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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13780  
**Folder ID Number:** 13780-011

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**Folder Title:**  
Bond Fundraiser 11/13/91 [OA 8317][1]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MISSOURI GOP/U.S. SENATOR KIT BOND  
FUNDRAISING DINNER

Wednesday, November 13, 1991  
St. Louis, Missouri

LOCATION: Doubletree Hotel - GOP Roundtable  
Riverport Amphitheater - Sen. Bond Event  
St. Louis, Missouri

TIME: GOP Roundtable - 5:35 to 5:50 pm  
Sen. Bond Event - 6:05 pm to 7:00 pm

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
U.S. Senator Kit Bond (R-MO)  
Mr. Tom Fowler, Missouri GOP Chairman  
Mr. William (Bucky) Bush, MO GOP Finance  
Approximately <sup>195</sup> Major Donors (Roundtable)  
Approximately ~~1,300~~ Donors (Bond Event)

MEDIA

COVERAGE: Closed Press - GOP Roundtable  
Closed Press - Staff Photo  
Open Press - Remarks to Donors

REMARKS

REQUIRED: Provided by the Office of Speechwriting

BACKGROUND:

1992 will present Missouri Republicans with a number of challenges -- U.S. Senator Kit Bond will seek re-election, Governor Ashcroft cannot seek another term thus creating an open seat, and all statewide office holders will also face re-election. Bond is very popular and should not face a difficult challenge. The Governor's race is very important, and will force highly contested Republican and Democrat primaries. In addition, Missouri will be a key state in the 1992 Presidential election.

*Reason for event:*

The Missouri Republican Party will play an integral part in supporting all Republicans next year. The Party hopes to raise close to \$500,000 at this event, money that will be utilized in the 1992 election cycle. Missouri GOP Finance Chairman Bucky Bush has established a strong donor network, an effort that will aid the Party's work next year. Senator Bond also hopes to raise approximately \$500,000 for his campaign.

BUSH-QUAYLE '92 FUNDRAISING DINNER  
DALLAS, TEXAS -- 11/1/91  
PAGE TWO

OUTLINE OF  
EVENT:

After the President concludes the local media availabilities, he will participate in a 15 minute roundtable with major donors to the Missouri Republican Party. After the roundtable, the President will proceed to Riverport Amphitheater and participate in a staff photo and remarks to approximately 1,300 Missouri GOP/Senator Kit Bond donors.

WH PROJECT  
OFFICER:

Andrew B. Foster (202) 456-6510

LOCAL  
CONTACT:

Mr. Tony Hammond (MO GOP) (314) 636-3146  
Mr. Warren Erdman (Sen. Bond) (202) 224-5721

November 1, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR CS

FROM: JAG

SUBJECT: BOND FUNDRAISER INFO

EVENT INFO

Fundraiser will be held on November 13th at the Riverport Amphitheater in St. Louis Missouri; POTUS speaks at 6:35 p.m. Senators Danforth and Bond, Gov. Ashcroft, and Bucky Bush (Missouri GOP Finance Chairman and POTUS's brother) will be on stage. Bond will intro POTUS. Gatlin Brothers will play after POTUS speaks. 3,500-4,000 are expected.

POLITICAL NOTES

- \* Governor Ashcroft cannot seek another term, thus creating an open seat.
- \* Along with Bond, all statewide officials will face re-election -- thus the more broadbased, generally Republican (as opposed to specifically Bond) approach to this fundraiser (see Eagles, NRSC stuff to steal).
- \* Missouri will be a key state in the 1992 election.

COLOR

- 1) Twain called St. Louis "a great and prosperous and advancing city."
- 2) Missouri's nickname is the "Show Me State." St. Louis's nickname is the "Gateway City."
- 3) America the Quotable: "Missouri got its nickname when Congressman Williard D. 'Doubting Williard' Vandiver said to an Iowa representative during a debate: 'I'm from Missouri. You'll have to show me.'  
The Show Me State has actually shown the country a good deal. Mark Twain showed Americans how laughable and wise they were. Harry Truman showed them how a president is supposed to act."
- 4) Bond went to college at Princeton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 1, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID AYRES

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: BOND FUNDRAISER SPEECH MATERIAL

- 1) Talking points style highlights on what Bond's done, what he'll do, and why we should re-elect him.
- 2) Does Bond have any favorite sayings, mottos, that exemplify his personality?
- 3) What are the Senators outstanding personal qualities (e.g. humor, courage, commitment, etc.)?
- 4) **Very important:** Jokes. POTUS likes to be funny. Can you think of any jokes that might be Missouri current events/culture/history? How about something that gently plays on a positive senatorial excess -- workaholism, perfectionism, doting dad, whatever.
- 5) **ANECDOTES:** very difficult to come up with, I know, but **very** effective in a speech. Some little story which highlights one of Bond's characteristics -- an anecdote which illustrates how honest he was at summer camp, how mischievous he was at Princeton, how industrious he was as a young professional, his stubbornness (read integrity) in the Senate. Where does the nickname "Kit" come from. I don't know what there is or what you want to emphasize because I don't know the Senator. Maybe there's a cute story from one of Bond's meetings with the President. What we want to do is to personalize remarks, show affinity between Senator and President. Maybe the Senator has some ideas, or maybe one of his close friends or a member of his family.
- 6) What is the area of greatest political/philosophical affinity between the Senator and the President? Education? Crime?
- 7) Do you have any copies of any of Bond's speeches that we might play off of?

Thanks for your help. I want this to be a really strong speech.

THE WHITE HOUSE

317

175

2817  
-142

Jack Howard  
x 6620

2226 Davis office  
Davis

- sand band speaker

Arnold HAVENS  
7036

March 11 submit: Had Game Bill, 247

always later no bill

March 20 submitted Bank's

Major Dept's 238

late, no bill

3 Not Eng Street Act (254)

Memorandum March 4

Surface Transport Assn Act of 191

Transportation  
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Gayer-Reese, not sec of 13

Transport 273  
part the CMB  
Faborner

5 Educ May 22 (175)

Bob Baker, part sec  
Francis Norris, on legis  
792

6 Hours 2  
Russell Fane

708-0005

Bill  
Dobson

755-6480 (a)  
703.5488418 (h)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Kansas City, Missouri)

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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE  
UNTIL 6:40 P.M. CST  
7:40 P.M. EST  
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1991

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT FUNDRAISER FOR SENATOR KIT BOND  
AND MISSOURI GOP

Riverport Amphitheater  
St. Louis, Missouri

November 13, 1991

I really enjoy coming here tonight to honor a bright star, a great member of the United States Senate, Kit Bond.

I first met him in 1968. He came over to our house for hamburgers. The next year he became Assistant Attorney General for the Consumer Protection Division.

Then, he was elected State Auditor and, at 33, your Governor -- the youngest in Missouri history -- finally, Junior Senator.

There's an old saying, "What goes around, comes around." In 1986, Kit Bond was elected to the United States Senate. The time has now come to send him back. Kit has a record to build upon -- not empty rhetoric to run upon. We hear a lot of political demagoguery from the other party, but it won't sell in Missouri. The motto here is Show-Me -- not Snow-Me.

Kit Bond knows what America needs. He listens to you and you tell him that you've had it with the tired old thinking by the committees, subcommittees, and entrenched Democrat leaders of Congress. America needs new thinking in Congress -- more people like Kit.

Kit and I have fundamental differences with liberal Democrats who control both houses of Congress. They want mandates. This means they want to pass more and more bills dictating to the States how to solve problems -- education programs, crime programs, health programs.

Some powerful, entrenched subcommittee chairmen want to dictate to John Ashcroft exactly how programs must be conducted if the State wishes to get Federal money. The National Governors, Democrats and Republicans, tell me the major problem they have is being saddled with more and more mandates. The Liberals don't seem to understand Federal money is your money. It's pretty revealing that while they have plenty of time to fine-tune your lives, they exempt themselves from laws they make everyone else obey. Did you know that with all the pious talk by some Democrats on sexual harassment the Senate, as that debate went on, had exempted itself from the same sexual harassment laws everyone else had to live by?

Republicans, on the other hand, think it's time the people felt that they had more control over their own lives when it comes to Federal programs. We want to enlarge personal dignity and push back the intrusions of impersonal government.

People matter to Kit Bond -- just as they do to us. That's why we want to do more than complain about the economy; we want to give it a good boost. As Senator, Kit Bond has backed our growth

initiatives: a cut in the capital gains tax, banking reform, personal savings incentives like IRA's to stimulate home buying, an R&D tax credit, more investment in science, technology, infrastructure, and education reform.

He supports the Council on Competitiveness, headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, which tries to free workers and businesses from red tape, regulations and mandates. People have better things to do than to report constantly to Uncle Sam. I might add the Council is doing a good job trying to get a recalcitrant Democrat Leadership to move on much needed tort reform. It's time to place caps on some those outrageous liability claims.

But while the people seek action, liberals in Congress hold press conferences, sell t-shirts, and sabotage our initiatives. Liberals refused to even permit a vote on our capital gains tax cut to propel the economy. They talk about fairness, but are intent on class warfare. It's funny how this war-cry "Soak the Rich" usually ends up taxing everyone more. Just in the last few months, I've listed 11 domestic agenda initiatives. All stymied in Congress.

Their agenda is to block America's agenda. So far they've succeeded. Worse, they've tried to lay the blame at my door and yours. Well, it's time to reject their propaganda and their excuses and demand some action. It's time to ensure that we elect a Republican Congress -- a Congress interested in serving you in 1992.

Domestic agenda? Let's talk more domestic agenda. On March 20, I submitted banking reform legislation to Congress. That was 238 days ago. No bill. On March 11, I sent Congress crime legislation. That was 247 days ago. No bill. On March 4, I sent energy legislation. That was 254 days ago -- no bill. On February 13, up went our transportation legislation. That was 273 days ago. You guessed it, no bill. On May 22, I sent Congress National Education Strategy legislation -- 175 days later, no bill.

I've held out my hand to Congress -- tried to work the Democrat leadership and I will continue to try. One reason: I believe our kids deserve the opportunity for a good education, and not just a dozen years of babysitting. We've got a great education program -- America 2000. Governor Ashcroft is working to bring this to Missouri. I ask you to help America's true interests -- our kids -- by electing men and women who will help shift power and choice out of the heavy hand of the Federal Government and into the hands that run the home and raise the family.

We have tried to restore peace to our streets, give people an opportunity to live free of fear. Let's elect a Congress which seeks to handcuff criminals -- not law officers. The Senate passed a good crime bill. But the Democrats in the House tried to undo much of it. One area where we have gotten bipartisan cooperation is on our National Drug Strategy. We launched a strategy to combat drugs and that has produced real results.

I believe we also need job-creating transportation legislation. Help me elect a Congress that knows that if we want to keep America on the rise, we must keep it on the move.

That brings me to international leadership and worldwide economic competition.

Some in Congress -- including some from Missouri -- pretend that trade and security and international cooperation don't help working men and women. Well, just tell that to the more than 40 million Americans working in jobs that involve importing or

exporting. Today, an estimated 75-100,000 Missouri jobs depend on exports. You know that military, economic, and political issues cross continents and borders. For instance, checking foreign protectionism means more American exports and more American jobs.

But some Democratic leaders in Congress seem to be sounding the sirens call of protectionism. The worst thing we can do is to pull back into some protectionist cocoon. The job loss would be staggering.

Progress demands that we accept our role in the world, and accept it eagerly, as a great people should. When a dictator threatened American lives, we helped the Panamanian people validate their free elections by kicking him out.

When a brutal tyrant invaded Kuwait, we helped roll back aggression and liberate a land. Was this victory foreign or domestic? Desert Storm made America a better place. I am proud of our troops: They made ours a better world.

As Communism crumbled, we made it clear that America will support those who promote democracy and free enterprise. Is democracy foreign or domestic policy?

Is it right to work with Gorbachev and Yeltsin for exciting peaceful change or is that neglecting my job? Is it historic and wonderful to bring the warring parties together to talk peace in the Middle East as we did at Madrid or is that neglect?

Today, we need leaders who know how industry in Missouri is linked to trade in Singapore. Kit Bond is such a man. He helped draft the 1990 Farm Bill, which has made America more competitive overseas.

He understands that military aircraft built in St. Louis can help keep the peace. He led the successful fight to make the F- and A-18 the Navy's carrier-based aircraft for the next decade.

Kit Bond believes in exports that work -- whether it is corn or soybeans or the sunshine of democracy. So do I. Last year, I was in Cartagena, Colombia. Why? To help take drugs off our streets.

Last week, I was in Rome and the Hague. Why? To work for peace at home and abroad, and to promote the cause of free and fair trade. Ask anyone charged with leadership -- not the cheap shots of demagoguery. When I go abroad, it's to help America at home in an economic sense and to help our kids live in a more peaceful world in the years ahead.

As we approach the 21st Century, let's remember: Isolationism makes no sense, never did. It represents an Old Ignorance scorned by Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy, and that all Presidents and the American people since have looked upon with disdain. I speak of the ignorance that inspires people to hide from the rest of the world -- wishing our problems away instead of creating solutions; it urges them to blame others rather than to call forth the best in ourselves.

Kit Bond's work embodies his motto, "Values we believe in, experience we trust." Let's make the most of these values. Let's use them to celebrate America and re-elect Kit Bond Senator from the great State of Missouri.



STATE OF MISSOURI  
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Jefferson City

(314) 751-4999 - Int. Commerce  
301 WEST HIGH STREET  
JEFFERSON CITY, MO 66102-1157  
FAX NUMBER 314-751-7258

FROM <i>Paul Kemp</i>		DATE	TIME
DIVISION/UNIT		<i>11 November 1991</i>	
		<input type="checkbox"/> URGENT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PRIORITY <input type="checkbox"/> ROUTINE
TO <i>Jennifer Rossman</i>		TELEPHONE NUMBER	
DEPARTMENT/COMPANY		<i>202/486-7388 6218</i>	
RE <i>Ms. Grant</i>			
SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS			
<i>Enclosed is some information we have on Ms. Grant.</i>			
<i>Paul Kemp</i>			
ANY PROBLEMS WITH TRANSMITTAL, CALL (314) _____			TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

## MISSOURI EXPORT FACTS

In 1990, 1,573 Missouri businesses exported approximately \$3.2 billion in products and services to 127 countries -- a \$600 million increase over 1989. In addition, Missouri exported \$1.2 billion in agricultural commodities.

Missouri's major export recipients are Canada, the United Kingdom, Mexico, Japan and Germany -- accounting for more than 70% of the state's export revenues.

- o Dominating Missouri's manufactured goods are transportation equipment, chemicals, industrial and commercial equipment, electronic equipment and components, food & kindred products, electrical navigation and guidance systems, and various analytical instruments and medical equipment. Missouri is a highly diversified state showing export sales in almost every industrial sector.
- o Exports support an estimated 75,000 - 100,000 jobs in the state.
- o In 1990, Missouri offered small and medium-sized businesses participation in over 25 trade exhibitions, catalog shows, foreign buying missions and foreign buying groups visiting the state. Also offered through co-sponsorship arrangements were over 50 seminars related to international trade.
- o Growing export opportunities abound for Missourians as a result of the U.S. - Canadian Free Trade Agreement, the European Community's further steps toward unification, increased purchasing power in Pacific Rim countries, and a growing number of joint venture and technology transfer opportunities worldwide, especially in Europe.
- o The District Export Council of Missouri works hand-in-hand with the local Commerce office and the state Export Development Office to promote export expansion through seminars and private consultation.

Source: Missouri Department of Economic Development from information supplied by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, State Series and the Missouri Dept. of Agriculture.

