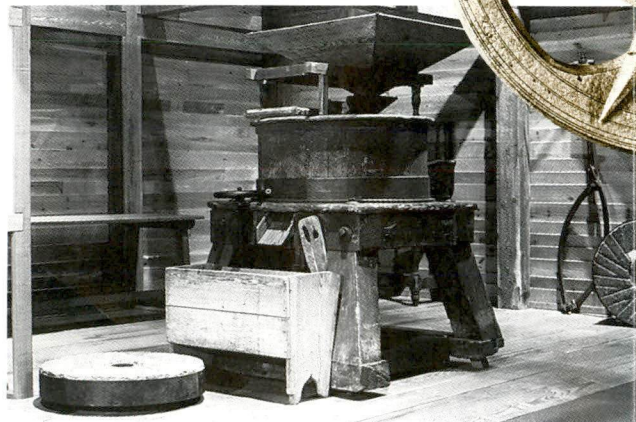


THE MUSEUM OF FLORIDA HISTORY



The Museum of Florida History is an exciting place for young and old, for the casual visitor and the serious scholar. Here, the state's fascinating history is preserved, exhibited, and interpreted through original artifacts. Visitors can stand beneath the nine-foot-high shoulder of a great mastodon, search out the sunken treasures of old Spanish galleons, and march to war in imagination under Florida's Civil War battle flags. You can actually climb aboard a reconstructed steamboat as it navigates Florida's bright waters or see how tourists set up camp in the twenties—in "tin can campers."

As a state center for historical study and activity, the Museum of Florida History and its historic sites offer a wide range of programs and services: both permanent and temporary exhibits, guided tours, special events, educational programs, and instructional workshops. Browse for an hour, or spend an entire day. At the Museum of Florida History, history comes alive for the whole family.

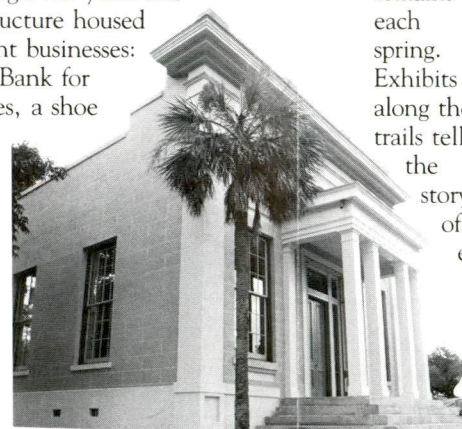


THE OLD CAPITOL AND THE UNION BANK

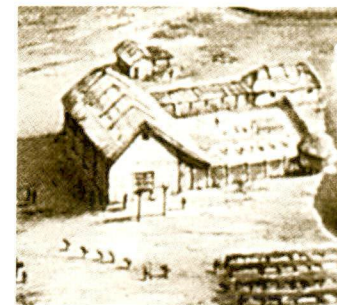


A short walk from the Museum you will see the historic Old Capitol, carefully restored to its 1902 appearance. With its boldly striped awnings and majestic dome, The Old Capitol is the gem of the Capitol Complex and remains at the center of Florida's history and culture. In the Senate and House Chambers, the Supreme Court, and the Governor's Suite, you can see authentic reproductions of the building's turn-of-the-century furnishings. Upstairs, an eight-room permanent exhibit, "A View from the Capitol," offers the story of Florida's political history—with artifacts as diverse as cotton gins and constitutions.

A visit to the Museum's sites should also include The Union Bank building, directly across from The Old Capitol. Built in 1841 territorial Tallahassee, The Union Bank is Florida's oldest surviving bank building. Through the years this historic structure housed many different businesses: a Freedman's Bank for emancipated slaves, a shoe factory, a bakery, a beauty shop, and a church. Today the bank building is an authentic setting in which to present the story of territorial-period banking and daily life. The Union Bank stands as a model of architectural restoration and a symbol of Florida's commitment to the preservation of her heritage.



SAN LUIS ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SITE



High on a hilltop west of downtown Tallahassee lies San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site, the location of an important seventeenth-century Spanish and Apalachee Indian village. The Spanish came to the Apalachee Province in 1633

and by 1656 were living in the village of San Luis de Talimali. It contained a large Indian council house, a Christian church, a Spanish fort, and many homes and outbuildings. San Luis was burned by its inhabitants as they sought to escape British invaders in 1704.

Visitors are welcome to stroll the grounds year-round and to watch state archaeologists as they uncover the village remains each spring. Exhibits along the trails tell the story of the early inhabitants, as well as today's search for the past.



The Governor's Mansion

Florida's Mansion

Bob Martinez was inaugurated as Florida's 40th Governor on January 6, 1987. A native of Tampa, he is a former school teacher, labor negotiator, restaurant owner and Mayor of Tampa. He received a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Tampa and a master's degree in Labor and Industrial Relations from the University of Illinois.

He was elected Mayor of Tampa in 1979 and re-elected in 1983 with 81 percent of the vote. Under his direction, Tampa became a model for growth and was hailed as one of the ten "megatrend" cities of the future.

Governor Martinez has taken a leadership role in the war on drugs and received national recognition for his commitment to protecting Florida's environment. He has served in lead roles with the National Governor's Association on drugs and immigration, and was a member of the Federal Commercial Space Advisory Committee.

Mary Jane Marino Martinez is also a native of Tampa. She graduated from the University of South Florida with a bachelor's degree in English and Library Science and worked as a high school librarian for twenty years. She is deeply concerned about children's issues and is working to strengthen families, help troubled teenagers and fight drug and alcohol abuse. In 1988 she was appointed by President Reagan to help plan the upcoming White House Conference on Libraries.

Governor and Mrs. Martinez met in homeroom class in high school and were married in December 1954. They have two children, Robert Alan Martinez and Sharon Marie Martinez Keen. Alan works for a commercial real estate company, and he and his wife Shari live in Melbourne. Sharon and Neil B. Keen, Jr., a Tampa stockbroker, are the parents of the Martinez's grandchildren, identical twins Emily Ida and Lydia Marie, born on July 18, 1986.



Bobby Brantley was elected Lieutenant Governor on November 4, 1986, to serve with Governor Martinez.

He was born April 6, 1948, in Atmore, Alabama. In 1956, he moved to Jacksonville, Florida, where he attended public schools. He was elected to the Florida House of Representatives in 1978 and again in 1980, with the second highest margin of victory on the entire ballot. In 1982 and 1984, he was re-elected without opposition.

A lifelong Republican, Lieutenant Governor Brantley was elected as one of the Top Five Young Republicans for the State of Florida in 1977-78. He was elected as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1980, 1984 and 1988.



The Lieutenant Governor was designated to serve as the first Secretary of the Florida Lottery. He was instrumental in establishing the agency from its inception and responsible for the Lottery Code of Ethics.

In September 1988, Lieutenant Governor Brantley was appointed by Governor Martinez to serve as Secretary of the Florida Department of Commerce. In this role he serves as Florida's chief ambassador for the promotion of tourism and economic development, nationally and internationally.

He is married to the former Patti Moore of DeLand, and they have two sons, Lenny, a student at Florida State University, and Bobby, Jr., a student at Lincoln High School in Tallahassee.



Governor and Mrs. Martinez, with pet basset hound - Tampa Mascotte, await the arrival of new visitors to the Governor's Mansion.



Mrs. Jean Morris, chairman of the Mansion's docents, explains an eighteenth-century antique to a group of visiting schoolchildren.



"The Mansion"

THE MANSION FOUNDATION

The **Governor's Mansion Foundation** was formed in 1980 as a non-profit, broadly-supported organization to provide furnishings, antiques and objects of art for the State Rooms - or public rooms - of the Mansion at no cost to the taxpayers. Through the generous contributions of private and corporate donors, the foundation was able to underwrite a general refurbishing of the State Rooms which was carried out from 1982 until 1986. The rooms were upgraded with new upholstery, wallpaper, oriental rugs, draperies, porcelains and other fine accessories. The Florida Room, completed in 1985, added considerable beauty and space to the State Area. The recent redecoration of the State Rooms was carried out under the careful supervision of the eight-member **Governor's Mansion Commission**. Established by the Florida Legislature, this commission makes all decisions relating to changes in the State Rooms and grounds. For professional guidance in the areas of architecture, landscape architecture and interior design, the commission relies on the volunteer services of prominent members of the American Institute of Architects, the American Society of Landscape Architects and the American Society of Interior Designers from around the state.



The view across the east lawn of The Mansion shows the building's Classical Revival style of architecture.

THE MANSION STORY

Although Florida did not provide an executive residence until 1906, governors were provided with a rent allowance from 1851 to 1876. It is believed that in the 1820's, Governor Duval lived on his boat in St. Marks harbor until a house could be built for him in Tallahassee. This first governor's residence was a log cabin in what is now Cascades Park. In 1824, Richard Keith Call began construction on The Grove. Call was twice territorial governor of Florida and The Grove, adjacent to the present Mansion, was his residence. Governor William Bloxham bought an 1830's townhouse on Calhoun Street, which he used as his residence during both his terms in office. This building, between Virginia and Carolina Streets, continues in use today as private offices. The first state-owned governor's mansion was built in 1906-1907. In 1955, it was found to be structurally unsound and was demolished. The present Mansion was completed in 1957 on the site of the 1906 mansion.

Mansion Accents

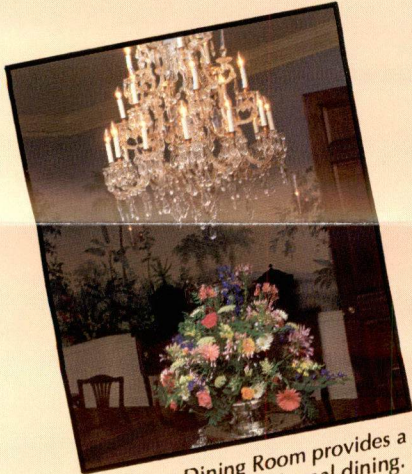


Magnificent Florida herons adorn the candelabra from the 1910 battleship FLORIDA's silver service.

Featured throughout the State Area are various items of special interest. Sixty-eight sterling goblets are engraved with the names of the 67 Florida counties plus one for the "Magic Kingdom." Gifts to the Mansion from foreign countries include a lead crystal bowl given by the king of Norway, blue and white porcelain from the Republic of China and a sculpture from Colombia. These are on display in the public rooms. The collection of European Impressionist paintings on loan from the Ringling Museum represent the work of such artists as Renoir, Degas, Courbet and Utrillo.



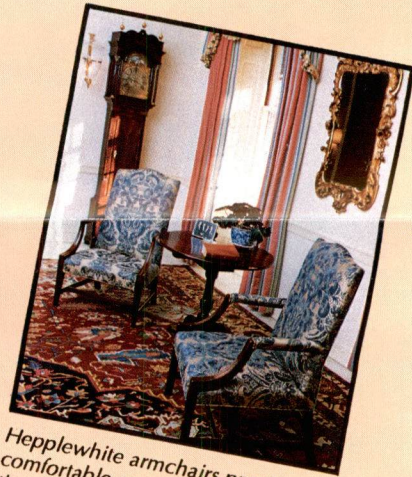
The cigar box from the FLORIDA silver service features orange blossoms, jessamine and dolphins.



The State Dining Room provides a gracious setting for formal dining.



Florida's history, wildlife and native plants are represented on the 12 gallon punch bowl.



Hepplewhite armchairs provide a comfortable seating arrangement in the Entrance Hall.



The custom rug in the Dining Room was based on the design of FLORIDA's silver service.



Silk tassels add the finishing touch to drapes in the Guest Bedroom.



The palm tree from the Dining Room wallpaper enhances the tropical flavor of the room.

The History

The Mansion, as the official residence of Florida's First Family is known, is surrounded by spacious landscaped grounds occupying an entire block-and-a-half on Adams Street, north of Tallahassee's downtown business district.

brick and steel building.

Between 1824, when Tallahassee was founded as Florida's capital, and 1907,

governors were responsible for providing their own accommodations. Several of the city's distinguished old homes were used by governors at various times.

The present structure was designed both for private living and official entertaining. All

1988 Presidential Vote

Dukakis (D)	159,407	(83%)
Bush (R)	27,590	(14%)

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Jackson	68,480	(80%)
Dukakis	15,415	(18%)
Simon	769	(1%)
Gore	648	(1%)

1984 Presidential Vote

Mondale (D)	180,408	(85%)
Reagan (R)	29,009	(14%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	5,890	(88%)
Dole	469	(7%)
Robertson	268	(4%)

REPRESENTATIVE

Rep. Walter E. Fauntroy (D)



Elected Mar. 23, 1971; b. Feb. 6, 1933, Washington, D.C.; home, Washington, D.C.; VA Union U., B.A. 1955, Yale U., B.D. 1958; Baptist; married (Dorothy).

Career: Pastor, New Bethel Baptist Church, 1958–present; Founder and former Dir., Model Inner City Commun. Org.; Dir., Washington Bureau, SCLC, 1960–71; Coordinator, Selma to Montgomery March, 1965; Vice Chmn., DC City Cncl., 1967–79; Natl. Coordinator, Poor Peoples Campaign, 1969; Chmn., Bd. of Dirs., Martin Luther King, Jr., Ctr. for Social Change, 1969–present.

Offices: 2135 RHOB 20515, 202-225-8050. Also 2041 Martin Luther King, Jr., Ave., S.E., Ste. 311, Washington, D.C. 20020, 202-426-2530.

Committees: Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs (3th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Domestic Monetary Policy; Housing and Commu-

nity Development; International Development Institutions and Finance (Chairman); International Finance, Trade, and Monetary Policy. *District of Columbia* (2d of 8 D). Subcommittees: Fiscal Affairs and Health (Chairman); Government Operations and Metropolitan Affairs. *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (10th of 15 D).

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Does Not Vote

Election Results

1988 general	Walter E. Fauntroy (D)	121,817	(71%)	(\$68,523)
	W. Ronald Evans (R)	22,936	(13%)	
	Alvin C. Frost (SP)	13,802	(8%)	
	David H. Dabney (I)	10,449	(6%)	
1988 primary	Walter E. Fauntroy (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Walter E. Fauntroy (D)	101,604	(80%)	(\$74,681)
	Mary L. H. King (R)	17,643	(14%)	
	Julie McCall (SP)	6,122	(5%)	

Fla - gains 4 to 6 seats...

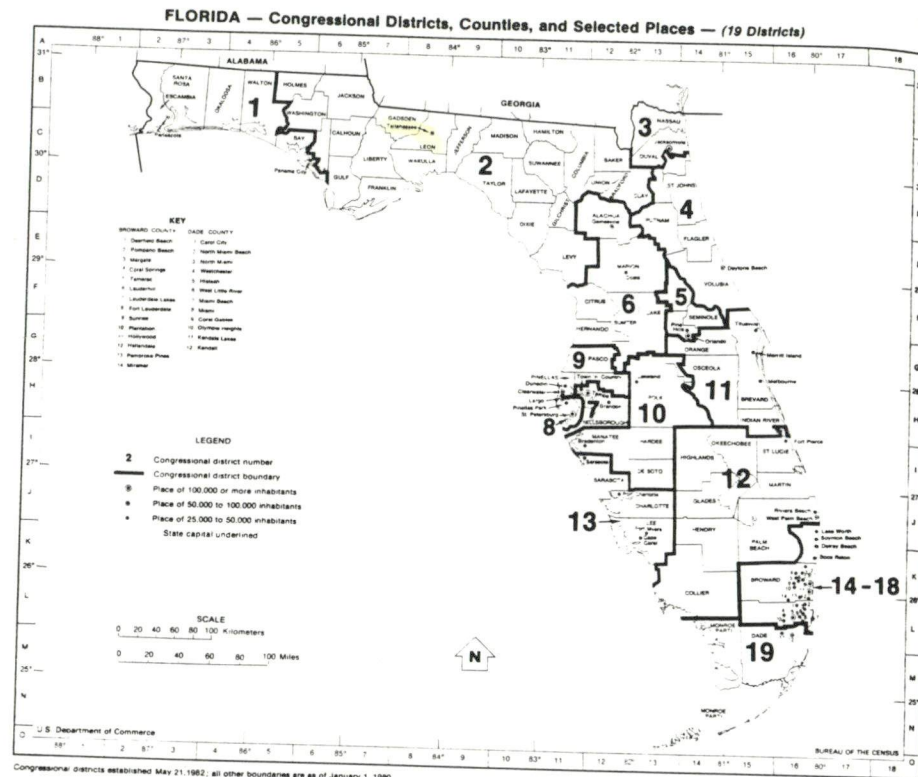
FLORIDA

Who imagined a half century ago that Florida, swamp-ridden, geographically isolated, disease-ridden, bigoted, with no mineral resources but phosphate mines and not much agriculture outside its citrus groves, without major industries or universities, would become one of the most populous American states? Florida in 1940 was studded with a few fabulous resorts but more of its people lived in settlements like LaBelle where the *WPA Guide* found that "rough unpainted pine houses flank the many unpaved roads within the town; on the outskirts are primitive one-story cabins with palm thatched roofs; these cabins are perched high on stilts to provide dry quarters in the rainy season, and on hot days hogs, dogs, and children retire under them to keep cool. Kerosene lamps light the houses, and home-cured hides are sometimes used as bed 'kivers.'" Florida was the smallest state in the South, with 1.9 million people, its poverty only faintly relieved by winter visitors and northern migrants; it was anything but a model for the rest of the Union.

Now, 50 years later with 12 million people, Florida is the nation's second fastest growing and fourth largest state (it passed Ohio in 1984, Illinois in 1986, Pennsylvania in 1987), and an instructive though exaggerated model of the America that is to be. Florida's population is weighted toward the elderly, its migrants tend to be affluent, its economy is made up mostly of service industries, its voters are disconnected from state and national government—distrustful of neighbors and fellow citizens they scarcely know and alarmed about what they see as the proximate threats to their comfortable lives, crime and drugs. Florida offers the vision of a sunny, carefree, comfortable life in year-round warmth—and provides a glimpse at the dark problems that may lurk ahead.

