Assembling, Amplifying, and Ascending

RECENT TRENDS AMONG WOMEN IN CONGRESS, 1977–2006

THE FOURTH WAVE OF WOMEN TO ENTER CONGRESS—FROM 1977 TO 2006—was by far the largest and most diverse group. These 134 women accounted for more than half (58 percent) of all the women who have served in the history of Congress. In the House, the women formed a Congresswomen's Caucus (later called the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues), to publicize legislative initiatives that were important to women. By honing their message and by cultivating political action groups to support female candidates, women became more powerful. Most important, as the numbers of Congresswomen increased and their legislative interests expanded, women accrued the seniority and influence to advance into the ranks of leadership.

Despite such achievements, women in Congress historically account for a only a small fraction—about 2 percent—of the approximately 12,000 individuals who have served in the U.S. Congress since 1789, although recent trends suggest that the presence of women in Congress will continue to increase. Based on gains principally in the House of Representatives, each of the 13 Congresses since 1981 has had a record number of women Members.

(From left) Marilyn Lloyd, Tennessee; Martha Keys, Kansas; Patricia Schroeder, Colorado; Margaret Heckler, Massachusetts; Virginia Smith, Nebraska; Helen Meyner, New Jersey; and Marjorie Holt, Maryland, in 1978 in the Congresswomen's Suite in the Capitol—now known as the Lindy Claiborne Boggs Congressional Reading Room. Schroeder and Heckler co-chaired the Congresswomen's Caucus, which met here in its early years.

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A defining moment of change was the general election of 1992 dubbed the "Year of the Woman." The arrival of 28 new women in Congress resulted from the confluence of historic circumstances that have not recurred since. Yet, the doubling of the number of women in Congress virtually overnight had far-reaching effects on the way women were perceived in the institution. Elected to the House in 1992, Lynn Schenk of San Diego, aptly summarized the changes. "After years in the trenches, more women are finally moving up to the front lines."[1] The elections of 1992 inaugurated a decade of gains for women in Congress—in regard to their number and their seniority. These gains were capped by the election of Representative Nancy Pelosi as House Democratic Leader in 2002. It was the first time a woman held the top post in a major U.S. political party.

One of the major legislative triumphs for women in Congress during the 1990s was the passage of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) of 1994, which allocated more than a billion dollars to prevent domestic abuse and other violent crimes against women. Such legislation also raised awareness about a scourge long kept out of the national dialogue. This stamp, released by the U.S. Postal Service a decade later, was part of the continuing effort to educate the public about family violence.

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE

New Patterns: Familial Connections and Political Experience

During this period, the number of women elected to Congress via a familial connection—particularly widows of Congressmen—while still statistically significant, was far smaller. Of the 134 women who came to Congress during this period, just 12 (9 percent) were widows who succeeded their late husbands. Three women directly succeeded their fathers: Representatives Susan Molinari of New York, and Lucille Roybal-Allard of California, and Senator Lisa Murkowski of Alaska. In all, 11 percent of the Congresswomen from this period arrived in Congress through a familial connection.

The elections of Jo Ann Emerson of Missouri, Lois Capps of California, and Mary Bono of California—each succeeding her late husband—to the House between January 1997 and April 1998 were portrayed by the national media as a testament to the power of the marital connection. But an important factor distinguished this trio and the modern congressional widows: their professional and political résumés were more evolved than those of their predecessors. Earlier widows in Congress, such as Mae Ella Nolan of California, Katharine Byron of Maryland, and Irene Baker of Tennessee, were to various degrees involved in their husbands' political careers. But the widows of the late 20th century had their own careers distinct from their husbands'. Whereas earlier widows, even if they were politically savvy, tended to run for office to complete their husbands' legislative agenda—in effect, to honor their husbands' memory—later widows were more likely to pursue interests related to careers they established before coming to Congress. For example, in 1998, Lois Capps succeeded her late husband, Walter, a theology professor-turned politician. Having worked as a nurse and medical administrator for decades, Capps eschewed her husband's focus on religious issues and became an advocate for health care professionals and reform within the industry. In March 2005, Doris Matsui of California won a special election to succeed her late husband, Robert, head of the Democratic Party's congressional campaign committee, after years as a White House staffer in the William J. Clinton administration.

Since many present-day congressional marriages unite partners with impressive political résumés, the influence of the widow's—or perhaps the widower's—mandate will likely persist.[2] But while personal tragedy and matrimonial connections will undoubtedly continue to bring women into Congress, candidates will be judged less on familial ties than on prior political experience and professional accomplishments.

A matrimonial role reversal occurred in the U.S. Senate early in the new millennium. In the 1990s, President Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Senator Bob Dole of Kansas emerged as party leaders and faced off against each other in the 1996 presidential election. By 2001, both had retired from politics. Their departure marked a moment of arrival for their wives, Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York and Elizabeth Hanford Dole of North Carolina, who had subordinated their own political aspirations to further their husbands' careers. In November 2000, Hillary Clinton won election as New York's first woman Senator, becoming the first First Lady to hold political office. Elizabeth Dole, who had served as Secretary of Transportation and Secretary of Labor, contended for the GOP presidential nomination in 2000 and was elected to the Senate two years later, becoming the first woman to represent North Carolina in the Senate. While their husbands were guests on political talk shows on network television, Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Dole debated policy on the Senate Floor as spokespersons for their respective parties.

While the importance of the widow's mandate waned, the number of women elected to Congress with federal, state, and local electoral experience surged. Sixty-four women elected since 1976 (48 percent) had served in state legislatures; 12 had held state executive office positions including lieutenant governor, treasurer, and secretary of state; eight had held federal positions ranging from U.S. Ambassador to Cabinet Secretary to head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; and several had been mayors of large cities. In all, nearly 60 percent had held elective or appointed office at the state or federal level.[3]

Moreover, the level of education of women in Congress, which had always been higher than average, exceeded that of previous generations. All but two of the women from this period (98.5 percent) had some postsecondary education, and the vast majority of these had four-year degrees. By contrast, according to the 2000 Census, just 51 percent of Americans had at least some college education. Moreover, 60 of the women (45 percent) elected to Congress during this period had held graduate degrees (among them were 23 lawyers, five doctors of philosophy, and one medical doctor), again far eclipsing the level of education in the general population (in 2000 eight percent of the U.S. population held a masters degree or a more advanced degree).[4] The average age at which women were first elected or appointed to Congress between 1977 and 2006 dropped nearly two years from that of the third generation, to 48.4 years.[5] The youngest woman elected to Congress in this period was Susan Molinari of New York, at age 31 years, 9 months. The oldest woman to enter Congress during this period was Jocelyn Burdick of North Dakota–a 70-year-old widow appointed to the Senate to succeed her late husband, Quentin Burdick, for the brief remainder of his term.

A significant number of the women who were elected had young families and thus were required to balance their careers with their family life. The structure of the modern congressional workweek, the necessity of frequent trips to the district, and increasing demands on Members' time strained family life. As in American society generally, divorce became more prevalent in Congress during the third and fourth generations of women. Many Members' families remained behind in the district instead of moving to Washington, D.C., increasing the time families were separated. Representative Lynn Martin of Illinois became an influential House Member in the 1980s, with a seat on the powerful Budget Committee and an elec-

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tive position in the GOP leadership. But family concerns competed with political responsibilities. "The first time I was in Ronald Reagan's office, I called Caroline, my 9-year-old, and I said, 'I have just been in with President Ronald Reagan,'" Martin recalled. Her daughter replied, "'Are you going to be here tomorrow for the carpool?' And I said, 'I have just been . . .' and she said, 'I heard you. Are you going to be here tomorrow for the carpool?' I mean, oh my Lord: 'I'm deciding the fate of the Western World and you're worrying about a carpool?' And the answer was, 'Yes, I am.'"[6] Some Congresswomen chose not to raise a family in order to devote themselves to the rigorous demands of public office. "I think one of the reasons I've never married and had children is because of the guilt I would feel taking time from them," Marcy Kaptur of Ohio said in 1992. "To me, one of the great achievements of my life has been not wounding a child. To raise children in this job? You can count on one hand the number of women in this job who have."[7] Three incumbent Congresswomen gave birth later in the decade—Utah Republican Enid Greene Waldholtz (a daughter in 1995), New York Republican Susan Molinari (a daughter in 1996), and Arkansas Democrat Blanche Lambert Lincoln (twin boys in 1996).

Organizational Efforts:

Congressional Women's Caucus

After the dean of women in the House, Leonor Sullivan of Missouri, retired in 1977, momentum for a women's caucus developed rapidly. Sullivan had energetically opposed the formation of a caucus, fearing it would increase tensions with male colleagues and undo decades of women's efforts to work their way into the institutional power structure. Her departure, along with the retirements of veterans like Edith Green of Oregon and Julia Butler Hansen of Washington, removed the greatest roadblock to forming a caucus. Organizers acted quickly. Among the core founders were Elizabeth Holtzman of New York, Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts, Shirley Chisholm of New York, and Barbara Mikulski of Maryland. The Congresswomen's Caucus convened for its first meeting on April 19, 1977. Its primary purposes were to 1) inform Members about women's issues, 2) identify and create women's legislation, 3) follow floor action and support caucus legislation by testifying before committees and 4) monitor federal government initiatives affecting women.[8] Holtzman and Heckler served as the first co-chairs, imparting the bipartisan cast the group would retain. Fifteen women joined the caucus. Three women—Marilyn Lloyd of Tennessee, Marjorie Holt of Maryland, and Virginia Smith of Nebraska—initially declined membership because they felt their constituents would disapprove but later joined the caucus. The group also received a boost from important noncongressional entities, winning the enthusiastic endorsement of advocacy groups like the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), which had long sought a forum to convey policy ideas to women Members.

The Women's Caucus waged its first battle in 1977, obtaining an extension for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The statute proposing the amendment passed Congress in March 1972, pending that three-quarters of state legislatures, ratified the amendment within seven years. By the end of 1973, 30 states had ratified it. Five more states approved the amendment between 1974 and 1976. In the meantime, four of the states that had approved the ERA indicated their intention to rescind support.

Thus, in 1977 the ERA was still short of the 38 states it needed for ratification before its expiration in 1979. In October 1977, Holtzman introduced legislation to obtain a seven-year extension. The Women's Caucus campaigned to win support for the measure when it was taken up before the House Judiciary Committee. In the end, the House voted 230 to 189 to extend the deadline for ratification three years to June 30, 1982. The Senate concurred, 60 to 36. However, the ERA lapsed, failing to obtain approval in any other state, and was not incorporated into the Constitution.

The Women's Caucus experienced a transition several years after its creation, as ideological differences emerged among Members and several key Members left Congress. In 1979, Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey resigned when the organization accepted outside contributions at a fundraiser for the Women's Research and Education Institute (WREI), which provided resources for education and outreach for the caucus and published the caucus newsletter, *Update*. "I don't think it's appropriate for Members of Congress to form a group and get deductibility for contributions made to that group," Fenwick said later.[9] Congresswoman Holtzman, one of the founders of the caucus, left Congress in 1981 when she lost a bid for a U.S. Senate seat from New York. In addition, Representative Gladys Spellman of Maryland, the caucus secretary and an important mediator among Members, suffered a heart attack in late 1980 and slipped into a coma from which she never regained consciousness.[10]

Caucus membership stagnated as the four Congresswomen elected in 1980—Lynn Martin of Illinois, Marge Roukema of New Jersey, Paula Hawkins of Florida, and Bobbi Fiedler of California—initially refused to join. Senator Hawkins asserted, "I don't believe in a women's caucus, black caucus, or any special interest caucus."[11] The conservative Hawkins also objected to key items on the caucus agenda. She called the Equal Rights Amendment "irrelevant" and "oversold, vaguely worded and ambiguous."[12] Hawkins added, "As women we're all for equality—or superiority. But there are better ways to attack the problems which have come to be known as women's issues. Elect more women to the United States Senate. It's women's fault for not running for office."[13] Other potential caucus members were disturbed by the fact that Schroeder, an outspoken liberal, had informally assumed the role of the group's spokesperson. "The dues were too high, and I don't need to pay that for a Pat Schroeder show," Lynn Martin said.[14] The four Republican women initially distanced themselves from the caucus to avoid the political costs of alienating the new Ronald Reagan administration and its large constituency. Eventually, four other conservative women—Beverly Byron of Maryland, Marilyn Lloyd, Marjorie Holt, and Virginia Smith, all among the least active caucus members—resigned for the same reason. By late 1981, only 10 of the 20 Congresswomen belonged to the Women's Caucus.