# Christopher (Kit) Bond



R-Missouri  
Reelection Year: 1992

Began Service: 1987

SR-293 Russell Senate  
Office Building  
Washington, DC  
20510-2503

(202) 224-5721

## BIOGRAPHICAL

Born: 3/6/39  
Home: Mexico  
Educ.: B.A., Princeton  
U.; LL.B., U. of Va.  
Prof.: Attorney;  
Governor of Mo.,  
1973-77; 1981-85  
Rel.: Presbyterian

*fax*

*224*

*7491*

## KEY STAFF AIDES

Name	Position	Legislative Responsibility
Warren Erdman	Admin. Asst.	
Mary Beth Dobbs (314-634-2488)	State Dir.	
David Ayres	Comms. Dir.	
Susan LaBombard	Exec. Asst.	Arts/Humanities, Foreign Affairs, Defense
Julie Dammann	Legis. Dir.	Budget Committee; Rules; Overall
Brent Franzel	Legis. Counsel	Defense, Foreign Affairs, Trade
Mark Hayes	Legis. Asst.	Veterans, Medicare, Medicaid, Health, Consumer Affairs, Indian Affairs
Claire Heffernan	Legis. Asst.	Energy/Natural Resources/Environment, Public Works
Leanne Jerome	Legis. Asst.	Education, Child Care, Governmental Affairs, Aging/Social Security, Welfare, Labor
Steve Knorr	Legis. Asst.	Agriculture
Kristin Siglin (224-7391)	Legis. Asst.	Banking Committee; Housing
Katharine Kim	Legis. Aide	Education, Civil Rights, Welfare, Labor, Social Security, Aging
Jon Eifert	Legis. Corresp.	Agriculture, Nutrition, Energy/Environment, Postal/Civil Service, Transportation, Crime/Justice
Maggie Fisher	Legis. Corresp.	Banking, Securities, Housing, Trade, Small Business, Congress, Judiciary, Elections
Barb Mulkey	Legis. Corresp.	Trade, Consumer, Economy, Taxes, Communications, Immigration, Pensions
Elaine Begeman	Pers. Secy.	
Anne Ekern	Scheduler	

## COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Committee	Subcommittee(s)
Appropriations	District of Columbia, <i>Ranking Minority Member</i> • Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies • Legislative Branch • VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs	Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, <i>Ranking Minority Member</i> • Housing and Urban Affairs • Securities
Budget	No subcommittees
Small Business	Government Contracting and Paperwork Reduction, <i>Ranking Minority Member</i> • Rural Economy and Family Farming

**OTHER POSITIONS**

Deputy Minority Whip • National Republican Senatorial Committee • Senate Republican Task Force on Health Care • Senate National Guard Caucus, *Co-Chairman* • The Congressional Fire Services Caucus • Senate Rural Health Caucus • Senate Beef Caucus • Senate Steel Caucus • Congressional Corn Caucus, *Co-Chairman*

**STATE OFFICES**

312 Monroe St., Jefferson City, MO 65101 .....	(314) 634-2488
Room 220, 815 Olive St., St. Louis, MO 63101 .....	(314) 539-3067
Room 214, 339 Broadway, Cape Girardeau, MO 63701 .....	(314) 334-7044
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510 N.E. 291 Hwy., Lee's Summit, MO 64063 .....	(816) 524-6141
Room 705, 1736 Sunshine, Springfield, MO 65804 .....	(417) 881-7068

JAB

(Smith/Grossman)  
Draft Five  
November 7, 1991  
BOND.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BOND FUNDRAISER  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI  
WEDNESDAY, NOV. 13, 1991  
6:45 P.M.

st Auditor

Margaret Kelly

(R) not up to us

(intro)

Senator Danforth -- thank you for being a tower of strength. <sup>you</sup>  
// Secretary of State Roy Blunt, Attorney General Bill Webster, '92  
State Treasurer Wendall Bailey. // Ozzie Smith, that baseball <sup>will</sup>  
acrobat. // No. 6, Stan "The Man" Musial. // Hall of Fame <sup>bid for</sup>  
announcer Jack Buck and his colleague, Bob Costas. // My <sup>lt Gov</sup>  
brother, Bucky Bush, and cousin, Bert Walker. // Talk about all  
in the family. // Governor Ashcroft, whom I forgive for  
declaring broccoli the new state vegetable. Most of all, our  
now-and-future Senator, Kit Bond. // <sup>intro?</sup>

Thank you for that introduction, and the chance to spend  
time in the city where my mother was born and raised. // My  
favorite mystic, St. Louis' Yogi Bera, once said of a restaurant,  
"Nobody goes there anymore. It's too crowded." / I am pleased to  
see this capacity crowd -- there's not a nobody in the room. //

Cont

Now, I'm going to make this brief. I know we have other  
entertainment tonight -- including one of my favorite groups, the  
Gatlin Brothers. // Let me tell you, I'd rather be a  
Republican listening to the voice of a great country group, than  
a Democrat facing the music at the polls next year. / And I  
really enjoy coming here tonight to honor a bright star, a great  
member of the United States Senate, Kit Bond. //

Kit Bond has already proven that someone who went to Princeton can overcome that adversity and become a magnificent U.S. Senator. // I first met him in 1968. He came over to our house for hamburgers. // The next year, he became Assistant Attorney General for the Consumer Protection Division. There's no relationship between the two events. \\

Then, he was elected State Auditor / and, at 33, your Governor -- the youngest in Missouri history. / Finally, Junior Senator. // ((Kit impressed me so much that we named him campaign chairman for Bush-Quayle '88.)) //

There's an old saying, "What goes around, comes around. // In 1986, Kit Bond <sup>was elected</sup> went to the United States Senate. The time has come to send him back. // Kit has a record to build upon -- not empty rhetoric to run upon. / We hear a lot of hot air from the other party, but it won't sell in Missouri. The motto here is Show-Me -- not Snow-Me. //

Kit Bond knows what America needs. ((Not just the fishing he loves on Lake of the Ozarks)). He listens to you and you tell him that you've had it with the tired old thinking by the committees / subcommittees / and alleged "leaders" of Congress. America needs new thinking about growth / opportunity / and progress -- the heart and soul of the GOP. //

Liberal Democrats in Congress don't trust people to run America. They want to pry into people's lives and issue mandates that tell others how to live. It's pretty revealing that while they have plenty of time to be busybodies with your lives, they

don't want to obey the same laws they impose on everyone else in this country.

Republicans, on the other hand, think it's time the people felt that they had some control over politicians -- and that it's time to give the special interests a one-way ticket out of town.

I can summarize our agenda in one word -- freedom // the freedom to unchain America // the freedom to create and grow. //

Growth, that first letter of GOP, can enlarge personal dignity -- and push back the intrusions of imppersonal government.

//

((Kit Bond knows what I'm talking about. To him, each Missourian is precious. // Here's a story that took place at the State Fair in 1989. Kit, like any good politician, went there one day. First, he flipped burgers with cattlemen. // Then, he took son Sam to look at animal exhibits. // Finally, they snuck off to the pork chop tent for a sandwich. There, Kit said to a man, "You look like Joe Jones from Cooper County." Shocked, the man said, "Well, he's my cousin." // Bert likes that one. // People matter to Kit Bond -- just as they do to us)) //

That's why we want to do more than complain about the economy; we want to give it a good boost. As Senator, Kit Bond has backed our growth initiatives: a cut in the capital gains tax, banking reform, personal savings incentives, an R&D tax credit, more investment in science, technology, and infrastructure, education reform. //

He has endorsed Enterprise Zones to create new jobs, and our HOPE program, which will turn public housing tenants into homeowners.

He supports the Council on Competitiveness, headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, which tries to free workers and businesses from red tape, regulations and mandates. People have better things to do than to report constantly to Uncle Sam. We want to help them earn money, build lives and families, and create something that really matters to them. //

But while the people seek action, liberals in Congress hold press conferences, sell t-shirts, and sabotage our initiatives. Liberals refused even to permit a vote on our capital gains tax cut to propel the economy. They talk about fairness, and ignore the fact that people want growth, not class warfare. //

Their agenda is to block America's agenda. So far they've succeeded. Worse, they've tried to lay the blame at my door and yours. Well, it's time to reject their propaganda and their excuses -- and demand some action. It's time to ensure that we elect a Republican Congress -- a Congress interested in serving you -- in 1992. //

America can't afford much more congressional inaction. // Nor can it afford the tired old thinking of the Tax and Spend crowd that prevails inside-the-Beltway. // ((You know, I can't be in St. Louis without thinking of the name, "Dizzy." // If you're talking baseball, it means a great pitcher. If you're

talking politics, it describes a different Gas House Gang back on Capital Hill.))

This brings me to the second letter of "GOP" -- opportunity.  
 // Our Administration wants to give every American an equal  
 chance at the starting line -- so that each of us -- striving /  
 hoping / dreaming -- can pursue the things we care about.

I believe our kids deserve the opportunity for a good  
 education, and not just a dozen years of babysitting. //  
 Liberal Democrats want to improve education by pandering to  
 special interests like the NEA. I ask you to help America's  
true interests -- our kids -- by electing men who will help shift  
 power (and choice) out of the heavy hand of the State -- and into  
 the hands of those who run our homes and raise our families.

Let's find programs that work; let's take up the challenge  
 to create better, livelier, more effective schools. Let's create  
 schools for the 21st Century, rather than keeping alive the same  
 basic system we created in the 19th Century. //

We have tried to restore peace to our streets, give people  
 an opportunity to live free of fear. Last March 6, I challenged  
 Congress to pass a bill to take hoods off the street. I still  
 don't have a bill. // Let's elect a Congress which seeks to  
 handcuff criminals -- not law officers. //

After a struggle, we did manage to launch a strategy to  
 combat drugs -- and that has produced real results.

Unlike liberals, I believe we need transportation  
 legislation the Congress has delayed for 251 days. ((Kit Bond

knows how bad Missouri roads and bridges are. He told me he was surprised I could drive to this event -- and glad I ~~don't~~<sup>didn't</sup> have to cross the bridge to St. Charles.)) // Help me elect a Congress that knows that if we want to keep America on the rise, we must keep it on the move. //

I think America needs a Congress that doesn't act like a 78 rpm record played on 33. It needs a Congress that understands today's world, and will accept the challenges of international leadership and worldwide economic competition.

Some in Congress -- including some from Missouri -- pretend that trade and security and international cooperation don't help working men and women. Well, just tell that to the more than 40 million Americans working in jobs that involve importing or exporting. // Today, military, economic, and political issues cross continents, and borders. For instance, checking foreign protectionism means <sup>more</sup> Americans exports and American jobs. I ask you: Help me achieve the third initial of "GOP": Progress for America, and the world.

Progress begins and ends with ideas, with innovation. This administration has pushed through innovations in child care and in cleaning the environment, despite heavy pressure by the special interests. We have advocated choice in education and in transportation. But the Tired Old Party resists <sup>at</sup> and every turn, and holds people hostage to its appetite for turning everything into a political fight. //

Progress demands that we accept our role in the world, and accept it eagerly, as a great people should. When a dictator endangered the Western Hemisphere and American interests -- we helped the Panamanian people restore free elections by kicking him out. Secretary of State Ted Kennedy protested, but we prevailed -- and freedom took root.

As Communism crumbled, we made it clear that America will support those who promote democracy and free enterprise -- and thank God we did. // If liberal Democrats had their way, the Berlin Wall would still be standing -- and liberty would still be sleeping. // Senator of Defense George Mitchell should tell us: Is democracy foreign policy or domestic policy?

When a brutal tyrant invaded Kuwait -- we helped roll back aggression and liberate a land. Tell me, Senator of Everything Howard Metz<sup>e</sup>anbaum, was this victory foreign or domestic? Desert Storm made America a better place. I am proud of our troops: They made ours a better world. //

Today, we need leaders who know how industry in Missouri is linked to trade in Singapore. // Kit Bond is such a man. // He helped draft the 1990 Farm Bill, which has made America more competitive overseas. [[Someone asked Kit how he got 23 provisions in the bill. "Simple," he said, "Missourians gave me the best ideas."]] //

He understands that military aircraft built in St. Louis can help keep the peace. He led the successful fight to make the F/A-18 the Navy's carrier-based aircraft for the next decade.

F and A - 18

Kit Bond believes in exports that work -- whether it is winter wheat or the sunshine of democracy. So do I. // Last year, I was in Columbia. Why? To help take drugs off our streets. //

Last week, I was in Rome and the Hague. Why? To work for peace at home and abroad, and to promote the cause of free and fair trade. // Ask anyone charged with leadership -- not the cheap shots of demagoguery. When I go abroad, it's to help America at home.

As we approach the 21st Century, let's remember: Isolationism makes no sense, never did. It represents an Old Ignorance that Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy scorned, and that all Presidents since have looked upon with disdain. // I speak of the ignorance that inspires people to hide from the rest of the world -- wishing our problems away instead of creating solutions; it urges them to blame others rather than to call forth the best in ourselves. //

*David Bond* Kit Bond's campaign <sup>*embodies his motto*</sup> proclaims, "Values we believe in, experience we trust." Let's make the most of these values -- Growth, Opportunity and Progress: G.O.P. Let's make the most of this experienced leadership. Let's celebrate America -- and re-elect Kit Bond Senator from the great State of Missouri.

# # # #

Kath

(Smith/Grossman)  
Draft Five  
November 7, 1991  
BOND.TS

Tracy

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BOND FUNDRAISER  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI  
WEDNESDAY, NOV. 13, 1991  
6:45 P.M.

Mrs. Clark  
314-636-3146

Senator Danforth -- thank you for being a tower of strength.  
// Secretary of State Roy Blunt, Attorney General Bill Webster,  
State Treasurer Wendall Bailey. // Ozzie Smith, that baseball  
acrobat. // No. 6, Stan "The Man" Musial. // Hall of Fame  
announcer Jack Buck and his colleague, Bob Costas. // My  
brother, Bucky Bush, and cousin, Bert Walker. // Talk about all  
in the family. // Governor Ashcroft, whom I forgive for  
declaring broccoli the new state vegetable. Most of all, our  
now-and-future Senator, Kit Bond. // ?

state auditor  
also repub.  
not up this  
Margaret  
Sally  
will be running  
1992 for  
vt. Gov.

is appeared  
in paper

intro ?

Thank you for that introduction, and the chance to spend  
time in the city where my mother was born and raised. // My  
favorite mystic, St. Louis' Yogi Bera, once said of a restaurant,  
"Nobody goes there anymore. It's too crowded." / I am pleased to  
see this capacity crowd -- there's not a nobody in the room. //

Now, I'm going to make this brief. I know we have other  
entertainment tonight -- including one of my favorite groups, the  
Gatlin Brothers. // Let me tell you, I'd rather be a  
Republican listening to the voice of a great country group, than  
a Democrat facing the music at the polls next year. / And I  
really enjoy coming here tonight to honor a bright star, a great  
member of the United States Senate, Kit Bond. //

yes!

Kit Bond has already proven that someone who went to Princeton can overcome that adversity and become a magnificent U.S. Senator. // I first met him in 1968. He came over to our house for hamburgers. // The next year, he became Assistant Attorney General for the Consumer Protection Division. There's no relationship between the two events. \\

Then, he was elected State Auditor / and, at 33, your Governor -- the youngest in Missouri history. / Finally, Junior Senator. // ((Kit impressed me so much that we named him campaign chairman for Bush-Quayle '88.)) //

There's an old saying, "What goes around, comes around. // In 1986, Kit Bond went to the United States Senate. The time has come to send him back. // Kit has a record to build upon -- not empty rhetoric to run upon. / We hear a lot of hot air from the other party, but it won't sell in Missouri. The motto here is Show-Me -- not Snow-Me. //

X Kit Bond knows what America needs. ((Not just the fishing he loves on Lake of the Ozarks)), <sup>2</sup> He listens to you and you tell him that you've had it with the tired old thinking by the committees / subcommittees / and alleged "leaders" of Congress. America needs new thinking about growth / opportunity / and progress -- the heart and soul of the GOP. //

Liberal Democrats in Congress don't trust people to run America. They want to pry into people's lives and issue mandates that tell others how to live. It's pretty revealing that while they have plenty of time to be busybodies with your lives, they

don't want to obey the same laws they impose on everyone else in this country.

Republicans, on the other hand, think it's time the people felt that they had some control over politicians -- and that it's time to give the special interests a one-way ticket out of town. I can summarize our agenda in one word -- freedom // the freedom to unchain America // the freedom to create and grow. //

Growth, that first letter of GOP, can enlarge personal dignity -- and push back the intrusions of impersonal government. //

((Kit Bond knows what I'm talking about. To him, each Missourian is precious. // Here's a story that took place at the State Fair in 1989. Kit, like any good politician, went there one day. First, he flipped burgers with cattlemen. // Then, he took son Sam to look at animal exhibits. // Finally, they snuck off to the pork chop tent for a sandwich. There, Kit said to a man, "You look like Joe Jones from Cooper County." Shocked, the man said, "Well, he's my cousin." // Bert likes that one. // People matter to Kit Bond -- just as they do to us)) //

That's why we want to do more than complain about the economy; we want to give it a good boost. As Senator, Kit Bond has backed our growth initiatives: a cut in the capital gains tax, banking reform, personal savings incentives, an R&D tax credit, more investment in science, technology, and infrastructure, education reform. //

He has endorsed Enterprise Zones to create new jobs, and our HOPE program, which will turn public housing tenants into homeowners.