What brought so many Americans there was warm weather. A climate that in all but the winter months was considered intolerable (and which was genuinely unhealthy) half a century ago is, now that air conditioning became commonplace, deemed desirable. As one cohort of older Americans after another has migrated from the cold industrial belt from Boston to St. Louis down to the funnel of the Florida peninsula, a new megastate was born. More than 90% of Florida's housing units have been built since 1945, hundreds of square miles of swampland have been drained, miles and miles of roads and parking lots have been laid down, shopping centers and restaurants and luxury resorts and trailer parks have been built. For millions of Americans, Florida has been a chance to start over, to create the kind of community they have always wanted to live in, to build if not a city on a hill then a suburb in what was until quite recently a swamp.

The result is a population and an electorate as diverse as any in America—but not in the same proportions. The old, pre-migration Florida, centered in the northern part of the state, was heavily Democratic, strongly segregationist, and interested in state politics because its shrewd legislators could bring money and jobs to impoverished local communities. To that Florida was added two distinct streams of migration. Starting in the late 1940s, affluent and mostly Protestant northerners, from pleasant suburbs and prosperous small towns, started moving to Florida to retire. They were joined, not too long after, by ethnic and blue-collar northerners—Jews moving to Miami were the most visible, but the new migrants included Catholics as well—who were mostly New Deal Democrats. Both streams continued in large volume, with many younger migrants as well; but Florida remains easily the most elderly of states, and the constant turnover in its elderly population has made for constant demographic and political change. Now Florida is becoming the home for much of what appears to be a third wave of migration to this



See pages 1443-1448 for additional metropolitan area maps.

country: not only the Cubans who came here first in the 1960s and then again in 1980 as refugees from Castro's dictatorship, but also immigrants legal and otherwise from Haiti and Nicaragua, Colombia and Jamaica.

This diversity has produced some cultural conflict and has had political repercussions. "Miami Vice" is not just a television program but living image to most Floridians, who see this commercial capital of Latin America and of the U.S. drug trade, with its flamboyantly untraditional Arquitectonica buildings lounging like lizards by the bayside, as beset by violence and dominated by criminals. Reaction to the Cubans is evident in the near-unanimity with which other Floridians voted in 1988 to declare English the official state language (it passed with 62% in Miami's Dade County and 88% in the rest of the state), and reaction to crime is apparent as Jews and other migrants from the East Coast have moved north into Broward and Palm Beach County; WASPs have settled in new condominium communities farther north or on the Gulf Coast. Similarly rapid though less turbulent migration has affected almost every part of the state.

The result is that few Florida voters have any permanent connection with the civic culture of the state; they know nothing of the antics of Governor Claude Kirk (1967-70), or how Reubin Askew came to office in 1970, or how the legislature was dominated for years by conservatives from north Florida called the Pork Chop Gang. Yet for all their diversity and newness Floridians

have some things in common. They have an unfocused concern about Florida's physical environment, though the Florida they live in is anything but pristine. They are against any income tax and favor a high sales tax instead (because one-third of the revenue comes from tourists). They are cautious about proposals for casino gambling and wary of big-money crime.

Contributing also to Florida's political instability is its geographical size and the briefness of its political season. There are eight media markets here, none dominant; Miami's Dade County casts only 11% of the state's votes, and together with the other Gold Coast counties of Broward and Palm Beach only 29%. Another major metropolitan area has two contrasting central cities, bustling Tampa and the retiree-haven of St. Petersburg. Jacksonville is big enough to be significant in the state's economy and politics, and so is Orlando, the home of Disney World and its EPCOT Center as well as the center of the state's citrus industry. There are literally dozens of small cities, from Pensacola to Key West that, for most of their residents, are Florida, and most are growing more rapidly than the big centers. Then too, with no single dominant newspaper and a capital (tiny Tallahassee) tucked away in a corner of the state, state government and what sense of unity it may provide elsewhere is often invisible. Finally, to complete the sense of helter-skelter, Florida's political campaigns are decided in a rush: in 1988 the primary was September 6, the runoff was October 4, followed five weeks later by the general election.

All these factors make Florida elections subject to startling fluctuations. But as the 1980s have gone on, a trend is apparent—toward the Republican party of Ronald Reagan and (he is just about as strong here) George Bush. It is apparent first in presidential contests in which, since Jimmy Carter's razor-thin victory in 1976, Florida has voted Republican 56%-39% in 1980, 65%-35% in 1984, and 61%-39% in 1988. It is also apparent in party registration figures—numbers which in most states just measure historical preferences (because people tend to register in the party which historically has carried their locality) but which in Florida measure the allegiance of its constant streams of new migrants and their judgment about which party will govern in the future. The verdict is plain from the numbers. In the decade from 1978 to 1988 total registration in Florida rose from 4.2 million to 6 million. Democratic registration was up 452,000; Republican registration was up 1.2 million. In percentage terms the Democrats' registration edge dropped from 67% in 1978 to 54% in 1988. Since many southern-accented voters in the panhandle and elsewhere register Democratic and regularly vote Republican in top contests, it's clear that Florida is close to being a solid Republican state. The Democrats' comparative success in statewide races begins to look like evidence not of the strength of their party but of the strength of candidates. Bob Graham, after eight successful years as governor, was able to win only 55% of the vote for senator. Their 1988 Senate candidate, southern-accented moderate Buddy MacKay, managed a near-win by finishing second in the first primary, winning the runoff narrowly, and then rallying in the five weeks of the general election campaign. That used to be a recipe for decisive wins by Democrats like Graham in 1978 and Governor Reubin Askew and Senator Lawton Chiles in 1970. But this time the political balance was tipped enough to the Republicans to produce a narrow victory for Connie Mack.

At the same time, Republicans have been winning state offices. Not just the governorship, which their little-tested candidate Bob Martinez won over a liberal Democrat who in crime-ravaged Florida opposed the death penalty. But also, for first time, down-the-line statewide offices in 1988: party-switcher Jim Smith was elected secretary of state with 63% and a Republican beat a perfectly acceptable Democrat for treasurer 53%-46%. A Republican victory put them behind the Democrats only 23-17 in the state Senate—a shift of three seats could put Republicans in control—of the state Senate at least—in time for post-1990 redistricting.

Demographics helped produce these results. Republicans are helped by increased registration among Miami-area Cuban-Americans, by rapid growth in the affluent Gulf coast south of St. Petersburg and Atlantic coast north of Palm Beach, by Republican trends in family-oriented central Florida around Orlando, and by the continuing Republican trend in the heavily military

panhandle around Pensacola and Panama City. These shifts are only partially offset by Democratic trends in less affluent retirement areas on the Gulf coast north of St. Petersburg, the Atlantic coast between Cape Canaveral and Jacksonville, and in and around Tallahassee.

Issues also play a role. Drugs and crime are the front-burner issues working for Republicans. But they also stand to benefit on tax issues in a state whose elderly voters don't much want to pay to educate other people's kids. And they may be helped by resentment of immigration (although the Cubans in the legislature, all Republicans, split with party leaders over the English referendum).

The problem is that the solutions can make things worse. The legislature rewrote its gun laws in 1987 to allow any citizen without a criminal record to get a permit easily and cheaply to carry a concealed handgun—and, inadvertently, the law let anyone carry a handgun openly. As for holding down spending, Florida like most states needs more prisons and unlike all but the western states and Texas faces a significant increase in its school age population. Martinez and the Democratic legislature did in fact raise taxes (and about as clumsily as possible). But it's still not plain that Florida is providing the base for tomorrow's economic growth to match the pace of yesterday's and today's population growth.

Governor. The nation's fourth largest state has a governor who started off as a high school civics teacher, became an organizer for the teachers' union, and in 1979 became mayor of Tampa, just as this onetime port and cigar factory town was taking off into rapid Sun Belt growth. He is Florida's first Hispanic governor, but his style is not ethnic; he grew up in Tampa and speaks with a decidedly southern accent. A Democrat and supporter of Jimmy Carter in the 1970s, he switched to the Republican Party just in time to take advantage of Florida's Republican trend, the lack of seasoned state Republican politicians (in the 1986 primary he beat Louis Frey, a former congressman who spent most of his time in Washington after he lost the 1980 Senate primary), and the increasing prominence of liberals in the stagnant-sized pool of Democratic primary voters (his general election opponent Steve Pajcic took liberal stands on the death penalty, pornography, and taxes). Martinez campaigned as an experienced public official who would wipe out traffic jams, trim the state budget by \$800 million, and not raise taxes, and won a not-so-narrow 55%-45% victory.

On taking office Martinez promptly changed course—and sailed right into a shoal. Instead of cutting taxes, he worked with Democratic leaders in the legislature to pass a tax on services, including lawyers and advertising. Newspapers claimed it infringed the First Amendment, national advertisers canceled their Florida ad buys, a TV campaign in August (when Floridians, unlike most Americans, tend to stay indoors) turned opinion sharply against the tax and Martinez, and in September 1987 he admitted, "I made a mistake. That mistake has cost me the confidence of the people of Florida." In December the legislature repealed the service tax and increased the sales tax to 6% instead, and his job rating was rock-bottom.

This was not the first such fiasco in Florida: Bob Graham in 1984 had to seek repeal of the unitary business tax he got in 1983—another attempt to make out-of-staters pay for Florida government. Martinez showed more deftness in 1988, hanging back for months and then pushing the legislature to enact solid waste management and transportation bond programs and pony up more money for education. And he was steadfast and early in his support of George Bush (whose son, Jeb Bush, was his commerce secretary from 1987-88), who carried Florida handily in March and November. But Martinez still had no base. His embrace of taxes and spending increases leaves Republicans with little enthusiasm for him; even Cubans were angry because he moved the State Hispanic Commission out of the governor's office. Several stronger candidates are on the scene. But the two who ran in 1986 and might have won if they had done just a little better in the Democratic and Republican primaries are now, after the 1988 elections, Republican statewide officials—Secretary of State (who as a Democrat used to be Attorney General) Jim Smith and Treasurer Tom Gallagher—and may not be well placed to challenge a

governor of their own party. Congressman and onetime Space Shuttle crewmember Bill Nelson is mounting a strong Democratic challenge to Martinez though he has spent most of the 1980s in Washington. The stakes for both parties are high: Florida will gain House districts, and the Republicans would dearly like to control, or at least to prevent the Democrats from controlling, the redistricting process. Martinez's unsteady course is a problem for those wanting to make this a secure Republican state. But it may not be a disabling one.

Senators. Florida's unstable politics has produced flux in its Senate elections; only one senator, Lawton Chiles, has been reelected since 1964. But Chiles—a deeply religious man and a Democrat of southern origins and moderate to liberal views on policy, who won his first term in 1970 as an unknown 40-year-old state senator by inventing the tactic of walking across the state and became Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee—surprised almost everyone (including those who had raised \$1.3 million in amounts no larger than \$100 for his campaign) when he announced in December 1987 that he was retiring. So today, with Connie Mack III just elected and Bob Graham fresh from his victory in 1986, the fourth largest state has the least seniority in the Senate of any state in the union.

Bob Graham is careful, methodical, thorough, hard-working, steady: wearing his Florida ties (light outlines of the state on a field of blue), recording every meeting he attends and meal he eats (but not, it seems, his reactions to any of them) in the notebooks he carries everywhere, scheduling meetings with every member of the Florida House delegation and with lobbyists on both sides of environmental, banking, and crime issues. He comes from a prominent Florida family: his father started out with a Miami area dairy farm, which is now the planned mini-city of Miami Lakes; his half-brother Philip Graham was publisher of the *Washington Post* and proprietor of *Newsweek*. After 12 years in the legislature he ran for governor in 1978, finished second in the first primary, overtook Attorney General Robert Shevin in the runoff, then beat drugstore millionaire Jack Eckerd in the general. The attention-getting device in that campaign (it was invented by Senator Tom Harkin for his 1974 House race) was work days: Graham worked a day a week at some job, from bagging groceries to working construction; he keeps it up still, once a month.

He was a popular governor (one of 15 in the Senate now; 6 others lost governor races), backing some tax increases, setting up a water quality trust fund and passing a wetlands protection act, opposing any income tax and, as a capital punishment backer, signing death warrants. After the permitted two terms, he ran against Senator Paula Hawkins in 1986. She is an original, a spunky conservative who was the driving force behind the Missing Child Assistance Act and whose persistence drove many colleagues bonkers; "unique and irreplaceable" was her slogan. Against any other opponent she probably would have won: Graham beat her 55%-45%.

In the Senate Graham started out tight-lipped, careful not to commit himself until he had to, although his record has turned out to be that of a moderate Democrat, as expected. The issues he has concentrated on are as Florida-oriented as his ties: drug traffic, health care for elderly, campaign finance reform (Florida has a tradition of "sunshine laws," requiring full disclosure). His major legislative initiative was a banking bill, co-sponsored by Colorado's Tim Wirth, which would let banks into the securities business, but which would get non-financial companies like Sears out of banking, and would set up a commission to make sure banks don't endanger deposit in their securities operations—goals sought by Florida's aggressive statewide banks.

Graham holds a jinx seat: the last Senator reelected to it was George Smathers in 1962. He seems in strong shape for reelection in 1992, but must be careful of Florida's Republican trend. In national politics, Graham was a vehement Jimmy Carter backer in 1980 and a leader of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council later in the 1980s. He was mentioned as a possible vice presidential nominee in 1988, but had only spent 18 months on national issues at the time and didn't get the nod. But he could be a national candidate in the future. Florida's filing deadlines are late enough to let him run for President in 1992 and run for the Senate again if it

doesn't work out. He is clearly able, well-positioned on issues, from a critical state, and perhaps not unwilling; his 1986 campaign manager has said, "I've always thought that doing work days in New Hampshire would look awfully good."

The election of Connie Mack III as only the third Florida Republican Senator in this century must be counted more as a triumph for his party and his positions than for him personally. A grandson and namesake of the longtime owner and manager of the Philadelphia Athletics (another grandfather was Morris Sheppard, Senator from Texas from 1913 to 1941), a banker in the comfortable Gulf Coast town of Cape Coral, Mack was a Democrat until 1979 and little involved in politics. When he ran for and won the heavily Republican newly created 13th District seat in 1982, he was attacked as insufficiently conservative, and led the first primary only 29%-22% and won the runoff by only 58%-42%. In 1987 he was still pro-choice on abortion and for the Equal Rights Amendment (though he switched positions on both issues the following year); he admitted in 1987 that he had smoked marijuana as a young adult. In the House he was part of Newt Gingrich's Conservative Opportunity Society, and by the mid-1980s was a fervent supply-sider. He delighted in hazing the Democrats and showcasing his ideas on C-SPAN; he was lead sponsor in the House of the Gramm-Rudman deficit-cutting measure that originated in the Senate.

Mack had good fortune along the way. He got out of the Senate race in April 1987, hesitating to take on Lawton Chiles; when Chiles got out in December, Mack got back in. For a time Mack was far overshadowed by former Governor Reubin Askew, a clear favorite for the nomination and election; but Askew, tired of the demands of fundraising, left the race abruptly in May 1988. Then Mack drew a primary opponent, former Tampa U.S. Attorney Robert "Mad Dog" Merkle, who carried a cutout of Mack around the state and called him "Cardboard Connie." But Merkle raised little money, and while carrying the Tampa-St. Petersburg media market 58%-42% lost statewide to Mack 62%-38%. Meanwhile the Democrats were having one of those multi-candidate primaries which in 1970 and 1978 produced their party's strongest candidates—and seemed about to do so again. Congressman Buddy MacKay, a southern-accented moderate who had worked hard on budget issues and for environmental causes, whose record as a legislator got him endorsements of 18 of the 20 papers who made a choice, finished ahead of Palm Beach County Congressman Dan Mica in the first primary by 26% to 18% and behind Insurance Commissioner Bill Gunter who had 38%. Gunter had been around the track many times: he was elected to Congress in 1972 and ran for the Senate in 1974 and 1980 (when he edged MacKay out of second place in the primary); as Insurance Commissioner he was collecting vast sums from insurance executives. MacKay scrambled to counter attacks in the heavily Jewish Gold Coast condo precincts for his support of a Saudi arms sale, and won 52%-48%.

MacKay's campaign emphasized his special talents; Mack's emphasized his stands on national issues. "Hey, Buddy, you're liberal," the chipped-tooth handsome Mack said in his ads, and called for "less taxing, less spending, less government, and more freedom." He attacked MacKay for opposing contra aid and the balanced budget amendment. He was the beneficiary of the undignified withdrawal of the Dukakis campaign from Florida and of \$300,000 spent on ads by an import car dealer PAC. Worries about Social Security clearly helped MacKay, who carried St. Petersburg and ran far ahead of most Democrats in Mack's own retiree-heavy House district. But Mack ran far ahead of Paula Hawkins's losing showing in the heavily military Jacksonville area and in the family-oriented Orlando area. Mack was the subject of unfavorable newspaper stories and Bob Graham called him an "ideological wacko."

A majority of those who went to the polls and quite possibly a majority of all those voting were for MacKay. But Mack won the absentee vote heavily, and the ballot makeup in Palm Beach and Hillsborough (Tampa) Counties, where the Senate race appeared at the bottom of page 1 rather than at the top of page 2 as in most counties, apparently caused many voters to overlook

the race. In Palm Beach the total voting in the Senate race was 16% lower than in the presidential race and in Hillsborough it was 24% lower—and much lower than the total voting for Insurance Commissioner and on the widowers' property tax exemption. Quite possibly this ballot design (which MacKay's campaign could have challenged, but didn't) cost MacKay the Senate seat. Mack went to bed thinking he had lost and was awakened Wednesday by a call from President Reagan saying he'd won. "I think we just won one more for the Gipper," Mack said, but the truth is that it was the other way around. Having arrived in the Senate much blessed by luck, Mack needs to prove he is the thoughtful innovator some of his House allies say he is rather than the lightweight who happens to take (after some false starts) the popular stands on issues, as his opponents and many Florida observers think.

Presidential politics. Florida now seems to be the safest Republican big state in presidential elections: Democratic presidential nominees throughout the 1980s won 39%, 35%, and 39% here. It still has a potentially pivotal primary, scheduled for years in early March, a date which other southern states adopted to make 1988's Super Tuesday. Florida's conservative southern Democrats, enough to give George Wallace a 42% victory here in 1972, are not so numerous now, and the last two Democratic primaries have been won by Michael Dukakis and Gary Hart. On the Republican side George Bush was a very big winner here in 1988, with percentages in some congressional districts—the hawkish Gulf Coast, Cuban Miami—as high as those he got anywhere while the contest was still on.