Declining enrollment and changes in the House rules forced the group to adopt new membership procedures, further altering its composition.[15] In October 1981, the House Administration Committee wrote new regulations that affected all 26 Legislative Service Organizations (LSOs), including the Women's Caucus, that operated in the institution. The new procedures stipulated that an LSO using House office space, supplies, and equipment could no longer receive funding from outside sources such as corporations or nonprofit foundations. With subscriptions to *Update* now defined as a source of outside revenue, the Women's Caucus was forced to either adopt new rules for dues and membership to retain its status as an LSO

Reproductive rights continued to be a political flashpoint in the late 20th century—and a major item on the legislative agenda of many women in Congress. In this 1993 photo, protestors from both sides of the debate gather outside the Supreme Court in Washington, D.C., as the Justices hear arguments in a case pertaining to pro-life supporters who picketed abortion clinics.

IMAGE COURTESY OF AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

associated with the House or to cut its ties with the House and fund the WREI as a separate, off-site entity.

Thus, in March 1982, the Women's Caucus changed its name to the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues and opened its ranks to male Members of Congress. "The Congresswomen's Caucus has gone co-ed," reported the *New York Times* when the policy was first approved.[16] Women paid $2,500 per year in dues, and men paid $500 per year in dues, for which they received a subscription to *Update* and a circumscribed role in the caucus meetings. Within months, more than 100 men had joined. The decision to allow men to join the caucus was not only financially advantageous, but also politically expedient. "We've known for some time that we had to broaden our base of support," Schroeder explained. "We knew that separatism was not the way to go. We need partnership with men in the women's movement." She added, "The money helps, of course, but it's much more than money we're interested in. We need allies on changing the multitude of discriminatory and inequitable laws."[17] The caucus kept its office in the Rayburn House Office Building and dropped outside funding.[18] By 1985, 110 men and 15 women were members of the caucus.[19]

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By the 103rd Congress (1993–1995) the caucus had an annual budget of $250,000 and six full-time staff members who drafted and tracked a variety of bills related to women's issues. The 1992 elections doubled the caucus membership as 24 new women won election to the House. However, when the Republicans gained control of the House in 1995, the GOP leadership eliminated LSOs, forcing all caucuses—regardless of party affiliation—to operate without resources from the House. The Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues created Women's Policy, Inc., a nonprofit group that was moved out of House facilities. Like its predecessor, WREI, Women's Policy, Inc. was tasked with providing resources for outreach and education. Men were no longer allowed to be caucus members.[20] By the late 1990s, the caucus included virtually every woman House Member and had weathered its early divisions over issues like abortion. As Congress generally became more partisan, the caucus retained its bipartisanship, partly by keeping the co-chair structure, moving further from the divisive abortion issue, setting a working agenda at the start of each Congress, and pairing women from both parties to work jointly on introducing relevant legislation.

Women's Organizations and PACs

Historically, a lack of money had discouraged many women from seeking political office. Jeannette Rankin's 1916 campaign depended significantly on the largesse of her wealthy brother. Many of the early women in Congress—including Ruth Pratt of New York, Ruth Hanna McCormick of Illinois, Caroline O'Day of New York, Frances Bolton of Ohio, Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut, and Katharine St. George of New York—won their first elections because they were independently wealthy. Campaign funding was a source of concern even for incumbent women in Congress. In 1962, Catherine D. Norrell of Arkansas, who had succeeded her late husband a year earlier, faced reapportionment and a campaign against a powerful incumbent. She seriously considered seeking a second term but, at the filing deadline, announced she would not seek re-election due to the exorbitant cost of campaigning. The expense of running campaign commercials on television, Norrell lamented, was transforming politics into "a rich person's game."[21] Senator Maurine Neuberger of Oregon left office after one term, citing health concerns. "But the real,

actual, hard core reason I didn't run was raising the money I knew it was going to take," she recalled years later. "Each year it got more and more expensive, and I just didn't have the heart to go out and buttonhole people in various organizations from New York to California to Florida and Seattle to build a campaign chest."[22] Neuberger calculated that a 1966 Senate race would have cost at least $250,000. During the next four decades, campaign costs soared because of the expense of advertising on television, radio, and the Internet and because of the expense of hiring large, professional campaign staffs.

Norrell's and Neuberger's contemporaries outside government soon began to organize political groups to raise public awareness about women's issues and to generate the resources to field more women candidates. On June 30, 1966, the National Organization for Women was created at the Third National Conference of the Commission on the Status of Women. With Betty Friedan as its first president, NOW committed itself "to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men."[23] The group organized mass rallies and protests, lobbied government officials, and initiated class-action lawsuits and other forms of litigation. Among its major aims were to champion women's reproductive freedom and economic equality, as well as to combat racial injustice and violence against women. NOW figured prominently in debates during the 1970s about the ERA and about a woman's right to seek an abortion. It became a powerful political and educational force, enrolling more than 500,000 members in more than 500 chapters nationwide by the first part of the 21st century.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s women's political action committees (PACs) played a critical role in raising money for candidates.[24] No single PAC surpassed the achievements of EMILY's List (an acronym for "Early Money Is Like Yeast" [it makes the dough rise]). Frustrated with Democratic women's lack of progress in gaining and retaining congressional seats, 25 women founded the group in 1985, culling their first donors from their personal contacts. EMILY's List raised money for pro-choice women candidates, whose numbers in the House had declined since the 1970s. Under the leadership of founder and president Ellen Malcolm, the group provided its membership with information on selected candidates and encouraged donors to contribute money directly to their campaigns. "Money is the first rule, the second rule, and the third rule" of campaign success, Malcolm observed.[25] In 1986, EMILY's List raised $350,000 from its 1,155 members to help Representative Barbara Mikulski of Maryland become the first Democratic woman to win election to the Senate without having her husband precede her. By the 2004 elections, more than 100,000 members had raised $10.1 million and EMILY's List had become America's largest PAC.[26] During the 1990s, the group went international, with EMILY's List UK established in 1993, followed in 1996 by EMILY's List Australia.

"Each year it got more and more expensive, and I just didn't have the heart to go out and buttonhole people in various organizations from New York to California to Florida and Seattle to build a campaign chest," recalled Senator Maurine Neuberger of Oregon about her decision to retire.

Institutional Developments

American politics in the late 20th century were shaped largely by the Vietnam War and the Watergate Scandal. Public approval of government plummeted as many Americans accused officials of secretly enlarging and then mismanaging the war in Southeast Asia and of abusing the constitutional powers of the presidency. Poll after poll revealed that Americans felt dissatisfied with and disconnected from their elected leaders.

In Congress, major changes resulted from the turbulent era of the 1960s and 1970s. Post-Watergate reforms opened congressional proceedings to the public, and committee hearings were largely opened to the public and to broadcasters. In 1979, the House began televising live broadcasts of House Floor proceedings with the Senate following suit several years later. This publicity not only made government more transparent, but it also exposed the partisanship of debates once settled behind closed doors.[27]

In 1994, during the "Republican Revolution," the GOP gained control of the House for the first time in 40 years—running on a national platform that featured a conservative document called the "Contract with America." Led by Speaker Newt Gingrich, the Republicans passed through the House large parts of their Contract, which promised to cut back welfare and entitlement programs, shrink federal bureaucracy, and reform House procedures. These efforts resulted in sharp ideological debates that were exacerbated by a shutdown of the federal government in 1995. In 1998, the partisanship in the closely divided Congress reached a new level of rancor, as the House impeached President Clinton based on his testimony about his extramarital relationship with a White House intern. However, the Senate failed to gain the two-thirds majority necessary to remove the President from office.

It was against this backdrop that the fourth generation of women entered Congress. An unprecedented ability to bring national attention to women's issues helped these Congresswomen pass laws that affected women's health, education, and

Representative Patricia Schroeder of Colorado (center) leads a delegation of Congresswomen on October 8, 1991, from the House side of the Capitol to the Senate to voice their concerns on the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. Accompanying Schroeder (beginning second from left) are Congresswomen Louise Slaughter of New York, Barbara Boxer of California, Eleanor Holmes Norton of the District of Columbia, Nita Lowey of New York, Patsy Mink of Hawaii, and Jolene Unsoeld of Washington.

IMAGE COURTESY OF AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

concerns in the workplace as well as family life. Moreover, women emerged from the struggle for women's rights in the 1960s and 1970s with a greater voice about a larger range of national issues. Over time, women Members authored legislation affecting every facet of American life—transportation and infrastructure, military affairs, international relations, economics, and social policy.

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Committee Assignments

Unlike the Congresswomen of previous eras, the Congresswomen of this period had access to virtually all the committees in both Chambers, including the elite panels. A dozen of the women who entered the House from 1977 to 2005 served on the Appropriations Committee, 17 served on the Armed Services Committee, six women won seats on the Ways and Means Committee and also were assigned to on the Rules Committee. The most common committee assignments in the House reflected women's changing role in American society in the latter part of the 20th century—particularly the trend of more women entering the workforce. More than two dozen women served on committees with jurisdiction over finance and business—the Budget Committee, the Financial Services Committee (formerly Banking and Financial Services), and the Small Business Committee. Barbara Mikulski became the first woman to gain a seat on the influential Commerce Committee in 1977; more than a dozen women followed her. The Transportation and Infrastructure Committee—long a vehicle for Representatives seeking federal funding for local projects—was the most popular committee assignment for women in this era; more than 30 women served on the panel. More than two dozen women also served on the Science Committee and on the Government Reform Committee, which has oversight of the federal workforce.

Although women in the House continued to serve on committees that were traditionally part of their province such as Veterans' Affairs and Education and the Workforce (formerly Education and Labor), the number of women on these panels no longer outnumbered the number on the aforementioned panels. Moreover, while women still accounted for only a small number of the total membership of any given committee, their representation on key committees roughly equaled and, in some instances, exceeded their percentages in the chamber.[28]

Women's ability to secure better committee posts was most dramatic in the Senate, where the number of women in the chamber increased from one to 14 between 1977 and 2005. There were a number of "firsts." Most notably, Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas served on four committees to which women had not been assigned—Budget (1979), Foreign Relations (1977), Environment and Public Works (1977), and Select Intelligence (1979). In 1977, Maryon Allen of Alabama, a widow who served a brief portion of her late husband's term, was the first woman assigned to the influential Senate Judiciary Committee. The first women to serve a full term on that panel were Dianne Feinstein of California and Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois. Moseley-Braun was also the first woman to serve on the powerful Senate Finance Committee (1993). As recently as 1997, Patty Murray of Washington became the first woman to serve on the Veterans' Affairs Committee. As in the House, the most common committee assignments for women in the Senate—Armed Services; Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs; Commerce; Budget; Appropriations; Energy and Natural Resources; Foreign Relations; and Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions—reflected American women's expanded participation in the workplace and the military and in the formulation of foreign policy.

Legislative Interests

The Soviet bloc unraveled in the late 1980s as Moscow faced significant economic problems and resistance from its traditional Eastern European allies, particularly Poland. In the fall of 1989, the Berlin Wall—an internationally recognized symbol of the division of Europe—was opened, and the flow of people and commerce between West Germany and East Germany was renewed. By the early 1990s, the Soviet Union had disintegrated under the weight of a global struggle against the Western Alliance. For the first time in at least two generations, international affairs became less important to the ordinary American. (However, this temporary shift was radically altered by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.)