He supports the Council on Competitiveness, headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, which tries to free workers and businesses from red tape, regulations and mandates. People have better things to do than to report constantly to Uncle Sam. We want to help them earn money, build lives and families, and create something that really matters to them. //

But while the people seek action, liberals in Congress hold press conferences, sell t-shirts, and sabotage our initiatives. Liberals refused even to permit a vote on our capital gains tax cut to propel the economy. They talk about fairness, and ignore the fact that people want growth, not class warfare. //

Their agenda is to block America's agenda. So far they've succeeded. Worse, they're tried to lay the blame at my door and yours. Well, it's time to reject their propaganda and their excuses -- and demand some action. It's time to ensure that we elect a Republican Congress -- a Congress interested in serving you -- in 1992. //

America can't afford much more congressional inaction. // Nor can it afford the tired old thinking of the Tax and Spend crowd that prevails inside-the-Beltway. // ((You know, I can't be in St. Louis without thinking of the name, "Dizzy." // If you're talking baseball, it means a great pitcher. If you're

*Christ*

talking politics, it describes a different Gas House Gang back on Capital Hill.))

This brings me to the second letter of "GOP" -- opportunity.  
 // Our Administration wants to give every American an equal chance at the starting line -- so that each of us -- striving / hoping / dreaming -- can pursue the things we care about.

I believe our kids deserve the opportunity for a good education, and not just a dozen years of babysitting. // Liberal Democrats want to improve education by pandering to special interests like the NEA. I ask you to help America's true interests -- our kids -- by electing men who will help shift power (and choice) out of the heavy hand of the State -- and into the hands of those who run our homes and raise our families.

Let's find programs that work; let's take up the challenge to create better, livelier, more effective schools. Let's create schools for the 21st Century, rather than keeping alive the same basic system we created in the 19th Century. //

We have tried to restore peace to our streets, give people an opportunity to live free of fear. Last March 6, I challenged Congress to pass a bill to take hoods off the street. I still don't have a bill. // Let's elect a Congress which seeks to handcuff criminals -- not law officers. //

After a struggle, we did manage to launch a strategy to combat drugs -- and that has produced real results.

Unlike liberals, I believe we need transportation legislation the Congress has delayed for ~~251~~ days. ((Kit Bond

yes  
 P 260  
 Mrs. [unclear]  
 Documents

knows how bad Missouri roads and bridges are. He told me he was surprised I could drive to this event -- and glad I don't have to cross the bridge to St. Charles.)) // Help me elect a Congress that knows that if we want to keep America on the rise, we must keep it on the move. //

I think America needs a Congress that doesn't act like a 78 rpm record played on 33. It needs a Congress that understands today's world, and will accept the challenges of international leadership and worldwide economic competition.

Some in Congress -- including some from Missouri -- pretend that trade and security and international cooperation don't help working men and women. Well, just tell that to the more than 40 million Americans working in jobs that involve importing or exporting. // Today, military, economic, and political issues cross continents, and borders. For instance, checking foreign protectionism means more Americans exports and American jobs. I ask you: Help me achieve the third initial of "GOP": Progress for America, and the world.

Progress begins and ends with ideas, with innovation. This administration has pushed through innovations in child care and in cleaning the environment, despite heavy pressure by the special interests. We have advocated choice in education and in transportation. But the Tired Old Party resists and every turn, and holds people hostage to its appetite for turning everything into a political fight. //

Progress demands that we accept our role in the world, and accept it eagerly, as a great people should. When a dictator endangered the Western Hemisphere and American interests -- we helped the Panamanian people restore free elections by kicking him out. Secretary of State Ted Kennedy protested, but we prevailed -- and freedom took root.

As Communism crumbled, we made it clear that America will support those who promote democracy and free enterprise -- and thank God we did. // If liberal Democrats had their way, the Berlin Wall would still be standing -- and liberty would still be sleeping. // Senator of Defense George Mitchell should tell us: Is democracy foreign policy or domestic policy?

When a brutal tyrant invaded Kuwait -- we helped roll back aggression and liberate a land. Tell me, Senator of Everything Howard Metzbaum, was this victory foreign or domestic? Desert Storm made America a better place. I am proud of our troops: They made ours a better world. //

Today, we need leaders who know how industry in Missouri is linked to trade in Singapore. // Kit Bond is such a man. // He helped draft the 1990 Farm Bill, which has made America more competitive overseas. [[Someone asked Kit how he got 23 provisions in the bill. "Simple," he said, "Missourians gave me the best ideas."]] //

He understands that military aircraft built in St. Louis can help keep the peace. He led the successful fight to make the F/A-18 the Navy's carrier-based aircraft for the next decade.

Drug Summit Feb. 1990  
President Bush on 1/24/8, 256, 260  
✓ call

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given  
Wed.  
Nov.

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# # # #

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**THE ALMANAC  
OF AMERICAN  
POLITICS  
1988**

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**The President, the Senators,  
the Representatives, the Governors:  
Their Records and Election Results,  
Their States and Districts**

**Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa**

**Photographs by Bruce Reedy, Stan Barouh  
and Richard A. Bloom**

**National  
Journal**  
Washington, D.C.

National Journal Ratings

	1986 LIB — 1986 CONS		1985 LIB — 1985 CONS	
Economic	18%	82%	5%	92%
Social	18%	82%	0%	76%
Foreign	0%	86%	0%	76%

Key Votes

1) Lmt Cln Water Act	FOR	5) Retain Gun Cont.	AGN	9) Aid Angola Reb	FOR
2) Rpl Tobac Sub	AGN	6) Contra Aid	FOR	10) Tax Reform	FOR
3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red	FOR	7) Lmt Text Imp	FOR	11) S Africa Sanc	AGN
4) Ban Polygraph	AGN	8) Limit SDI	AGN	12) Immig Reform	FOR

Election Results

1986 general	Trent Lott (R)	75,288	(82%)	(\$264,822)
	Larry L. Albritton (D)	16,143	(18%)	(\$531)
1986 primary	Trent Lott (R) unopposed			
1984 general	Trent Lott (R)	142,637	(85%)	(\$199,040)
	Arlan (Blackie) Coate (D)	25,840	(15%)	(\$1,461)

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

1985-86		Direct Cont. 1985-86		PACS Breakdown 1985-86	
Receipts	\$374,246	Indiv.	\$95,430	Corp.	\$104,918
Expend.	\$264,822	Party	\$3,263	Labor	\$15,000
Unspent	\$441,592	PACS	\$229,050	Ideo.	\$12,000
				T/M/H	\$89,632
				Agr.	\$7,000
				CWOS	\$500

MISSOURI

At the center of Middle America, at one and the same time southern and northern, eastern and western, containing the geographical center of the nation's population and not far from the geographic midpoint of the 48 continental states, at the confluence of the continent's two greatest rivers, Missouri is a central, the central American state. Yet as we approach the end of the century it does not bulk very large in the national consciousness. At the beginning of the century, it did. Kansas City was on its way to becoming an "up-to-date" major metropolitan area, and St. Louis, its street grid curving back from the Mississippi levees, was the nation's fourth largest city. It was the site of the 1904 World's Fair and one of the few cities with two major league baseball teams. Missouri was one of the hubs of the nation's railroad network, one of its major farm as well as manufacturing states, and in the 1890s America's leading producer of mules. In those pre-tractor days, the mule was the farmer's most efficient energy source, and Missouri mules were bred in record numbers and sent out over the rail lines to states from Mississippi to Nebraska, Ohio and Texas.

Turn-of-the-century Missouri had been, within living memory, the frontier—the first state created entirely out of territory west of the Mississippi River, jutting far out past white settlement. St. Louis had been just a trading post when Lewis and Clark passed through, and the site of Kansas City was just another point on the bluffs that overlooked the Missouri River moving from the northwest to the southeast. Missouri, the northernmost slave state, sent proslavery raiders over the border into the Kansas Territory in the 1850s to fight settlers sent in by abolitionists, and in the 1860s it had its own civil war in the hilly counties along the Missouri River. But Missouri's most important historical role was that of a gateway to the West, an avenue for the great Yankee migrations west from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois and the southern migration west from Kentucky (Missouri is where Daniel Boone finally stopped looking for

ways. He wants to permanently hold up, and agrees with Kemp that the w. He wants to strengthen belief in order: wants people to believe that a Republican Conference meeting not necessarily friendly—brands of isted by all sides. To his fellow party pleasant, cooperative. But he can be at his judgment can be warped: he 1985 when his party almost killed

isly considering it if Stennis should se he wouldn't have to give up his ers across the state from his days aigner—charming when he wants ly he considers the Senate a better t if he stays in the House (and he is also the not negligible chance that ? He will probably dominate the New Orleans, just an hour's drive

lds (1980): 78% family, 47% with n monthly rent: \$156; median house panish origin, 1% Asian origin

. 128,188 (74%)  
. 45,663 (26%)

Grenada; home, Pascagoula; U of tist; married (Patricia).

-68; A. A. to U.S. Rep. William M.

02-225-5772. Also 1 Govt. Plaza, 1, 601-864-7670; 215 Fed. Bldg., 46; and 3100 S. Pascagoula St.

ules (3d of 4 R). Subcommittee on tive Process (Ranking Member)

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54 100 86 65  
58 — 95 62

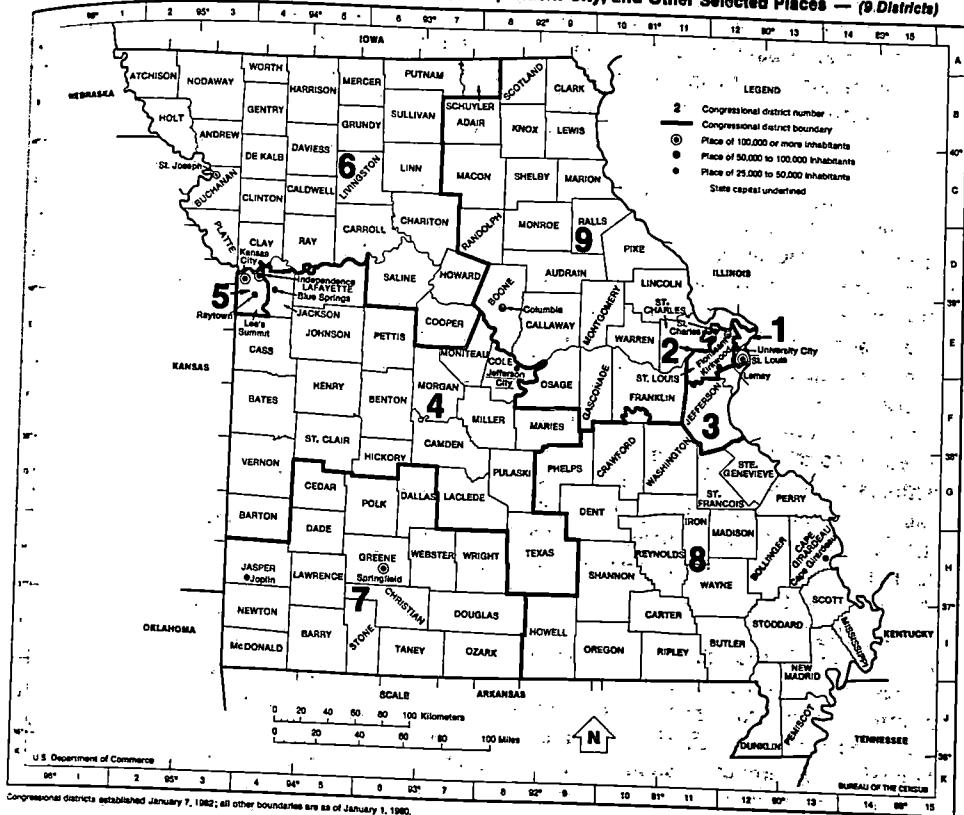
elbow room), the eastern terminus of the Pony Express and the Transcontinental Railroad. Missouri in the 20th century has not entirely realized its once glowing promise. It has had below-average population growth since 1900, as its rural residents leave for big cities and suburbs and its cities grow at no more than ordinary rates. Neither St. Louis nor Kansas City has grabbed hold of the national imagination, like Chicago or San Francisco. And since 1945, population growth has been at the periphery of the nation, on the West Coast, in Texas, in Florida and the coastal South, and (though not lately) in the Great Lakes. As a result, inland states like Missouri have become demographically old. But having continuity, Missouri retains a civic life and politics akin to what it had when mules were an industry here. As in other border states, political divisions split along Civil War lines, but the geographical pattern is not what you might expect. Little Dixie, first settled by Virginians, lies in the northeast part of the state; the southwest, in the Ozarks, was Union and is Republican country. Meanwhile, St. Louis, once a German-Republican island in a southern Democratic sea, became heavily Democratic in the 1930s, though now metropolitan St. Louis seems to be trending Republican. The Kansas City area, less anchored to the state, is the most volatile part politically. So political preference is still a matter of economic divisions only lightly superimposed on Civil War regional allegiances. On cultural and foreign controversies as defined nationally, there is in Missouri the sort of consensus that the nation had 30 years ago.

For years Missouri's political inclinations were personified by its most famous politician, Harry Truman—partisan Democrat, the son of a mule trader and a Confederate sympathizer who became an urban machine politician and integrated the armed services. Yet today Missouri has trended distinctly Republican; not only are its governor and Senators all Republicans, but so are all statewide officials except the lieutenant governor. For years it favored rough-hewn politicians, but Governor John Ashcroft and Senators John Danforth and Christopher Bond are all Ivy League graduates and reformers who have made their political careers exposing scandal and running against old boy networks. Missouri has not voted Democratic for president since Jimmy Carter carried its rural areas in 1976, and has not elected a Democratic governor since that year. Metropolitan St. Louis, heavily Democratic in the Truman years, is about evenly split now. The rural counties have gone Democratic only in the recessions of the mid-1970s and 1982. Their traditional attitudes on cultural issues, never undermined by the kind of explosive economic growth that has taken wives-out of kitchens and put them into offices, have helped the Republicans. So has the propensity of the Democrats to nominate St. Louis-based candidates who call the state *Missouree*—a distinct handicap against outstate candidates who say, as Truman did and most Missourians do, *Missourah*. This may be the number one success story for the Republican Party in the nation, a state where they have run better candidates and run government better than the Democrats, and have outpoliticked them at every turn.

Governor. Missouri, once almost as reliable a Democratic state as Mississippi, has now elected Republican governors in three out of the last four elections. It also has elected lieutenant governors, attorneys general, and other minor statewide officials—a performance indicating that this has become a Republican state. If so, credit is due to two rich, eastern-educated young men who, rather than make their way up in Wall Street or Washington law firms, decided to return to Missouri and run for office. One was John Danforth, whose election as attorney general in 1968 was the Republicans' first statewide win in a generation. He didn't meet the eligibility requirement for the governorship, however, and went on, after losing in 1970, to the Senate in 1976. The other young Republican was Christopher Bond, elected state auditor in 1970 and governor in 1972, at age 33. He was upset by Democrat Joseph Teasdale in 1976, but Teasdale's deficiencies as a politician and administrator helped Bond win a second term—the maximum allowed in Missouri—in 1980. He left office in 1984 running for the Senate and was elected in 1986.

Bond's successor, John Ashcroft, is a different kind of Republican. The son of a fundamentalist minister, a gospel singer and songwriter from the southwest part of the state, his base is rural and culturally conservative. But he is also a graduate of Yale and the University of Chicago Law

MISSOURI — Congressional Districts, Counties, Independent City, and Other Selected Places — (9 Districts)



School and he and his wife, also a lawyer, have co-authored two legal textbooks. His positions on issues—against new taxes, for higher educational achievement—are both conservative and popular; if he emphasizes attracting new business, he can also point to aggressive cases he brought against big businesses during his two terms as attorney general. Ashcroft won two solid margins against St. Louis area opponents: in the primary against the St. Louis County Executive and in the general against the Democratic lieutenant governor, a veteran legislator from the St. Louis area. He barely carried the metro areas but got 63% in the rest of the state. The main threat to Ashcroft for 1988 comes from Lieutenant Governor Harriett Woods, who won 49% against John Danforth in 1982 and 47% against Christopher Bond in 1986. She may want to wait, however, to run against Danforth again in 1990, or she might be deterred by the fact that she lost twice in Democratic years.

**Senators.** Missouri's two Senators are political allies whose careers have run in tandem: both are Republicans who first ran for office in 1968, both have suffered defeats, both have made it occasionally into the national spotlight, and both won close races against Harriett Woods. Their philosophies seem similar as well.