Congressional districting. Florida gained four House seats in the 1980 Census, more than any other state, and it stands to **gain four to six more from the 1990 Census**. The Democrats drew the lines last time, but it's not at all clear who will be in control in 1991, or if anyone will. There are two notable things about the House delegation now. One is that it continues to contain talented and powerful senior members, notably Dante Fascell, chairman of Foreign Affairs, and Sam Gibbons, number two on Ways and Means. The second thing is that the Democrats' edge was reduced to 10-9 by the Republicans' 1988 pickup of two seats. Florida's **House delegation, once entirely Democratic, is now more heavily Republican than that of any megastate except Ohio.**

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 12,377,000; Pop. 1980: 9,746,324, up 27% 1980-88 and 43.5% 1970-80; 4.84% of U.S. total, 5th largest. 17% with 1-3 yrs. col., 15% with 4+ yrs. col.; 13.5% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 12% English, 6% German, 4% Irish, 3% Italian, 1% Polish, Russian, French, Scottish, Dutch. Households (1980): 72% family, 33% with children, 59% married couples; 31.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$209; median house value: \$45,300. Voting age pop. (1980): 7,386,688; 11% Black, 9% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin. Registered voters (1988): 6,047,347; 3,264,105 D (54%), 2,360,434 R (39%), 422,808 unaffiliated and minor parties (7%).

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: \$45,687,000,000; 5.17% of U.S. total, 5th largest.

1988 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	\$42,997m	(4.86%)	\$32,679m	(4.98%)	\$11,585m	(5.07%)
St/Lcl Grants	3,419m	(2.98%)	3,414m	(2.98%)	5m	(4.06%)
Salary/Wages	5,662m	(4.22%)	2,586m	(3.86%)	3,076m	(3.86%)
Pymnts to Indiv	26,800m	(6.55%)	24,891m	(6.37%)	1,909m	(10.24%)
Procurement	6,590m	(3.49%)	1,267m	(2.72%)	6,590m	(3.49%)
Research/Other	526m	(1.41%)	521m	(1.41%)	5m	(1.41%)

Political Lineup: Governor, Bob Martinez (R); Lt. Gov., Bobby Brantley (R); Secy. of State, Jim Smith (R); Atty. Gen., Robert A. Butterworth (D); Treasurer, Tom Gallagher (R); Comptroller, Gerald Lewis (D). **State Senate, 40 (23 D and 17 R); State House of Representatives, 120 (73 D, 47 R); Senators, Robert Graham (D) and Connie Mack, III (R). Representatives, 19 (10 D, 9 R).**

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	2,618,885	(61%)
Dukakis (D)	1,656,701	(39%)

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Dukakis	520,868	(41%)
Jackson	254,825	(20%)
Gephardt	182,779	(14%)
Gore	161,106	(13%)
Hart	36,266	(3%)
Simon	27,592	(2%)
Babbitt	10,277	(1%)
Uncommitted	78,997	(6%)

1984 Presidential Vote

Reagan (R)	2,730,350	(65%)
Mondale (D)	1,448,816	(35%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	559,359	(62%)
Dole	190,934	(21%)
Robertson	95,721	(11%)
Kemp	41,716	(4%)
Du Pont	6,717	(1%)
Haig	5,839	(1%)

GOVERNOR

Gov. Bob Martinez (R)



Elected 1986, term expires Jan. 1991; b. Dec. 25, 1934, Tampa; home, Tallahassee; U. of Tampa. B.A. 1957, U. of IL, M.A. 1964; Roman Catholic; married (Mary Jane).

Career: Teacher, 1952-62, 1963-66; Labor Relations Consult., 1963-67; Exec. Dir., Hillsboro Cnty. Classroom Teachers Assoc., 1966-75; Restaurant owner/mngr., 1975-83; Mayor of Tampa, 1979-86.

Office: The Capitol, Tallahassee 32301, 904-488-2272.

Election Results

1986 gen.	Bob Martinez (R)	1,847,525	(55%)
	Steve Pajcic (D)	1,538,620	(45%)
1986 runoff	Bob Martinez (R)	259,333	(66%)
	Lou Frey, Jr. (R)	131,652	(34%)
1986 prim.	Bob Martinez (R)	244,499	(44%)
	Lou Frey, Jr. (R)	138,017	(25%)
	Tom Gallagher (R)	127,709	(23%)
	Chester Clem (R)	44,438	(8%)
1982 gen.	Robert (Bob) Graham (D)	1,739,553	(65%)
	Lewis A. Bafalis (R)	949,023	(35%)

SENATORS

Sen. Robert (Bob) Graham (D)



Elected 1986, seat up 1992; b. Nov. 9, 1936, Coral Gables; home, Miami Lakes; U. of FL, B.A. 1959, Harvard U., J.D. 1962; United Church of Christ; married (Adele).

Career: Vice Pres., Chmn., Sengra Development Corp.; FL House of Reps., 1966-70; FL Senate, 1970-78; Gov. of FL, 1978-1986.

Offices: 241 DSOB 20510, 202-224-3041. Also 44 W. Flagler St., Miami 33130, 305-536-7293; and 325 John Knox Rd., Bldg. 600, Tallahassee 32308, 904-681-7726; and 101 E. Kennedy Blvd. Tampa 33602, 813-228-2476.

Committees: *Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs* (9th of 12 D). Subcommittees: Consumer and Regulatory Affairs; International Finance and Monetary Policy. *Environment and Public Works* (8th of 9 D) Subcommittees: Environmental Protection; Superfund, Ocean and Water Protection; Water Resources, Transportation and Infrastructure. *Veterans' Affairs* (6th of 6 D). *Special Committee on Aging* (9th of 10 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	59	83	92	70	28	22	90	38	26
1987	60	—	100	83	—	23	—	—	28	28

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	74%	—	19%	51%	—	45%
Social	56%	—	41%	90%	—	4%
Foreign	51%	—	48%	41%	—	57%

Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing \$	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	AGN	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	FOR	6) Ban Plastic Guns	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	7) Deny Abortions	FOR	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
4) Min Wage Increase	FOR	8) Japanese Reparations	FOR	12) Reagan Defense \$	AGN

Election Results

1986 general	Robert (Bob) Graham (D)	1,877,231	(55%)	(\$6,173,663)
	Paula Hawkins (R)	1,551,888	(45%)	(\$6,723,729)
1986 primary	Robert (Bob) Graham (D)	851,586	(85%)	
	Robert P. (Bob) Kunst (D)	149,797	(15%)	
1980 general	Paula Hawkins (R)	1,822,460	(52%)	(\$696,969)
	Bill Gunter (D)	1,705,409	(48%)	(\$2,164,560)

Sen. Connie Mack III (R)



Elected 1988, seat up 1994; b. Oct. 29, 1949, Philadelphia, PA; home, Cape Coral; U. of FL, B.A. 1966; Roman Catholic; married (Priscilla).

Career: Banker, 1966-82; U.S. House of Reps., 1982-88.

Offices: 902 HSOB 20510, 202-224-5274. Also 1342 Colonial Blvd., Fort Myers 33907, 813-275-6252.

Committees: *Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs* (6th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Housing and Urban Affairs; International Finance and Monetary Policy. *Foreign Relations* (9th of 9 R). Subcommittees: African Affairs; Western Hemisphere and Peace Corps Affairs. *Joint Economic Committee*. Subcommittees: International Economic Policy; National Security Economics; Economic Growth, Trade and Taxes

Group Ratings (as Member of the U.S. House of Representatives)

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	0	0	9	0	19	100	85	100	86	73
1987	0	—	10	0	—	95	—	—	93	88

National Journal Ratings (as Member of the U.S. House of Representatives)

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	9%	—	91%	0% — 89%
Social	0%	—	95%	0% — 90%
Foreign	0%	—	84%	0% — 80%

Key Votes (as Member of the U.S. House of Representatives)

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	—	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	—	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Connie Mack, III (R)	2,049,329	(50%)	(\$5,181,639)
	Kenneth H. (Buddy) MacKay (D)	2,015,717	(50%)	(\$3,714,852)
1988 primary	Connie Mack, III (R)	405,296	(62%)	
	Robert W. Merkle (R)	250,730	(38%)	
1986 general	Lawton Chiles (D)	1,636,857	(62%)	(\$806,629)
	Van B. Poole (R)	1,014,551	(38%)	(\$472,505)

FIRST DISTRICT

The "Redneck Riviera" is the impolite name for the western end of Florida's northern panhandle, a part of the state that was always part of Dixie. Fifty years ago this was swamp and poor farmland; the beaches were little used—they were too chilly in the winter, too steamy in the summer, too far away from the ritzy resorts of the Gold and Gulf Coasts and not close to many people able to afford vacations. This land along the Gulf owes much of its current prosperity to the military. Since John Quincy Adams persuaded Spain to sell Florida to the United States in 1819 to get the port of Pensacola, the United States Navy had a base there (except for a spot of trouble in the 1860s); this was the birthplace of carrier aviation, a major base in World War II,

and a Navy homeport once again (though Pensacola had to threaten to join Alabama to get the state of Florida to pay for dredging the harbor). Inland to the east is Eglin Air Force Base, which spreads over the lion's share of three counties. In the 1940s and 1950s these facilities were the main engines of growth; since the 1960s, when the rural South started getting prosperous, the American Riviera has become a major vacation and retirement spot for southerners.

Pensacola and the panhandle are 1,000 miles from Miami—and economically, culturally, and politically they have little to do with the rest of Florida. They are part of the Gulf Coast crescent that goes west through the southern tips of Alabama and Mississippi to the oil rigs of Louisiana and Texas and which in the 1980s has become arguably the most Republican part of the United States. Looking southward toward Castro's Cuba and the Sandinistas' Nicaragua, imbued with patriotic values and military experience, blessed with large families and religious faith, most voters here have difficulty understanding how any American could vote against Ronald Reagan and George Bush; Bush's highest winning percentage outside the state of Texas was in the Florida panhandle. Their Republicanism now goes far down the ballot: the panhandle is solidly Republican in statewide races now, even for the lower offices, and even elects Republicans as well as Democrats to the legislature.

The panhandle, which from Panama City west to Pensacola makes up Florida's 1st Congressional District, still elects a Democratic congressman—but one who comes about as close to a Republican voting record as any member of the majority caucus. He is Earl Hutto, who when he first ran in 1978 was probably more familiar in these small media markets for his work as a sportscaster than for his service in the state legislature. Hutto may have won because his politics was similar to that of his predecessor, Bob Sikes, first elected in 1940 and for years chairman of the Military Construction Appropriations Subcommittee, who pumped money into the 1st until he was reprimanded for unethical practices in 1976 and stripped of his chairmanship in 1977. Hutto does not have Sikes's forcefulness or seniority, but he does have seats on locally important committees—Armed Services and Merchant Marine—and he tends to the particular needs of the district: medicine for military retirees (this is one of the favorite spots for retired military personnel), the Pensacola homeport, funding for the Coast Guard. He's chaired a Coast Guard subcommittee, a hot spot with the drug issue, and he now chairs the Armed Services Readiness Subcommittee.

On other national issues, Hutto stays close to the district's views, a little mixed on economics, solidly conservative on foreign and cultural issues. That record, his practice of producing his own videotapes and popping them on the next airplane to local TV stations, and the benefits that accrue from his seniority have enabled him to withstand by comfortable margins challenges both from Democrats in the primary and Republicans in the general election.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 619,500, up 20.8% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,821, up 22.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 78% family, 44% with children, 64% married couples; 31.5% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$162; median house value: \$35,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 362,491; 12% Black, 2% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin, 1% American Indian.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	161,314	(73%)
	Dukakis (D)	59,014	(27%)

Rep. Earl Dewitt Hutto (D)



Elected 1978; b. May 12, 1926, Midland City, AL; home, Panama City; Troy St. U., B.S. 1949, Northwestern U., 1951; Baptist; married (Nancy).

Career: Navy, WWII; Pres., Earl Hutto Adv. Agency, 1974-78; Founder and Pres., WPEX Radio, 1960-65; TV Sports Dir., WEAR, WSFA, WJHG, 1954-72; FL House of Reps., 1972-78.

Offices: 2435 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4136. Also Fed. Bldg., Panama City 32401, 904-763-0709; and 4300 Bayou Blvd., Pensacola 32503, 904-478-1123.

Committees: *Armed Services* (8th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Readiness (Chairman); Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (5th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Navigation; Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	20	38	36	73	44	76	40	100	69	36
1987	24	—	34	29	—	68	—	—	64	35

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	44%	—	55%	—
Social	24%	—	75%	—
Foreign	0%	—	84%	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	—	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Earl Dewitt Hutto (D)	142,449	(67%)	(\$210,940)
	E.D. Armbruster (R)	70,534	(33%)	(\$23,912)
1988 primary	Earl Dewitt Hutto (D)	72,508	(72%)	
	Durell Peaden, Jr. (D)	28,883	(28%)	
1986 general	Earl Dewitt Hutto (D)	97,465	(64%)	(\$134,745)
	Greg Neubeck (R)	55,415	(36%)	(\$54,046)

SECOND DISTRICT

Dixie, the still distinct culture of the rural South, dips south into the Florida counties just below the Georgia line. Here you find catfish farms, large families, small towns with big churches, black and white. But the new Florida full of migrants from the North is expanding into the rural counties between Jacksonville and the panhandle. The catalyst is Tallahassee, the state capital located here in the 19th century when it seemed unlikely that any non-Seminole would penetrate the swampy vastness south of Jacksonville. With a fast-growing state government, plus Florida State University, Tallahassee has boomed and with surrounding Leon County now is approach-

ing 200,000 in population. Tallahassee has not attained the critical mass of the capitals of the three more populous states, Albany, Austin, and Sacramento. But it is growing and spreading into the surrounding counties which otherwise have been losing population for decades.

Tallahassee's growth has changed the political complexion of the 2d Congressional District of Florida, which extends westward almost to Panama City and eastward almost to Jacksonville. Historically, this was Democratic country, Jeffersonian and segregationist. In the 1980s, unlike so much of the South, it has remained Democratic, not voting for the national ticket to be sure (except for Carter in 1980), but supporting statewide Democrats by large margins. The district's blacks are joined by Tallahassee whites who believe in—sometimes have a vested interest in—an active and generous government, and together they support liberals in Democratic primaries and Democrats in November. The 2d District was solidly for Bob Graham in 1986 and Buddy MacKay in 1988, and nearly went for Steve Pajic for governor in 1986.

The congressman from the 2d, Bill Grant, has seen in his adult lifespan this shift from old to new Democratic politics—and has decided to shift himself, to the Republican Party. Grant grew up poor in a rural county at a time when north Florida's Pork Chop Gang ran state government from the legislature. He made his way upward in life as the district itself was growing economically, graduating at 20 from Florida State and becoming one of the prominent citizens of Madison County as a local banker. In 1982, with a rural base, he was elected to the Florida Senate from the district that includes Tallahassee. In 1986, when Congressman Don Fuqua, chairman of the Science and Technology Committee, decided to retire after 24 years in the House, Grant ran for the seat and won the Democratic primary with 51%, avoiding a runoff in a district in which the Republicans didn't even bother to run a candidate.

In his first 25 months in the House, Grant made little splash, compiling a record rather middle of the road. But in February 1989 he suddenly switched parties and became a Republican. His motives were not entirely clear. Electorally, he would certainly have found it easier to win reelection in this Democratic district as a Democrat who could normally expect little (or, as in 1988, no) opposition than as a Republican who would virtually be guaranteed an opponent every time. As a Republican he would find it easier to win a spot on the statewide ticket in 1990—but for all the Republicans' recent gains in Florida, that would still be a chancy proposition at best. Being a member of the minority rather than the majority offers, certainly in the short run, no particular advantages. So perhaps the best explanation is that Grant acted out of conviction, and that his first term voting record was an attempt at accommodation with his then fellow Democrats of which he tired in early 1989. Should he run for reelection, he can certainly expect a seriously contested race: this will be one district both parties will be anxious to win.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 586,800, up 14.5% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,127, up 33.5% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 42% with children, 60% married couples; 29.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$142; median house value: \$30,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 363,447; 22% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	123,524	(59%)
	Dukakis (D)	83,458	(40%)

Rep. Bill Grant (R)



Elected 1986; b. Feb. 21, 1943, Lake City; home, Madison; FL St. U., B.A. 1963; Baptist; married (Janet).
Career: Bank pres., 1973-86; FL Senate, 1982-86.
Offices: 1330 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5235. 930 Thomasville Rd., Ste. 103, Tallahassee 32303, 904-681-7434; 1990-A S. 1st St., Lake City 32055, 904-755-5657; and P.O. Bldg., #109, Marianna 32446, 904-526-3525.
Committees: *Agriculture* (18th of 18 R). Subcommittees: Tobacco and Peanuts; Livestock, Dairy and Poultry. *Public Works and Transportation* (20th of 20 R). *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (12th of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	50	45	73	73	50	54	15	67	57	23
1987	52	—	69	50	—	25	—	—	47	17

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	54%	—	44%	68% — 27%
Social	42%	—	57%	38% — 62%
Foreign	46%	—	53%	46% — 54%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Bill Grant (D)	134,269	(100%)	(\$223,117)
1988 primary	Bill Grant (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Bill Grant (D)	110,120	(100%)	(\$266,070)