With the end of the Cold War, the national focus turned to domestic matters, particularly the direction of the economy and the viability of large federally funded social programs. Welfare reform, nationalized health care, campaign finance reform, and the reduction of the federal deficit were hotly debated in the 1990s. Many of the federal programs initiated under the Great Society of the 1960s were sharply curtailed or eliminated. The issue of health care reform was debated but left largely unresolved, as the cost of medical insurance and prescription drugs skyrocketed. A technology boom, driven by the commercialization of Cold War military technologies such as computers and wireless communications, led to relative economic prosperity and lower federal deficits in the late 1990s.

With positions on key committees that allocated federal money, a caucus to educate and inform Members and the public, and public focus shifting to domestic policy, women in Congress spearheaded a number of successful efforts to pass legislation affecting women, both in the home and in the workplace. In 1978, the Women's Caucus rallied support for passage of the Pregnancy Discrimination Prohibition Act. The measure outlawed employers from discriminating against women on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions and required employers to provide health insurance for pregnant employees. Two measures—the Family Support Act of 1988 and the Child Support Recovery Act of 1992—implemented stricter procedures for enforcing child support and stiffened the penalties for delinquent parents. The Family Support Act of 1988 also extended childcare and medical benefits for families that had recently stopped receiving government assistance. In 1988, Congress passed the Women's Business Ownership Act, which created a program targeting service-related businesses owned by women and helped guarantee commercial bank loans of up to $50,000. This legislation also established the National Women's Business Council to monitor federal, state, and local programs aimed at helping women-owned businesses.

One of the most heralded pieces of legislation initiated by women in Congress—notably Patricia Schroeder and Marge Roukema—was the Family and Medical Leave Act. Passed by Congress in February 1993, this measure required employers to grant employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave each year for a chronic health problem, for the birth or adoption of a child, or for the care of a family member with a serious illness. Some Congresswomen observed afterward that men were quick to take credit for an issue that women had pushed initially and consistently. At the presidential bill signing ceremony, only male Senators and Representatives shared the stage with President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore. Schroeder, who was seated in the second row of the audience, complained that Congresswomen often received no acknowledgment for their contributions to

legislation. "Often you see women start the issue, educate on the issue, fight for the issue, and then when it becomes fashionable, men push us aside," Schroeder observed, "and they get away with it."[29]

More major successes followed, however. In 1994, with the help of California Senator Barbara Boxer (who had spearheaded the effort as a House Member in the early 1990s), the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) passed as part of a major omnibus crime bill. VAWA allocated $1.6 billion to prevent domestic abuse and other violent crimes against women—creating an Office on Violence Against Women in the U.S. Justice Department, disbursing funds for victims of abuse, and educating the public about a scourge that had been missing from the national dialogue.

Through the efforts of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues and the bipartisan work of leading Democratic and Republican women, major legislation was passed that altered research into diseases affecting women. In 1993, Congress passed the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Revitalization Act, which created the Office of Women's Health Research at NIH. This legislation appropriated funding for research on breast cancer, ovarian cancer, sexually transmitted diseases, and other disorders affecting women. Funding increased over the course of the 1990s, and informational campaigns raised public awareness. For example, in 1997 Congress passed the Stamp Out Breast Cancer Act, introduced by Representative Susan Molinari. The measure authorized the creation of a first-class postage stamp that raised millions of dollars for additional NIH programs.

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The Decade of Women, 1992–2002

On election Tuesday 1992, American voters sent as many new women to Congress as were elected in any previous *decade*, beginning a decade of unparalleled gains for women in Congress. In November 2002, women attained another historic milestone when the House Democratic Caucus elected 15-year veteran Nancy Pelosi of California as Democratic Leader—making her the highest ranking woman in congressional history.

Expectations for a "breakthrough" year for women had been high since the late 1970s; in fact, 1984 had been hopefully, but prematurely, advertised as the "Year of the Woman." Political observers discussed the rise of a "gender gap," predicting that 6 million more women than men would vote in the 1984 elections.[30] When Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro of New York was chosen as the Democratic candidate for Vice President that year—the first woman to appear on a major party ticket—expectations soared for a strong turnout by women at the polls. Jan Meyers of Kansas, one of a group of women running for national office in 1984, credited Ferraro's high profile with having "a very positive impact" on her campaign in suburban Kansas City for a House seat. Ferraro put women in the headlines, increased their credibility, and forced the Republican Party to focus on women voters, Meyers said shortly after winning a seat in Congress.[31] Some expected women to vote as a bloc on the hot-button issues that were important to them—reproductive rights, economic equality, and health care; the emergence of a women's voting bloc had been predicted since the passage of the 19th Amendment. But this bloc failed to materialize in 1984, and Ferraro and Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale of Minnesota lost in a landslide to the incumbent President Reagan.

In 1992, women went to the polls, energized by a record-breaking number of women on the federal ticket. The results were unprecedented; the 24 women who won election to the U.S. House of Representatives for the first time that November comprised the largest number elected to the House in any single election, and the women elected to the Senate tripled the number of women in that chamber.[32] Dubbed the "Year of the Woman," 1992 also marked the beginning of a decade of remarkable gains for minority women. Twenty-three of the 34 African-American, Hispanic-American, and Asian-Pacific-American women who have served in Congress were elected between 1992 and 2005.

California's 1992 congressional races were a microcosm of the changes beginning to take place nationally. During the 102nd Congress, from 1991 to 1993, women held three seats on the California congressional delegation—roughly 6 percent. In 1992, a record 71 California women were nominated to run in the fall elections for federal and state offices; nationally 11 women won major party nominations for Senate races, while 106 women contended for House seats in the general election.[33] "The days of cold lonely fights of the '60s and '70s, when women were often laughed at as we tried to push for new opportunities, are over," said Lynn Schenk, a congressional candidate from San Diego. "No one's laughing now. If people truly want someone to be an agent of change, I'm that person. And being a woman is part of that."[34] Six new women Members from California, including Schenk, were elected to the House in the fall of 1992 alone. Two others, Representative Barbara Boxer and former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, won election as U.S. Senators, making California the first state with two women in the Senate. By the 109th Congress in 2005, 21 members of the California congressional delegation were women—38 percent of the state's total representation in Congress.

The "Year of the Woman" also initiated a decade of remarkable gains for minority women. Of the 34 African-American, Hispanic-American, and Asian-Pacific-American women who have served in Congress, 23 were elected between 1992 and 2005.

Women's impressive gains in 1992 were not the product of any one galvanizing event, but rather the confluence of several long-term trends and short-term election year issues. Demographics, global politics, scandal, and the ripple effect of the women's liberation movement all played a part in the results of that historic election.

In 1992, the incumbent candidates faced a tougher-than-usual contest for re-election. An economic downturn that had begun in 1991 was predicted to be the leading edge of a long-term recession. American business mired as the country transitioned to a peace-time economy after the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. The national focus shifted from the Soviet–American conflict and national security to areas where women's influence was more established—education, health care, welfare reform, and the economy. While Americans worried about their jobs, they watched apprehensively the resurgent Japanese economy and the reunification of Germany. The check-writing scandal in the House "bank" (operated by the Sergeant at Arms), where a large number of Representatives had overdrawn their accounts—in some cases on hundreds of occasions—also contributed to the anti-incumbent sentiment within the electorate that disdained business-as-usual politics in Washington. Moreover, the debate over the abortion issue had reached a divisive point, with a pro-life President in the White House and the Supreme Court considering a ruling that could have reversed *Roe v. Wade*.

The issue of whom President George H. W. Bush's administration would appoint to replace retiring Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall became a galvanizing one for women candidates. Bush nominated Clarence Thomas, a con-

Part of the success of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues is that from its origins in 1977, it has been structured as a bipartisan group chaired by women of both major political parties. Front row, left to right, Representative Sue Kelly of New York, outgoing Republican co-chair for the Women's Caucus; Representative Judy Biggert of Illinois, incoming Republican co-chair; Representative Juanita Millender-McDonald of California, incoming Democratic co-chair; and Representative Carolyn Maloney of New York, outgoing Democratic co-chair, are joined by other women Members of the 107th Congress as they sit for an official portrait on January 31, 2001.

IMAGE COURTESY OF AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

servative he had earlier appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals. Thomas's antiabortion stance, as well as his opposition to affirmative action, made him a lightning rod for liberal groups and Democratic Senators. But his confirmation hearings became a public forum on sexual harassment in the workplace when Thomas's former aide Anita Hill accused him in televised hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee of making unwanted advances. Beamed into millions of homes, the spectacle of the all-male Judiciary Committee offering Hill little sympathy and at moments treating her with outright hostility reinforced the perception that women's perspectives received short shrift on Capitol Hill. Seven Democratic women from the House marched in protest to address the caucus of their Democratic Senate colleagues, but they were rebuffed.

While controversy stirred by the Thomas–Hill episode provided good campaign rhetoric and a convenient media explanation for the "Year of the Woman," other contributing factors included the availability of funding, the growing pool of women candidates with elective experience, and the presence of a Democratic presidential candidate, who shared their beliefs on many of the issues (24 of the 27 women elected that fall were Democrats). Also significant were the effects of redistricting after the 1990 Census, the large number of retiring Members, and the casualties of the House banking scandal; the combination of these effects created 93 open seats in the U.S. House during the 1992 elections.[35] Candidates of both genders embraced the popular theme of change in government by stressing their credentials as Washington outsiders, but women benefited more from this perception, because they had long been marginalized in the Washington political process. As Elizabeth Furse, a successful candidate for an Oregon House seat, pointed out during her campaign: "People see women as agents of change. Women are seen as outsiders, outside the good old boy network which people are perceiving has caused so many of the economic problems we see today."[36]

For all the media attention paid to the "Year of the Woman," it was but a part of the larger trend of women's movement into elective office. A number of women

expressed exasperation with the media focus that hyped the sensational news story but largely ignored more enduring trends and influences. "The year of the woman in retrospect was a small gain, but it was the start of what was a big gain," Senator Barbara Boxer observed a decade later. "I don't even think it was the year of the woman then, but it started the trend of electing more women."[37] Others felt the label diminished women's achievement and reinforced perceptions that their impact on Congress was temporary. As Senator Barbara Mikulski of Maryland said: "Calling 1992 the Year of the Woman makes it sound like the Year of the Caribou or the Year of the Asparagus. We're not a fad, a fancy, or a year."[38]

The trend that culminated in the 1990s had begun decades earlier in the state legislatures, where women began to accumulate political experience that prepared them to be legislators. The first Congresswoman with elective experience in a state legislature was Kathryn O'Loughlin McCarthy of Kansas. For decades McCarthy proved the exception to the rule; between her election to Congress in 1932 and 1970, when great numbers of women began to serve in state capitols, hardly more than a dozen Congresswomen had held a seat in the state legislature or a statewide elective office. It was only in the last 30 years of the 20th century that women made significant gains in state legislatures and, subsequently, the U.S. Congress. For example, in 1970 women held about four percent (301 seats) of all the seats in state legislatures nationwide. In 1997 that figure plateaued at around 1,600, and for the next five years women made up about 22 percent of state legislators nationally. In 2003, 1,648 (22.3 percent) of the 7,382 state legislators in the United States were women.[39]

The trend that culminated in the 1990s had begun decades earlier in the state legislatures, where women began to accumulate the kind of political experience that prepared them as campaigners and as legislators.

Ultimately, however, the "Year of the Woman" spawned expectations that women candidates in subsequent elections could not realistically meet. Contrary to widely held beliefs, women were not about to change the political culture overnight—especially not on seniority-based Capitol Hill. Later political battles over issues such as reproductive rights, welfare reform, and the federal deficit dashed hopes that women would unite across party lines, subordinate ideology to pragmatism, and increase their power.