John Danforth has had the advantage of serving in the majority in the Senate for six years. He is one of the wealthiest Senators, from the family that started Ralston Purina, and is also the only ordained minister in the Senate: he was at the Yale Law and Divinity Schools at the same time as Gary Hart. Danforth brings a certain moral intensity to politics: he is rumpled, informal, and candid, but not a natural horse-trader or storyteller. He tends to arrive at positions after a moral

mental Railroad... promise. It has had for big cities and for Kansas City... And since 1945... Coast, in Texas... As a result, inland Missouri retains... As in other border... n is not what you... rt of the state; the... St. Louis, once a... Democratic in the... The Kansas City... preference is still... l allegiances. On... sort of consensus... mous politician... ate sympathizer... t today Missouri... ublicans, but so... red rough-hewn... her Bond are all... ing scandal and... nt since Jimmy... since that year... y split now. The... nd 1982. Their... sive economic... ve helped the... sed candidates... s who say, as... ccess story for... dates and run... rn. On... is now elected... ed lieutenant... ce indicating... ucated young... s, decided to... rney general... he eligibility... he Senate in... in 1970 and... it Teasdale's... e maximum... as elected in... ndamental... base is rural... hicago Law

inventory rather than a political calculus; he is unusual in the Senate because he opposes both abortion and capital punishment. Danforth was elected attorney general of Missouri at age 32, in 1968—the breakthrough victory for Republicans in Missouri—but he lost narrowly to Senator Stuart Symington in 1970 and was not the favorite six years later when Symington retired. But the Democratic nominee, Representative Jerry Litton, died in a plane crash on primary night, and in November Danforth easily beat the substitute candidate, former Governor Warren Hearnes.

Danforth's moments in the spotlight have come on the Senate Finance Committee. There he was one of the players on the tax reform bill of 1986. He originally was more sympathetic than Chairman Bob Packwood to the idea of rate-lowering in return for preference-cutting—the essence of the reform. But when Packwood emerged from conference committee in 1986 with a bill that raised taxes on corporations, particularly the heavy industry corporations and big defense contractors (McDonnell-Douglas, General Dynamics) headquartered in Missouri, Danforth had qualms; and eventually ended up opposing the whole package. The bill was going through anyhow, but Danforth's actions illustrates his awkwardness as a legislator: he backed an idea initially but then opposed it when the legislative process turned it into something that could have been predicted at the beginning.

Danforth has been, and even in a Democratic Senate could continue to be, a major legislator on trade. He is now ranking Republican on the trade subcommittee and lead co-sponsor with Finance Chairman Lloyd Bentsen on the trade bill introduced with 54 Senate sponsors that would require the presidential retaliation against countries found to commit unfair labor practices. Danforth is generally a free trader, but he is alert to the possibility of unfair competition especially to Missouri industries (including shoes and autos: there are big assembly plants here), and in such cases his concern for the plight of particular individuals and principles of fairness outweighs his commitment to free market economics. Similarly in his Commerce Committee assignment, where he is not an all-out backer of deregulation, and on Budget.

Such concerns about suffering individuals help explain his work on hunger and famine. He made a trip to a number of Sub-Saharan countries in 1984 well before their starving children began appearing on television screens and newsmagazine covers, and in 1985 he led the Senate to pass a major relief bill for famine victims throughout Africa. If his interest in alleviating hunger and his devotion to market economics, tempered by the political process, seem inconsistent to some, he can argue that free markets are the best—perhaps the only—way to produce the kind of massive economic growth that has abolished famine in most of the world. He might go on to argue that the Democrats' excessive welfare state policies of the past choked off growth here and hence elsewhere. At the same time, he is concerned about federal budget deficits and wants to explore means—even raising taxes—to close them. Deficits are why he was a principle advocate of increasing the excise tax on tobacco and keeping intact the since-repealed withholding requirement for interest on dividend income.

So for a man of rather unconventional temperament, Danforth ends up with a fairly conventional, old-fashioned Republican voting record. He is temperamentally disposed to cooperate with Presidents of his own party, especially on foreign policy; he seems to believe that at least some of the economic discomfort of the early 1980s was necessary to improve the economy in the long run. If he is not exactly a team player and certainly not a vote-trader, he is not a boat-rocker either.

Danforth started off in 1982 wanting to run a positive campaign and expecting routine reelection; he did not figure on Harriett Woods. Then a St. Louis County state senator, she had a natural aptitude for sympathizing with any popular discontent without always offering a solution for it and a former TV producer's aptitude for speaking to the camera. In 1986, for example, her campaign emphasized the woes of farmers and she said "we have to restore the capability of farmers to get a price in the market," but at the same time attacked mounting surpluses, the huge price of subsidies, and rising food costs for consumers: all problem and no solution. In 1987 Woods peppered Danforth with criticisms for supporting Reaganomics, and arguing that

knew what it was like to be in the Senate. By mid-October her campaign ran out of money, tipped off by Danforth's negative campaign. Danforth went negative on her campaign, tipped off by Danforth's negative campaign. Danforth went negative on her campaign, tipped off by Danforth's negative campaign.

Woods may run once again in the trough of the recession. Woods was also the beneficiary of the little better than Danforth's advantage of being, in Missouri. He played snuff in many other states in 1984, late spring a three-part campaign how they were foreclosed by an insurance company that Bob Squier (although she had been helped a bit more by northern wheat and corn which don't depend so much on the weather) seemed an invasion of privacy and there was a question of whether he had just made a bad business decision in rural Missouri.

In the Senate Bond Commission specifically appropriate only freshman Republican. Republicans are winning in the 1990s.

Presidential politics. center in partisan preference. century it hasn't supported Adlai Stevenson. In four less than 30,000 votes: percentage in 1984.

Missouri's old-fashioned machinery. Missouri Department of the southern region. Richard Gephardt, although elsewhere, particularly

Congressional district 1970s. The legislature joined Wendell Bailey. With a

The People: Est. Pop. 1. 2.1% of U.S. total, 15th largest. Single ancestry: 13% German (1980); 73% family, 39% monthly rent: \$153; median Spanish origin. Register

know what it was like to live on an ordinary income, while Danforth is one of the richest men in the Senate. By mid-October Woods was running even with the much better known Danforth, but her campaign ran out of money and pulled its ads for a week; Danforth's well-financed campaign, tipped off by Republican tracking polls, was able to counter attack effectively. Danforth went negative, accusing Woods of demagoguery and distortion. The result: a 51%-49% Danforth victory that was one of the closest in the nation. Interestingly, Woods's strength came from good showings in rural Missouri, which she almost carried; Danforth's media helped him carry the once heavily Democratic St. Louis area, even though it was Woods's base. For 1988, Woods may run once again, and would have a good chance if Danforth has the bad luck to be running in the trough of an economic cycle for the second straight election.

Woods was also the opponent Senator Christopher Bond had to beat in 1986, and he ran a little better than Danforth. Bond started with the asset of a popular record as governor and with the advantage of being, as governor for most of the last 14 years, the best-known public figure in Missouri. He played smartly on the home state pride that was as evident in Missouri as in so many other states in 1986. Woods's campaign tried to run on farm belt discontent, running in late spring a three-part ad showing a farmer breaking into tears as he and his wife tell Woods how they were foreclosed on, and then identifying Bond as a member of the board of the insurance company that foreclosed. Furor: Bond forces screamed foul; Woods fired admaker Bob Squier (although she had approved the ad); Woods went down in the polls. Woods may have been helped a bit among farmers; she ended up running ahead of her 1982 showing in some northern wheat and corn-growing counties. But she ran behind in the rest of the rural counties, which don't depend so heavily on federally-assisted commodities, and in Kansas City. The ad seemed an invasion of privacy, an exploitation of personal misery; many viewers must have felt, and there was a question from Woods responding to such feelings, that the people on the screen had just made a bad business decision—and that Kit Bond wasn't bent on destroying them. Bond carried rural Missouri handily and the St. Louis area as well and won 53%-47%.

In the Senate Bond has seats on the Agriculture and Banking Committees, bodies more specifically appropriate to Missouri's economic problems than Danforth's assignments. He is the only freshman Republican Senator, elected after all in a Democratic year; but if more senior Republicans are winnowed out as rapidly as they were in 1986, he will be one of the more senior Republicans in the 1990s.

**Presidential politics.** Near the center of the nation geographically, Missouri is also near the center in partisan preference. Missouri is a good presidential bellwether; the only time in the last century it hasn't supported the winning presidential candidate was in 1956, when it went for Adlai Stevenson. In four of the last nine elections, the winning candidate has carried the state by less than 30,000 votes; Ronald Reagan carried Missouri with almost precisely his national percentage in 1984.

Missouri's old-fashioned parties choose their national convention delegates through the party machinery. Missouri Democrats charged the timing has been changed so that Missouri will be part of the southern regional bloc choosing delegates the week of March 8. This was done to help Richard Gephardt, although presumably his candidacy will rise or fall on what happens elsewhere, particularly in Iowa just to the north.

**Congressional districting.** Missouri has nine congressional districts now, one less than in the 1970s. The legislature joined two districts represented by Democrat Ike Skelton and Republican Wendell Bailey. With a Democratic legislature, Skelton had the advantage and won.

**The People:** Est. Pop. 1986: 5,066,000; Pop. 1980: 4,916,686, up 3.0% 1980-86 and 5.1% 1970-80; 2.1% of U.S. total, 15th largest. 14% with 1-3 yrs. col., 14% with 4+ yrs. col.; 12.2% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 13% German, 11% English, 5% Irish, 1% Italian, French, Polish, Dutch. Households (1980): 73% family, 39% with children, 62% married couples; 30.4% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$153; median house value: \$36,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 3,554,203; 9% Black, 1% Spanish origin. Registered voters (1986): 2,769,184; no party registration.

1986 Share of Federal Tax Burden \$14,988,000,000; 1.99% of U.S. total, 16th largest.

1986 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total	Non-Defense	Defense
Total Expend	\$20,894m (2.52%)	\$14,092m (2.35%)	\$6,801m (2.96%)
St/Lcl Grants	1,982m (1.76%)	1,981m (1.76%)	1m (0.90%)
Salary/Wages	2,342m (1.94%)	1,366m (2.33%)	976m (1.58%)
Pymnts to Indiv	8,314m (2.23%)	7,857m (1.95%)	5,547m (3.70%)
Procurement	6,633m (3.23%)	1,086m (1.95%)	5,547m (3.70%)
Research/Other	1,803m (6.76%)	1,803m (6.77%)	0m (0.58%)

Political Lineup: Governor, John Ashcroft (R); Lt. Gov., Harriett Woods (D); Secy. of State, Roy D. Blunt (R); Atty. Gen., William Webster (R); Treasurer, Wendell Bailey (R); Auditor, Margaret Kelly (R). State Senate, 34 (21 D and 13 R); State House of Representatives, 163 (108 D and 55 R). Senators, John C. Danforth (R) and Christopher S. Bond (R). Representatives, 9 (5 D and 4 R).

1984 Presidential Vote

Reagan (R)	1,274,188 (60%)
Mondale (D)	848,583 (40%)

1980 Presidential Vote

Reagan (R)	1,074,181 (51%)
Carter (D)	931,182 (44%)
Anderson (I)	77,920 (4%)

GOVERNOR

Gov. John Ashcroft (R)



Elected 1984, term expires Jan. 1989; b. May 9, 1942, Chicago, home, Jefferson City; Yale U., B.A. 1964, U. of Chicago, J.D. 1967; Assembly of God; married (Janet).

Career: Practicing atty.; Professor, 1968-1973; MO. Atty. Gen. 1973-75; Asst. Atty. Gen. of MO, 1975-76; Atty. Gen. of MO, 1976-84.

Office: P.O. Box 720, Jefferson City 65102, 314-751-3222

Election Results

1984 gen.	John Ashcroft (R)	1,194,506 (57%)
	Kenneth J. Rothman (D)	913,700 (43%)
1984 prim.	John Ashcroft (R)	245,306 (57%)
	Gene McNary (R)	115,516 (27%)
1980 gen.	Christopher S. Bond (R)	1,098,930 (51%)
	Joseph P. Teasdale (D)	981,884 (45%)

SENATORS

Sen. John C. Danforth (R)



Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE
1986	30	23	28
1985	40	—	27

National Journal Ratings

	1986 LIB
Economic	55% —
Social	21% —
Foreign	41% —

Key Votes

Ease Gun Cont	FOR
Immig Reform	FOR
Limit Text Imp	AGN
Aid Tobac Ind	FOR

Election Results

1982 general	John C. Danforth Harriett Woods
1982 primary	John C. Danforth Mel Hancock (R) Two others (R)
1976 general	John C. Danforth Warren E. Hearr

Campaign Contributions and Expendi

1979-82		Direct
Receipts	\$1,829,501	Indiv.
Expend.	\$1,849,025	Party
Expend	\$9,069	PACS

SENATORS

Sen. John C. Danforth (R)



Elected 1976, seat up 1988; b. Sept. 5, 1936, St. Louis; home, Newburg; Princeton U., A.B. 1958, Yale U., B.D., LL.B. 1963; Episcopalian; married (Sally).

Career: Practicing atty., 1963-69; Ordained Clergyman; Atty. Gen. of MO, 1969-77; .

Offices: 497 RSOB 20510, 202-224-6154. Also 1795 E. Sunshine, Plaza Towers, Ste. 705, Springfield 65804; 417-881-7068; 1815 Olive St., St. Louis 63101, 314-425-6381; 1233 Jefferson St., Jefferson City 65101; 314-635-7292; and 811 Grand Ave., 943 U.S. Courthouse, Kansas City 64106, 816-374-6101.

Committees: Budget (9th of 11 R). Commerce, Science, and Transportation (Ranking Member of 9 R). Finance (4th of 9 R). Subcommittees: International Debt; International Trade (Ranking Member); Taxation and Debt Management.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTU	NSI	COC	CEI
1986	30	23	28	27	63	57	51	75	61	62
1985	40	—	27	47	—	65	56	—	75	—

National Journal Ratings

	1986 LIB — 1986 CONS		1985 LIB — 1985 CONS	
Economic	55%	— 43%	39%	— 60%
Social	21%	— 77%	28%	— 68%
Foreign	41%	— 58%	41%	— 58%

Key Votes

1) Ease Gun Cont	FOR	5) Grm-Rdmn Def Red	FOR	9) Rehnquist Nom	FOR
2) Immig Reform	FOR	6) Contra Aid	FOR	10) Tax Reform	AGN
3) Lmt Text Imp	AGN	7) SDI Funding	FOR	11) Drug Death Pen	FOR
4) Aid Tobac Ind	FOR	8) Lmt PAC Contrib	AGN	12) S Africa Sanc	FOR

Election Results

1982 general	John C. Danforth (R) .....	784,876	(51%)	(\$1,849,025)
	Harriett Woods (D) .....	758,629	(49%)	(\$1,193,966)
1982 primary	John C. Danforth (R) .....	217,162	(74%)	
	Mel Hancock (R) .....	61,378	(21%)	
	Two others (R) .....	15,289	(5%)	
1976 general	John C. Danforth (R) .....	1,090,067	(57%)	(\$741,465)
	Warren E. Hearnes (D) .....	813,571	(42%)	(\$660,953)

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

1979-82		Direct Cont. 1979-82		PACS Breakdown	
Receipts	\$1,829,501	Indiv.	\$1,138,122	Corp.	\$323,293
Expend.	\$1,849,025	Party	\$16,368	Lbr.	\$5,325
Unspent	\$9,069	PACS	\$572,658	Ideo.	\$58,449
				T/M/H	\$167,641
				Agr.	\$11,600
				CWOS	\$6,350

Sen. Christopher S. (Kit) Bond (R)



Elected 1986, seat up 1992; b. Mar. 6, 1939, St. Louis; home, Kansas City; Princeton U., B.A. 1960, U. of VA, LL.B. 1963; Presbyterian; married (Carolyn).

Career: Practicing atty., 1964-69; MO Asst. Atty. Gen., 1969-70; MO Auditor, 1971-72; Gov. of MO, 1973-85.

Offices: 293 RSOB 20510, 202-224-5721. Also 811 Grand Ave. Rm. 911, Kansas City 64106, 816-374-2748; 320 Jackson St. Jefferson City 65101, 314-634-2488; and Old Post Office Bldg. 815 Olive St., Rm. 224, St. Louis 63101, 314-425-5067.