THIRD DISTRICT

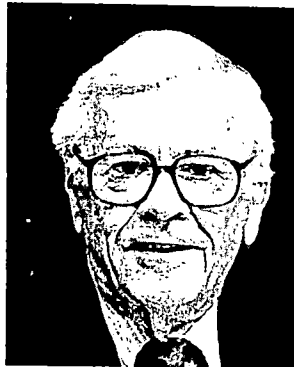
In 1940 Jacksonville was Florida's largest metropolitan area, the biggest city on the whole southeastern coast from the Chesapeake Bay to the Florida Keys, a port surrounded by a swampy, sleepy rural South whose ways had changed little since Reconstruction. Today it is much larger and more prosperous, spreading over the lowlands on either side of the St. Johns River and along the Atlantic coast; if it has been overshadowed by larger Florida metro areas and by the big metro areas which dominate smaller southern states, it is still a big city itself: an important port, paper manufacturer, banking and insurance center, and site of military bases, with a metropolitan population approaching 1 million. More than other Florida cities, it is part of the South, with a large black population, plenty of blue-collar whites with southern accents, lots of children and relatively few retirees. Politically, its heritage is Democratic but it has been

trending Republican in state as well as national elections.
Florida's 3d Congressional District, which includes almost all of Jacksonville and one county to the north, is represented by one of the senior members of the House, Charles Bennett, a Democrat first elected in 1948. A punctilious man and a stickler for propriety, he is one of the last World War II veterans in Congress; he enlisted after he was 30, performed heroically, and contracted polio in the service. Though he must use canes to walk, he answers every roll call. He was a pioneer supporter in the 1950s of ethical codes and disclosure of congressmen's finances; it was years before his code of ethics was applied to federal employees, and when the House finally did set up an Ethics Committee in 1967, he was pointedly kept off it for years. House leaders feared, justifiably, that he would not be understanding of members' difficulties. Finally, in 1978, with the Koreagate scandal looming and Bennett the committee's senior member, when he could no longer be denied the chair, he oversaw the Abscam investigation and recommended and secured the expulsion of Representative Ozzie Myers from the House.
Bennett's delay in receiving the ethics chair was not his only disappointment. He was deeply shaken by the death of his 22-year-old son from a drug overdose in 1977. "It was the greatest wound in my life," he said, and in the 1980s championed a measure to require the military to interdict drug traffickers outside U.S. borders. Opposed by the Defense Department, contrary to the principle of separation of the military from civilian life, it was passed by an overwhelming vote in the House in 1985. His major committee is Armed Services, and here too he has suffered disappointments. After the 1984 election, he supported aging Chairman Mel Price, and after Price was voted out by the Democratic Caucus sought the chair himself. But he was beaten by Les Aspin, whose seniority dates only to 1970. After the 1986 election, he opposed Aspin again, and was again painfully rejected, as the main opposition to the chairman came from the much less senior Marvin Leath.
Yet, at an age when most people are slowing down, and when many bowed down with disappointment simply withdraw, Bennett has returned to the fray in the late 1980s with apparently renewed zest. In May 1987 he led a successful floor fight to cut \$500 million from the Administration's \$3.1 billion Strategic Defense Initiative; Bennett questions whether it will be destabilizing or vulnerable to Soviet anti-satellite weapons or low-flying missiles. A vigorous supporter of the 600-ship Navy as chairman of the Seapower Subcommittee, he felt that the U.S. reflagging operation in the Persian Gulf did not have clear goals.
Back home in Jacksonville, support of the military leads to other local causes. Near Mayport Bennett has coerced Congress to establish the 35,000-acre Timucuan Historic Preserve. He sponsored the Abandoned Shipwreck Act and the Bennett-Moss Act allotting federal money to archaeology. He shepherded through the House money for a light rail system in Jacksonville and the Acosta Bridge Replacement project in Jacksonville. On issues like the MX and SDI, Bennett has become more of a national Democrat than ever, and he made a point of appearing with Michael Dukakis in Jacksonville in 1988. That has not made any difference in his local standing, which remains high: after 40 years he was reelected without opposition.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 575,500, up 12.2% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,692, up 4.7% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 42% with children. 55% married couples; 36.6% housing units rented: median monthly rent: \$165; median house value: \$29,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 362,272; 25% Black. 2% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	97,659	(60%)
	Dukakis (D)	65,215	(40%)

Rep. Charles E. Bennett (D)



Elected 1948; b. Dec. 2, 1910, Canton, NY; home, Jacksonville; U. of FL, B.A., J.D. 1934; Disciples of Christ; married (Jean).

Career: Practicing atty., 1934-42, 1947-48; FL House of Reps., 1941-42; Army, WWII.

Offices: 2107 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2501. Also 314 Palmetto St., Jacksonville 32202, 904-791-2587.

Committees: *Armed Services* (2d of 31 D). Subcommittees: Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials (Chairman); Research and Development. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (16th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Navigation; Merchant Marine; Oceanography.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	65	43	48	82	75	28	34	60	43	25
1987	48	—	47	79	—	22	—	—	60	18

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	54%	—	44%	46%	—	52%
Social	47%	—	52%	45%	—	54%
Foreign	55%	—	45%	52%	—	47%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Charles E. Bennett (D), unopposed	(\$19,500)
1988 primary	Charles E. Bennett (D), unopposed	
1986 general	Charles E. Bennett (D), unopposed	(\$19,564)

FOURTH DISTRICT

Between the broad St. Johns River, flowing northward from the swamps of central Florida toward Jacksonville and the ocean, and the hard sand beaches that stretch south from Jacksonville to Daytona Beach toward Cape Canaveral is the 4th Congressional District of Florida. Two generations ago the land was mostly swamps and orange groves: tourists on U.S. 1 heading south stopped to poke around the narrow streets of St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States, settled by the Spanish in the 16th century. In the years since World War II, the beaches attracted migrants from North and South, while the little orange grove towns inland burgeoned: more recently the overspill of Jacksonville and its large military population spread south inland from the beaches and along the St. Johns River. Politically, this became border country, between northern migrants who tended to be Republicans or southerners who were

often Democrats. For the moment none of these groups—white Southern Baptists or northern Episcopalians, southern country clubbers or factory-town ethnics—dominates.

In 1988 the 4th District was the scene of the biggest upset in any of the nation's 435 House districts. Congressman Bill Chappell had much going for him. He had deep roots in north Florida: he was elected to the legislature in 1956; he was part of the legendary Pork Chop Gang and served as speaker. He had 20 years of seniority in the House. He was chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, responsible for the lion's share of the Pentagon spending—one of the weightiest responsibilities in Congress and one of the best perches from which to raise campaign money. Yet after the counting was over, Chappell had lost to Craig James, a 47-year-old lawyer who had never run for office before, had decided to run only 9 days before the July 1988 filing date, and then had to change his registration from Democratic to Republican.

"What happened was [that] he beat himself," James said after the election. Chappell was an old-style pol who smoked cigars and hated to issue press releases; he hid out from reporters and said little on the campaign trail. He made little of his record as a Navy pilot in World War II and the expertise he brought to his defense work—he liked to fly a lot of the planes he funded. What did get publicized were his ethical problems. Press reports said he was a target of the 1987 Pentagon procurement scandal, though that was never officially confirmed. Closer to home, from his 1983 income tax he deducted \$30,000 for rent to a company he owned, which then promptly loaned him back the money; and he sold a failed health club in Palatka to a subsidiary of Martin Marietta for \$195,000 in 1986. On top of that, his campaign raked in huge amounts—over \$250,000—of contributions from defense-related PACs and individuals.

Chappell had little trouble beating a retired military officer in the primary 70%-30%. But James was made of tougher stuff. In his primary James showed that opponent Tom Visconti, a boyhood friend and recent legal client, had 42 bad check convictions in 1965-67; James won the three-man race with 50.3%—exactly 100 more votes than he needed to avoid a runoff. In the general he called Chappell "the embodiment of everything that is wrong with Congress," and marched into Chappell's Jacksonville headquarters and challenged him to a debate. The Republican campaign committee ran \$55,000 worth of TV ads calling Chappell—whom national Republicans had not vigorously opposed in years because of his defense record—"an embarrassment." James, financed partly with his own money, started heavy advertising two weeks out; he called for abolishing PACs and limiting congressional terms. The result was exceedingly close. Chappell hoped the result would be overturned by military absentees, but absentee votes as usual went heavily Republican. Then Chappell argued that Flagler County's votes shouldn't be counted because they had not been handed in by the clerk by the legal deadline; this was brushed aside. James won by a 50.1%-49.9% margin. In March 1989 Chappell died of cancer.

James comes to Washington as a Mr. Smith decrying the way things are done. He wants to abolish PACs, long favored by House Republicans (though not any more by many), and when he was asked if losing Chappell's clout would hurt Florida, he said, "That's the kind of clout they need to lose. If he used that clout to bring companies to Florida, that was an abuse of power." He took on controversial causes as a lawyer, he says, including defending a local private school against sex abuse charges in the 1970s and stopping Volusia County from building a jail outside De Land in 1982. It will be interesting to see how he—and Washington—get along. His chances for reelection should be good. The 4th is used to Republicans; it elects as many Republicans as Democrats to the legislature; if he makes a credible record and takes the trouble to use the electoral advantages of incumbency as Chappell did not, he may be in solid shape.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 652,200, up 27.2% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,672, up 56.8% 1970-80. Households (1980): 72% family, 33% with children, 61% married couples; 28.7% housing units rented;

median monthly rent: \$196; median house value: \$41,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 385,967; 9% Black, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 169,949 (64%)
 Dukakis (D) 95,362 (36%)

Rep. Craig T. James (R)



Elected 1988; b. May 5, 1941 Augusta, Georgia; home, Deland; Stetson U., B.S. 1963, J.D. 1967; Baptist; married (Katherine).

Career: Practicing Atty. 1967-88.

Offices: 1408 LHOB, 20515, 202-225-4035. Also 101 N. Woodland Blvd. Ste. 201, Deland 32720, 904-734-5523; 116 Seabreeze Blvd., St. 126, Daytona Beach 32018, 904-239-9823; and One San Jose Pl., Ste. 28, Jacksonville, 32207. 904-268-2038.

Committees: *Judiciary* (14th of 14 R). Subcommittees: Administrative Law and Governmental Relations; Civil and Constitutional Rights. *Veterans' Affairs* (11th of 12 R). Subcommittee: Oversight and Investigations. *Select Committee on Aging* (27 of 27 R).

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected Election Results

1988 general	Craig T. James (R)	125,608	(50%)	(\$313,415)
	Bill Chappell, Jr. (D)	124,817	(50%)	(\$1,069,699)
1988 primary	Craig T. James (R)	19,275	(50%)	
	Tom Visconti (R)	10,380	(27%)	
	Ken C. McCarthy (R)	8,694	(23%)	
1986 general	Bill Chappell, Jr. (D) unopposed			(\$139,758)

FIFTH DISTRICT

Orlando 50 years ago was a town of 40,000 amid acres of citrus grove: today it is the number one tourist destination in the world. It is also the center of a metropolitan area of about 1 million which has been growing more rapidly than just about any other in the country, with a diversified high-tech economy and a population weighted toward young families with children rather than retirees. Much of this change can be traced to the decision and vision of one man. Walt Disney invented the theme park in the flatlands of Orange County, California, but he perfected it in the 17,000 acres of swamp and lakes in Florida's Orange County. Disney not only invented the theme park, but he also pioneered in sophisticated communications, utility, and waste disposal methods—all out of sight and underground. Yet Disney World does not work mechanically; it requires some 17,000 people, with know-how and unfailing cheerfulness. Disney's vision of a future that was labor-intensive as well as high-tech, in which the critical variable is not industrial production but the provision of services, was a forecast of the service-driven economy that has grown so lustily—and despite adverse predictions—in the 1980s.

Disney World, on acreage bigger than a city itself, is 15 miles southwest of Orlando; but the city's growth is elsewhere—high income areas like Maitland and Altamonte Springs to the north, more modest places like Winter Garden and Apopka to the west and northwest. This means that the 5th Congressional District of Florida, which includes most of the Orlando

metropolitan area, actually doesn't contain Disney World, though it is home to most of its work force. Once Democratic, Orlando is now Republican, and the 5th District is one of the most Republican in Florida, and in state and congressional as well as national elections.

Bill McCollum, the 5th District's congressman, was first elected in 1980, when the district ousted Richard Kelly, a dimwitted Republican caught stuffing bribe money in his pockets by Abscam cameramen. McCollum is not blow-dry handsome nor is he a speculative thinker, but he has become one of his party's most active and accomplished legislators. On Judiciary he was the lead spokesman in the debate on the immigration bill against an amnesty for illegal aliens, though he supported the bill when amnesty won. He supports a cutback in class-action work by the Legal Services Corporation. When a seven-day waiting period was proposed for gun purchases, McCollum substituted an amendment commanding the government to produce a nationwide list of convicted felons to which all gun dealers would have access; gun control advocates charged this would gut their bill, but McCollum called it a better way to see that the wrong people can't buy guns. On drugs he wrote a money laundering provision into the 1987 drug law, and sponsored the death penalty in drug-related matters and the "user accountability" provisions that went into the 1988 act—depriving convicted drug users of federal mortgage aid and student loans, for example. On AIDS he tried unsuccessfully to get the federal government to require marriage license testing in states with high AIDS incidences and notification of the spouses of HIV-positive patients.

Despite the lack of a relevant committee assignment, McCollum has also ventured into foreign policy. He organized a volunteer airlift of medical supplies to El Salvador in 1983 and he sponsored the law to airlift "non-lethal" supplies to the Afghan rebels, whose cause he strongly supported. He was one of the vocal Republican critics of the critics of the Reagan Administration on the Iran-contra committee. His proficiency at detail work and popularity among younger and older Republicans help explain why Minority Leader Robert Michel chose him as one of the Republicans on the Iran-contra investigating committee.

McCollum had his last serious challenge at home in 1982 and won 59%-41%; he had no opposition in 1988.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 644,200, up 25.6% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,005, up 47.0% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 38% with children, 59% married couples; 33.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$200; median house value: \$45,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 373,987; 14% Black, 3% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 131,585 (68%)
 Dukakis (D) 59,038 (31%)

Rep. Bill McCollum (R)



Elected 1980; b. July 12, 1944, Brooksville; home, Altamonte Springs; U. of FL, B.A. 1965, J.D. 1968; Episcopalian; married (Ingrid).

Career: Navy, 1969-72; Practicing atty., 1973-81; Chmn., Seminole Cnty. Repub. Exec. Cmtees., 1976.

Offices: 1507 LHOB 20515, 202-225-2176. Also 1801 Lee Rd., Ste. 301, Winter Park 32789, 305-645-3100.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (5th of 20 R). Subcommittees: Domestic Monetary Policy (Ranking Member); Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; Housing and Community Development. *Judiciary* (5th of 14 R). Subcommittees: Crime (Ranking Member); Immigration, Refugees and International Law.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	0	14	7	36	25	100	85	100	75	66
1987	0	—	6	29	—	87	—	—	100	73

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	21%	—	77%	—
Social	13%	—	84%	—
Foreign	0%	—	84%	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Bill McCollum (R), unopposed	
1988 primary	Bill McCollum (R), unopposed	(\$304,853)
1986 general	Bill McCollum (R), unopposed	(\$121,052)

SIXTH DISTRICT

The growth that has transformed Florida's coasts for the last 50 years has now moved inland as well. to the lush grasslands of northern Florida. This is the site of some of the earliest development of the state. Here in Gainesville the state placed the University of Florida, where a large share of Florida's political elite share fond memories of the Gator Bowl. Here also is the bluegrass horse farm country around Ocala, where many of the nation's top thoroughbreds are raised and trained. Up Florida's turnpike and Interstate 75 the developers come with blueprints for new condominium villages and shopping centers and office blocks and trailer parks. This is the land that makes up the 6th Congressional District of Florida, from Gainesville and Ocala in the north to Lake County outside of Orlando and fast-growing, modest-income Hernando and Citrus Counties on the Gulf Coast.

Development has changed the politics of this area, which 25 years ago was simply southern Democratic. Now you can see the origins of the newcomers in the voting totals. Marion County around Ocala, like the bluegrass land around Lexington, Kentucky, is trending Republican, while Gainesville, like Ann Arbor, Michigan, is liberal and Democratic. The Gulf Coast counties, with many blue- as well as white-collar retirees, are mixed.

Change is also apparent in the election results, for the 6th District produced the nation's biggest upset in an open-seat race in 1988. This was created to be a Democratic district, and was won easily in 1982 by Buddy MacKay, a 12-year legislator who had come within 5% of making the runoff in the 1980 primary for U.S. Senator. He had no primary opposition for this House seat and won 61% in the general. In 1988 MacKay ran for Senate again, winning the Democratic nomination but losing to Connie Mack III by less than 1% and carrying the 6th with 56%. Jon Mills, the Speaker of the Florida House, who was unopposed for the 6th District seat in the Democratic primary and expected to win the general as MacKay had, instead lost 53%-47% to Republican Cliff Stearns.

It was a race of somebody versus nobody. Mills, born in Miami, went to college in Gainesville and stayed; he was in the legislature 10 years, was Speaker for four, was head of a university Center for Governmental Responsibility he set up. In presidential politics he supported Gary Hart in 1984 and Albert Gore in 1988. He was endorsed by every newspaper in the district. Stearns moved from Massachusetts to Ocala and started a business that owns five motels and three restaurants. He campaigned as "someone who works in the community, goes to church with his neighbors, and doesn't live in Tallahassee." He attacked Mills for his support of the sales tax on services, which had to be repealed because of public outcry. He campaigned less on George Bush's national issues than against the incumbent Congress, calling for limiting PACs and protecting congressional employees. Mills, expecting to win, took moderate lines on national issues and criticized Stearns for switching on long-term health care. The interesting question now is whether Stearns can sustain his citizen-in-politics appeal as an incumbent congressman—and whether this approach can work for Republican candidates elsewhere.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 679,800, up 32.5% 1980-86: Pop. 1980: 512,950, up 70.9% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 31% with children, 62% married couples; 27.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$174; median house value: \$37,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 394,134; 12% Black, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	159,938	(61%)
	Dukakis (D)	101,833	(39%)

Rep. Clifford B. Stearns (R)



Elected 1988; b. April 16, 1941, Washington, DC; home, Ocala; Geo. Wash. U., B.S. 1963; Presbyterian; married (Joan).

Career: Air Force, 1963-67; Data Control Systems, Inc; Negotiator, CBS, 1969-70; Pres., Stearns House Inc., 1972-present.

Offices: 1630 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5744. Also 501 S.E. 26th Ct., #125, Ocala 32671, 904-351-8777; and 401 S.E. First Ave., #316, Gainesville 32601, 904-372-0382.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (18th of 20 R). Subcommittees: Housing and Community Development; Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance. *Veterans' Affairs* (12th of 12 R). Subcommittee: Oversight and Investigations.

**Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected
Election Results**

1988 general	Clifford B. Stearns (R)	136,415	(54%)	(\$408,292)
	Jon Mills (D)	118,756	(46%)	(\$503,654)
1988 runoff	Clifford B. Stearns (R)	15,205	(54%)	
	Jim Cherry (R)	12,882	(46%)	
1988 primary	Jim Cherry (R)	13,355	(32%)	
	Clifford B. Stearns (R)	10,875	(26%)	
	Roy Abshier (R)	6,459	(16%)	
	Larry Gallagher (R)	5,984	(15%)	
	Others	4,532	(11%)	
1986 general	Kenneth H. (Buddy) MacKay (D)	143,583	(70%)	(\$462,732)
	Larry Gallagher (R)	61,053	(30%)	(\$14,522)

SEVENTH DISTRICT

Tampa, much to the surprise of many, has turned out to be one of Florida's boom communities in the 1980s. This is not what one would have predicted; 50 years ago Tampa was Florida's one industrial city, with a port and cigar factories—just the kind of place that had been stagnating for 20 years. But in the 1980s Tampa has a growing, gleaming skyline, a first-class airport, room for its subdivisions and condominiums to spread inland across swamps and lowlands, and the world's longest sidewalk (6.5 miles along Bayshore Boulevard). It is a city of families and younger people, a place with a blue-collar past which is fast moving upscale as it expands.

Tampa and most of surrounding Hillsborough County form the 7th Congressional District of Florida. This district has had the same congressman since it was created in 1962, Democrat Sam Gibbons. Historically Tampa has been as Democratic as St. Petersburg has been Republican, and the cities' legislative delegations still reflect this. But in seriously contested statewide races they have tended to converge and sometimes, as in the 1988 presidential election, Tampa is more Republican than St. Petersburg. It was Tampa, not some long-Republican-held constituency, that produced Republican Governor Bob Martinez in 1986.

Sam Gibbons has deep roots in Tampa and in the Democratic Party. He has the look of an old-fashioned southern congressman, and the philosophy of one: specifically, of Cordell Hull, who in decades in Congress and as Secretary of State singlemindedly championed the cause of free trade. From his study of the years before and after World War II Gibbons carries the conviction

that free trade expands every economy and that the ties made by healthy trade relations help to prevent the outbreak of war. Gibbons has moved around a lot, at least when measured against his fellow Democrats, on other issues: he was one of the few southern Democrats to support the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations faithfully, but balked at some civil rights bills; he championed reforms to open up House procedures, and he ran a quixotic and aborted race for majority leader against Tip O'Neill in 1972; a foreign policy hawk, he wasn't in tandem opposing the Vietnam war, nor was he a champion of liberated cultural values.

But beyond all that he kept his interest in trade. He had a seat on Ways and Means and on its Trade Subcommittee, and by 1981, when he was number two in seniority on the full committee, he succeeded to the subcommittee chair. There he has been unable in the 1980s to do exactly as he wanted. He has recognized that the demand of House Democrats for restrictive trade legislation cannot be resisted without damaging his chances at succeeding to Rostenkowski's full committee chair some day. He allowed some restrictive trade bills—the textile bill, for example—to reach the floor despite his own opposition, and he voted for bills with provisions he found obnoxious—like the Gephardt trade retaliation measure—on the floor. He has reason to believe that Rostenkowski and Senate Finance Chairman Lloyd Bentsen are free traders too, but he is close to neither man and seems to have a grating relationship with Rostenkowski. Gibbons had hoped Rostenkowski would become party whip in 1981 and leave the chairmanship to him; Rostenkowski, who supports his other subcommittee chairmen, seems cool to Gibbons. Gibbons played virtually no part in the 1985 and 1986 tax reform bill, and Rostenkowski pointedly left him off the conference committee on the bill.

Events work against him too: it is hard to argue that the United States is not the target of some unfair trade practices in East Asia. And Gibbons has supported trade sanctions against South Africa and its apartheid policies. But he has also had his satisfactions, the success of the free trade treaty with Canada being the most notable.

Gibbons was challenged once at home in the 1980s, when Tampa Judge Michael Kavouklis held him to 59%—far below his earlier showings. Gibbons vowed to spend more time in the district and to raise more money for his campaigns. So he has become what anyone in his seat in Ways and Means can easily become, one of the leading PAC and individual fundraisers on Capitol Hill, with a pile of cash half a million or so high to spend if someone runs against him. In 1986 and 1988 no one has.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 600,500, up 17.1% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,905, up 25.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 71% family, 37% with children, 56% married couples; 35.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$188; median house value: \$35,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 376,478; 13% Black, 11% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	107,474	(58%)
	Dukakis (D)	76,831	(41%)

Rep. Sam M. Gibbons (D)



Elected 1962; b. Jan. 20, 1920, Tampa; home, Tampa; U. of FL, J.D. 1947; Presbyterian; married (Martha).

Career: Army, WWII; Practicing atty., 1947-62; FL House of Reps., 1952-58; FL Senate, 1958-62.

Offices: 2204 RHOB 20515, 202-225-3376. Also 101 E. Kennedy Blvd., Tampa 33602, 813-228-2101; and 201 S. Kings Ave., #6, Brandon 33511, 813-689-2847.

Committees: *Ways and Means* (2d of 23 D). Subcommittees: Social Security; Trade (Chairman). *Joint Committee on Taxation*.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	60	65	55	73	63	35	20	40	64	31
1987	52	—	54	64	—	32	—	—	33	22

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	40%	—	58%	—
Social	52%	—	40%	—
Foreign	54%	—	40%	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless S	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Sam M. Gibbons (D), unopposed	
1988 primary	Sam M. Gibbons (D), unopposed	(\$382,889)
1986 general	Sam M. Gibbons (D), unopposed	(\$563,509)

EIGHTH DISTRICT

St. Petersburg has long been America's premier retiree city, a stereotype of old folks on a park bench, a butt of jokes, a bit of shorthand. Even before World War II a few retirees had come here: in the years afterward the Pinellas Peninsula on which St. Petersburg sits seemed to fill up with them. Others came too: St. Petersburg does have its young families and light manufacturing. But in the 8th Congressional District, which includes St. Petersburg and Pinellas County suburbs as far north as Clearwater, only 23% of households contain children, and 34% of adults are 65 or older—the highest percentage in any congressional district in the country. There are more than 40,000 people over 65 living alone in the constituency, accounting for one out of every six households.

Over four decades the politics of St. Petersburg has shifted at least twice, thanks to new migrants. In the 1940s and 1950s Yankee migrants of at least modest affluence—blue-collar

workers at the time didn't get much in the way of pensions—voted as they had back home and made St. Petersburg Republican. It voted Republican for President in 1948 and elected a Republican congressman in 1954. Then in the 1970s St. Petersburg started trending Democratic. In 1976, Pinellas County almost went for Carter and in the 1980s it voted for Bob Graham and Buddy MacKay for senator. The inevitable turnover in elderly population was replacing affluent Republicans with retired blue-collar Democrats who increasingly could afford to retire to Florida. They settled in St. Petersburg, while their more affluent counterparts went to the newer, more glittery retirement towns.

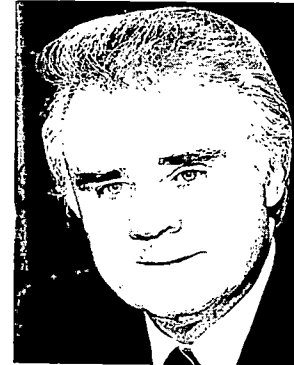
This elderly district is represented by a man named Young, a Republican elected by white-collar retirees who comes from blue-collar Pennsylvania and started off in politics at an early age. In the 1950s, while he was in his 20s, Bill Young worked for Congressman William Cramer; in the 1960s, he served in the Florida Senate; in 1970, he was elected to the House from the St. Petersburg district to replace Cramer when he ran unsuccessfully for the Senate. Through careful attention to the district and devotion to Social Security, Young has gained a reputation for political strength, and has encountered no serious challenges. Against a respectable opponent in 1988 he won by nearly 3 to 1.

Young spends most of his time in Washington on his Appropriations subcommittees, Defense and Labor-HHS-Education. On the latter he is able to protect Social Security, but he devotes more attention to Defense, where he ranks just behind Republican Joseph McDade. Young is a strong supporter of Republican Administration military programs and is often the point man against Democrats.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 559,200, up 9.0% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,909, up 30.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 65% family, 23% with children, 54% married couples; 28.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$201; median house value: \$39,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 413,853; 7% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	131,100	(56%)
	Dukakis (D)	103,040	(44%)

Rep. C. W. (Bill) Young (R)



Elected 1970; b. Dec. 16, 1930, Harmarville, PA; home, Largo; United Methodist; married (Beverly).

Career: Aide to U.S. Rep. William C. Cramer, 1957-60; FL Senate, 1960-70, Minority Leader, 1966-70.

Offices: 2407 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5961. Also 627 Fed. Bldg., St. Petersburg 33701, 813-893-3191.

Committees: *Appropriations* (6th of 22 R). Subcommittees: Defense; Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	18	15	36	31	88	61	100	79	60
1987	8	—	14	43	—	87	—	—	93	62

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	30%	69%	24%	74%
Social	12%	87%	19%	78%
Foreign	16%	78%	25%	74%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	C. W. (Bill) Young (R)	169,165	(73%)	(\$208,320)
	C. Bette Wimbish (D)	62,539	(27%)	(\$37,947)
1988 primary	C. W. (Bill) Young (R), unopposed			
1986 general	C. W. (Bill) Young (R), unopposed			(\$96,142)

NINTH DISTRICT

In 1940—even in the late 1950s—you could have driven U.S. 19 north from St. Petersburg's Pinellas County and never noticed anything but the swamp. The road passed through intersections marked by gas stations, and every so often there was a sleepy little town, with low brick buildings constructed in some northern style, baking in the Florida sun. There weren't many people here. The coastline that looks so tempting on the map was then under the kind of water that fills a swamp. Any large development would have required investment in an infrastructure—water and sewer lines, underground electricity—that would have seemed hopelessly uneconomical.

Today all that investment has been made, and the Gulf Coast for 50 miles north of St. Petersburg is home now to half a million people (and that doesn't include the 350,000 right around St. Petersburg). This is not the Florida where the rich of Greenwich and Winnetka retire; it is the final home of more modest people, many of them blue-collar, most of them probably with Democratic rather than Republican heritages. Most of this area is in the 9th Congressional District, one of the four new districts created by the Florida legislature after the 1980 Census. The district begins in Largo and Clearwater, some eight miles from St. Petersburg, and continues up past the old resort of Tarpon Springs to the new condominium communities of Holiday, Elfers, New Port Richey, Bayonet Point, and Hudson in Pasco County. It also sweeps inland, circling Tampa and including the agricultural center of Plant City inland; but more than two-thirds of its population is along the coast.

The legislature intended this to be a Democratic district; it elects many Democrats to the legislature and voted in 1988 for Senate candidate Buddy MacKay; it can be mobilized for the Democrats if anyone suggests a Republican will cut Social Security. But it was won by Republican Michael Bilirakis in 1982 and he has made it a safe seat. Bilirakis is a lawyer and restaurant owner from the large Greek-American community in Tarpon Springs; he grew up in Pittsburgh and worked his way through college toiling in a steel mill; he served in the Air Force during the Korean War; he is pleasant and has been active in civic affairs. In 1982 he ran as a citizen-politician and beat experienced state legislators in the primary and general; he has won overwhelmingly since. He is a foe in general of government spending and profligacy, but is all for generous Social Security benefits and government-funded research on Alzheimer's disease. In Washington he has a plum committee assignment, Energy and Commerce, where he works

amicably with Health Subcommittee Chairman Henry Waxman on issues important in Florida retirement spots, like health care for the elderly and clean air. But he is not a forceful or front rank legislator.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 636,900, up 24.1% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,191, up 91.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 27% with children, 65% married couples; 22.2% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$208; median house value: \$44,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 404,361; 3% Black, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	178,253	(60%)
	Dukakis (D)	116,408	(39%)

Rep. Michael Bilirakis (R)



Elected 1982; b. July 16, 1930, Tarpon Springs; home, Palm Harbor; U. of Pittsburgh, B.S. 1959, U. of FL, J.D. 1963; Greek Orthodox; married (Evelyn).

Career: Air Force. Korea; Steelworker, 1955-59; Govt. contract negotiator, 1959-60; Petroleum engineer, 1960-63; Practicing atty., 1969-83.

Offices: 1130 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5755. Also 1100 Cleveland St., Ste. 1600, Clearwater 33515, 813-441-3721.

Committees: *Energy and Commerce* (14th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Energy and Power; Oversight and Investigations; Health and the Environment. *Veterans' Affairs* (7th of 21 R). Subcommittees: Compensation, Pensions and Insurance; Hospitals and Health Care.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	39	22	45	44	96	86	100	93	72
1987	16	—	23	29	—	78	—	—	87	74

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	21%	77%	24%	74%
Social	13%	87%	25%	73%
Foreign	0%	84%	0%	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Michael Bilirakis (R)	223,925	(100%)	(\$193,901)
1988 primary	Michael Bilirakis, unopposed			
1986 general	Michael Bilirakis (R)	166,504	(71%)	(\$509,321)
	Gabe Cazares (D)	68,574	(29%)	(\$83,619)

TENTH DISTRICT

If you want to see what Florida looked like before the huge growth of the last 50 years, the best way is to drive inland from the coast and look at the parts of the state that have changed least. One such area is the citrus country of central Florida, south of Orlando. Of course there has been growth here: the population figures have grown by percentages unheard of in the Northeast; new shopping malls have sprung up on four-lane highways leading out of the old downtowns, and most people live in small, air-conditioned stucco houses or apartments built since 1950.

Yet a visitor from that year would not find utterly unrecognizable Lakeland or Winter Haven or Lake Wales or the citrus fields lying between these towns and the dozens of lakes of central Florida. None of these towns has grown to metropolitan size. None has reclaimed and developed hundreds of acres of swamp, as in so many other places in Florida. Nor would attitudes here be totally unrecognizable to our hypothetical visitor. Racial segregation, once firmly embedded in central Florida, is of course gone. But political attitudes associated with rural southern Democrats are not. People here tend to be southern in origin, faithful churchgoers, believers in traditional values, sympathetic to the idea of government intervention in the economy to help the ordinary person (though not always the poor). They still register Democratic and vote for local Democrats.

But in national and often in state elections they vote Republican. This is the country that forms most of Florida's 10th Congressional District, and its representation has reflected local changes in political attitudes. Most of the 10th District's people live in Polk County; it also extends to the Gulf Coast, taking in Bradenton, one of the more modest and less Yankeeified towns on the Gulf Coast. For years the 10th was represented by conservative southern Democrats. Then suddenly, in March 1984, it found itself represented by a Republican—not because of some election result, but because of the decision of Congressman Andy Ireland to switch parties. Ireland has always looked Republican anyway: he is from Republican Cincinnati, he went to prep school and the Ivy League, and he is a banker by trade. From his base in Winter Haven he ran for Congress as a Democrat in 1976 when the incumbent retired; he won the primary without a runoff and won the general decisively. In seven years he had made the seat utterly safe, and he had seniority on committees he liked—Foreign Relations, Small Business. Unlike some others, Ireland seems to have switched not out of opportunism, but because of his convictions, and somewhat against his political interest.

But only somewhat. He did lose his seat on Foreign Affairs, but moved to Armed Services and kept his committee assignment on Small Business. Ireland is all for spending more on defense, but he is a stickler for propriety and seems genuinely appalled by waste, fraud, and abuse. He sponsored a 1986 law to protect and compensate whistleblowers. In 1988 he served on a special panel on burden-sharing, which looked ahead toward significant reduction in American ground forces in Europe, but he spoke against Tommy Robinson's amendment to automatically cut troops in certain countries. He has looked after home causes, criticizing the 1986 treaty with the European Community for being too restrictive on citrus products and hailing the 1988 citrus accord with Japan, which is expected to increase Florida's citrus exports there manyfold. On the environment this booster of small businesses pushed through a one-year moratorium on offshore oil drilling in Florida's Gulf Coast.

Back home, the new party label was no handicap either in 1984, a very good year for Republicans, nor in 1986 or 1988, when Democrats Bob Graham and Buddy MacKay ran well in the district. Ireland won with more than 70% each time. In an age when voters split tickets and switch party preferences freely, party-switching is looked down on only when it seems opportunistic, and Ireland, in his quiet, thoughtful way, seems to have made his once safe Democratic seat safely Republican.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 605,700, up 18.1% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 512,890, up 44.3% 1970–80. Households (1980): 75% family, 35% with children, 63% married couples; 27.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$170; median house value: \$38,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 381,628; 11% Black, 3% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 138,108 (66%)
Dukakis (D)..... 69,786 (33%)

Rep. Andy Ireland (R)



Elected 1976; b. Aug. 23, 1930, Cincinnati, OH; home, Winter Haven; Yale U., B.S. 1952, Columbia Univ., 1953–54, LA St. U., 1959; Episcopalian; married (Nancy).

Career: City Commissioner, Winter Haven, 1966–68; Dir., Federal Reserve Bank, Jacksonville; Chmn., Barnett Bank of Cypress Gardens, Winter Haven, Cloverdale, 1970–76.

Offices: 2416 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5015. Also 120 W. Central Ave., Winter Haven 33883, 813-299-4041; 1101 6th Ave., W., Bradenton 34206, 813-746-0766; and 1805 Bartow Hwy., P.O. Box 8758, Lakeland 33803, 813-687-8015.

Committees: *Armed Services* (12th of 21 R). Subcommittees: Investigations; Military Installations and Facilities; Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems. *Small Business* (4th of 17 R). Subcommittee: Exports, Tax Policy, and Special Problems (Ranking Member).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	13	14	18	38	100	81	100	100	69
1987	4	—	14	21	—	96	—	—	100	73

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	10%	—	88%	0%	—	89%
Social	9%	—	89%	0%	—	90%
Foreign	16%	—	78%	0%	—	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Andy Ireland (R)	156,563	(74%)	(\$460,468)
	David B. Higginbottom (D)	56,536	(26%)	(\$33,823)
1988 primary	Andy Ireland (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Andy Ireland (R)	122,368	(71%)	(\$402,873)
	David Higginbottom (D)	49,559	(29%)	(\$12,903)

ELEVENTH DISTRICT

In the 1940s, when Cape Canaveral was chosen as the nation's rocket testing site, there were only 20,000 people then in all of Brevard County, which stretches along 60 miles of the coast and includes the cape. It was a backward place, with no industry, picked because it was sunny and on the Atlantic coast: rockets have to be launched eastward and spent parts should fall into the ocean. Today Brevard County north and south of the cape, with more than 300,000 people, is a prototype of a future America, with no city center but plenty of shopping centers along strip highways, with a white collar and service economy, knit together by an interest in the space program.