Moreover, the belief that sexism would be eradicated proved overly optimistic, as old stereotypes persisted. Along with Representatives Barbara Boxer and Marcy Kaptur of Ohio, Mary Rose Oakar of Ohio led a 1985 protest of House women demanding equal access to the House gym and fitness facilities. Unhappy that the women's gym lacked the modern exercise equipment, swimming pool, and basketball court accessible to the male Members, the three lawmakers made their pitch in a song belted out to the tune of "Has Anyone Seen My Gal?" before a meeting of the House Democratic Whips.[40] However, women still contended with unequal access to gym facilities and other indications of sexism.[41] Once when fellow freshman Leslie Byrne of Virginia entered an elevator full of Members, a Congressman remarked, "It sure is nice to have you ladies here. It spiffs up the place." Exasperated, Byrne quipped, "Yup, chicks in Congress."[42] Another Member of the class of '92 observed that Congress had failed to keep pace with changes in American society. "Out in the real world, we took care of a lot of these basic issues between men and women years ago," said Lynn Schenk. "But this place has been so insulated, the shock waves of the '70s and '80s haven't quite made it through the walls."[43]

After the 1992 elections, women Members were still in a distinct minority, although for the first time in congressional history they accounted for more than 10

percent of the total membership. Subsequent growth was slower, though steady. On average since 1992, 10 new women have been elected to Congress each election cycle, while incumbency rates have remained well above 90 percent. In August 2005, women made up 15.5 percent of Congress—an all-time high. Some women noted that although they had failed to achieve numerical parity in Congress, they had dramatically altered the political culture within the electorate. "In previous years, when I have run for office, I always had to overcome being a woman," said Texas Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison. "All I've ever wanted was an equal chance to make my case, and I think we're getting to that point—and that's the victory."[44]

Committee and Party Leadership

The women who entered office in record numbers in the 1990s soon accrued seniority in committees and catapulted into top leadership posts. This trend ran counter to historical precedent, although arguably the most powerful and influential woman to head a committee was one of the first: Mary T. Norton chaired four House committees during the 1930s and 1940s—Labor, House Administration, District of Columbia, and Memorials. However, Norton's experience was unusual and, tellingly, she never held a top leadership job in the Democratic Party during her 25 years in the House. As late as the spring of 1992, the iconic feminist Congresswoman Pat Schroeder observed that the wheels of sexual equality on Capitol Hill turned slowly. "It's not revolutionary, it's evolutionary," Schroeder said. "We get some appointments, we get some this, we get some that. But to think that women get any power positions, that we've become the bull elephants, that we're the kahunas or whatever, well, we're not."[45]

Unlike the third generation of women in Congress, the fourth generation often chose to confront the institution less directly. Whereas Bella Abzug's generation worked against the congressional establishment to breach gender barriers, many women in the fourth generation worked for change from within the power structure. Women in the 1980s and early 1990s who moved into leadership posts did so largely by working within traditional boundaries—a time-honored approach that extended back to Mary Norton and Edith Nourse Rogers in the first generation of Congresswomen. The careers of Lynn Martin and Barbara Kennelly of Connecticut illustrate this tendency: Martin served as Vice Chair of the GOP Conference; Kennelly served as the Democratic Party's Chief Deputy Whip (a position created for her) and eventually became Vice Chair of the Democratic Caucus. Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro also possessed an ability to work with the House leadership, particularly Speaker Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts, in a way her male colleagues perceived as "nonthreatening." As Ferraro's colleague Marge Roukema observed, Ferraro "takes a feminist stand but works only within the art of the possible."[46] The Congresswoman's pragmatism struck a balance that was pleasing to both Capitol Hill insiders and feminists. Betty Friedan, founder of NOW, judged that Ferraro was "no cream puff; she's a tough dame."[47] Other women who were influential in their parties followed a similarly pragmatic approach. "I worry about marginalizing women in the institution," said freshman Rosa DeLauro of Connecticut in 1992. "It's a very competitive place, and what you need to do is build coalitions, and since there are 29 women who don't think alike, you build coalitions among women, and you build coalitions among men. If you sit

After the 1992 elections, women Members were still in a distinct minority, although for the first time in congressional history they accounted for more than 10 percent of the total membership.

there and say, 'I'm a woman, we're in the minority here,' then you're never going to get anywhere in this body."[48]

Nevertheless, until 1992, women had been on the margins of institutional leadership. Fewer than 10 women had chaired full congressional committees, and just eight House and Senate women had held positions in the party leadership. The two highest-ranking women in House were still at considerable remove from the levers of power: Mary Rose Oakar was Vice Chair of the Democratic Caucus and Lynn Martin was Vice Chair of the Republican Conference in the 99th and the 100th Congresses (1985–1989). The highest-ranking woman in Senate history was Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, whom GOP peers elected Chair of the Republican Conference in the 90th through the 92nd Congresses (1967–1973).

Three women led committees in the 104th Congress (1995–1997): Jan Meyers chaired the House Small Business Committee, Nancy Johnson chaired the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, and Nancy Landon Kassebaum chaired the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. Kassebaum's post was particularly noteworthy, as she was the first woman in Senate history to head a major standing committee. However, by the end of the 104th Congress, Meyers, Johnson, and Kassebaum had either left their posts or retired from Congress. The only other women to chair congressional committees during this period were Senators Olympia Snowe (Small Business) and Susan Collins (Governmental Affairs) in the 108th and 109th Congresses (2003–2007).

As women increase their numbers and join Congress at earlier ages, they will begin to make significant inroads into high committee posts and the leadership.

But gradual changes in the 1990s had begun to alter the leadership makeup in ways that portended greater involvement for women. From the 103rd through the 108th Congresses (1993–2005), 12 more women moved into the leadership ranks. Representatives Susan Molinari, Jennifer Dunn of Washington, Tillie Fowler of Florida, and Deborah Pryce of Ohio served as the Vice Chair of the House Republican Conference from the 104th through the 107th Congresses, respectively. In the 108th Congress, Pryce, who first won election to Congress in the "Year of the Woman," became the highest-ranking woman in House GOP history when she was elected Chair of the Republican Conference. Her accomplishment was exceeded only by that of Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi of California, who had succeeded Representative Sala Burton of California in the House after her death in 1987. In 2001, Pelosi won the Democratic Caucus contest for Whip. Little more than a year later, when Representative Dick Gephardt of Missouri left the Democratic Party's top post, Pelosi overwhelmingly won her colleagues' support in her bid to become House Democratic Leader. This event garnered national and international attention.

Meanwhile, many of the women elected in the 1990s accrued seniority and, as a result, more important committee assignments. Though not yet apparent in the chairmanships of full committees, this power shift was evident in the chairmanships of subcommittees—a key prerequisite for chairing a full committee. Since the 80th Congress (1947–1949)—the first Congress for which such records are readily accessible—54 women have chaired House or Senate subcommittees. Three women—Margaret Chase Smith, Barbara Mikulski and Barbara Boxer—chaired subcommittees in both the House and the Senate. While just two women—Representatives Smith and Bolton—chaired House subcommittees in the 80th Congress (there were no women chairing Senate subcommittees at the time), by the 109th Congress in 2005, 10 women chaired subcommittees in the House and the

Senate. More telling, roughly half the women in congressional history who chaired subcommittees attained these posts after 1992.

Representatives Pelosi and Pryce were on the leading edge of the spike in women elected to Congress. Pryce was elected to Congress at age 41 and attained her leadership post at 51. Pelosi arrived in the House at age 47 and was elected House Democratic Leader at 62. Behind these two leaders are a host of women who were elected in the latter 1990s. When elected, some of these women were 10 years younger than Pelosi and Pryce upon their arrival in Congress, giving them additional tenure to accrue seniority and power. If present trends continue and more and younger women are elected to Congress, women will likely become better represented in high committee posts and the leadership.

NOTES

1 Barry M. Horstman, "Women Poised to Make Big Political Gains," 24 August 1992, *Los Angeles Times.*

2 At least two husbands have attempted to directly succeed their wives in the House. In 1980, Gladys Noon Spellman of Maryland suffered a heart attack and lapsed into a coma from which she never recovered. When the House declared her seat vacant in early 1981, her husband, Reuben Spellman, entered the April 1981 Democratic primary but lost. After Patsy Mink of Hawaii died in September 2002, her husband, John Francis Mink, was one of more than 30 candidates in a special election to fill her seat for the remainder of the 107th Congress. He, too, was unsuccessful.

3 Five of the aforementioned group had a combination of state legislative and state executive or federal office experience.

4 Statistics based on the 2000 U.S. Census. Figures are from chart QT-P20: "Educational Attainment by Sex: 2000." Available online at http://factfinder.census.gov.

5 For information on the average age of congressional Membership, see the *CQ Guide to Congress,* 4th ed, p. 700 and the Congressional Research Service (CRS) Profiles of the 103rd to 109th Congresses.

6 David Finkel, "Women on the Verge of a Power Breakthrough," 10 May 1992, *Washington Post Magazine:* W15.

7 Finkel, "Women on the Verge of a Power Breakthrough."

8 Irwin Gertzog, *Congressional Women: Their Recruitment, Behavior, and Integration* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995): 186. For a detailed analysis of the Women's Caucus that extends into the late 1990s, see Gertzog's *Women and Power on Capitol Hill: Reconstructing the Congressional Women's Caucus* (Boulder, CO: Rienner Publishers, 2004).

9 Lynn Rosellini, "Dues Plan Divides Women's Caucus," 16 July 1981, *New York Times:* C13.

10 Gertzog, *Congressional Women: Their Recruitment, Behavior, and Integration*: 200—202.

11 Rosellini, "Dues Plan Divides Women's Caucus."

12 "Paula Hawkins," *Current Biography 1985* (New York: H.W. Wilson and Company, 1985): 176.

13 Elizabeth Bumiller, "The Lady Is the Tigress: Paula Hawkins, Florida's Pugnacious New Senator," 2 December 1980, *Washington Post:* B1; Jo Thomas, "Mrs. Hawkins, the Battling Housewife, Goes to Washington," 7 November 1980, *New York Times:* 18.

14 Gertzog, *Congressional Women:* 204—205.

15 Ibid., 209—212.

16 Majorie Hunter, "Congresswomen Admit 46 Men to Their Caucus," *New York Times,* 14 December 1981, *New York Times*: D10.

17 Hunter, "Congresswomen Admit 46 Men to Their Caucus."

18 Ibid.

19 Barbara Gamarekian, "Women's Caucus: Eight Years of Progress," 27 May 1985, *New York Times:* A20.

20 Kevin Merida, "Role of House Women's Caucus Changes," 15 February 1995, *Washington Post:* A4; see also "The Women's Caucus: Caucus History," http://www.womenspolicy.org/caucus/history.html (accessed 28 April2005).

21 Hope Chamberlin, *A Minority of Members: Women in the U.S. Congress* (New York: Praeger, 1973): 289.

22 Maurine Neuberger, Oral History Interview, April 5 and 17, 1979; May 1, 10, 15, 1979, conducted by the U.S. Association of Former Members of Congress, Inc., Manuscript Room, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

23 National Organization for Women Web site: http://www.now.org/organization/faq.html (accessed 17 May 2005).

24 Other influential PACs included the nonpartisan Women's Campaign Fund, created in 1974 to fund pro-choice political candidates; WISH ("Women in the Senate and House") List, which supports pro-choice Republican women; and the National Women's Political Caucus, founded in the early 1970s, to promote women's participation in the political process by supporting pro-choice women at all levels of government and providing political training for its members. In the 1990s and 2000s, a number of pro-life PACs were founded to support candidates who opposed abortion procedures. These groups included the Republican National Coalition for Life, founded by Phyllis Schlafly in 1990; the National Pro-Life Alliance; and the Pro-Life Campaign Committee.

25 Charles Trueheart, "Politics' New Wave of Women; With Voters Ready for a Change, Candidates Make Their Move," 7 April 1992, *Washington Post:* E1.