Committees: *Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry* (7th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Agricultural Production and Stabilization of Prices; Agricultural Research, Conservation, Forestry and General Legislation (Ranking Member); Domestic and Foreign Marketing and Product Promotion. *Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs* (7th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Housing and Urban Affairs; Securities and Minority-Owned Business Development (Ranking Member).

*Small Business* (8th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Innovation, Technology and Urban Affairs; Securities and Minority-Owned Business Development (Ranking Member).

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected Election Results

1986 general	Christopher S. (Kit) Bond (R) .....	777,612	(53%)	(\$5,376,255)
	Harriet Woods (D) .....	699,624	(47%)	(\$4,397,780)
1986 primary	Christopher S. (Kit) Bond (R) .....	239,961	(89%)	
	Richard J. Gimpelson (R) .....	10,471	(4%)	
	David A. Brown (R) .....	10,407	(4%)	
	Joyce Padgett Lea (R) .....	9,407	(3%)	
1980 general	Thomas F. Eagleton (D) .....	1,074,859	(52%)	(\$1,272,277)
	Gene McNary (R) .....	985,399	(48%)	(\$1,173,161)

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

1985-86		Direct Cont. 1985-86		PACS Breakdown 1985-86	
Receipts	\$5,444,030	Indiv.	\$3,969,756	Corp.	\$843,731
Expend.	\$5,376,255	Party	\$31,615	Labor	\$7,200
Unspent	\$67,773	PACS	\$1,334,222	Ideo.	\$165,773
		Cand.	\$41,589	T/M/H	\$273,436
				Agr.	\$21,250
				CWOS	\$22,812

FIRST DISTRICT

At the turn of the century St. Louis was the nation's fourth largest city, still rivaling Chicago as the transportation hub of America, the gateway to the west since the expedition of Lewis and Clark. The street grids radiating from downtown were already filled with densely-packed brick houses in those pre-automobile days when people lived within walking distance of work. When the World's Fair (officially the Louisiana Purchase Exposition) was held here in 1904, St. Louis was considered one of the nation's most modern cities. Now it has a different image. Its solidly built neighborhoods have little appeal to Americans who want large lots and two-car garages, and the fear of crime has kept homeowners seething indoors till they can buy housing elsewhere. St. Louis, more than any other American city, has become depopulated over the past several decades. In 1930, 821,000 people lived within its city limits; in 1950, 856,000. By 1980 the figure was down to 453,000—about the same as its population in 1890. Some of the change is accounted for by the aging of its white population and smaller household sizes generally. Some of it represents the abandonment and disappearance of housing units, even public housing projects like Pruitt-Igoe which was demolished in spectacular fashion in the 1970s.

In this process of change, St. Louis has become a black-majority city. The north side of the

city, north of the expressway south side has remained all white, none have chosen to live on the north side's black majority; but the same is pronounced, on the south side.

Missouri's 1st Congressional District is all-suburban St. Louis County, once entirely within the city limits, but the mostly black towns along the high-income Clayton, with its University City (once mostly white) directly west; and virtually a strip directly north. The 1st District is a narrow margin.

Since 1968 this district has been staffed and civil rights activists, militant black members; only a few arrested again, as one of several.

In between Clay's career has been brought down by charges of government for numerous airline tickets and, presumably, investigation for tax fraud. His records. All that helped inspire him, from 1976 to 1982, he was St. Louis County portion of the Hat. His efforts to repeal the Hat during the Carter years were defeated the Carter Administration record he was passed over for.

Now Clay seems in bet something with it: he got a buy-up non-union subsidiaries, a He has been working with Senate committee positions just as again. He is fourth ranking Office and Civil Service; he succeeds Augustus Hawkins Post Office his stands in favor his desire to make the Postal ramifications.

At home Clay has consolidated just 61%, with voters divided. In 1986 he won 80% against the District is still losing popularity. eliminate Clay's District in toward him now. But he sees

The People: Pop. 1980: 54 children, 45% married couple value: \$31,800. Voting age population

city, north of the expressways that feed into downtown, has essentially become all black; the south side has remained all white. Blacks live in suburbs north and west of the city; virtually none have chosen to live on the south side. There is a tendency to ascribe St. Louis's problems to its black majority; but the same demographic and sociological trends are apparent, though less pronounced, on the south side as well as the north.

Missouri's 1st Congressional District includes the north side of St. Louis and adjacent parts of all-suburban St. Louis County. It is a measure of the depopulation of St. Louis that this district, once entirely within the city limits, now has 60% of its voters in the suburbs. Its suburbs include the mostly black towns along St. Charles Rock and Natural Bridge Roads, northwest of the city; high-income Clayton, with its office building developments, and the white-collar suburbs of University City (once mostly Jewish, by 1980, 43% black), Richmond Heights, and Maplewood, directly west; and virtually all-white Bellefontaine Neighbors, Spanish Lake, and Black Jack, directly north. The 1st District is the most heavily Democratic in Missouri, by a considerable margin.

Since 1968 this district has been represented by Bill Clay, who got his political start as a union staffer and civil rights activist. When he was first elected, he was considered one of the more militant black members; only five years before, he had served 105 days in jail for participating in a civil rights demonstration. By the middle 1980s, things seemed to come full circle: Clay was arrested again, as one of several congressmen demonstrating before the South African embassy.

In between Clay's career has had its ups and downs. For a time it appeared he might be brought down by charges of scandal. In 1976 it was revealed that he had been billing the government for numerous auto trips home, although he was actually purchasing less expensive airline tickets and, presumably, pocketing the difference. The next year he was under investigation for tax fraud. His administrative assistant was sent to jail for falsification of payroll records. All that helped inspire opposition in the Democratic primary, and in four primaries in a row, from 1976 to 1982, he won by relatively small margins, and either lost or barely carried the St. Louis County portion of the district. In Washington he did not seem highly respected, either. His efforts to repeal the Hatch Act's limitations on the political activities of federal employees during the Carter years were unsuccessful. He also worked with public employee unions to defeat the Carter Administration's civil service reforms—and again lost. Despite his pro-labor record he was passed over for a labor subcommittee chairmanship.

Now Clay seems in better shape. He has his subcommittee chair, and has even done something with it: he got a bill through the House in 1986 to stop construction firms from setting up non-union subsidiaries, and it may even become law now that there is a Democratic Senate. He has been working with Senator John Heinz on pension reform legislation. He is reaching high committee positions just as changes in the political climate may give one of his views majorities again. He is fourth ranking Democrat on Education and Labor and second ranking on Post Office and Civil Service; he is likely to succeed William Ford as chairman of the latter if Ford succeeds Augustus Hawkins, who turns 81 in 1988, as chairman of Education and Labor. On Post Office his stands in favor of allowing federal employees to engage in political activity and his desire to make the Postal Service more directly responsive to Congress could have important ramifications.

At home Clay has consolidated his position in the 1st District. He won his 1982 primary with just 61%, with voters divided on racial lines; but in 1984 he had no primary opposition and in 1986 he won 80% against two minor candidates. His problem may be redistricting. The 1st District is still losing population rapidly, and Missouri legislators, who had to be persuaded not to eliminate Clay's District in redistricting for 1982, are probably even less favorably disposed toward him now. But he seems to have a knack for political survival.

The People: Pop. 1980: 546,208, dn. 20.7% 1970-80. Households (1980): 66% family, 36% with children, 45% married couples; 45.6% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$145; median house value: \$31,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 393,146; 46% Black, 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

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1984 Presidential Vote: Mondale (D) ..... 130,288 (63%)  
 Reagan (R) ..... 76,256 (37%)

Rep. William (Bill) Clay (D)



Elected 1968; b. Apr. 30, 1931, St. Louis; home, St. Louis, St. Louis U., B.S. 1953; Roman Catholic; married (Carol).

Career: Real estate broker; Life insur. business, 1959-61; St. Louis City Alderman, 1959-64.

Offices: 2470 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2406. Also 6197 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis 63112, 314-725-5770; and 12263 Bellefontaine Rd. St. Louis 63138, 314-355-6811.

Committees: Education and Labor (4th of 21 D). Subcommittees: Health and Safety; Labor-Management Relations (Chairman); House Administration (10th of 12 D). Subcommittees: Accounts; Elections; Office Systems. Post Office and Civil Service (2d of 14 D). Subcommittees: Civil Service; Postal Operations and Services.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTU	NSI	COC	CEA
1986	75	100	95	75	91	0	25	0	15	100
1985	100	—	95	75	—	5	34	—	24	—

National Journal Ratings

	1986 LIB — 1986 CONS		1985 LIB — 1985 CONS	
Economic	87%	—	0%	—
Social	89%	—	0%	—
Foreign	80%	—	0%	—

Key Votes

- |                      |     |                    |     |                   |     |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) Lmt Cln Water Act | AGN | 5) Retain Gun Cont | FOR | 9) Aid Angola Reb | —   |
| 2) Rpl Tobac Sub     | AGN | 6) Contra Aid      | AGN | 10) Tax Reform    | AGN |
| 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red  | AGN | 7) Lmt Text Imp    | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | FOR |
| 4) Ban Polygraph     | FOR | 8) Limit SDI       | —   | 12) Immig Reform  | FOR |

Election Results

1986 general	William (Bill) Clay (D).....	91,044	(66%)	(\$217,113)
	Robert J. Wittman (R).....	46,599	(34%)	(\$28,414)
1986 primary	William (Bill) Clay (D).....	46,266	(80%)	
	Clifford Wilson, Sr. (D).....	7,865	(14%)	
	Elsa Debra Hill (D).....	3,753	(6%)	
1984 general	William (Bill) Clay (D).....	147,436	(68%)	(\$142,550)
	Eric Rathbone (R).....	68,538	(32%)	

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

1985-86		Direct Cont. 1985-86		PACS Breakdown 1985-86	
Receipts	\$230,437	Indiv.	\$26,009	Corp.	\$17,256
Expend.	\$217,113	PACS	\$156,538	Labor	\$111,500
Unspent	\$58,734	Cand.	\$33,500	Ideo.	\$2,250

SECOND DISTRICT

St. Louis County, once separated backwater, has now grown so many times as many votes, as the Congressional District of Missouri of suburbs. On its north side, no Aircraft plants near the airport, Overland. These are mostly white but most of the towns have black quite sure whether this represents probably the latter. In the south Kirkwood and Webster Groves, but with older populations than Ladue, the home of most of St. Olivette. Farther west, you come keep their storm doors up all y crumbling remains of rural houses also is Times Beach, the bedragg national attention in 1983, and w the dumping was going on.

Politically, the 2d is a very mix on economic issues, but sometime most of the new subdivisions are quite different perspectives; the Democratic, and both can be attr congressional politics here has be demographic balance favored the the 1980s the working class area surroundings far beyond the coun growing part of the metropolitan a the predictable result was the def John Buechner in 1986.

It was a classic confrontation of for 20 years in the legislature, is a voting record, a member of the Pt for projects for the districts. Bu Kirkwood, was a state legislator supporting measures like the Equ. prowess against him, not just by ge a "back-scratching, back room de slavish follower of organized labor Young raised much more PAC m effective TV ad, was enough to Democratic congressman in 1986.

This message went over well in a electing erudite congressmen like Buechner got 48% of the vote in here, he won with 52% in 1986. T trends in the 2d District. So Buech importance, went off to Washing

## SECOND DISTRICT

St. Louis County, once separated from the city because it was regarded as a useless agricultural backwater, has now grown so much that it has more than twice as many people, and casts three times as many votes, as the city. In effect most of St. Louis has moved out here. The 2d Congressional District of Missouri is the heart of St. Louis County, and runs the political gamut of suburbs. On its north side, north of Interstate 70, centered on the big McDonnell-Douglas Aircraft plants near the airport, are blue-collar suburbs: Hazelwood, Berkley, St. John, St. Ann, Overland. These are mostly white, filled with people who grew up on the north side of St. Louis, but most of the towns have black residents too, some in large numbers (like Berkley); no one is quite sure whether this represents stable integration or rapid neighborhood change, though it is probably the latter. In the south end of the district are comfortable white-collar suburbs like Kirkwood and Webster Groves, pleasant but not really rich places which remain mostly white but with older populations than they used to have. In the center of the county are high-income Ladue, the home of most of St. Louis's elite, Creve Coeur, and the more Jewish suburb of Olivette. Farther west, you come to new subdivisions, with large, air-conditioned houses which keep their storm doors up all year, and with few trees; they are interspersed among a few crumbling remains of rural houses built higgledy-piggledy by their owners years ago. Out here also is Times Beach, the bedraggled subdivision near a toxic waste dump which was a center of national attention in 1983, and whose population increased substantially in the 1970s, even as the dumping was going on.

Politically, the 2d is a very mixed bag. The working-class suburbs are Democratic, especially on economic issues, but sometimes leave the party on cultural issues; the southern suburbs and most of the new subdivisions are pretty solidly Republican, though they look at the world from quite different perspectives; the rich Protestants are heavily Republican, the Jews more Democratic, and both can be attracted to Democrats on liberal cultural issues. The history of congressional politics here has been a story of shifting electoral proportions. In the 1970s the demographic balance favored the northern, working class suburbs and the Democrats. But by the 1980s the working class areas had grown little or saw their residents move to semi-rural surroundings far beyond the county line, while the affluent suburbs in the west were the fastest growing part of the metropolitan area. This hurt the Democrats and helped the Republicans, and the predictable result was the defeat of Democratic Representative Bob Young by Republican John Buechner in 1986.

It was a classic confrontation of political types. Young is a pipefitter who represented St. Ann for 20 years in the legislature, is an old political pro who prided himself on a perfect AFL-CIO voting record, a member of the Public Works Committee who prided himself on getting money for projects for the districts. Buechner (pronounced Beek-ner), a middle-class lawyer from Kirkwood, was a state legislator for 10 years who was fiscally conservative and open to supporting measures like the Equal Rights Amendment. Buechner turned Young's pork barrel prowess against him, not just by getting the Sierra Club endorsement, but by calling him in 1986 a "back-scratching, back room deal maker"—part of the problem rather than the solution, a slavish follower of organized labor rather than a leader. Buechner's campaign was outspent and Young raised much more PAC money. But Buechner's message, delivered via an exceedingly effective TV ad, was enough to make him the one Republican who beat an incumbent Democratic congressman in 1986.

This message went over well in an increasingly affluent district accustomed, before Young, to electing erudite congressmen like Republican Thomas Curtis and Democrat James Symington. Buechner got 48% of the vote in 1984 and, after mollifying some of the cultural right groups here, he won with 52% in 1986. That went against the national trend, but in line with long-run trends in the 2d District. So Buechner, with his quick sense of humor and a total absence of self-importance, went off to Washington, with the plums of seats on the Budget Committee and

Science, the latter of importance to big district employer McDonnell-Douglas. Young, a pleasant and mellow man, moved back to the northern St. Louis suburbs with contracts to lobby for the airport and other local interests he had supported as a congressman. In effect Young's pork barrel projects had been privatized by a market-minded electorate, and Buechner's market politics has, at not the most favorable time in the 1980s, been conscripted into the public sector.

**The People:** Pop. 1980: 546,039, up 11.4% 1970-80. Households (1980): 79% family, 44% with children, 68% married couples; 24.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$232; median house value: \$53,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 386,511; 5% Black, 1% Asian origin, 1% Spanish origin.

<b>1984 Presidential Vote:</b>	Reagan (R) .....	189,802	(66%)
	Mondale (D) .....	96,557	(34%)

**Rep. Jack Buechner (R)**



Elected 1986; b. June 6, 1940, Kirkwood; home, Kirkwood; Benedictine Col., B.A. 1962, St. Louis U., J.D. 1965; Roman Catholic; married (Marietta).

**Career:** Practicing atty.; MO House of Reps., 1972-82.

**Offices:** 502 CHOB 20515, 202-225-2561. Also 13545 Barrett Pkwy. Dr., Ste. 5, Ballwin 63021, 314-965-1101.

**Committees:** Budget (13th of 14 R). Task Forces: Defense and International Affairs; Economic Policy. *Science, Space and Technology* (16th of 18 R). Subcommittees: Science, Research and Technology; Space Science and Applications.