The 11th Congressional District of Florida includes all of Brevard County and extends westward into booming metropolitan Orlando to include Walt Disney World—which brings in lots of tourists and almost no voters. To the south, the 11th extends as far as Vero Beach, once an old Dixie town with a large black community and now bristling with condominiums full of retirees from the affluent suburbs of the North. This has been Republican territory for three decades and elected a Republican congressman as long ago as 1962. Gratitude to the Kennedy Administration for its commitment to space is scanty, and locals spurred their politicians to get the cape's name changed back to Canaveral (though it's still the John F. Kennedy Space Center). Engineers and high-tech workers typically like the order and certitude of traditional Republican fiscal policy and traditional religious mores.

In congressional elections, however, it elects Democrat Bill Nelson. He is part of the generation of Democrats that came to the House in the 1970s: handsome, well educated, ambitious, and able to finance much of his own campaign. He was elected at 30 to the Florida legislature and at 36 to the House. In his first term, he was politically shrewd enough to get a seat on the Budget Committee, but once there, with a conservative district and moderate to conservative instincts himself, he wobbled under pressure, voting both for and against Reagan Administration tax and budget cuts—votes he came to regret later. After the 1984 election, the Democratic Caucus declined to change the rule limiting Budget Committee service to three terms, and Nelson rotated off.

At which point he put aside any statewide ambitions he had for 1986, stopped concentrating on broad national issues, and concentrated on an issue that in this district is local: space. Scrambling for committee assignments after rotating off Budget, he got on Banking, of major importance in booming Florida, and on Science and Technology he got his fellow Democrats to vote him rather than California's George Brown (a longtime dove and skeptic about space flight programs) as head of the Space Science Subcommittee. Nelson not only boosted the space program in every possible way, he also rode the space shuttle himself, in early January, 1986, and landed safely. Then, weeks later, the next shuttle, *Challenger*, blew up.

Nelson has not wavered in his support of the shuttle program, and he has used his chair and spent his time promoting the manned space station. In 1988 after shepherding the authorization bill through the Science Committee, he lobbied the Appropriations subcommittee. He ended up with \$900 million in the bill, on top of the \$800 million already spent: these funds institutionalize the program, Nelson says, just about assuring construction. He was pleased too when Lloyd Bentsen and other Texans twisted Michael Dukakis's arm and got him to join George Bush in promising to build the space station. Nelson can draw on his own experience in space and argue that manned programs like the shuttle and the space station capture people's imagination and promote scientific discovery. But he prefers to step lightly around the arguments that neither program stands to be routinized or commercially viable as originally promised, and that much more is to be learned from unmanned probes farther out in the solar system. Nelson's political career, for the moment, depends on building the space station.

Nelson is considered highly popular in the 11th District; an old saying there is that "running against Bill Nelson in this district is like practicing bleeding." In 1988, against a retired lobbyist, Nelson won with 61%—not overwhelming, but about 30% better than Michael Dukakis was running in the district. His longtime statewide ambitions were put aside when he took over the Space subcommittee in 1985, and he passed up chances to run for governor or senator in 1986. But Governor Bob Martinez's unpopularity has Nelson traveling around the state and thinking about running for governor in 1990.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 683,900, up 33.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,691, up 39.8% 1970-80. Households (1980): 76% family, 37% with children, 64% married couples; 30.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$219; median house value: \$47,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 380,011; 6% Black, 3% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	191,722	(70%)
	Dukakis (D)	78,493	(29%)

Rep. Bill Nelson (D)



Elected 1978; b. Sept. 29, 1942, Miami; home, Melbourne; Yale U., B.A. 1965, U. of VA, J.D. 1968; Episcopalian; married (Grace).

Career: Army, 1968-70; Practicing atty., 1970-72; FL House of Reps., 1972-78.

Offices: 2404 RHOB 20515, 202-225-3671. Also Fed. Bldg., Ste. 300, Orlando 32801 407-841-1776; and 780 S. Apollo Blvd., Ste. 12, Melbourne 32901, 407-676-1776.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (20th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance. *Science, Space and Technology* (9th of 30 D). Subcommittees: Space Science and Applications (Chairman); Transportation, Aviation and Materials.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	45	35	43	73	75	56	20	100	43	26
1987	52	—	40	64	—	35	—	—	53	18

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	57%	—	41%	57%	—	43%
Social	45%	—	54%	41%	—	59%
Foreign	33%	—	67%	42%	—	58%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Bill Nelson (D)	168,390	(61%)	(\$565,632)
	Bill Tolley (R)	108,373	(39%)	(\$158,208)
1988 primary	Bill Nelson (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Bill Nelson (D)	149,036	(73%)	(\$304,914)
	Scott Ellis (R)	55,904	(27%)	(\$11,896)

TWELFTH DISTRICT

The 12th Congressional District crosses the Florida peninsula, spanning the citrus groves and swamplands around Lake Okeechobee and the Everglades (which is actually a giant river with millions of islands draining Okeechobee out into the Gulf of Mexico). This was almost entirely uninhabited land before World War II, with perhaps 50,000 people scattered in little towns in territory that held 500,000 in 1980 and many more today. (The number of postal patrons in the district rose from 292,000 in 1982 to 430,000 in 1988—a rise of 47%). Inland the district extends all the way to super-rich Naples on the Gulf Coast. It takes in Sebring, in whimsically named Highlands County, where a Grand Prix auto race is held yearly, and the citrus and other farmlands around Lake Okeechobee. In cleared and drained swampland, acres of crops are planted, raised, sprayed, and finally harvested, mostly by blacks and Mexican-Americans whose wages and working conditions have long been among America's worst.

But most of the 12th's people and growth are on the Atlantic coast. The drowsy southern towns north of Palm Beach, where on steaming hot nights blacks and whites would fish off the causeways that connected the beach strips with the main town, were in the path of the northward movement of affluent development. Hobe Sound and Jupiter, longtime resorts of the wealthy, were joined by huge new developments around Stuart and Fort Pierce. Like Fort Lauderdale and West Palm Beach in earlier decades, so these towns in the 1980s became the centers of Yankee metropolises. But the 12th is not just a series of retirement villages. Palm Beach County has had lots of job growth too, over a wide range of wages. So the 12th also includes some modest suburbs and much of the area's black population on the north side of West Palm and in neighboring Riviera Beach.

Before the 1980 Census, most of what are now the 12th and 13th Districts was in a single district: so great has population growth been that both may split again into two districts after the 1990 Census. The boundaries of this district were designed to give Democrats a chance to pick up the seat in 1982, but the 1980s Republican trend and a strong Republican candidate prevailed instead. The candidate was Tom Lewis, who served 11 years in the Air Force and worked 17 years for Pratt & Whitney in West Palm Beach. He spent seven years on his town council and 10 years in the legislature. Lewis is anything but flashy in style, but in substance he has had impressive accomplishments in the House. He sponsored a program for a computerized study on how to manage Lake Okeechobee. With Senator Lawton Chiles he got through in 1988 expansion of the Big Cypress wilderness area in the Everglades: he signed onto the bill to trade Everglades land owned by the Barron Collier company for the government's Indian School on Central Avenue in Phoenix, Arizona. He sponsored a bill to set up outreach centers for Vietnam veterans' counseling and to reimburse veterans for expenses if they have to travel far to veterans' hospitals. With Democrat Dan Glickman of Kansas, he got \$800 million for NASA for a study of metal fatigue and corrosion on aircraft. A pilot for 40 years, he sponsored a bill to make airplane interiors more survivable in case of a crash. He worked to open up Japan to U.S. (and Florida) citrus and beef imports; he characterized the 1988 citrus and beef accord (mixing up his Asian cuisines) as "sweet and sour."

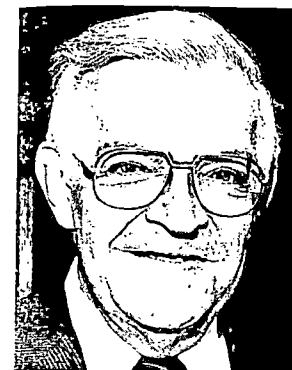
On the voting charts Lewis stacks up as a pretty reliable conservative. But his more important

role in Congress is to come up with creative solutions to questions that few other legislators have thought much about. His constituents seem to have concluded he has done a fine job. He was first elected in 1982 with large majorities in the Naples area and in the counties north of Palm Beach—a victory for Yankee Republicans. He has not had any opposition since.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 678,700, up 32.3% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,121, up 67.0% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 32% with children, 61% married couples; 30.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$190; median house value: \$47,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 384,221; 16% Black, 4% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	168,433	(64%)
	Dukakis (D)	92,448	(35%)

Rep. Tom Lewis (R)



Elected 1982; b. Oct. 26, 1924, Philadelphia, PA; home, North Palm Beach; Palm Beach Jr. Col., 1956-57, U. of FL, 1958-59; United Methodist; married (Marian).

Career: Air Force, WWII and Korea; Corp. Exec., Pratt & Whitney Aircraft, 1957-73; Mayor, Councilman, North Palm Beach, 1964-71; FL House of Reps., 1972-80; FL Senate 1980-82.

Offices: 1216 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5792. Also 2700 PGA Blvd. Ste. 1, Palm Beach Gardens 33410, 407-627-6192; and 2500 Midport Rd., Ste. 120, Port St. Lucie 33452, 407-283-7989.

Committees: *Agriculture* (10th of 18 R). Subcommittees: Cotton, Rice and Sugar; Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition; Livestock Dairy, and Poultry. *Science, Space and Technology* (5th of 19 R). Subcommittee: Space Science and Applications; Transportation, Aviation and Materials (Ranking Member). *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (7th of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	17	14	27	31	100	80	100	93	67
1987	4	—	14	29	—	83	—	—	93	64

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	16%	—	83%	24%	—	74%
Social	16%	—	83%	10%	—	85%
Foreign	16%	—	78%	0%	—	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Tom Lewis (R), unopposed	(\$256,081)
1988 primary	Tom Lewis (R), unopposed	
1986 general	Tom Lewis (R), unopposed	(\$285,685)

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT

It was where Thomas Edison had his winter home, where Henry Ford used to visit, where even Walter Reuther took time off in the modest house he built with his own hands: Fort Myers, back in the days of World War II, when the Gulf Coast, with a permanent population from Sarasota all the way south to Naples of only 42,000, was the closest thing in the continental United States to a tropical paradise. The coastland is more varied than on the Atlantic side, the breakers gentler, the weather seems a bit milder, the geography of the coastline is more various: there are barrier islands on the Gulf, but they are not monotonous like those on the ocean; there are big gaps between them, wide estuaries, and places where the swampy lowlands seem to step right into the ocean. This environment (and Florida's lack of an income tax) has brought affluent people, retirees and professionals, mostly from the Midwest down to the lower Gulf Coast, to the point that there are close to 700,000 people living today where there were 42,000 half a century ago. And living comfortably. The sea is not blocked by miles of high-rise apartments; there are relatively few of the high rises that line the Atlantic, and the favored community is not the high-rise, but the sprawling, city-sized development like Cape Coral or Port Charlotte.

The Gulf Coast, Sarasota south to Naples, is Florida's 13th Congressional District. The population of the district is heavily tilted toward retirees: only 24% of households include children, and 33% of the adults are over 65—one of the highest percentages in the country. The population is also almost entirely white and usually affluent, and not surprisingly, this is one of the most Republican districts in Florida, and perhaps in the nation. From 1982 to 1988 it was represented by Connie Mack III, now U.S. senator. The real contest here in 1988 was in the Republican primary. Retired General Jim Dozier, who was held hostage by Italy's Red Brigades and then rescued in 1981, got just 19% here. Congressman Skip Bafalis, who gave up a seat containing most of this territory to run for governor in 1982, returned, but after a long absence got only 29%. The leader was Lee County Commissioner Porter Goss, who worked 10 years for the CIA, then moved to Sanibel Island, founded a prize-winning local newspaper, served on the city council and passed growth management laws, and was appointed originally to the Lee County Commission by Democratic Governor Bob Graham. He raised plenty of money, got 38% of the vote in the first primary and against Bafalis in the runoff won 72%–28%.

The Democratic nominee was high quality: Jack Conway, a top aide to Reuther in the UAW in the 1950s, one of the founding fathers of the anti-poverty program, and the first president of Common Cause. Conway got some 93,000 votes—more than several Democrats who won—but in this fast-growing district that was only 29% of the vote. Goss won 231,000 votes, more than any other House candidate in the country.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 674,300, up 31.4% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 513,048, up 86.5% 1970–80. Households (1980): 73% family, 24% with children, 65% married couples; 23.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$238; median house value: \$53,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 413,477; 4% Black, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 225,798 (68%)
Dukakis (D) 106,428 (32%)

Rep. Porter J. Goss (R)



Elected 1988; b. Nov. 26, 1938, Waterbury, CT; home, Sanibel; Yale U., B.A., 1960; Presbyterian; married (Mariel).

Career: CIA Clandestine Svcs. 1962–72; City Council Mbr., Mayor of Sanibel 1974–82; Lee Cnty. Commissioner 1982–88.

Offices: 509 CHOB, 20515, 202-225-2536. Also 2000 Main St., Ste. 407, Fort Myers 33901, 813-332-4677; and 2002 Ringling Blvd., Ste. 152, Sarasota 34237, 813-951-7878.

Committees: *Foreign Affairs* (18th of 18 R). Subcommittees: Arms Control, International Security and Science; Western Hemisphere Affairs. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (17th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Coast Guard and Navigation; Oceanography.

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected Election Results

1988 general	Porter J. Goss (R)	231,170	(71%)	(\$836,224)
	Jack Conway (D)	93,700	(29%)	(\$210,296)
1988 runoff	Porter J. Goss (R)	49,272	(72%)	
	Skip Bafalis (R)	19,413	(28%)	
1988 primary	Porter J. Goss (R)	36,875	(38%)	
	Skip Bafalis (R)	27,958	(29%)	
	Jim Dozier (R)	18,048	(19%)	
	Others	13,222	(14%)	
1986 general	Connie Mack III (R)	187,794	(75%)	(\$313,639)
	Addison S. Gilbert III (D)	62,694	(25%)	(\$42,898)

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT

Palm Beach, on a barrier island created by nature, is a town that sprang entirely from the imagination of man. When Henry Flagler built his railroad this far south in 1894, he had the vision of a subtropical resort easily reachable from America's snowbound industrial cities in wintertime; the architect Addison Mizner, who came in 1918, had the vision of a pseudo-Spanish, pseudo-Mediterranean style that he used to build huge mansions and posh clubs and modest-sized storefront blocks. By the 1920s Palm Beach had become the premier winter resort for America's very rich, and to a considerable extent it still is: workers and help have since Flagler's time been sent to live in West Palm Beach, across Lake Worth, and resorts that cater to other tastes and pocketbooks have proliferated on both of Florida's coasts.

What Flagler, Mizner, and other Palm Beach pioneers didn't foresee is that the area around Palm Beach would become in time a workaday, commercial, even industrial metropolis on its own. In the 1970s and 1980s Palm Beach County has been one of the fastest-growing parts of the United States, spawning subdivisions and condominiums and even whole suburbs faster than the mapmakers can draw. In effect two paths of migration have converged here. One is the southward movement of retirees and of young working families as well to Florida's warm climate and suddenly growing, high-tech and service economy (Palm Beach County is where IBM developed its PC). The other is the northward movement along Florida's Gulf Coast of older and middle-aged residents looking for the quiet ambience and crime-free atmosphere they can no longer find in Miami's Dade County or even Fort Lauderdale's Broward.

These two migrations have produced countervailing political trends in Florida's 14th Congressional District, which extends along the coast from Palm Beach to ultra-expensive Boca Raton (where Corky's delicatessen now serves "Flatbush special" and "Far Rockaway" sandwiches) and goes 12 miles inland, taking in fast-growing Florida Gardens, Country Club Acres, and, to the south along Broward County's Sawgrass Expressway, Margate and Tamarac. The Sun Belt family migration made the Palm Beach area, already heavily Republican in national elections, Republican in state and local elections as well. The condominium retiree migration, particularly by Jews heading north from Miami and Broward County, moves Palm Beach County toward the Democrats at all levels. For many years, while Miami was the most Democratic part of Florida, Palm Beach County was several points more Republican than the state as a whole. But starting in 1984, even as Miami's Cubans have been putting Dade County into the Republican column, Palm Beach County has been a few points more Democratic than Florida. In 1988 Florida voted for Republican Connie Mack III for the Senate, but Palm Beach County voted for Democrat Buddy MacKay.

This was all the more striking because MacKay won his nomination by edging 14th District Congressman Dan Mica out of second place in the first primary. Mica had held the district for the Democrats for 10 sometimes difficult years, despite his disappointment at being denied, because of his strong anti-Communist positions, the Latin America subcommittee chair he wanted on Foreign Affairs. The vacancy in the 14th attracted a large field, and both parties' nominations were won by men active in local government. Republican Ken Adams, who built a chain of hardware stores in New York, campaigned as a conservative on national issues, but stressed his work as a county commissioner aiding the poor and setting up an AIDS hospice. Harry Johnston, from a civically prominent West Palm Beach family, said he knew how to cut spending from his experience as state Senate president. Johnston served 12 years in the legislature. He was a candidate for governor in 1986, running third behind Steve Pajcic and Jim Smith in the primary; if he had run a few percentage points better, he might well have beaten either man in a runoff and could quite possibly have beaten Bob Martinez in the general and be governor of the nation's fourth largest state today.

Instead Johnston spent the fall of 1988 campaigning in condominiums and classrooms, sometimes caustically, sometimes in the more conciliatory manner of a man whose lifespan and career connects the older, southern-and-small-town-oriented Florida with the gleaming new, economically booming, environment-conscious metropolitan Florida of today. While citizen-politician Republicans were beating experienced Democratic legislators in the 4th and 6th Districts, the changing population of Palm Beach and Broward Counties was enough to enable Johnston to beat a candidate with a somewhat similar appeal. His 55%-45% victory gives him the chance to bring his considerable legislative talents to Washington and to make the 14th once again a safe Democratic district.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 674,200, up 31.5% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,803, up 126.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 27% with children, 65% married couples; 22.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$278; median house value: \$62,200. Voting age pop. (1980): 406,873; 4% Spanish origin, 3% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 167,352 (53%)
Dukakis (D) 147,665 (47%)

Rep. Harry A. Johnston (D)



Elected 1988; b. Dec. 2, 1931, West Palm Beach; home, West Palm Beach; VA Military Inst., B.A. 1953; U. of FL, J.D. 1958; Presbyterian, married (Mary).