26 http://www.emilyslist.org/about/history.phtml (accessed 13 June 2003; 28 April 2005).

27 Julian E. Zelizer, *On Capitol Hill: The Struggle to Reform Congress and Its Consequences, 1948–2000* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004): see especially, 206—232.

28 For instance, by the 109th Congress (2005—2007), eight women served on the Appropriations Committee (12 percent of its membership), and 11 women held seats on the Energy and Commerce Committee (19 percent). The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, also changed the way Congress did business. A Select Committee on Homeland Security was created in the 108th Congress and was later made permanent in the 109th Congress. The new panel included eight women Members (23.5 percent).

29 Joan A. Lowy, *Pat Schroeder: A Woman in the House* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2003): 100.

30 See, for example, Jane Perlez, "Women, Power, and Politics," 24 June 1984, *New York Times*: SM22.

31 Bill Peterson, "Reagan Did Understand Women: While Democrats Slept, the GOP Skillfully Captured Their Votes," 3 March 1985, *Washington Post:* C5.

32 Twenty-four women had been elected to the House in the decade running from 1980 to1989; 23 were elected between 1970 and 1979.

33 Susan Yoachum and Robert B. Gunnison, "Women Candidates Win Record 71 Nominations," 4 June 1992, *San Francisco Chronicle:* A1; Jackie Koszczuk, "Year of the Woman? Political Myth Fades," 18 October 1992, *Wisconsin State Journal:* 1E. Heading into the primaries in 1992 an unprecedented 37 California women were candidates for U.S. House and Senate seats (as well as an equally exceptional number of 127 for the California Assembly); these numbers reflected the larger national trend, where 157 women were running in the Democratic and Republican primaries for the U.S. House (140) and the Senate (17). Previously, the largest number of women contenders was 10 for Senate seats (1984) and 70 for House seats (1990).

34 Barry M. Horstman, "San Diego County Elections; Women Flex Muscles in County Races," 4 June 1992, *Los Angeles Times*: B1.

35 Adam Clymer, "In 2002, Woman's Place May Be in the Statehouse," 15 April 2002, *New York Times:* A1.

36 Trueheart, "Politics' New Wave of Women; With Voters Ready for a Change, Candidates Make Their Move."

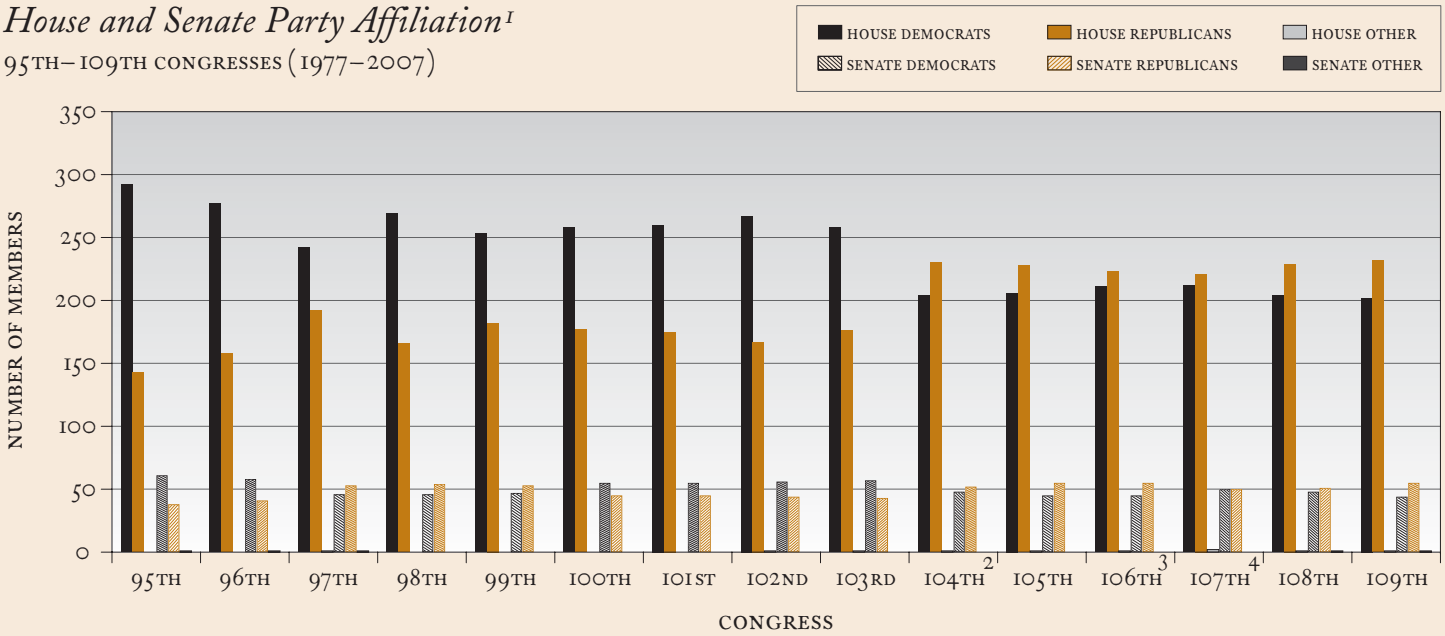
37 Lauren Whittington, "Women See Gains Slowing: Number of Female Lawmakers Not Expected to Rise Dramatically," 19 September 2002, *Roll Call:* 13, 20.
38 Barbara Mikulski et al. *Nine and Counting: The Women of the Senate* (New York: Morrow, 2000): 46–50.
39 See "Women in State Legislatures 2001," (December 2001) and "Women in Elective Office 2002," (June 2002), *Center for American Women and Politics,* Rutgers University, http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu. Of the top 10 states with the highest percentages of women legislators in 2003, seven were western states: Washington (36.7 percent), Colorado (34 percent), Oregon (31.1 percent), California (30 percent), New Mexico (29.5 percent), and Nevada (28.6 percent). Four eastern states round out the list: Maryland (33 percent), Vermont (30.6 percent), Connecticut (29.4 percent), and Delaware (29 percent).
40 Marjorie Hunter, "A Woman's Place, They Say, Is in the Gym," 16 June 1985, *New York Times:* 40.
41 Finkel, "Women on the Verge of a Power Breakthrough."
42 Rich Heidorn, "Capitol Offense: No Longer Darlings, Congress' Women Look Ahead," *Chicago Tribune,* 16 October 1994: woman news, 5.
43 Karen Ball, "Congressional Women: Wave of Change Never Made It Through Capitol Walls," 7 September 1993, Associated Press.
44 Whittington, "Women See Gains Slowing."
45 Finkel, "Women on the Verge of a Power Breakthrough."
46 "Woman in the News: Liberal Democrat from Queens," 13 July 1984, *New York Times:* A1.
47 "A Team Player, Can a Liberal from Archie Bunker Country Make a Contender of Walter Mondale?" , 23 July 1984, *Newsweek*.
48 Finkel, "Women on the Verge of a Power Breakthrough."

Visual Statistics V

This chart shows the party affiliation of all Members of Congress from 1935 to 1955. The following chart shows a party breakdown only for women Members during this time period.

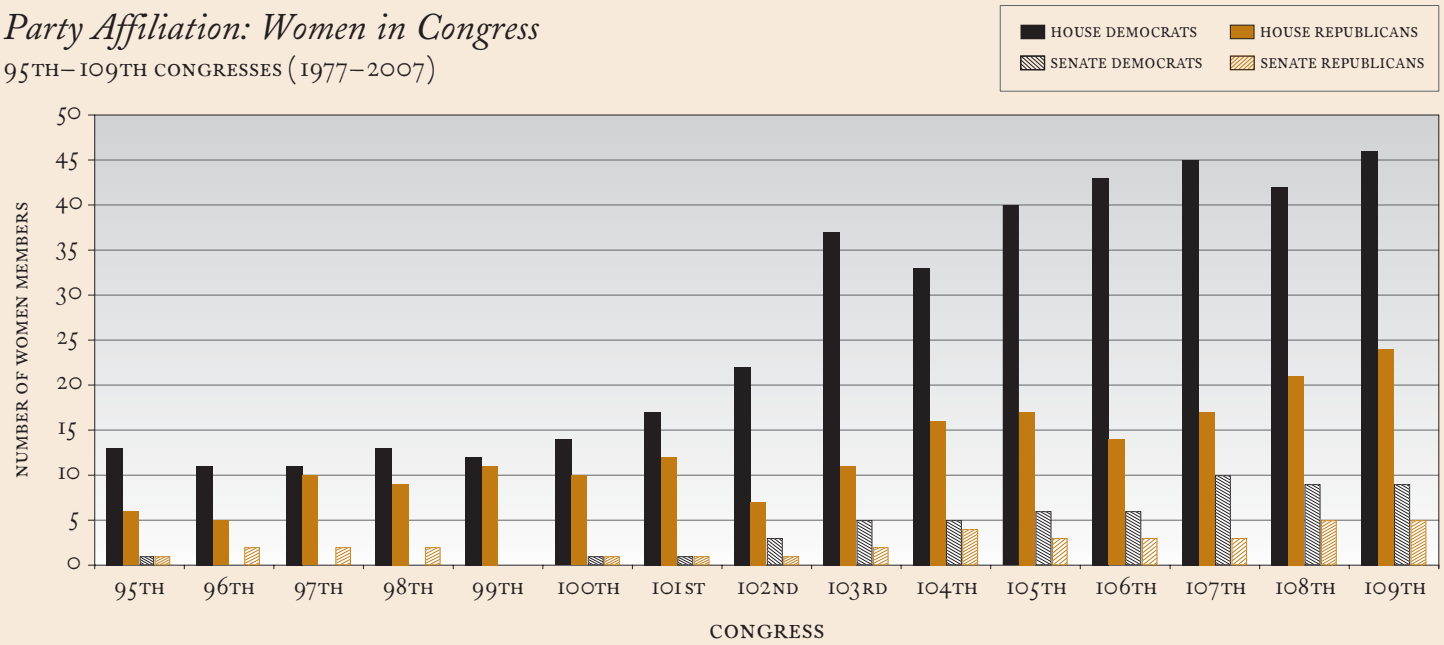
House and Senate Party Affiliation[1]

95th–109th congresses (1977–2007)



Party Affiliation: Women in Congress

95th–109th congresses (1977–2007)



1. House numbers do not include Delegates or Resident Commissioners. Sources: Office of the Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives; U.S. Senate Historical Office.