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

1986 general	Jack Buechner (R) .....	101,010	(52%)	(\$326,375)
	Robert A. Young (D) .....	93,538	(48%)	(\$528,101)
1986 primary	Jack Buechner (R) .....	24,217	(72%)	
	Hugh V. Murray (R) .....	7,016	(21%)	
	Charles A. Van Esler (R) .....	2,455	(7%)	
1984 general	Robert A. Young (D) .....	139,123	(52%)	(\$368,593)
	Jack Buechner (R) .....	127,710	(48%)	(\$309,410)

**Campaign Contributions and Expenditures**

<b>1985-86</b>		<b>Direct Cont. 1985-86</b>		<b>PACS Breakdown 1985-86</b>	
Receipts	\$326,579	Indiv.	\$213,736	Corp.	\$28,907
Expend.	\$326,375	Party	\$18,152	Labor	\$500
Unspent	\$3,409	PACS	\$80,760	Ideo.	\$17,400
		Cand.	\$9,240		

**THIRD DISTRICT**

Represented by one of the national leaders of the Democratic party, the 3d Congressional District of Missouri is one of the nation's older districts in one of its most settled areas. The district is essentially the south side of the St. Louis metropolitan area—a slice of pie with its apex in downtown St. Louis, extending outward and getting wider in suburban St. Louis County and finally ending in Jefferson County, once a rural area alongside the turbulently Mississippi River, now a suburban extension of St. Louis. The south side of St. Louis

entirely white, and there are Louis one of the nation's most famous St. Louis German w. Civil War, Secretary of the I north, has lost about half its p Louis County, where the so humming, its stores and ware others have been moving partl of the Mississippi are now rec and apartment complexes, ar

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(52%) (\$326,375)  
(48%) (\$528,101)  
(72%)  
(21%)  
(7%)  
(52%) (\$368,595)  
(48%) (\$309,410)

Breakdown 1985-86  
07 T/M/H \$32,959  
00 Agr. \$300  
00 CWOS \$694

ty, the 3d Congressional  
most settled areas. The  
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ide of St. Louis is almost

entirely white, and there are still signs there of the German immigrants who helped make St. Louis one of the nation's most bustling and progressive cities in the late 19th century; the most famous St. Louis German was Carl Schurz, a friend of Lincoln, a Union Army officer in the Civil War, Secretary of the Interior, and Senator from Missouri. St. Louis's south side, like the north, has lost about half its population in the last 40 years, much of it moving directly out to St. Louis County, where the solid middle class of St. Louis lives, people who keep its offices humming, its stores and warehouses bustling, its schoolchildren instructed and disciplined. And others have been moving farther out, to Jefferson County, where old towns sitting near the banks of the Mississippi are now receiving an infusion of shopping centers, spanking new subdivisions, and apartment complexes, and even a few office buildings.

Carl Schurz was a Republican, and for years St. Louis was a Republican island in Missouri's Southern Democratic sea. In the New Deal years, St. Louis became heavily Democratic, and this older district remains Democratic in local, though not in national, contests.

The congressman from this district, first elected in 1976, is Democrat Richard Gephardt. He is now chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, a high-ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee, and a presidential candidate. He was co-sponsor of the Bradley-Gephardt tax bill, the proposal that became the 1986 tax reform law; he is one of the leaders of the Democratic Leadership Council, the group of mainly southern Democrats who want the Democrats to stand for innovation and compassion but not a reflexive and never-ending expansion of government to solve all problems. Although he was first elected as recently as 1976, Gephardt became by the early 1980s a major force in the House, a constructive legislator who seems genuinely respected and liked by almost all his colleagues.

He did this not just by adroit politicking or by taking advantage of committee positions or internal workings of the House—though he knows how to do these things—but because of his work on substantive issues. He was noticed back in the Carter years for his work on the complex and knotty issue of hospital cost control, helping to scuttle a Carter Administration initiative to increase government control and coming up with an alternative (with David Stockman) relying on competition by offering employees choices between different medical insurance plans. That is the general direction in which policy has moved since. Similarly, on taxes he unlike most Democrats was open to arguments that taxes should be lowered to encourage investment and recognized that nominal high rates were actually unsustainable and could be sacrificed to get rid of preferences. He was one of those younger Democrats exploring issues like industrial policy; he is interested less in questions of economic distribution than in ways to increase total wealth. And he has been exploring issues, it seems, because of genuine intellectual curiosity and a desire to solve problems—not in response to a political imperative to get himself named a candidate of "new ideas."

Gephardt combines this originality of mind with great legislative skill. He is able to get colleagues to work with him on measures he sponsors, and to garner support; success in this pursuit is possible only when you're obviously prepared and your position is defensible. He talks with the flat midwestern accent and sincere tones of the Eagle Scout he was, and convinces colleagues to support him in face-to-face conversations much as he did constituents in his race for the St. Louis Council and Congress. Gephardt, coming to Washington from the old-fashioned ward politics of an aging central city, seems to be the personification of a new age Democrat. He was able to sew up a year ahead of time the post of caucus chairman in 1984, and stumbled only when he was linked in October 1984 to members discontented with the party leadership.

But by that time, or not long after, Gephardt seems to have decided to leave the House. He spurned two chances to run for the Senate, in 1982 and 1986; when in retrospect though not in prospect it seems likely he could have won, and by 1986 he was appearing regularly in Iowa and New Hampshire. Despite his moderate reputation, his voting record is pretty close to what is now the Democratic center. His major assets are his rare ability to come up with original and defensible solutions to complex and seemingly insoluble problems and his openness and intellectual honesty. His liabilities include his youthful appearance, and his issue-spotting ability

seems sometimes to have been impaired by a tendency to let constituency pressures determine his course: in 1985 he left the tax issue largely to Rostenkowski, Bradley, and others (though, in fairness, Rostenkowski was not going to let him have the spotlight in Ways and Means) and instead stressed the need for trade protections so long sought by organized labor; in 1986 he abandoned his long-time support of anti-abortion measures in a bow to the power of feminists in the Democratic nominating process; in 1987 he was advocating a referendum to let farmers authorize the government to impose production controls, a step that would probably be impracticable and certainly would be costly to consumers. Characteristically Gephardt produced not just speeches but legislation: on trade he co-sponsored the Democrats' major measure with Lloyd Bentsen; on farm production controls he was the lead co-sponsor of legislation with Senator Tom Harkin of—Iowa.

Gephardt's presidential campaign began against long odds, but he starts not just with an attractive line of patter but with a record of knowing how to govern. If he should do as well as he hopes in Iowa and New Hampshire, he will be one of the major Democratic contenders and perhaps President. The central tension in his campaign is between the record he made in his first eight years in Congress, when he questioned standard Democratic programs, challenged entrenched lobbies, and came up with his own creative solutions, and his platform for 1988, which seems to stress aggressive trade legislation to please organized labor, the production controls act to appeal to Iowa farmers, and his change of position on abortion, to avoid antagonizing feminists. Gephardt seems to be reckoning, as Walter Mondale did, that the Democratic party is a collection of interests each of which must be attracted or at least propitiated on their own special issue.

It is nonetheless impressive that Gephardt has wholehearted support from many of his colleagues—and many of the most talented of them. Of course they all know the election calendar: Missouri's filing deadline for Congress is March 29, so that if Gephardt fails to emerge from Super Tuesday as a serious candidate he can run for reelection to the House; and surely will win. Or, far less likely, he could pursue both races, resigning the House nomination if he is chosen by the Democratic convention in August, in which case the place on the Missouri ticket would be filled by the 3d District Democratic committee.

**The People:** Pop. 1980: 546,102, up 0.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 72% family, 36% with children, 61% married couples; 31.2% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$151; median house value: \$43,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 403,646; 1% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

**1984 Presidential Vote:** Reagan (R) ..... 158,483 (65%)  
Mondale (D) ..... 86,792 (35%)

**Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D)**



**Elected 1976;** b. Jan. 31, 1941, St. Louis; home, St. Louis; Northwestern U., B.S. 1962, U. of MI, J.D., 1965; Baptist; married (Jane).

**Career:** Practicing atty., 1965-76; St. Louis City Alderman, 1971-76.

**Offices:** 1432 LHOB 20515, 202-225-2671. Also 9959 Grand St. Louis 63123, 314-631-9959.

**Committees:** Ways and Means (9th of 23 D), Subcommittees on Social Security; Trade.

**Group Ratings**

	ADA	ACLU	CC
1986	70	64	
1985	60	—	

**National Journal Ratings**

	1986 LI
Economic	87%
Social	89%
Foreign	74%

- Key Votes**
- 1) Lmt Cln Water Act AGN
  - 2) Rpl Tobac Sub AGN
  - 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red FOR
  - 4) Ban Polygraph —

**Election Results**

1986 general	Richard A. C
	Roy Amelung
1986 primary	Richard A. G
1984 general	Richard A. G

**Campaign Contributions and Expense**

1985-86		Dir.
Receipts	\$830,682	Indi
Expend.	\$881,325	Part
Unspent	\$178	PAC
		Can

**FOURTH DISTRICT**

The 4th Congressional District of Missouri extends from Jefferson City, the state capital, to the town of Lamar, in the western part of the state. Its political attitudes are a mixture of conservative and liberal sites here, remembrances that the district was once part of the Virginia and Kentucky borders. The 4th includes a part of the fringe of Kansas City; the district is generally Democratic. Jefferson City, for example, is Republican today.

The congressman from this district is Richard A. Gephardt, a Democrat. He has been chairman of the district since 1983, often but not always joins most conservative. His most important contribution has been dominated for years by rep. Gephardt, a resolutely patriotic, convinced that the defense is trustful of the Pentagon, versed in the intricacies of the military. Unlike most committee southerner from the South, Gephardt won the 1984 election. He was a strong supporter of the service commands and played a key role in passing the reauthorization bill, a successful move to fund the Nicaragua program and an assertive foreign policy.

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## Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTU	NSI	COC	CEI
1986	70	64	80	67	74	0	26	22	18	17
1985	60	—	79	75	—	19	27	—	19	—

## National Journal Ratings

	1986 LIB — 1986 CONS	1985 LIB — 1985 CONS
Economic	87% — 0%	75% — 22%
Social	89% — 0%	56% — 43%
Foreign	74% — 25%	62% — 37%

## Key Votes

1) Lmt Cln Water Act	AGN	5) Retain Gun Cont	FOR	9) Aid Angola Reb	AGN
2) Rpl Tobac Sub	AGN	6) Contra Aid	AGN	10) Tax Reform	FOR
3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red	FOR	7) Lmt Text Imp	FOR	11) S Africa Sanc	FOR
4) Ban Polygraph	—	8) Limit SDI	FOR	12) Immig Reform	FOR

## Election Results

1986 general	Richard A. Gephardt (D)	116,403	(69%)	(\$881,325)
	Roy Amelung (R)	52,382	(31%)	
1986 primary	Richard A. Gephardt (D)	53,061	(100%)	
1984 general	Richard A. Gephardt (D)	193,537	(100%)	(\$379,308)

## Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

1985-86		Direct Cont. 1985-86		PACS Breakdown 1985-86	
Receipts	\$830,682	Indiv.	\$336,276	Corp.	\$196,050
Expend.	\$881,325	Party	\$100	Labor	\$83,919
Unspent	\$178	PACS	\$455,073	Ideo.	\$34,500
		Cand.	\$61,100	T/M/H	\$124,450
				Ag.	\$6,500
				CWOS	\$9,654

## FOURTH DISTRICT

The 4th Congressional District of Missouri is a slice of basically rural and small-town Missouri, extending from Jefferson City, the state capital, at the center of the state, all the way to Kansas City. Its political attitudes are a vestige of its early responses to the Civil War. There are battle sites here, remembrances that the war was fought in Missouri (though it never formally left the Union) as well as in Virginia and Georgia. The district's most famous son, Harry Truman, was born in the town of Lamar, in the southern end of the district, near the Arkansas and Oklahoma borders. The 4th includes a part of Independence (though not the old Truman home) and some of the fringe of Kansas City; the rest is thoroughly nonmetropolitan. And it is by no means all Democratic. Jefferson City, for example, was a solid Union town, and remains very heavily Republican today.

The congressman from this district, Ike Skelton, looks and talks like an old-fashioned Missouri Democrat. He has been chairman of the Congressional Rural Caucus. On economic issues, he often but not always joins most other Democrats; on cultural and foreign issues he is more conservative. His most important work comes on the Armed Services Committee. That body has been dominated for years by representatives of rural southern constituencies, men who are resolutely patriotic, convinced that the greatest risk in defense is to spend too little, generally distrustful of the Pentagon, versed in detail but not overall strategists. Skelton is a little different. Unlike most committee southerners, he supported Les Aspin over the elderly Mel Prince after the 1984 election. He was a strong proponent of reorganizing the Pentagon command structure, unifying the service commands and strengthening the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and played a key role in passing the reorganization law of 1986. He was also a lead sponsor of the successful move to fund the Nicaraguan contras in 1986. Skelton generally favors large defense spending and an assertive foreign policy. But he insists on making his own independent

judgments of how the money should be spent and what risks should be taken, Skelton has been given leave to do this work by his constituency. The current 4th District line put Skelton in with another incumbent, Republican Wendell Bailey, in 1982, but Skelton represented 64% of the new district and that year his party label was a distinct advantage. He won with 55% and Bailey in 1984 was elected state treasurer. Since then Skelton's reelection has been routine and in 1986 unanimous: he had no opponents in the primary or the general election. He has been mentioned as a possible candidate against Senator John Danforth in 1988, although he does not seem eager to leave the House.

**The People:** Pop. 1980: 546,637, up 19.7% 1970-80. Households (1980): 77% family, 42% with children, 69% married couples; 25.5% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$141; median house value: \$35,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 390,415; 3% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

**1984 Presidential Vote:** Reagan (R) ..... 156,449 (67%)  
Mondale (D) ..... 76,523 (33%)

**Rep. Ike Skelton (D)**



Elected 1976; b. Dec. 20, 1931, Lexington; home, Lexington; Wentworth Military Acad., U. of MO, B.A. 1953, LL.B. 1956; Disciples of Christ; married (Susan).

**Career:** Lafayette Cnty. Prosecuting Atty., 1957-60; Spec. Asst. Atty. Gen. of MO, 1961-63; Practicing atty., 1957-76; MO Sen. at-large, 1971-76.

**Offices:** 2453 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2876. Also 314 Jackson St. Jefferson City 65101, 314-635-3499; 1700 W. 40 Hwy., Blue Springs 64015, 816-228-4242; and 319 S. Lamine, Sedalia 65301, 816-826-2675.

**Committees:** *Armed Services* (13th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Military Personnel and Compensation; Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems. *Small Business* (5th of 27 D). Subcommittee: Export, Tourism and Special Problems (Chairman). *Select Committee on Aging* (23rd of 39 D). Subcommittee: Health and Long-Term Care.

**Group Ratings**

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTU	NSI	COC	CE
1986	35	20	66	67	32	55	24	90	47	20
1985	40	—	65	33	—	50	27	—	33	—

**National Journal Ratings**

	1986 LIB — 1986 CONS		1985 LIB — 1985 CONS	
Economic	74%	23%	59%	41%
Social	39%	59%	32%	67%
Foreign	24%	76%	42%	56%

**Key Votes**

- |                      |     |                    |     |                   |     |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) Lmt Cln Water Act | AGN | 5) Retain Gun Cont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | FOR |
| 2) Rpl Tobac Sub     | AGN | 6) Contra Aid      | FOR | 10) Tax Reform    | FOR |
| 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red  | FOR | 7) Lmt Text Imp    | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | FOR |
| 4) Ban Polygraph     | FOR | 8) Limit SDI       | AGN | 12) Immig Reform  | AGN |

**Election Results**

1986 general	Ike Skelton
1986 primary	Ike Skelton
1984 general	Ike Skelton Carl D. Ri

**Campaign Contributions and Ex:**

1985-86	
Receipts	\$300,019
Expend.	\$183,973
Unspent	\$187,017

**FIFTH DISTRICT**

"Everything's up-to-date in 1907, when Kansas City the Congressional District of Mark's Crown Center and built in the 1920s, and flooded income neighborhood; the restaurant; the industrial and stockyards. The district goes a on Truman Road.