Career: Practicing atty, 1958-88; FL Senate, 1974-86, Pres., 1985-86.

Offices: 1517 LHOB 20515, 202-225-3001. Also Pylon Park, 1501 Corporate Dr., Boynton Beach 33435, 407-732-4000.

Committees: *Foreign Affairs* (23d of 28 D). Subcommittees: Western Hemisphere Affairs; International Economic Policy and Trade. *Science, Space and Technology* (28th of 30 D). Subcommittees: Science, Research and Technology; Space Science and Applications; Oversight and Investigations.

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected

Election Results

1988 general	Harry A. Johnston (D)	173,292	(55%)	(\$971,883)
	Ken Adams (R)	142,635	(45%)	(\$777,988)
1988 primary	Harry A. Johnston (D)	36,874	(59%)	
	Dorothy H. Wilken (D)	26,116	(41%)	
1986 general	Daniel (Dan) Mica (D)	171,961	(74%)	(\$386,905)
	Rick Martin (R)	61,185	(26%)	(\$11,072)

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT

Half a century ago it was a town of 17,000, with a long, mostly empty beach and a set of canal-surrounded streets just inland, before the gas station-lined strip of U.S. 1. Today Fort Lauderdale is the center of a county of nearly one million people, the centerpoint of the 10-to-20-mile strip of Gold Coast running from south of Miami to north of Palm Beach which is now home to four million people. Behind the lines of condominiums stalking along the Atlantic Coast, somewhere between the commercial strip boulevards, is the kernel of this development. But it is of little moment today, for Fort Lauderdale and surrounding Broward County have been changed beyond recognition, not once but several times, since the days before World War II.

Those changes can be charted, among other places, in the election returns. In the 1950s and 1960s, when it was famous for college students' spring vacation sand-and-beer brawls, Fort Lauderdale was growing as a retirement and vacation spot for WASPs from the high-income suburbs of the East and Midwest, the Locust Valleys and Winnetkas of America. Through the middle 1960s, Fort Lauderdale tended to exclude Jews: this was the WASPy part of south Florida. Its politics was straight out of the old *Chicago Tribune*: solidly Republican and conservative, even when that went against national trends. Broward County switched from the Democrats to Thomas E. Dewey and the Republicans in 1948 and stuck with the Republicans through 1964 when it voted for Barry Goldwater. Then in the late 1960s restrictions against Jews eased in Broward County. Hollywood, just south of Fort Lauderdale, became a mostly Jewish city; in Fort Lauderdale and towns inland rose huge condominium complexes most of whose residents were Jews. In 1976 Broward County went for Jimmy Carter, and by 1978 it started to vote more Democratic than the state as a whole. By 1984 it was consistently more Democratic than Miami's Dade County, as the Cuban voting population there increased and Jews moved

north into Broward from Dade or moved directly there from their homes in the North.

Entirely within Broward County is the 15th Congressional District of Florida, centered on Fort Lauderdale. On the coast it goes past Pompano Beach and Deerfield Beach up to the Palm Beach County line; inland it includes golf-course-laden suburbs like Plantation, Lauderhill, and Lauderdale Lakes past and just beyond the Sawgrass Expressway. As recently as 10 years ago this was solidly Republican country; Hollywood, to the south, was much more Jewish and much more Democratic. But today party registration is as Democratic as in the 16th, 18th, and 19th Districts, and more Democratic than in the 14th which the Democrats held in Republican 1988. Republican Congressman Clay Shaw owes his hold on the seat more to his own record in Fort Lauderdale politics and in the House than to his party's appeal.

Shaw first won the seat in 1980, after serving as mayor of Fort Lauderdale for five years; he was helped by a Democratic primary fight in which a conservative incumbent was dumped and the nomination went to a legislator who had represented Dade rather than Broward. Shaw won with 55% that time and with 57% against his predecessor who was attempting a comeback in 1982. Since then he has had no serious opposition.

Shaw has spent much of his House career visibly fighting crime and drugs. With a seat on the Judiciary Committee, he came forward with amendments to the drug laws that have become almost a part of the annual routine. Three of them were the death penalty for major drug dealers, a federal drug czar, and the use of the military to interdict drug smuggling: all were deleted from the drug bill in 1986, but were voted into the 1988 law. Three more would require drug testing as a condition of parole for drug-related offenders, property seizures for those in possession of illegal drugs, and higher penalties for crack use. He has also pushed for more drug testing of airline and railroad personnel. Presumably he will remain interested in these matters, though he had to give up his seats on Judiciary and Public Works when he won a place on Ways and Means in July 1988.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 552,200, up 7.7% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,950, up 34.0% 1970-80. Households (1980): 65% family, 24% with children, 53% married couples; 33.2% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$261; median house value: \$59,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 411,582; 13% Black, 3% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 102,768 (53%)
Dukakis (D) 90,113 (46%)

Rep. E. Clay Shaw, Jr. (R)



Elected 1980; b. Apr. 19, 1939. Miami; home. Ft. Lauderdale; Stetson U., B.A. 1961, U. of AL. M.B.A. 1963. Stetson U., J.D. 1966; Roman Catholic; married (Emilie).

Career: Practicing atty., 1966-68; Chf. City Prosecutor, 1968-69; Assoc. Municipal Judge, 1969-71, City Commissioner, 1971-73, Vice Mayor of Ft. Lauderdale, 1973-75, Mayor, 1975-80.

Offices: 440 CHOB 20515, 202-225-3026. Also 299 E. Broward Blvd., Ste. 100, Ft. Lauderdale 33301, 305-522-1800.

Committees: *Ways and Means* (11th of 13 R). Subcommittees: Oversight; Human Resources (Ranking Member).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	9	10	36	31	96	80	100	92	59
1987	4	—	9	14	—	78	—	—	93	68

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	21%	—	77%	19%	—	78%
Social	5%	—	91%	10%	—	85%
Foreign	0%	—	84%	0%	—	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	E. Clay Shaw, Jr. (R)	132,090 (66%)	(\$455,578)
	Michael A. (Mike) Kuhle (D)	67,746 (34%)	(\$36,084)
1988 primary	E. Clay Shaw, Jr. (R), unopposed		
1986 general	E. Clay Shaw, Jr. (R), unopposed		(\$102,671)

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT

Fifty years ago the Florida land that is now its 16th Congressional District was almost entirely uninhabited: some empty coastal land between Miami and the small town of Fort Lauderdale and thousands of acres of unreclaimed Everglades that started just west of Miami and continued for miles inland. Today more than half a million people live here, in closely packed subdivisions, around new golf courses, or in high-rise condominiums. And some of the most explosive growth in south Florida is taking place here, on either side of the newly completed Sawgrass Expressway in Broward County, 12 to 15 miles west of the ocean, built in record time to meet the demand for development, and in the former swamplands west of the Palmetto Expressway that used to mark the edge of urban settlement in Miami's Dade County.

The 16th was the new district south Florida's Gold Coast got after the 1980 Census (the 17th, 18th, and 19th are descendants of the new districts the area got after the 1970, 1960, and 1950 Censuses respectively). In effect the 16th includes the products of two migrations. The first, and larger, is the migration of Jews and others who originally came from New York and the Northeast out from Dade County and into Broward. The most populous city here now is Hollywood, whose high-rise condominiums facing the ocean are full of former New Yorkers and Miamians; and similar populations live in Pembroke Pines to the west, Hallandale to the south, and Miramar to the southwest. Condominium activists are the big political force here. Large high-rise condominiums bring into one handy location, to which access can be controlled, hundreds and sometimes even thousands of voters. In many cases, they are articulate people with organizational literacy, an interest in issues, a knack for politics, and plenty of time on their hands. Properly organized, a condominium can give an endorsed candidate a margin of hundreds of votes—a huge advantage in a closely contested primary where most ordinary precincts are carried by 10 or 20 votes. In partisan politics this part of Broward County is heavily Democratic, with a 61%-32% Democratic registration edge.

The second part of the 16th District is in Miami's Dade County, not directly south of the Broward County portion of the 16th, but to the west. There it stretches south past the Tamiami

Trail, also known as Southwest 8th Street or, to Cuban-Americans, Calle Ocho. Between 60% and 80% of the residents here are of Spanish origin, living around and behind Miami International Airport in upwardly mobile communities like Westchester and Westwood Lakes. The Dade portion of the district is Republican in registrations (58%-34%) and usually in elections. Cuban-Americans know the evils of Communism, appreciate the virtues of free enterprise, cherish traditional moral values, and prefer Republicans to Democrats on all these counts. But Broward, though it has about 40% of the district's residents, casts only 25% of its votes, because many Cubans are still not citizens or are not registered.

The congressman from the 16th is Larry Smith, brought up in Brooklyn and Long Island, and possessed of a zest for argument and a brash New York style. He is voluble and argumentative, but seems to have no nasty or cynical edge; and his motives—to stop the drug trade, to aid Israel—are transparently sincere. Smith sits on Foreign Affairs, and in this district filled with residents who themselves or whose parents or grandparents fled tyranny, and who now live on a peninsula thrust downward toward Latin America, foreign issues arouse more passion than domestic. Smith is one of the House's leading and most aggressive backers of aid to Israel, and in the late 1980s was one of the first to oppose arms sales to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait; occasionally he has been successful in stopping them and on other occasions has seen the list of weapons cut. He was on both sides of the contra aid issue, depending on the circumstances, but has never been a romantic admirer of the Sandinistas like some of his Democratic colleagues.

Much of his effort in the late 1980s was directed against the drug trade, and he has been fairly bubbling over with proposals. He originated the law outlawing Quaaludes. From his seat on Foreign Affairs, he favored decertification of the Bahamas, Mexico, Peru, and Paraguay—a declaration that they were not enforcing drug laws, which would then require a cutoff of some U.S. aid. He wants assets of accused and convicted drug violators forfeited. He wants to revoke the passports of drug violators. He wants to sell more weapons and ammunition to drug enforcement officers in Latin countries. As chairman of the Task Force on International Economics Control, he wants to cut off drug traffickers like Manuel Noriega and give special aid to Colombia for its anti-drug efforts.

It would be easy to dismiss Smith's record as catering to the prejudices of his constituents, concerned about Israel, worried about Central America, cautious about leaving their condominium compounds for fear of drug-driven crime. But Smith seems to share their passions and fears, and seems determined to do something about them.

Smith first won this newly created seat in 1982, with a 55%-45% victory in a Democratic party battle of the condominiums. In general elections, he has not run strong in the Dade County portion of the district, leading Republicans to think about targeting him, as they did in 1984 when they held him to 56%. In 1988, his opponent, a young chiropractor who has become a perennial candidate, charged him with causing the October 1987 stock market crash. Smith was worried because this man's name is Joseph Smith, and so the Democrat ran ads saying "send the real Mr. Smith to Washington." They worked: Smith won with 69%. But he got only 55% in Dade County; when redistricting comes around, he might like to shed some of that territory, and probably will be able to, because the 16th's population has been rapidly increasing.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 578,200, up 12.6% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,365, up 74.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 33% with children, 63% married couples; 25.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$278; median house value: \$62,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 396,409; 20% Spanish origin, 4% Black, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 121,521 (55%)
Dukakis (D) 97,110 (44%)

Rep. Lawrence J. (Larry) Smith (D)



Elected 1982; b. Apr. 25, 1941, Brooklyn, NY; home, Hollywood; NYU, Brooklyn Law Sch., LL.B. 1964, J.D. 1976; Jewish; married (Sheila).

Career: Practicing atty., 1964-82; Hollywood Planning and Zoning Bd., 1974-78, Chmn., 1975-78; Broward Cnty. Advisory Bd., 1978; FL House of Reps., 1978-82.

Offices: 113 CHOB 20515, 202-225-7931. Also 4747 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 33021, 305-987-6484.

Committees: *Foreign Affairs* (13th of 28 D). Subcommittees: Europe and the Middle East; International Operations. *Judiciary* (15th of 21 D). Subcommittees: Crime; Economic and Commercial Law; Criminal Justice. *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (13th of 18 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	85	70	96	64	75	17	6	30	23	14
1987	80	—	95	79	—	9	—	—	20	3

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	79%	—	17%	73%
Social	68%	—	31%	78%
Foreign	58%	—	41%	68%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Pnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort S	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Lawrence J. (Larry) Smith (D)	153,032	(69%)	(\$555,473)
	Joseph Smith (R)	67,461	(31%)	(\$15,325)
1988 primary	Lawrence J. (Larry) Smith (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Lawrence J. (Larry) Smith (D)	121,213	(70%)	(\$878,922)
	Mary Collins (R)	52,807	(30%)	(\$60,337)

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT

The northern corner of Miami's Dade County, from the beach above Bal Harbour to the new town suburb of Miami Lakes developed by Senator Bob Graham in the west, makes up Florida's 17th Congressional District. It includes only a small part of Miami itself, but more than any other district votes like an old-style northern urban district: this is the only Florida district that regularly votes for national Democratic candidates. That is true even though about one-quarter of its residents, many in the once white working-class suburb of Hialeah, around the race track, are Cuban: they are heavily Republican, but don't all vote yet. The 17th is also about one-quarter black: just as Cubans move out from Miami along Southwest 8th Street, blacks tend to move north in a corridor between Northwest 7th and 27th Avenues. Yet the dominant political

tone in the 17th is set by a group less numerous than either: the Jews, who tend to live in the communities along Biscayne Bay, especially North Miami and North Miami Beach. They turn out in Democratic primaries, which are tantamount to election here; they organize in condominium and neighborhood associations, which can deliver large margins to candidates.

William Lehman, the congressman from the 17th, was first elected in 1972, when the district was newly created; he had been active on the school board. Before that he had a long and successful career selling used cars under the name "Alabama Bill." Lehman entered Congress when he was almost 60, and is now one of the House's oldest members. He serves rather quietly on the Appropriations Committee, and since 1982 he has been chairman of the Transportation Subcommittee. This is a position of potentially vast influence, but Lehman, a pleasant man, does not seem to have the aggressiveness and ambition to make high policy, although he has been successful in advancing Miami's Metrorail mass transit system and downtown Metromover. On other issues he votes with liberal Democrats more often than any other Florida congressman; he is one of only two Florida members to oppose contra aid regularly. At home, he has not had serious competition since his first and second campaigns; his major electoral effort is to scotch rumors that he is going to retire.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 560,100, up 9.2% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,048, up 25.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 72% family, 35% with children, 55% married couples; 38.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$237; median house value: \$46,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 385,199; 24% Spanish origin, 22% Black, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Dukakis (D) 84.029 (59%)
Bush (R) 58.053 (41%)

Rep. William Lehman (D)



Elected 1972; b. Oct. 5, 1913, Selma, AL; home. Biscayne Park; U. of AL, B.S. 1934; Jewish; married (Joan).

Career: Auto dealer, 1936-42, 1946-72; Teacher, airplane mechanics, Brazil, 1942-45; Teacher, Dade Cnty. Pub. Schools, 1963, Miami-Dade Jr. Col., 1964-66; Dade Cnty. Sch. Bd., 1966-72, Chmn., 1971-72.

Offices: 2347 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4211. Also 2020 N.E. 163rd St., N. Miami Beach 33162, 305-945-7518.

Committees: *Appropriations* (17th of 35 D). Subcommittees: Foreign Operations; Transportation (Chairman). *Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families* (2d of 18 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	100	96	88	82	81	8	8	0	36	17
1987	92	—	87	79	—	9	—	—	21	5

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	54%	—	44%	68%
Social	86%	—	0%	78%
Foreign	79%	—	16%	81%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	William Lehman (D), unopposed	(\$257,487)
1988 primary	William Lehman (D), unopposed	
1986 general	William Lehman (D), unopposed	(\$172,800)

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT

The hot night air, the moonlight reflecting off the bay onto the surrealistic high rises, the pastel, random-shaped, sharp-angled style of clothes and furniture and typography—a style that comes from Italian designers—the air of menace in streets where many are armed and vast quantities of drugs and cash are regularly changing hands: this is Miami as the 1990s begin. A resort city known for its pseudo-Spanish mansions and Art Deco beach hotels two generations ago, a city on its way to becoming a fairly typical American metropolitan area one generation ago, Miami today cannot be mistaken for any other American—or Latin American—city; its faults and its flair are all its own. It lives on the cusp of two civilizations: one English-speaking, confident that its liberty and property are secure, tolerant of diversity, and little interested in politics; the other Spanish-speaking, its liberty and property always under threat, ready to use violence to destroy contrary opinion, preoccupied with a politics of revenge. Miami's Dade County by the late 1980s was about 42% Hispanic (almost entirely Cuban), 40% white Anglo, and 18% black, and the Cuban community was growing. Miami is the one city in the country where you can rise to the top of your profession or business, patronize the best stores and restaurants, live in the best residential areas—and still speak nothing but Spanish. Miami is the economic capital of Latin America and the place of exile for many a loser in Latin American political wars; it is also the number one center of the U.S. drug trade. Young Cuban-Americans all know English, but the fact is that Cuban Miami has remained separate, is growing larger, and remains estranged from Anglo society—culturally and especially politically.