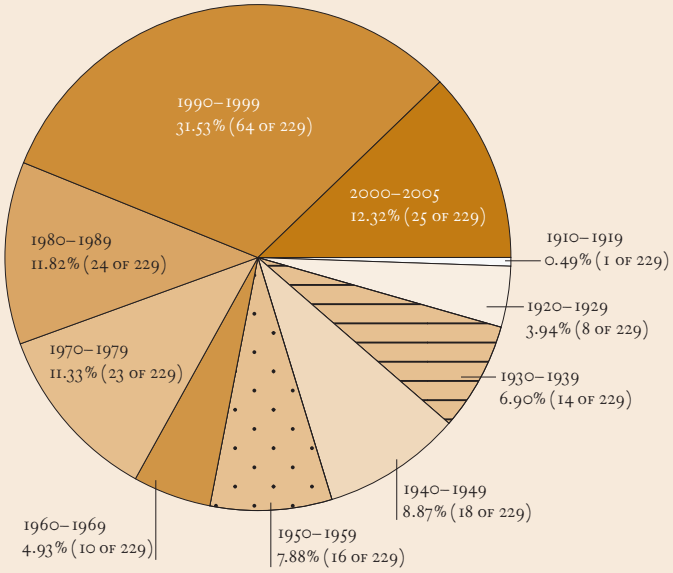
2. Party ratio changed to 53 Republicans and 47 Democrats after Richard Shelby of Alabama switched from the Democratic to Republican party on November 9, 1994. It changed again, to 54 Republicans and 46 Democrats, when Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado switched from the Democratic to Republican party on March 3, 1995. When Robert Packwood (R-OR) resigned on October 1, 1995, the Senate divided between 53 Republicans and 46 Democrats with one vacancy. Ron Wyden (D) returned the ratio to 53 Republicans and 47 Democrats when he was elected to fill the vacant Oregon seat. [U.S. Senate Historical Office]

3. As the 106th Congress began, the division was 55 Republican seats and 45 Democratic seats, but this changed to 54–45 on July 13, 1999 when Senator Bob Smith of New Hampshire switched from the Republican party to Independent status. On November 1, 1999, Smith announced his return to the Republican party, making the division once more 55 Republicans and 45 Democrats. Following the death of Senator Paul Coverdell (R-GA) on July 18, 2000, the balance shifted again, to 54 Republicans and 46 Democrats, when the governor appointed Zell Miller, a Democrat, to fill the vacancy. [U.S. Senate Historical Office]

Women Elected to Congress by Decade[5]

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN WHO SERVED FROM 1917–2006

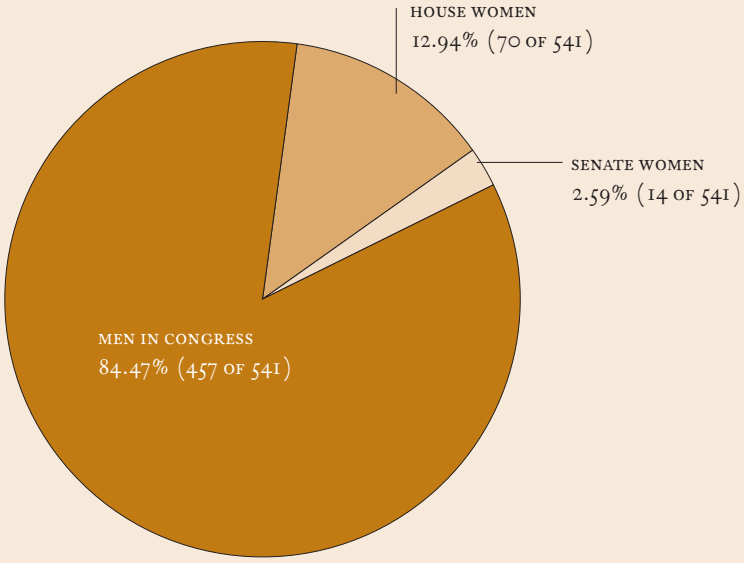
This chart illustrates women's dramatic gains in Congress, particularly in the last four decades. Two thirds of all 229 women in congressional history have entered office since 1970.



Women as a Percentage of Congress

109TH CONGRESS (2005–2007)

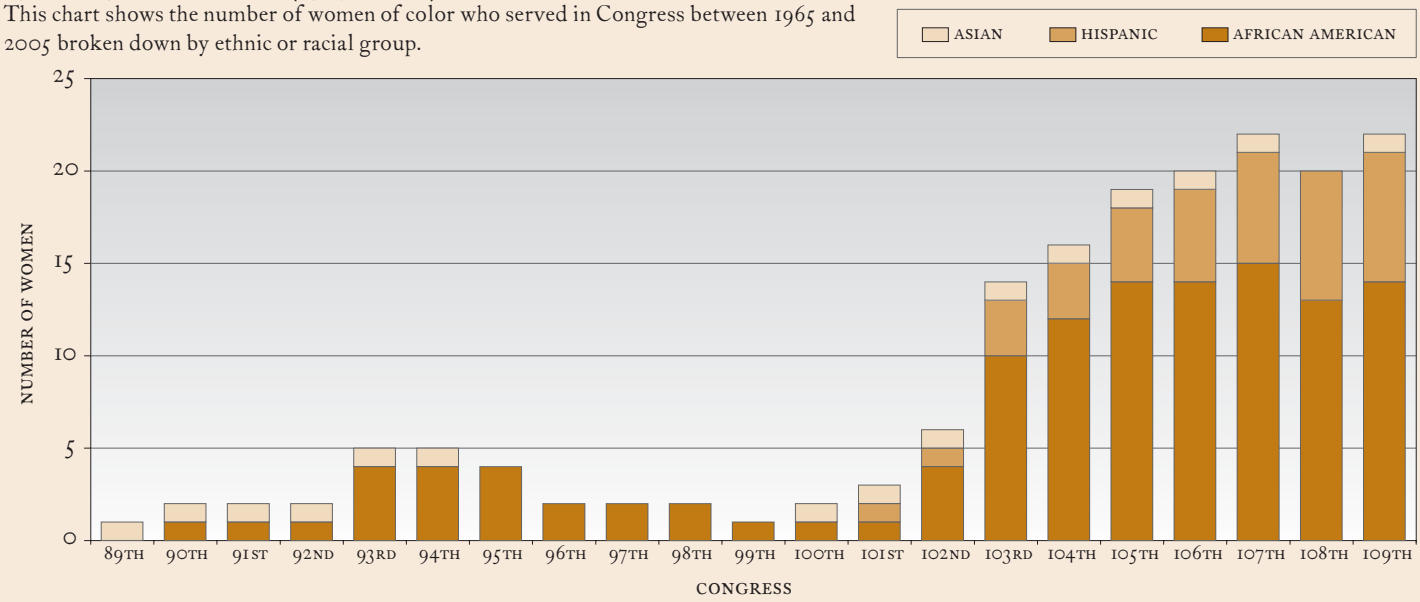
The most women in any Congress to date—a total of 84—served in the 109th Congress (2005–2007). This chart illustrates the number of seats (540 total) held by women compared to those held by men.



Women of Color in Congress[6]

89TH–109TH CONGRESSES (1965–2007)

This chart shows the number of women of color who served in Congress between 1965 and 2005 broken down by ethnic or racial group.



4. From January 3 to January 20, 2001, with the Senate divided evenly between the two parties, the Democrats held the majority due to the deciding vote of outgoing Democratic Vice President Al Gore. Senator Thomas A. Daschle served as majority leader at that time. Beginning on January 20, 2001, Republican Vice President Richard Cheney held the deciding vote, giving the majority to the Republicans. Senator Trent Lott resumed his position as majority leader on that date. On May 24, 2001, Senator James Jeffords of Vermont announced his switch from Republican to Independent status, effective June 6, 2001. Jeffords announced that he would caucus with the Democrats, giving the Democrats a one-seat advantage, changing control of the Senate from the Republicans back to the Democrats. Senator Thomas A. Daschle again became majority leader on June 6, 2001. Senator Paul D. Wellstone (D-MN) died on October 25, 2002, and Independent Dean Barkley was appointed to fill the vacancy. The November 5, 2002, election brought to office elected Senator James Talent (R-MO), replacing appointed Senator Jean Carnahan (D-MO), shifting balance once again to the Republicans—but no reorganization was completed at that time since the Senate was out of session. [U.S. Senate Historical Office]

5. Source: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–2005* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2005); also available at: http://bioguide.congress.gov. See also Mildred Amer, "Women in the United States Congress, 1774–2005," 1 July 2004, Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report.

6. Source: Appendix H – Women of Color in Congress, 1965–2006

Mary Rose Oakar

1940–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM OHIO

1977–1993

During her 16-year tenure, Congresswoman Mary Rose Oakar was dedicated to improving the economic welfare of women. She led the charge in Congress for women's rights, though she often came into conflict with national women's groups for her staunch pro-life position. Representative Oakar became an influential figure in the Democratic Party, climbing the leadership ladder by mastering House internal procedures and administration.

Mary Rose Oakar, the youngest of five children, was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on March 5, 1940, to parents of Lebanese and Syrian ancestry. Her father was a laborer and her mother a homemaker. Working her way through school as a telephone operator, Oakar graduated from Ursuline College in 1962 with a B.A. degree, and earned an M.A. four years later from John Carroll University, both in Ohio. She also studied at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts in London, Westham Adult College in England, and Columbia University in New York City. From 1963 to 1975, Oakar taught at a Cleveland high school and at Cuyahoga Community College. She served on Cleveland's city council from 1973 to 1976. As a member of the city council, Oakar became a popular local leader who earned the reputation of being an aggressive advocate for women, children, and the elderly. She won support for her personalized campaign strategy which included distributing pens decorated with roses–a tactic to remind voters of her name.[1]

Hoping to capitalize on her strong local ties and political experience, Oakar entered the 1976 Democratic primary for the heavily Democratic congressional district encompassing much of Cleveland west of the Cuyahoga River, vacated by James Stanton, who made an unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate. During the campaign she emphasized her status as the only woman in the race, declaring the need for more women in Congress to offset what she perceived as the arrogance exuded by many Congressmen. She also highlighted her Cleveland roots when making campaign stops—via her convertible adorned with roses—in the community. "The overriding issue is that people want to feel the person who represents you at the federal level is close to you," she remarked.[2] She defeated 11 other candidates with 24 percent of the vote. Oakar then dominated the general election, capturing 81 percent of the vote against two Independent candidates. In her seven successful re-election bids through 1990 in the heavily Democratic district, she never faced a serious challenge, often receiving no opposition from Republican candidates.[3]

In the 95th Congress (1977–1979), Oakar served on the Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs Committee, and she introduced successful legislation to commemorate the work of suffragist Susan B. Anthony by creating a $1 coin featuring her likeness.[4] She eventually chaired the Banking Subcommittee on Economic Stabilization. Oakar subsequently was appointed to several more committees, including the House Select Committee on Aging in the 96th Congress (1979–1981), the Post Office and Civil Service Committee in the 97th Congress (1981–1983), and the House Administration Committee in the 98th Congress (1983–1985). She served on these committees through the 102nd Congress (1991–1993).

Oakar developed a reputation as a liberal who worked on behalf of women's rights issues, especially economic parity. "Economic security is the truly liberating issue for women," she said. "If you're economically liberated, you're free to pursue other avenues in your life."[5] As chair

CONGRESSIONAL PICTORIAL DIRECTORY, 95TH CONGRESS

of the Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Compensation and Employee Benefits, she sponsored two bills during the mid-1980s: the Pay Equity Act and the Federal Pay Equity Act. Both revived a longtime effort among women in Congress to achieve salary equity with men for employment of comparable worth. Charging that "employers have used gender as a determining factor when setting pay rates," Oakar stressed the need for a comprehensive study investigating pay discrepancies between men and women both in the private sector and in the federal government.