This is a pretty solidly Democratic Republican voters, or their children 14 years by Richard Bolling, as the initiator of reforms in the budget process, he is probably and it does work—today. Bolling and leading lieutenant of Speaker

The career of the current Speaker Bolling's, for different reasons representing a mostly white district over the world: one of the few black congressmen who grew in the sector of American life. He won Bolling's seat in 1982, and his vote. It's possible that he would law. But Wheat understood the district with only black votes, Bolling, he won the 1982 general Democratic share, but still lost. Against two opponents he won the general election. In 1986 he has standard criteria Wheat has met

Wheat has done this without and even while emphasizing one angle: he wants to use tax credits living in the zones. But he has not made a point of calling for voters so much to increase the fervor that he is actively representing

**Election Results**

1986 general	Ike Skelton (D).....	129,471	(100%)	(\$183,973)
1986 primary	Ike Skelton (D).....	55,958	(100%)	
1984 general	Ike Skelton (D).....	150,624	(67%)	(\$214,496)
	Carl D. Russell (R).....	74,434	(33%)	

**Campaign Contributions and Expenditures**

1985-86		Direct Cont. 1985-86		PACS Breakdown 1985-86		
Receipts	\$300,019	Indiv.	\$145,483	Corp.	\$60,300	T/M/H \$45,228
Expend.	\$183,973	Party	\$847	Labor	\$32,300	Agr. \$6,100
Unspent	\$187,017	PACS	\$150,178	Ideo.	\$5,750	CWOS \$500

**FIFTH DISTRICT**

"Everything's up-to-date in Kansas City," goes the song from *Oklahoma!*, which was set in 1907, when Kansas City then had all the modern accoutrements. It still does today. The 5th Congressional District of Missouri includes the heart of Kansas City—downtown and Hallmark's Crown Center and Country Club Plaza, one of the first shopping centers in America, built in the 1920s, and flooded badly by nearby Brush Creek in the 1970s, and the adjacent high-income neighborhood; the city's black neighborhood, including Arthur Bryant's barbecue restaurant; the industrial areas below the bluffs down by the river and the Kansas City stockyards. The district goes as far east as Independence, including the old white Truman home on Truman Road.

This is a pretty solidly Democratic district, and getting more so, as some of its middle-class Republican voters, or their children, move to farther-out suburban areas. It was represented for 34 years by Richard Bolling, one of the truly creative critics and effective leaders of the House. As the initiator of reforms including the election of committee chairmen and the congressional budget process, he is probably more responsible than anyone else for the way the House works—and it does work—today. Bolling capped his career as chairman of the House Rules Committee and leading lieutenant of Speaker O'Neill, and retired in 1982, still in the prime of life.

The career of the current congressman, Alan Wheat, may turn out to be as significant as Bolling's, for different reasons. For Wheat is that political oddity: a black office-holder representing a mostly white district. Wheat is the son of an Air Force colonel, and grew up all over the world: one of the few members of Congress from a career military family, and the only black congressman who grew up in what has been for 40 years the most thoroughly integrated sector of American life. He was a state legislator from a mostly black district when he ran for Bolling's seat in 1982, and his base helped him win the Democratic primary with 32% of the vote. It's possible that he would not have won if Missouri, like most southern states, had a runoff law. But Wheat understood that he could not win any further elections in an 80% non-black district with only black votes, and he made sure to appeal to whites. With solid support from Bolling, he won the 1982 general election with 58% of the vote—below the normal Democratic share, but still comfortable. Then he used his two years of incumbency shrewdly. Against two opponents he won 82% in the 1984 Democratic primary, and won with 66% in the general election. In 1986 he had no primary opposition and won the general with 71%. By all standard criteria Wheat has made this a safe seat.

Wheat has done this without compromising his positions on issues of special concern to blacks, and even while emphasizing one, urban enterprise zones, on which he has his own particular angle: he wants to use tax credits for health and child care to encourage residents to continue living in the zones. But he has avoided emphasizing stands which most whites oppose, and has not made a point of calling for vast government expenditures for the poor. Wheat has worked not so much to increase the fervor with which blacks support him as to convince voters of all races that he is actively representing them; he works attentively with community leaders and is proud

Election Results

1986 general	Alan Wheat (D) .....	101,030	(71%)	(\$192,612)
	Greg Fisher (R).....	39,340	(28%)	
1986 primary	Alan Wheat (D) .....	51,333	(100%)	
1984 general	Alan Wheat (D) .....	150,675	(66%)	(\$411,215)
	Jim Kenworthy (R).....	72,477	(32%)	(\$398)

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

1985-86		Direct Cont. 1985-86		PACS Breakdown 1985-86		
Receipts	\$268,786	Indiv.	\$58,493	Corp.	\$46,480	T/M/H \$32,134
Expend.	\$192,612	PACS	\$189,784	Labor	\$81,408	Agr. \$4,950
Unspent	\$136,934	Cand.	\$32,710	Ideo.	\$21,062	CWOS \$3,750

SIXTH DISTRICT

If you want to see the originals of Thomas Hart Benton's rolling, surging farmlands, one place to go is the farm country of northwest Missouri, above the bluffs that line the Missouri River and the smaller rivers that feed into it. In some ways this is a place left behind by the 20th century. The mechanization of the family farm has thinned out the population here, as young people seek a better—or easier—way to make a living elsewhere. All the counties of northwest Missouri, except those in the Kansas City metropolitan area, had more people in 1900 than they do today; in 1900 they had a total population of 508,000 and in 1980, 301,000. Perhaps the most poignant story belongs to St. Joseph, once one of the leading ports of entry to the American West: it was here that the Pony Express rider first saddled up for his transcontinental sprint to Sacramento. In 1900 St. Joseph was a solid commercial competitor of Kansas City, with 102,000 people compared to Kansas City's 163,000. Today metropolitan Kansas City has more than a million people, while St. Joseph's population has dwindled to 72,000 and is diminishing still.

The 6th Congressional District covers almost precisely the northwest corner of Missouri, the land north and east of the Missouri River, west of a north-south line drawn through the middle of the state. It is split about equally between farm counties and urban areas around St. Joseph and that part of Kansas City north of the Missouri River. To give itself space to grow, Kansas City has been systematically annexing land for 25 years; much of it has been bulldozed for subdivisions or to accommodate Kansas City's giant new airport. This part of Kansas City looks suburban and ranges politically from Democratic working-class areas down near the river to culturally and economically conservative new subdivisions off the Interstate on the way to Kansas City International.

In the 1960s and 1970s the 6th District didn't like Kennedy's Catholicism, Johnson's Great Society, or Humphrey's or McGovern's liberalism, and trended Republican. Falling crop and collapsing land prices in the 1980s have made it Democratic again. Even as far-off a candidate as Harriett Woods from the St. Louis suburbs was able to play on farm discontent and win 54% here in 1984 for lieutenant governor and 49% in 1986 for Senator. In congressional representation the 6th has moved from Democrat to Republican, though as much by accident as anything else. Republican Tom Coleman was elected in 1976 when the *Kansas City Star* revealed that Democratic nominee Morgan Maxfield was bragging about fraudulent credentials.

Coleman is now one of the more senior Republicans in the House, ranking third on both the Agriculture and Education and Labor Committees. Yet farm revolts, more similar to Iowa than to the rest of Missouri, have given him scares. In 1982 he won with just 55% and in 1986 with 57%; in the latter year he won by virtue of a thumping 62% in the urban areas, while getting a bare 53% majority in the rural counties. This is not because of lack of attention to farm problems. On Agriculture Coleman sided with South Dakota Democrat Tom Daschle against the Reagan administration on the 1985 farm bill. Since then Coleman has done a good job of keeping in touch with constituents and handling farm issues on the Agriculture Committee. But

with the cost of farm programs rising and farm profits and land values falling, Coleman like all farm belt representatives cannot plausibly promise to restore the equity in land and equipment which farm entrepreneurs have lost.

Apart from farm issues, Coleman is a generally conservative Republican, tending to favor the lower of any two domestic spending alternatives and cautious about opposing conservative positions on cultural and foreign policy issues. As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, he has focused his energies on highlighting illiteracy in America and providing financial incentives for would-be teachers. His interests have not been limited to domestic issues; he chaired a Republican task force on foreign policy in the 98th Congress, and was one of Minority Leader Bob Michel's choices to represent the House as an observer to the Geneva arms talks (the trip was scrapped amid controversy).

Coleman considered running for the Senate in 1986, but deferred to the better-known and better-financed Christopher Bond, who only barely carried the 6th District. That leaves him as a senior Republican in the House—provided he can avoid becoming the target of farm belt discontent.

**The People:** Pop. 1980: 546,614, up 7.2% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 38% with children, 65% married couples; 27.2% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$151; median house value: \$34,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 396,507; 2% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

**1984 Presidential Vote:** Reagan (R) ..... 144,857 (61%)  
Mondale (D) ..... 94,371 (39%)

**Rep. E. Thomas (Tom) Coleman (R)**



Elected 1976; b. May 29, 1943, Kansas City; home, N. Kansas City; Wm. Jewell Col., B.A. 1965, N.Y.U., M.P.A. 1969, Washington U., St. Louis, J.D. 1969; Protestant; married (Marilyn)

**Career:** Asst. Atty. Gen. of MO, 1969-72; MO House of Reps. 1973-76.

**Offices:** 2344 RHOB 20515, 202-225-7041. Also 5950 N. Oak, Kansas City 64118, 816-454-7117; 851 N.W. 45th St., Kansas City 64116, 816-454-7117; 8th and Edmond, St. Joseph 64501, 816-364-3900.

**Committees:** Agriculture (3d of 17 R). Subcommittees: Conservation, Credit and Rural Development (Ranking Member); Domestic Operations, Research and Foreign Agriculture. **Education and Labor** (3d of 13 R). Subcommittees: Human Resources; Postsecondary Education (Ranking Member).

**Group Ratings**

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTU	NSI	COC	CU
1986	5	10	19	25	11	75	42	100	75	77
1985	10	—	19	42	—	67	44	—	75	—

**National Journal Ratings**

	1986 LIB — 1986 CONS		1985 LIB — 1985 CONS	
Economic	27%	72%	29%	71%
Social	18%	78%	24%	72%
Foreign	16%	84%	24%	66%

**Key Votes**

- 1) Lmt Cln Water Act FOR
- 2) Rpl Tobac Sub AGN
- 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red FOR
- 4) Ban Polygraph AGN

**Election Results**

1986 general	E. Thomas (R)
	Doug R. Hug
1986 primary	E. Thomas (R)
1984 general	E. Thomas (R)
	Kenneth C. I

**Campaign Contributions and Expenditures**

1985-86		
Receipts	\$241,448	Dis
Expend.	\$250,606	Par
Unspent	\$102,879	PA

**SEVENTH DISTRICT**

"Ozark" is one of those regional case a picture of a sort of Dogpaw off from the life of 20th-century Ozark region of southwest Missouri to show much growth: income suburbs have been moving from St. Louis and Kansas City to the pleasant green hills, along the middle-sized cities of Springfield. Ozarks are free from many of the unpleasant. The Ozarks, long a country.

They are also no longer isolated have been heavily Republican. slaveholding habits or Confederates they became staunch Republican the big-spending government of partisanship, although in recessions the 7th District gave Harriett W. prosperous 1984 it swung heavily governor in some time, Republican Senate candidate Christopher Bond.

The 7th District's congressman senior Republicans. He is an aggressive leadership. A former car dealer, a kind of personable, good-humored member of his party in the Missouri debates that rage between various discussing heatedly the latest in scientific spinoffs of manned space way to harrass the Democrats; he win or lose, and that is that. Taylor

**Key Votes**

1) Lmt Cln Water Act	FOR	5) Retain Gun Cont	FOR	9) Aid Angola Reb	FOR
2) Rpl Tobac Sub	AGN	6) Contra Aid	FOR	10) Tax Reform	AGN
3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red	FOR	7) Lmt Text Imp	FOR	11) S Africa Sanc	—
4) Ban Polygraph	AGN	8) Limit SDI	AGN	12) Immig Reform	FOR

**Election Results**

1986 general	E. Thomas (Tom) Coleman (R)	95,865	(57%)	(\$250,606)
	Doug R. Hughes (D)	73,155	(43%)	(\$134,325)
1986 primary	E. Thomas (Tom) Coleman (R)	27,588	(100%)	
1984 general	E. Thomas (Tom) Coleman (R)	150,996	(65%)	(\$148,335)
	Kenneth C. Hensley (D)	81,917	(35%)	(\$52,034)

**Campaign Contributions and Expenditures**

<b>1985-86</b>		<b>Direct Cont. 1985-86</b>		<b>PACS Breakdown 1985-86</b>	
Receipts	\$241,448	Indiv.	\$92,200	Corp.	\$47,820
pend.	\$250,606	Party	\$5,269	T/M/H	\$55,817
spent	\$102,879	PACS	\$129,174	Labor	\$3,780
				Agr.	\$10,534
				Ideo.	\$6,600
				CWOS	\$4,623

**SEVENTH DISTRICT**

"Ozark" is one of those regional names that conjures up an image to most Americans, in this case a picture of a sort of Dogpatch, of people with quaint accents living in hillside shacks, cut from the life of 20th-century America. That picture has long been inaccurate. Today the Ozark region of southwest Missouri is in the mainstream of American life and is the only part of Missouri to show much growth in recent years. Folks from sophisticated big cities and middle-class suburbs have been moving to the hills and mountains of southern Missouri; migrants from St. Louis and Kansas City and even Chicago build vacation houses or year-round homes in the pleasant green hills, along the large man-made lakes, or on the outskirts of the pleasant, middle-sized cities of Springfield and Joplin. The climate here is relatively temperate, and the Ozarks are free from many of the stresses of metropolitan life that so many Americans find unpleasant. The Ozarks, long a backwater, are now one of the faster-growing parts of the country.

They are also no longer isolated from the political mainstream. For years this part of Missouri has been heavily Republican. Most people in these hills in the 1860s did not share the voting habits or Confederate sympathies of central Missourians, and during the Civil War they became staunch Republicans—and for years stayed that way. Its conservative responses to the big-spending government of the 1960s and cultural liberalism of the 1970s reinforced its conservatism, although in recessionary 1982 it trended for a moment sharply to the Democrats: the 7th District gave Harriett Woods 46% of the vote against Senator John Danforth. But in the perilous 1984 it swung heavily Republican, solidly supporting the Ozark region's first Democrat in some time, Republican John Ashcroft, and in 1986 it was 61% for Republican incumbent candidate Christopher Bond.

The 7th District's congressman, Gene Taylor, is now a veteran of the House, one of its more conservative Republicans. He is an aggressive, gruff partisan and a solid supporter of the Republican Party. A former car dealer, an outgoing raconteur with an earthy sense of humor, he is the type of personable, good-humored, conventional-minded Republican who was once the only member of his party in the Missouri delegation. He is not much interested in the theoretical debates that rage between various factions of House conservatives; you will not hear him ranting heatedly the latest misdeeds of the Federal Reserve or describing lyrically the scientific spinoffs of manned space travel. Nor is he temperamentally inclined to go out of his way to harrass the Democrats; he opposes them, squarely and solidly, does his duty, sees his side win or lose, and that is that. Taylor is a member of the Rules Committee, a post that is mostly

perfunctory since it is controlled by a 9-4 Democratic majority. He is also ranking Republican on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, where decisions tend to be made by Democratic Chairman William Ford.

**The People:** Pop. 1980: 545,921, up 22.2% 1970-80. Households (1980): 75% family, 37% with children, 66% married couples; 25.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$135; median house value: \$31,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 399,610; 1% Black, 1% American Indian, 1% Spanish origin.

**1984 Presidential Vote:**

Reagan (R) .....	164,696	(69%)
Mondale (D) .....	74,275	(31%)

**Rep. Gene Taylor (R)**



Elected 1972; b. Feb. 10, 1928, near Sarcoxie; home, Sarcoxie, S.W. MO St. U.; United Methodist; married (Dorothy).

**Career:** Pub. sch. teacher, 1948-49; Mayor of Sarcoxie, 1954-60, Pres., Gene Taylor Ford Sales, Inc. (auto dealership), 1960-72.

**Offices:** 2134 RHOB 20515, 202-225-6536. Also 300 Sherman Pkwy., Ste. 101, Springfield 65806, 417-862-4317; and 302 Fed Bldg., Joplin 64801, 417-781-1041.

**Committees:** *Post Office and Civil Service* (Ranking Member of 8 R). Subcommittee: Investigations (Ranking Member). *Rules* (4th of 4 R). Subcommittees: Rules of the House (Ranking Member); The Legislative Process.