Miami is no longer the murder capital of the nation, as it was in the early 1980s; the drug trade has dispersed to other cities and west along the Gulf Coast: the kind of clothes Don Johnson wore in *Miami Vice* can now be seen in Wal-Marts in Arkansas and in Holidomes in South Dakota. Still, Miami is different. Concealed weapons and barely concealed bribery, vast sums of cash (most of the \$100 bills in the country are in the Miami Federal Reserve district) and a constant commerce in illegal drugs, rampant police corruption (59 officers were suspended in the Miami River scandal): these are all part of Miami's daily life. Relations between Cubans and others are not growing more mellow. To goodhearted Anglo liberals, like those who run the *Miami Herald*, the Cubans' fanatic hatred of Fidel Castro's regime, their frequent disregard for the rules of political behavior here (remember that it was Cuban-Americans who burglarized the Watergate—not the first such operation by Cuban exiles), and their unwillingness to compromise or smooth over their differences on Cuban and other Latin American issues make them a dangerous force in American politics. To the Cubans, the Anglos' lack of sympathy for the tragedy that has befallen Cuba and their benign neutrality (or worse) toward Communist dictators who seize property and imprison their opponents make them an enemy force who must be opposed at all costs. From the 1940s to the 1970s, Miami was a Democratic town, dominated by a liberal establishment and a large Jewish community that stayed with the Democrats even

during the civil rights revolution. But the Cubans—not just the initial exiles, but the younger generation, brought up and often born in the United States—are overwhelmingly Republican, even more enthusiastic in their support of George Bush (whose son Jeb and daughter-in-law Columba live in Miami) than they were of Ronald Reagan. So Miami and Dade County are now Republican—and likely to become more so.

Florida's 18th Congressional District covers most of the city of Miami and all of Miami Beach and Coral Gables. Its center is Southwest 8th Street—Calle Ocho—the main street of the Cuban community. Miami Beach is still mostly Jewish, and there are blacks in the corridor running north from the gleaming downtown. But in 1980, 50% of the district's residents were Cuban, and today the percentage is surely much higher.

Claude Pepper, who died of cancer May 30, 1989, represented the 18th District of Florida since 1962. He had been a pivotal figure in American politics and government over a longer span of time than anyone else in American history. Born in 1900 in Alabama, Pepper moved to Florida after Harvard Law School, was elected to the legislature in 1928, ran for the Senate and lost in 1934, and was appointed to the Senate to fill a vacancy in 1936. In 1938 Pepper was a vocal supporter of Franklin Roosevelt's minimum wage bill, which was thought unpopular in the South and which seemed to threaten his chances to win a full term. But he campaigned hard for the seat, and won 58% of the vote against an incumbent congressman and a former governor—and Congress passed the stalled bill within weeks. Pepper quickly became known as a brilliant orator, in the grandiloquent southern tradition but also of a high enough intellectual order that Robert Taft, no admirer of his New Deal politics, said he always made it a point to be on the floor when Pepper spoke because the man had a first-class mind. When Lyndon Johnson set about to provide speakers for Democratic House candidates in 1940, one of those most in demand was Senator Claude Pepper.

Pepper was also a force on foreign affairs, an opponent of isolationism before World War II and a skeptic about the cold war afterwards. That, plus his continuing support for unfashionable New Deal measures and his support of civil rights (he supported an anti-lynching bill in the 1930s), made him vulnerable to challenge, and he was beaten 55%-45% by George Smathers in a bitter primary in 1950. When Miami got a second House seat after the 1960 Census, Pepper was the obvious man to fill it and he won easily, as he did from that time on—even as the district changed from heavily Jewish to mostly Cuban. No member of the House spoke more passionately against Fidel Castro and for supporting the resistance to Communists in Latin America.

Pepper made an impact in the House early on, chairing a special crime committee from 1969 to 1974 and chairing the Select Committee on Aging; he pushed to passage the 1978 law raising the minimum mandatory retirement age from 65 to 70 and the 1986 law banning any compulsory retirement age. Always a New Dealer, he was not much concerned about costs; he denounced bitterly colleagues who did not share his generosity and perhaps his own experiences, from growing up poor in backward rural Alabama to living in rich urban Miami, that contribute to a belief that the United States will always prove rich enough to deliver on the promises he would have it make. In the 1980s he played a major role in resisting any Reagan cuts in social security, and in 1982 was the Democrats' most active and effective national campaigner, flying around to 70 districts denouncing Republicans and boosting Democrats. But he also suffered disappointments. When the Social Security Commission in 1983 came in with a bipartisan compromise, he tried to stop the proposal to gradually raise the retirement age. His colleagues gave him a standing ovation but most voted against him. The same thing happened in 1988 on his proposal for long-term health care. Ways and Means came forward with a catastrophic health care plan that would be paid for by a tax on the elderly's earnings; Pepper wanted instead a more generous program to be paid for by lifting the top limit on income subject to workers' payroll tax. Opposed by Dan Rostenkowski and John Dingell, Pepper spoke movingly, segueing

gracefully from vivid descriptions of the plight of the infirm to an eloquent plea for generosity. But in a deficit-conscious House he didn't have the votes.

Pepper became chairman of the Rules Committee after Richard Bolling retired in 1982, and while he generally worked in tandem with the House leadership he used the committee's power to allow or prohibit votes on amendments to advance his pet causes. He was hard of hearing, but he could explain the complexities of legislation and procedure and stir the emotions of any listener much as he did 50 years ago. The Republicans once targeted him, but did not do better than 40% in 1980. Most politically active Cubans, it seems, thought it was more useful to have a sympathetic chairman of the Rules Committee than a freshman Cuban Republican representing them, though for the first time since the district was carved out for Pepper in 1962, it is possible for an Hispanic Republican to win the seat.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 542,600, up 5.7% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 513,250, up 6.4% 1970-80. Households (1980): 62% family, 25% with children, 46% married couples; 64.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$210; median house value: \$53,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 416,969; 50% Spanish origin, 13% Black, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 72,421 (58%)
Dukakis (D)..... 52,368 (42%)

Rep. Claude Pepper (D)



Elected 1962; b. Sept. 8, 1900, Dudleyville, AL, d. May 30, 1989; home, Miami; U. of AL, A.B. 1921, Harvard U., LL.B. 1924; Baptist; widowed.

Career: Instructor in Law, U. of AR. 1924-25; Practicing atty., 1925-36, 1951-62; FL House of Reps., 1929-30; FL Bd. of Pub. Welfare, 1931-32; FL Bd. of Law Examiners, 1933-34; U.S. Senate, 1937-51.

Offices: 2239 RHOB 20515, 202-225-3931. Also 300 Courthouse Tower, 44 W. Flagler St., Miami 33130, 305-536-5565.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	65	69	94	73	25	18	1	50	17	8
1987	68	—	94	93	—	14	—	—	9	3

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	87%	—	8%	73%	—	0%
Social	58%	—	42%	62%	—	38%
Foreign	51%	—	48%	56%	—	44%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	—	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	—	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Claude Pepper (D), unopposed				(\$405,551)
1988 primary	Claude Pepper (D), unopposed				
1986 general	Claude Pepper (D)	80.047	(74%)	(\$1,395,549)	
	Tom Brodie (R)	28.803	(26%)	(\$15,888)	

NINETEENTH DISTRICT

Fifty years ago, U.S. 1 heading southwest from Miami toward the 113-mile Florida Keys Highway was a narrow ribbon of highway next to Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railroad passing between acres of Everglades swamp, marked with an occasional tourist attraction and gas stations with red machines full of five cent Cokes. In the years since, the land three to 10 miles on each side of U.S. 1 has been reclaimed and subdivided into middle-class neighborhoods and has become as a result the southernmost inhabited part of the continental United States and the closest thing in the Miami area to the typical middle-class American ideal. This is Florida's 19th Congressional District, which starts in Miami's Coconut Grove area and passes through Coral Gables, planned as a ritzy suburb in the 1920s, to newer offspring of Miami like Kendall, Olympia Heights, Richmond Heights, and Perrine. In one way this constituency is not typical: 22% of its population is of Spanish origin. But if the Cubans still speak Spanish at home and at work, they also are upwardly striving, young, and family-oriented (40% of the households here contain children, one of the highest figures in Florida). More than many Americans whose immigrant ancestors are more remote, they are believers in the American dream.

The political tone here is still set mainly by Anglos, but Cubans have entered the electorate in significant numbers. For 40 years south Dade County has generally been Democratic. But some of the white residents have been moving to the Republicans, and Cuban-Americans tend to vote heavily Republican in serious contests. In congressional elections, however, the south Dade County district (numbered 4th in the 1950s, 12th in the 1960s, and 15th in the 1970s) has since 1954 regularly elected Dante Fascell. He is now Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and was a member as well of the special committee investigating the Iran-contra affair. These are strategic posts for a man who has been a force in foreign policy since the years of the bipartisan foreign policy of the 1950s and who, unlike most members of the House, has a district with two constituency groups strongly interested in foreign policy matters. Fascell has always been in sympathy with their views: he is pro-Israel and anti-Castro.

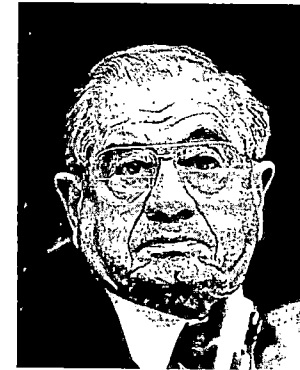
Institutionally, Fascell's chairmanship does not confer great power. The House is usually overshadowed in foreign policy by the Senate, with its power to approve treaties and nominations, and its chairman before Fascell had allowed Foreign Affairs subcommittee chairmen, most of them young liberals, to pretty much have their way. Fascell agrees with them on many issues, but not on Latin America, where he has strongly opposed Fidel Castro and strongly favored contra aid, nor does he share the mistrust many of the politicians who came of age during the Vietnam era seem to have in any assertion of American power in the Third World. On the contrary, Fascell has shown a desire to propagate the ideas of democracy, and a faith that the values America stands for are better than those espoused by Marxist-leaning Third World politicians. He has been part of the offensive for freedom as the main patron of the National Endowment for Democracy, which has helped advance democratic politics in Latin America and East Asia. He is also the prime sponsor of Radio Martí, which infuriates Castro by sending messages to Cubans he cannot control, and Fascell has proposed that it be joined by a Television Martí. Increasingly, he seems to be operating in bipartisan fashion with ranking Republican William Broomfield, backing the INF treaty, backing measures to combat the international drug trade, seeking investigations of Cuban human rights violations, launching a major review of

foreign aid. But, fierce and ready to bellow with outrage, he is a force to be reckoned with on the House floor, determined and aggressive and well-informed.

He also tends to district matters, like keeping oil drillers out of the Gulf of Mexico and away from the Florida Keys and setting up nature sanctuaries there. In the 19th District he has been reelected by wide margins, despite Republican inroads in other contests in south Dade. His last serious opponent was TV newscaster Glenn Rinker in 1982, who held him to 59%, and it's possible he'll get another serious challenger again. But Cuban-Americans, who provide the vote base for any Republican challenge here, may very well conclude they're better off with a sympathetic and powerful Foreign Affairs chairman as their congressman.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 569,500, up 11.0% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 512,886, up 45.0% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 40% with children, 60% married couples; 33.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$263; median house value: \$69,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 373,329; 21% Spanish origin, 10% Black, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	111,913	(59%)
	Dukakis (D)	78,062	(41%)

Rep. Dante B. Fascell (D)

Elected 1954; b. Mar. 9, 1917, Bridgehampton, L.I., NY; home, Miami; U. of Miami, J.D. 1938; Protestant; married (Jeanne-Marie).

Career: Practicing atty., 1938-42, 1946-54; Army, WWII; Legal Attaché, Dade Cnty. St. Legis. Delegation, 1947-50; FL House of Reps., 1950-54; U.S. Delegation to U.N., 1969.

Offices: 2354 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4506. Also 7855 S.W. 104 St., Ste. 220, Miami 33156, 305-536-5301.

Committees: *Foreign Affairs* (Chairman of 28 D). Subcommittee: Arms Control, International Security and Science (Chairman). *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (8th of 18 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	75	74	84	73	75	17	2	30	36	15
1987	80	—	84	86	—	9	—	—	20	4

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	71%	—	23%	73%	—	0%
Social	68%	—	31%	78%	—	0%
Foreign	53%	—	47%	64%	—	35%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	*AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Dante B. Fascell (D).....	135,355	(72%)	(\$337,596)
	Ralph Carlos Rocheteau (R)	51,628	(28%)	(\$4,907)
1988 primary	Dante B. Fascell (D).....	35,630	(85%)	
	Wesley F. (Wes) White (D).....	6,416	(15%)	
1986 general	Dante B. Fascell (D).....	99,203	(69%)	(\$293,227)
	Bill Flanagan (R)	44,455	(31%)	(\$359,382)

GEORGIA

A New South is rising in the red clay hills around Atlanta. You can see it in the clusters of high-rises towering above the thick trees near interchanges several miles apart, in the subdivisions leapfrogging miles out into the countryside, in the heaviest concentration of office complexes and shopping centers in the South in "the donut," as it is called, extending up to 60 miles around Atlanta. This is not the first time proclamations of a New South have rung out in Atlanta, and in the past the prophecies have often turned out false. In 1877, Atlanta editor Henry Grady predicted that an industrialized, progressive "New South" (he coined the term) would rise from the ashes of the Civil War. But, except for a few enterprises like Coca-Cola and many low-wage textile mills, the South had very little industrial development until after World War II. In the 1940s, Georgia Governor Ellis Arnall, in *The Shore Dimly Seen* envisioned a South that would embrace New Deal economic programs and labor unions, and where the race problem would be solved without struggle by greater education and higher incomes. Incomes *did* rise and legal segregation *was* ended—but not through unionization or economic redistribution, and not without a searing and sometimes violent struggle. In the 1980s, surging economic growth around Atlanta has made Georgia one of the nation's fastest growing states. But it's still not clear whether this version of the New South will produce enough well-educated young people to sustain the boom, and whether there will be room in the mostly white donut around Atlanta for many blacks, as well as whites, to get ahead.

The boom has strengthened Atlanta's and Georgia's claims to being the heart of the South. This is where the coastal South and the inland South meet, where the Appalachian chain ends and the Black Belt moves from the Carolina lowlands toward the Mississippi Delta. Georgia had inauspicious beginnings—philanthropist James Oglethorpe settling and trying to rehabilitate convicts around Savannah misfired, Andrew Jackson's troops driving the Civilized Tribes west over the Trail of Tears, slave proprietors extending their Cotton Kingdom across the hot flatlands. But Georgia did not lead the South in secession; it became the key to the outcome of the war because its geography made it the site of Sherman's march to the sea. The Union army cut a 60-mile swath through Georgia, burning towns and houses, destroying crops and the food they couldn't eat, not just to split the Confederacy but to humble a culture by teaching the Rebels that they were utterly beaten. Georgia and the South remained deeply moved by the memory of this terrible defeat, and *Gone With the Wind* sent chills up spines when it premiered in Atlanta in 1939, and still does 50 years later. Politically, Sherman made Georgia the most Democratic state, the number two state for John Kennedy in 1960 as well as the number one for Jimmy Carter in 1980, and the best Deep South state for Walter Mondale in 1984 (though it had switched to Barry Goldwater, George Wallace, and Richard Nixon in the civil rights years in between).

For Atlanta, defeat proved invigorating: Scarlett O'Hara's Atlanta was just a tiny railroad

junction, but the Atlanta that grew after the Civil War became clearly the chief city of the South. Atlanta was the hub first of railroads and then airlines, the home of Joel Chandler Harris and Coca-Cola, of the South's biggest white establishment and of the black colleges and black middle class that were the backbone of the civil rights movement. And Georgia was the home of the first President produced from a southern statehouse in American history, Jimmy Carter, who was elected from a rural base and as governor placed a picture of Martin Luther King Jr. in the Capitol. Carter's 1970 victory was a turning point for Georgia and the South: it was the first time a candidate conspicuously supported by blacks still got enough white votes to win (Atlanta blacks used to send out endorsements in letters to arrive on election day, so that white voters wouldn't know whom black voters were backing). Similarly, Carter's nomination and election in 1976 marked a political union of black and white southerners—symbolized by Carter's endorsement by civil rights movement veteran Andrew Young.

Georgia politics before Carter's success was often a struggle between prosperous, relatively tolerant metropolitan Atlanta—"the city too busy to hate," as it liked to call itself—and rural Georgia. The rural counties, which cast 60% of the votes in general elections and 75% in Democratic primaries, usually won; the system was tilted even more toward these counties before a 1964 Supreme Court decision by Georgia's unit rule system, which gave each of the state's 159 counties 2, 4, or 6 votes in the decisive Democratic primary. Up through Carter's term as governor, Atlanta tended to favor candidates who favored civil rights, who were close to their national parties, whose accents were broadcaster-neutral, and whose clothes and bearing reflected the sophistication Atlanta is proud of. Rural Georgia went just the other way. Carter in 1970, Senator Sam Nunn in 1972, and Governor Joe Frank Harris in 1982 were all elected initially with majorities in the rural counties but, unlike the buffoonish Lester Maddox, they proved acceptable to Atlanta.

Over time the differences between the two areas diminished. The outlying parts of the Atlanta donut filled up with affluent young whites, mostly from the South, upbeat in mood and increasingly Republican in their politics; while in the rural counties, desegregation has long since been accepted and whites no longer see themselves as inevitably in conflict with blacks.

The two regions have not quite converged: metro Atlanta tends to be less tradition-minded on cultural issues and more market-oriented on economics. And there are interesting movements within the regions. In close-in Atlanta, notably DeKalb County just east of the city, where young people are moving close to universities and cultural institutions, high-toned shopping centers and black neighbors, the movement is toward the Democrats. Republicans are making their biggest gains in once entirely rural counties which are now filling up with blue- and white-collar breadwinners willing to commute 20 or 50 miles so they can raise their children in a country atmosphere.

But these trends tend to balance out, and on the bottom line, metropolitan and rural Georgia tend to end up same. In the 1982 Democratic primary for governor, there were no sharp differences between metro Atlanta and the rural counties. In the close 1986 election for Senate, Democrat Wyche Fowler, a congressman from Atlanta, got 51% of the vote in metropolitan Atlanta and 51% in the other 144 counties. And in 1988, George Bush, the son of a Connecticut Yankee, carried metropolitan Atlanta with 59% and rural Georgia with 61%, for a total of 60% statewide—exactly Ronald Reagan's percentage in 1984. In only six of the 159 counties were Bush's and Reagan's share of the vote more than 5% apart.

Today's Georgia seems fairly solidly Republican in presidential elections and fairly solidly Democratic in state and congressional elections. Yet the New South around Atlanta is strongly Republican and may provide a base for the party to be at last competitive in state contests. Symbolic of that trend was the defeat in 1988 in fast-growing Cobb County of 28-year legislator Joe Mack Wilson, attacked by Republicans for late tax filings, abuses of his expense account, and racial slurs. But there is a countervailing Democratic trend in some rural areas, which may