The congressional debates about equal pay received national attention. Conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly labeled Oakar's efforts of advocating pay raises for professions typically occupied by women, such as teaching and nursing, as an attack against blue-collar men. Oakar countered Schlafly by claiming salary increases for women would help men because it would lead to stronger families.[6] In a 1985 House hearing on economic parity, Oakar received additional criticism, this time from Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr., chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, who branded Oakar's proposed legislation as "Looney Tunes" and "socialism without a plan." She insisted that Congress needed to intervene to correct gender pay inequity and dismissed Pendleton's commission, arguing that "it has ceased to be a champion of civil rights."[7]

Oakar dissented from the Democratic majority on two high-profile issues. As one of the few Arab Americans serving in Congress during the 1980s, she suggested that the Ronald W. Reagan administration's foreign policy tilted too much toward the interests of Israel. On another front, her pro-life stance caused friction with powerful women's groups like the National Organization for Women (NOW), undermining her potential to emerge as a leading public figure in feminist circles. Although frustrated with her inability to connect with leading women's organizations, Oakar encouraged all women, including her colleagues on Capitol Hill, to work for equality with men. "There are only 24 women in Congress," she declared. "It seems to me, beyond all other issues, we're obligated to correct inequities toward our own gender. No one else is going to do it."[8]

Oakar built a reputation as an expert on House rules and procedures, and it was in this capacity that she worked her way into the Democratic leadership. On the House Administration Committee, which she joined in 1984, Oakar eventually rose to chair its Subcommittee on Police and Personnel. She worked in the Democratic Whip organization and traveled around the country on behalf of fellow Democratic candidates. Oakar was elected Secretary of the House Democratic Caucus in the 99th Congress (1985–1987), one of a handful of women in either party to hold a leadership position. The previous secretary of the Caucus and the Democratic vice presidential nominee in 1984, Geraldine Ferraro of New York, contacted Oakar shortly after the Ohio Representative assumed her new position. According to Oakar, Ferraro coupled congratulations with a warning that the male-dominated Democratic leadership would exclude her from significant meetings. Oakar informed Speaker of the House Thomas (Tip) O'Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts that she expected to be treated as an equal. Despite her pre-emptive strategy, she was not invited to the first White House meeting of the new Congress. Oakar objected with such intensity that the Speaker made certain she always had the opportunity to attend leadership meetings. Quite often the only woman in attendance, she compared herself to Ferraro, commenting, "Each of us had to break down a barrier."[9] After the position was renamed "Vice Chair" during the 100th Congress (1987–1989), Oakar made a spirited attempt to gain the fourth most powerful seat in the House–Chair of the Democratic Caucus. Though her campaign employed such innovative tactics as buttons, posters, and even a full-page advertisement in the congressional newspaper *Roll Call* entitled, "Mary Rose: She Earned It," Oakar failed to achieve her goal, losing to then-Budget Chairman William H. Gray III of Pennsylvania.[10]

In the spring of 1992, Congresswoman Oakar received her first significant primary challenge in her newly reapportioned district in western Cleveland. Oakar had been linked to a scandal that revolved around dozens of

Representatives (focusing on about 20) who had written more than 11,000 overdrafts in a three-year period from the House "bank"—an informal money service provided by the House Sergeant at Arms. Oakar wrote 213 overdrafts during that period for an undisclosed amount of money, and she resigned from her prominent position as co-chairwoman of the Democratic Platform Committee for that summer's Democratic National Convention.[11] After this embarrassing incident, Oakar burnished her credentials as a caretaker for the district and an advocate for health care and the elderly. Oakar defeated Tim Hagan in the June 2 primary with 30 to 39 percent of the vote (five other contenders split the remainder). Oakar described the result as "a tribute to the people I represent" and as "an outpouring of affection" from voters on her behalf.[12] In the general election, however, she faced a difficult task making inroads with voters in the two-fifths of the district that had been incorporated after apportionment. In addition, the fall 1992 elections were difficult for many congressional incumbents because of redistricting and the down-turning economy. In November, Republican challenger Martin R. Hoke defeated Oakar by a plurality of 30,000 votes, 57 to 43 percent.[13]

After Congress, Oakar was indicted on charges of receiving illegal campaign contributions. She pled guilty in March 1995 and received two years' probation, community service, and fines.[14] Oakar's work on behalf of the elderly continued, however, as President William J. Clinton appointed her in 1995 to the 25-member advisory board for the White House Conference on Aging. She went on to work as a business executive and consultant. Oakar was elected to the Ohio state house of representatives, where she served from 2001 to 2003. In June 2003, Oakar was named President of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

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Muriel Humphrey
1912–1998

UNITED STATES SENATOR ★ DEMOCRAT FROM MINNESOTA
1978

The archetypical political wife, Muriel Buck Humphrey supported her husband, Hubert Humphrey, during a career that took him from being a clerk at his father's pharmacy in North Dakota to a political powerbroker in the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and national prominence in the Senate and, finally, as Vice President. But when Senator Humphrey passed away in 1978, his political partner and adviser, Muriel, emerged to fill his seat and carry out his programs. As only the second Minnesota woman ever to serve in Congress, Muriel Humphrey pursued her own interests during her brief tenure, supporting an extension of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) ratification deadline and advocating several programs to benefit persons with mental disabilities.

Muriel Fay Buck was born on February 20, 1912, in Huron, South Dakota, to Andrew and Jessie May Buck. Her father supported the family as a produce middleman, buying and selling such staples as cream, eggs, and poultry. Muriel Buck was raised in a Presbyterian home and was educated in public schools. From 1931 to 1932, she attended classes at Huron College. It was at that time that she met a young man tending counter at his father's pharmacy, Hubert Horatio Humphrey.[1] On September 3, 1936, Muriel Buck married Hubert Humphrey and, within a year, Muriel began helping to fund her husband's college education at the University of Minnesota and his graduate studies at Louisiana State University.[2] They raised a daughter and three sons: Nancy, Hubert III, Bob, and Douglas. Hubert Humphrey went on to teach political science at the University of Minnesota and at Macalester College during World War II. He also served as the state chief of the Minnesota war service program as assistant director of the War Manpower Commission in 1943. Two years later he launched a long and storied political career by winning election as mayor of Minneapolis. Humphrey became a powerful force in the state's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL). In 1948, he was elected to the first of three consecutive terms as one of Minnesota's U.S. Senators. In 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson chose Humphrey as his running mate on the presidential ticket. After their landslide victory, Humphrey served as Vice President from 1965 to 1969.

Muriel Humphrey played an indirect part in her husband's early political career, keeping a certain distance between her role as mother and Hubert's public life, but also assisting him as an informal advisor. She recalled their talks in the kitchen: "I'd say something while taking care of my babies and later it would be part of his speech."[3] It was not until Humphrey's first Senate re-election campaign in 1954 that his wife actively participated in public appearances on his behalf.[4] From that point forward, she gradually played a more active role in her husband's political career. When President Lyndon Johnson chose Hubert Humphrey as his 1964 running mate, the *Wall Street Journal* described Muriel Humphrey as one of her husband's key advisers: "Not only is the relationship between Hubert and Muriel Humphrey a genuinely warm and close one, but he has particular respect for her judgments of people and common sense assessments of situations. Mrs. Humphrey has never 'gone Washington,' and the Vice President feels that gives added weight to her opinions."[5] During the term that Hubert served as Vice President, the press portrayed Muriel as a dutiful and supportive wife: an adoring grandmother who sewed children's clothes (and her own),

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE U.S. SENATE HISTORICAL OFFICE

as well as an avid gardener.[6] But Muriel Humphrey also logged more than 650,000 miles on campaign trips and official visits during her husband's long political career.[7] After his unsuccessful campaign for the presidency in 1968, Hubert Humphrey was elected U.S. Senator from Minnesota in 1970. He won re-election in 1976.

In 1977, Hubert Humphrey was diagnosed with terminal cancer and passed away in January 1978. Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich appointed Muriel Humphrey less than two weeks later, on January 25, 1978, to serve in her husband's Senate seat until a special election could be held later that fall to fill the remaining four years of his term. Widespread public sentiment supported Muriel Humphrey's appointment. It was both testament to the Humphreys' partnership and a reflection of Minnesotans' belief that she would know how best to try to bring her husband's programs to fruition.

But the move served a political purpose as well. The 1978 elections in Minnesota would occur with the top three posts on the ticket held by unelected officials—senior Senator, governor, and junior Senator. Perpich's predecessor, Wendell Anderson, had resigned his gubernatorial post in December 1976 with the understanding that Perpich would appoint him to the Senate seat vacated when Walter Mondale became Vice President. Observers believed that the appointment of another politically ambitious member of the DFL to Hubert Humphrey's seat would set off a controversy that could hurt them at the polls.[8] Muriel Humphrey debated whether or not to accept and conferred with two political confidantes, Representative Barbara Jordan of Texas and Representative Lindy Boggs of Louisiana. "They both wanted me to accept the post and run for office," Humphrey noted.[9] Humphrey denied she was acting as merely a caretaker for the seat (postponing a decision on whether she would stand for election in the fall of 1978 to the remaining four years of the term), viewing the opportunity as a chance to help the DFL Party through a troubled period. "As a Member of the Senate, I believe I can help complete some of the very important legislative business that Hubert hoped to finish," Humphrey said during her appointment announcement.[10] Sworn in by Vice President Walter Mondale on February 6, she added modestly, "I hope I can fill Hubert's shoes."[11]

During her 10 months in office, Muriel Humphrey served on the Foreign Relations and Governmental Affairs committees. In her first speech as a Senator, Humphrey urged ratification of the treaties turning over control of the Panama Canal to Panama and guaranteeing the canal's neutrality, positions once espoused by her husband. On the Foreign Relations panel she also cast a key vote in favor of President James Earl "Jimmy" Carter's proposal to sell military aircraft to Egypt, Israel, and Saudi Arabia.[12] From her seat on Government Affairs, Humphrey sponsored a successful amendment to the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 that extended better job security protections to federal employees who exposed waste or fraud in government. The Senator also had the opportunity to witness the completion of a major segment of her husband's work with the passage of the 1978 Humphrey–Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act, attending the White House bill-signing ceremony.[13] The measure declared that it was the policy of the federal government to promote full employment, extend economic growth and increase real income, balance the budget, and create price stability.

Humphrey also championed liberal causes that were distinctively hers. She cosponsored a successful joint resolution to extend the deadline for ratification of the ERA by an additional three years. She also proposed a nationwide advocacy system to protect the rights of seriously disabled psychiatric patients and backed universal testing of pregnant women to prevent mental retardation in babies.[14] In September of 1978, the Senate approved her amendment to the Department of Education Organization Act that changed the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Department of Health and Human Services. During her tenure she admitted that she found the Senate at first to be "frightening. Especially presiding at meetings," she noted. But she did not lose her humor. "It's awfully hard for me to rap the gavel or interrupt when someone is talking. My upbring-

ing was that you never interrupt your elders, but I'm learning."[15]

On April 8, 1978, at a dinner in St. Paul honoring her late husband, Muriel Humphrey announced her decision not to seek election to the remaining four years of his term. Speaking to reporters, Senator Humphrey remarked that it was a "difficult decision," noting that "like Hubert, I feel stirred by the purpose and the promise and the challenge" of elective office. But after spending much of the past three decades in public life, spanning 12 elections, she yearned "to return to Minnesota in November and resume life as a private person with ample time for my home, family and friends."[16] Humphrey's Senate term expired on November 7, 1978, following the election of David Durenberger to serve the remaining four years of Hubert Humphrey's unexpired term.

After completing her Senate service, Humphrey retired to Excelsior, Minnesota. In 1979, she married an old family friend and widower whom she had known since her high school days, Max Brown. The couple settled in Plymouth, Minnesota, where Humphrey-Brown spent time with her family and largely away from the political spotlight. In 1998, during Hubert Humphrey III's campaign for governor of Minnesota, she appeared on the campaign trail with him. That fall, Muriel Buck Humphrey-Brown passed away in Minneapolis on September 20, 1998.

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JAMES B. ALLE
SENATOR

Maryon Pittman Allen

1925–

UNITED STATES SENATOR ★ DEMOCRAT FROM ALABAMA
1978

Maryon Pittman Allen, who briefly succeeded her husband upon his sudden death, is one of the few widows who remarked frankly about the shock and pain associated with serving under such circumstances. A journalist who married into politics, she was appointed to the U.S. Senate in 1978 by Alabama Governor George Wallace after the death of the skilled parliamentarian James Allen.