**Group Ratings**

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTU	NSI	COC	CEI
1986	5	5	12	25	16	90	43	100	71	59
1985	10	—	12	25	—	81	52	—	76	—

**National Journal Ratings**

	1986 LIB — 1986 CONS		1985 LIB — 1985 CONS	
Economic	26%	—	73%	—
Social	11%	—	85%	—
Foreign	0%	—	86%	—

**Key Votes**

- |                      |     |                    |     |                   |     |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) Lmt Cln Water Act | AGN | 5) Retain Gun Cont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | FOR |
| 2) Rpl Tobac Sub     | AGN | 6) Contra Aid      | FOR | 10) Tax Reform    | AGN |
| 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red  | FOR | 7) Lmt Text Imp    | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | AGN |
| 4) Ban Polygraph     | —   | 8) Limit SDI       | AGN | 12) Immig Reform  | AGN |

**Election Results**

1986 general	Gene Taylor (R) .....	114,210	(67%)	(\$143,284)
	Ken Young (D) .....	56,291	(33%)	
1986 primary	Gene Taylor (R) .....	55,973	(100%)	
1984 general	Gene Taylor (R) .....	164,586	(70%)	(\$173,801)
	Ken Young (D) .....	71,867	(30%)	

**Campaign Contributions and E**

1985-86

Receipts	\$269,948
Expend.	\$143,284
Unspent	\$411,650

**EIGHTH DISTRICT**

The Bootheel of Missouri, the faces Tennessee across the M South. Like the Mississippi L early 20th century when eng protected it from constant fl came up with some of their b from cotton to soybeans. The (one county went for George center of the 8th Congression

There are other parts, how reach the usually Republican mineral riches (Iron), Gaelic river counties' names recall the 17th nor 20th century French one solidly Republican part c divided. Over the years the 8 Republican in the middle 198: went 55% for Christopher Bor

The 8th District is one of tl have managed to hold onto evc with roots in the district when Representative Bill Burlison a right moves to hold the district his home county from the 8th an active legislator. He worke each month.

And he championed the cau Cryts, who removed from a ba on a loan he had never repaid; whole economy could be revi without paying off their loar challenge in Democratic 1982; the Democratic nominee, but country in northern Missouri, 53%-47% victory. That was cl and Cryts promises to run aga

**The People:** Pop. 1980: 546,11 children, 66% married couples; 2: value: \$26,500. Voting age pop. (

**1984 Presidential Vote:** Reaga  
Mond:

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

1985-86		Direct Cont. 1985-86		PACS Breakdown 1985-86			
Receipts	\$269,948	Indiv.	\$60,435	Corp.	\$43,550	T/M/H	\$51,950
Expend.	\$143,284	Party	\$2,252	Labor	\$27,250	Agr.	\$10,050
Unspent	\$411,650	PACS	\$138,268	Ideo.	\$2,968	CWOS	\$2,500

**EIGHTH DISTRICT**

The Bootheel of Missouri, the far southeast corner of the state that dips down into Arkansas and faces Tennessee across the Mississippi River, is topographically and sociologically part of the South. Like the Mississippi Delta, this alluvial land was not thickly settled till the late 19th and early 20th century when engineers and levee-builders came in and using industrial methods protected it from constant flooding. Southerners looking for fertile, moist, level cotton lands came up with some of their black field hands; more recently farmers here have been switching from cotton to soybeans. The Bootheel, with a Democratic heritage that echoes the Deep South (one county went for George Wallace in 1968), is the most thickly settled part and political center of the 8th Congressional District of Missouri.

There are other parts, however. The 8th goes westward to the Ozarks, although it does not reach the usually Republican counties there; the names of the counties recall prophecies of mineral riches (Iron), Gaelic provenance (Shannon), and westward ambitions (Oregon). The river counties' names recall the French settlers of the 1700s, although the pronunciations neither 17th nor 20th century Frenchmen would recognize. They vary politically. Cape Girardeau is the one solidly Republican part of the district, St. Francois and Ste. Genevieve are more evenly divided. Over the years the 8th has been Democratic in state and local politics. But it trended Republican in the middle 1980s: after voting for Democrat Harriett Woods in 1982 and 1984, it went 55% for Christopher Bond in 1986.

The 8th District is one of the few which Republicans wrested from Democrats in 1980 and have managed to hold onto ever since. Representative Bill Emerson was a Washington lobbyist with roots in the district when he spotted the vulnerability, on personal grounds, of Democratic Representative Bill Burlison and went back to run in 1980 and won with 55%. He has made the right moves to hold the district in the 1980s. He moved his residence when redistricting removed his home county from the 8th in 1982. He got a seat on the Agriculture Committee and became an active legislator. He worked the district hard, sending his mobile office around to 40 stops each month.

And he championed the cause of embattled farmers, notably that of Puxico farmer Wayne Cryts, who removed from a bankrupt grain elevator 30,000 bushels of soybeans he had pledged on a loan he had never repaid; Cryts became a national folk hero, perhaps on the theory that the whole economy could be revived if folks could sell their collateral and pocket the proceeds without paying off their loans. Emerson's sympathy for Cryts helped him beat a serious challenge in Democratic 1982; he won easily in Republican 1984. In 1986 Cryts himself became the Democratic nominee, but the district was not in as great distress as the corn and wheat country in northern Missouri, and the Republican trend here helped Emerson squeeze out a 53%-47% victory. That was close enough that he may face another serious challenge in 1988, and Cryts promises to run again.

The People: Pop. 1980: 546,112, up 14.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 76% family, 41% with children, 66% married couples; 26.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$105; median house value: \$26,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 387,786; 3% Black.

1984 Presidential Vote:

Reagan (R) .....	126,547	(61%)
Mondale (D) .....	82,559	(39%)

Rep. Bill Emerson (R)



Elected 1980; b. Jan. 1, 1938, St. Louis; home, Cape Girardeau; Westminister Col., B.A. 1959, U. of Baltimore, LL.B. 1964; Presbyterian; married (Jo Ann).

Career: Spec. Asst. to U.S. Rep. Bob Ellsworth, 1961-65; A.A. to U.S. Rep. Charles Mathias, 1965-70; Dir. of Govt. Relations, Fairchild Indus., 1970-73; Dir. of Public Affairs, Interstate Natural Gas Assn., 1974-75; Exec. Asst. to Chmn, Fed. Election Comm., 1975; Dir., Fed. Relations, TRW, Inc., 1975-79; Govt. relations consultant, 1979-80.

Offices: 418 CHOB, 202-225-4404. Also Fed. Bldg., 339 Broadway, Cape Girardeau 63701, 314-335-0101.

Committees: Agriculture (8th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Cotton, Rice, and Sugar; Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition (Ranking Member); Wheat, Soybeans and Feed Grains; Interior and Insular Affairs (10th of 15 R). Subcommittees:

Mining and Natural Resources; National Parks and Public Lands; General Oversight and Investigations. Select Committee on Hunger (2d of 10 R). Task Force: Domestic Task Force (Ranking Member)

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTU	NSI	COC	CEI
1986	10	5	21	17	5	77	38	100	72	77
1985	10	—	20	8	—	80	42	—	81	—

National Journal Ratings

	1986 LIB — 1986 CONS		1985 LIB — 1985 CONS	
Economic	31%	—	67%	—
Social	0%	—	89%	—
Foreign	0%	—	86%	—

Key Votes

- |                       |     |                    |     |                   |     |
|-----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) Lmt Clin Water Act | FOR | 5) Retain Gun Cont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | FOR |
| 2) Rpl Tobac Sub      | AGN | 6) Contra Aid      | FOR | 10) Tax Reform    | FOR |
| 3) Grm-Rdmm Def Red   | FOR | 7) Lmt Text Imp    | FOR | 11) S-Africa Sanc | AGN |
| 4) Ban Polygraph      | AGN | 8) Limit SDI       | AGN | 12) Immig Reform  | AGN |

Election Results

1986 general	Bill Emerson (R)	79,142	(53%)	(591,000)
	Wayne Cryts (D)	71,532	(47%)	(590,000)
1986 primary	Bill Emerson (R)	19,653	(100%)	
1984 general	Bill Emerson (R)	134,186	(65%)	(637,000)
	Bill Blue (D)	70,922	(35%)	(610,000)

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

1985-86		Direct Cont. 1985-86		PACS Breakdown 1985	
Receipts	\$595,182	Indiv.	\$280,419	Corp.	\$135,118
Expend.	\$598,090	Party	\$10,971	Labor	\$3,750
Debts	\$5,548	PACS	\$300,778	Ideo.	\$29,359
		Cand.	\$5,093		

NINTH DISTRICT

Little Dixie, in the northeastern Mark Twain, and has given the becoming President of the Uni from the southern heritage of L. from Yankee-settled Illinois, w from Kentucky, Tennessee, and fought on the Confederate sid unionist state of Missouri. Goin more pronounced here than in much urbanization has come to recognize his native Hannibal, o that use Twain himself for bait. rural counties.

Little Dixie was once a congre Cannon, one-time parliamentar. Appropriations Committee. Now into St. Charles County, full of Louis; Columbia, home of the U Missouri River, like Gasconade

Representative Harold Volkme heritages of the 9th District; an control—express some of its deep He is not far out of line with m conservative on cultural issues an opponent of abortion and gun con Congress easing restrictions on th was something outside his commi question, but Volkmer is not one colleagues. That helps explain wh very effective legislator. He chair by Cape Canaveral's Bill Nelson i chairs the Subcommittee on Fore.

Little Dixie has elected nothing elected in 1922, but Volkmer has 1980, 1984, and 1986 as well. The He won only 53% against Republi losing Columbia for the second tim yet won a masters degree cited in beaten by abortion opponent state year he was not as strong a candi veteran congressman who had jus Dixie remains high, and his suppor may find himself on the Republica

The People: Pop. 1980: 546,171, u children, 66% married couples; 25.8% rate: \$35,700. Voting age pop. (1980  
1984 Presidential Vote: Reagan (R Mondale (

**NINTH DISTRICT**

Little Dixie, in the northeastern part of the state, has given the nation perhaps its greatest writer, Mark Twain, and has given the Congress a Speaker, Champ Clark, who came very close to becoming President of the United States. Both Twain and Clark drew some of their strengths from the southern heritage of Little Dixie, north of the Missouri River and across the Mississippi from Yankee-settled Illinois, which was settled early in the 19th century mainly by migrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. During the Civil War, some citizens of Little Dixie fought on the Confederate side, and at least one county declared itself independent of the unionist state of Missouri. Going with this southern heritage is a Democratic tradition which is more pronounced here than in any other part of non-metropolitan Missouri. Since then, not much urbanization has come to this part of the state—so little that Mark Twain would probably not recognize his native Hannibal, one of Little Dixie's largest towns, were it not for the tourist traps that use Twain himself for bait. Nor have voting habits changed much in these still Democratic rural counties.

Little Dixie was once a congressional district unto itself, represented for 40 years by Clarence Cannon, one-time parliamentarian of the House and the long-time crusty chairman of the Appropriations Committee. Now, because of the one-person-one-vote requirement, it dips down into St. Charles County, full of conservative-minded young parents moving far out from St. Louis; Columbia, home of the University of Missouri; and the old German counties along the Missouri River, like Gasconade, overwhelmingly Republican since the Civil War.

Representative Harold Volkmer's Democratic affiliation and Germanic name summon up the heritages of the 9th District; and his attitudes on major issues—notably, his hostility to gun control—express some of its deep-felt attitudes. Yet his hold on the district is not entirely solid. He is not far out of line with most northern Democrats on economic issues, but his record is conservative on cultural issues and mixed on foreign policy. A man of some temper, he is a strong opponent of abortion and gun control; he is the chief House sponsor of the law passed in the 99th Congress easing restrictions on the purchase and transport of firearms. Characteristically that was something outside his committees' jurisdiction and opposed by the committee chairman in question, but Volkmer is not one to respect these lines and is unafraid of nettling turf-minded colleagues. That helps explain why, despite this accomplishment, he has not otherwise been a very effective legislator. He chaired the Space subcommittee for a term, but was pushed aside by Cape Canaveral's Bill Nelson in 1985. He is 12th ranking Democrat on Agriculture, and now chairs the Subcommittee on Forests, Family Farms and Energy.

Little Dixie has elected nothing but Democratic congressmen since the irascible Cannon was elected in 1922, but Volkmer has had some serious opposition, in his first election in 1976, and in 1980, 1984, and 1986 as well. The additions to the district have not seemed his kind of territory. He won only 53% against Republican Carrie Francke in 1984, a former John Danforth staffer, losing Columbia for the second time in a row; she was hurt when it was revealed that she had not yet won a masters degree cited in her campaign literature. In 1986 Francke ran again, but was beaten by abortion opponent state Senator John Uthlaut in the primary; in a less Republican year he was not as strong a candidate, but held Volkmer to 57%. This is a low showing for a veteran congressman who had just gotten a popular law passed. Volkmer's support in Little Dixie remains high, and his support from the National Rifle Association remains strong, but he may find himself on the Republican target list again.

The People: Pop. 1980: 546,171, up 20.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 75% family, 41% with children, 66% married couples; 25.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$143; median house value: \$35,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 391,319; 3% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1984 Presidential Vote:

Reagan (R) .....	150,859	(64%)
Mondale (D) .....	84,683	(36%)

Rep. Harold L. Volkmer (D)



Elected 1976; b. Apr. 4, 1931, Jefferson City; home, Hannibal, Jefferson City Jr. Col., St. Louis U., U. of MO, LL.B. 1955; Roman Catholic; married (Shirley).

Career: Army, 1955-57; Practicing atty.; Marion Cnty. Prosecuting Atty., 1960-66; MO House of Reps., 1967-77.

Offices: 2411 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2956. Also 370 Fed. Bldg., Hannibal 63401, 314-221-1200.

Committees: Agriculture (12th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Forests, Family Farms and Energy (Chairman); Livestock, Dairy and Poultry; Wheat, Soybeans, and Feed Grains. Science, Space and Technology (7th of 27 D). Subcommittees: Investigations and Oversight; Space Science and Applications. Select Committee on Aging (32d of 39 D). Subcommittees: Housing and Consumer Interests; Retirement Income and Employment.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTU	NSI	COC	CEI
1986	55	30	68	75	37	32	28	20	33	22
1985	80	—	67	50	—	33	38	—	36	—

National Journal Ratings

	1986 LIB — 1986 CONS		1985 LIB — 1985 CONS	
Economic	50%	—	48%	—
Social	44%	—	54%	—
Foreign	53%	—	47%	—

Key Votes

- |                      |     |                    |     |                   |     |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) Lmt Cln Water Act | FOR | 5) Retain Gun Cont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | FOR |
| 2) Rpl Tobac Sub     | AGN | 6) Contra Aid      | AGN | 10) Tax Reform    | FOR |
| 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red  | FOR | 7) Lmt Text Imp    | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | FOR |
| 4) Ban Polygraph     | FOR | 8) Limit SDI       | FOR | 12) Immig Reform  | FOR |

Election Results

1986 general	Harold L. Volkmer (D)	95,939	(57%)	(\$383,791)
	Ralph Uthlaut, Jr. (R)	70,972	(43%)	(\$147,944)
1986 primary	Harold L. Volkmer (D)	54,869	(100%)	(\$314,540)
1984 general	Harold L. Volkmer (D)	123,588	(53%)	(\$407,307)
	Carrie Francke (R)	110,100	(47%)	

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

1985-86		Direct Cont. 1985-86		PACS Breakdown 1985-86	
Receipts	\$373,872	Indiv.	\$104,011	Corp.	\$35,675
Expend.	\$383,791	PACS	\$243,233	Labor	\$92,850
Unspent	\$462	Cand.	\$10,200	Ideo.	\$20,372
				T/M/H	\$68,600
				Agr.	\$24,500
				CWOS	\$1,200

Big sky, everywhere. Montana is a plains—a large hunk of North America when Lewis and Clark paddled up the buffalo and elk strung out over the state's fourth largest state in area a plain tilted away from the Rockies and water in spring, a trickle in summer, America so many Americans in fra here. and the largest metropolitan a. You can go hunting, fishing, campin spaces close to home. The famous b. The terrain is surreal, the tone of worn everywhere; there is little trace are not prominent. The establishmer big cities and in a difficult if beautiful life in Montana can be harsh. During Arctic, and snow is feet thick in the heat unrelieved by rain. After Lewis and Clark came the m prearranged location; after the moun after gold, silver, copper—sudden ric of the metropole back East, and sorr complete with outlaws and vigilantes years the state's largest city—and, as Rockies, known all over the country a city with a Socialist mayor and wit early "copper kings," Marcus Daly, W feuded with each other. Clark got hi because of fraud charges, again in 19 at 77th Street and Fifth Avenue; Da and became the Anaconda Company Beginning in the early 20th centur life of the state. It created the Mont Montana's newspapers except the Gr battles. Montana elected many notal such as Joseph Dixon, Democrats s scandal), and the young progressive D it escaped significant state taxation as company might have said, it helped created more jobs and prosperity in l The old fights between Anaconda Deal tended to organize the state's p Anaconda (although it became less ir Chile), Montana Power, the Stockme farmers of the Farm Bureau. On the unions (Montana has never passed a