Maryon Pittman was born on November 30, 1925, in Meridian, Mississippi, one of four children raised by John D. and Tellie Chism Pittman. The family moved to Birmingham, Alabama, the following year, where John Pittman opened a tractor dealership. Maryon Pittman attended public schools and then went to the University of Alabama from 1944 to 1947. While still attending college, she married Joshua Mullins on October 17, 1946. The couple raised three children—Joshua, John, and Maryon—but were divorced in 1959. As a single mother, Maryon Pittman was employed as an insurance agent and then as a journalist, working as the women's section editor for five local weeklies in Alabama. As a staff writer for the *Birmingham News*, she took an assignment in 1964 to interview James Browning Allen, a widower and then the lieutenant governor of Alabama, who had just delivered a speech before the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs. Four months later, on August 7, 1964, James Allen and Maryon Pittman married; Allen brought two children from his previous marriage, James Jr., and Mary. When Alabama Senator Lister Hill chose not to seek re-election to the 91st Congress (1969–1971), James Allen sought and won election to his seat. A longtime Alabama state legislator, Senator Allen served on the Judiciary Committee. He became a master of parliamentary procedure, helping to revive the filibuster. Senator Allen fought the creation of a federal consumer protection agency, taxpayer financing of federal campaigns, and the 1978 treaties which ceded U.S. control of the Panama Canal. Allen, the *New York Times* observed, "was a valued ally in any fight, a man who could out-talk or out-maneuver many of the wisest and most experienced politicians in Washington. . . . If he did not beat the opposition, he wilted them."[1] Senator Alan Cranston once remarked, "He can catch other people napping, but he's not sneaky. He just plays hardball within the rules."[2] The *Washington Post* wrote that Allen "did not merely learn Jefferson's parliamentary manual; he absorbed it and employed it more doggedly, shrewdly and creatively than any other senator in years."[3] While her husband ensconced himself in the Senate, Maryon Allen continued her journalism career, writing a Washington-based news column, "The Reflections of a News Hen," that was syndicated in Alabama newspapers.

On June 1, 1978, Senator Allen died suddenly of a heart attack. Alabama Governor George Wallace, with whom James Allen served as lieutenant governor in the 1960s, appointed Maryon Allen on June 8, 1978, to succeed her husband. Wallace also called a special election to coincide with the general election on November 7, 1978, to fill the remaining two years of James Allen's term. Maryon Allen pledged to "continue to espouse the great principles of government to which Senator Allen dedicated his life. When I cast a vote on the floor of the U.S. Senate, it will reflect the philosophy he expressed so eloquently and strongly during his almost 10 years of service." She also announced her intention to run for the two-year term despite widespread speculation that Governor Wallace (who was ineligible for gubernatorial re-election) was

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE U.S. SENATE HISTORICAL OFFICE

considering campaigning for the seat himself. On June 12, 1978, Maryon Allen was sworn into the U.S. Senate by Vice President Walter Mondale; Senator Muriel Humphrey, widow of Hubert Humphrey, embraced Allen after the ceremony.[4]

"I'm trying to do this thing with taste and dignity, I'm not sure I can do it," Maryon Allen told the *Washington Post* after two months on the job. She also confided that her husband had made her promise that if his health failed, she would consider taking his seat in the Senate. "Jim and I found each other late in life," she recalled. "We were too close. I feel like I am an open, bleeding, raw, walking wound. I cover it up all during the day here in the Senate with a front. Jim wanted me to. I hate the word widow. But if I hadn't done this I would have fallen into the poor pitiful Pearl routine and felt sorry for myself. Jim wasn't going to give me that luxury. He gave me every other one. And, I must admit, at my age it's kind of exciting to start a new career."[5] She was assigned seats on two of her husband's former committees: Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry and Judiciary. Though she had lobbied Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia for a seat on the Rules and Administration Committee, she did not receive it.[6]

Perhaps her most important vote during her short Senate career came in October 1978, when she supported a proposal by Republican Jake Garn of Utah which would have allowed any of the 35 states that had ratified the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) since its passage in 1972 to rescind their approval. The Senate also was considering an extension of the ERA deadline of March 1979 by an additional three years. Supporters of the Garn Amendment argued that if the extension was passed to allow more states to approve then states also should be allowed to reverse their votes within that same time frame. The proposal failed by a 54–44 vote, clearing the way for successful passage of the extension.[7]

Alabama political observers fully expected that retiring Governor George Wallace would challenge Allen for the seat in the November special election. But early in the summer he surprised supporters by declining to seek the Democratic nomination, leaving Allen as the favorite. In yet another unexpected twist, Allen's campaign began to fall apart in the wake of a July *Washington Post* interview in which the new Senator was quoted as being highly critical of Governor Wallace and his wife.[8] Allen later claimed the interviewer had distorted her comments, but the reaction in Alabama damaged her chances for election. Nevertheless, Senator Allen remained confident. She concentrated on her Senate duties and campaigned little before the Democratic primary of September 5th. Allen led the primary voting with 44 percent, but fell short of the outright majority required by state election laws. Forced into a run-off with Alabama State Senator Donald Stewart, Maryon Allen eventually lost by a margin of more than 120,000 votes on September 26, 1978. In the general election Allen supported Republican candidate James D. Martin, a U.S. Representative and close friend of her husband's. Stewart eventually defeated Martin, 55 percent to 43 percent. Allen left the Senate on November 8, 1978, the day after the election.

After her Senate career, Maryon Allen worked as a columnist for the *Washington Post*. She later worked as a public relations and advertising director for an antique and auction company in Birmingham, Alabama, where she still resides.

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Nancy Landon Kassebaum

1932–

UNITED STATES SENATOR ★ REPUBLICAN FROM KANSAS
1978–1997

Hailing from a distinguished Kansas political family, Nancy Landon Kassebaum made her own mark by winning election to the U.S. Senate and serving there for nearly two decades, eventually becoming the first woman to chair a major Senate committee. As both chair of the Labor and Human Resources Committee and a senior member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Kassebaum earned a reputation as a determined and independent voice on issues ranging from Cold War policy to women's rights.

Nancy Landon was born in Topeka, Kansas, on July 29, 1932, into a family that emerged as a Midwestern dynasty. Her father was Alfred Mossman Landon, a successful oil man, two-term Kansas governor, and the 1936 Republican presidential nominee. Her mother, Theo Cobb Landon, was an accomplished pianist and harpist. Nancy Landon was born into a world of privilege, and national political figures dotted her childhood memories, including William Howard Taft and his family.[1] "I enjoyed politics and public policy so much," Kassebaum recalled years later, "that there were times in high school and college when I mused about becoming actively involved as a candidate."[2] She graduated from the University of Kansas in 1954 with a B.A. in political science and, in 1956, earned a M.A. from the University of Michigan in diplomatic history. While at the University of Michigan, Landon met Philip Kassebaum, who later pursued a law degree there. The couple married in 1956. They settled on a farm in Maize, Kansas, and raised four children: John, Linda, Richard, and William. Nancy Kassebaum served as a member of the school board in Maize. She also worked as vice president of Kassebaum Communications, a family-owned company that operated several radio stations. In 1975, Kassebaum and her husband were legally separated; their divorce became final in 1979. She worked in Washington, D.C., as a caseworker for Senator James B. Pearson of Kansas in 1975; however, Kassebaum returned to Kansas the following year.

When Senator Pearson declined to seek re-election in 1978, Kassebaum declared herself a candidate for the open seat. Though she seemed a political neophyte, the decision was a considered one, as she later reminisced, "I believed I could contribute something, that I had something to offer."[3] Philip Kassebaum, with whom Nancy Kassebaum remained close, worked on her campaign and advised her: "You have to want it enough to have a gnawing in the pit of your stomach that won't let you sleep. If you have that, then you can put up with the strenuous campaign."[4] Nancy Kassebaum proved to be a ferocious campaigner with a simple philosophy: "To be a good Senator, you need to be willing to work with people. You don't need to be a professional politician."[5]

Kassebaum's family background in professional politics was a tremendous boost to her campaign. In the race for the Republican nomination, she beat a field of eight contenders, including a politically experienced woman state senator, Jan Meyers, who later served six terms in the U.S. House. In the general election she faced Bill Roy, a lawyer and physician who had narrowly lost a bid to unseat Senator Robert Dole in 1974. The visibility generated in that campaign made him a formidable opponent in 1978. But Kassebaum wielded the Landon family name to great effect. "It has been said I am riding on the coattails of my dad," she admitted, "but I can't think of any better coattails to ride on."[6] Her campaign slogan was "A Fresh Face: A Trusted Kansas Name." Kassebaum went on to

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE U.S. SENATE HISTORICAL OFFICE

eclipse Roy by a margin of 86,000 votes out of about 749,000 cast, winning the election with 54 percent of the vote to Roy's 42 percent. In 1984 and 1990, Kassebaum was easily returned to office with 76 and 74 percent of the vote, respectively. Though the Landon name proved crucial, Kassebaum also won because of Kansas's conservative political tradition, virtually unanimous support from major newspapers in the state, and a pattern of Republican success during the 1978 midterm elections.[7] Another supporter throughout her campaign was former Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine. Upon Kassebaum's victory, Smith wrote a congratulatory note in which she expressed special pride in the fact that Kassebaum "ran as a candidate first, and a woman second."[8]

Kassebaum's gender unmistakably distinguished her in the Senate, where she was the only woman among the 100 Members. She took office on December 23, 1978, filling the vacancy created when Senator Pearson resigned a few days early to give Kassebaum an edge in seniority. She later recalled that it took her a while to adjust to life in the Senate as a woman; she remembered, for instance, avoiding the Senate Members' dining room because she was "intimidated."[9] She maintained her humor, however, once quipping of her special responsibilities as a woman: "There's so much work to do: the coffee to make and the chambers to vacuum. There are Pat Moynihan's hats to brush and the buttons to sew on Bob Byrd's red vests, so I keep quite busy."[10]

Kassebaum received assignments on a number of prominent committees, including: Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; Budget; Commerce, Science and Transportation; and the Special Committee on Aging. In 1980, when Republicans took control of the Senate, Kassebaum exchanged her seat on the Banking Committee for one on the prestigious Senate Foreign Relations Committee. She immediately was named chair of the Subcommittee on African Affairs, a position she held until the Democrats gained control of the Senate in 1987. She would remain on Foreign Relations for the duration of her tenure in Congress, and it became the focus of much of her energy. Though she knew virtually nothing about Africa she quickly became steeped in the region and U.S. interests there.

Kassebaum became a respected member of the Foreign Relations Committee, whose individualism often led her to depart from her party's positions during the presidencies of Ronald W. Reagan and George H.W. Bush. She was a major critic of President Jimmy Carter's grain embargo against the Soviet Union in the late 1970s (Kansas was the nation's leading grain producer), though she supported the return of the Panama Canal to Panamanian rule. She initially opposed funding for parts of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) program, though she later voted to fund major portions of it in 1992. In 1986, she surprised Republican colleagues by advocating sanctions to protest the South African government's policy of racial apartheid. She also proved prescient in two significant cases during President Bush's term. In June 1990, Kassebaum, along with Kansas Democratic Representative Dan Glickman, called for the suspension of $700 million in credit guarantees for Iraq, money allocated for food relief but spent by Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein on military armaments. Much to its regret, the Bush administration rejected the proposal. A few months later, Hussein's forces invaded Kuwait and set in motion the first Gulf War. Kassebaum also supported arming U.N. workers in Somalia in 1992 in order to more effectively carry out their food relief mission. Again, the Bush administration demurred, only to reverse course later in the year and insert troops.[11]

Overall, Kassebaum earned a reputation as a moderate who supported the broad outlines of Republican budget and defense programs but remained independent on social issues. For instance, she supported a woman's right to have an abortion. She also backed programs for international family planning, which again brought her into conflict with conservative Republicans. In 1992, she co-founded the Republican Majority Coalition, a group that sought to counter the rise of the religious right in the party. She resisted the feminist label, noting on one occasion that she thought of herself foremost as a "U.S. Senator, not a woman Senator." She added, "It diminishes

Kassebaum thought of herself foremost as a "U.S. Senator, not a woman Senator." She added, "It diminishes women to say that we have one voice and everything in the Senate would change if we were there."

women to say that we have one voice and everything in the Senate would change if we were there."[12] In 1994, she voted for President William J. Clinton's crime bill, a move which so enraged Republican Members that they tried, unsuccessfully, to strip her of seniority. Late in her final term, she also worked with Democratic Senator Ted Kennedy to push a bill through the Senate that would have overhauled the national health insurance system and provided coverage for people with pre-existing conditions. As a member of the Budget Committee in 1984 and 1987 she worked to enact a bipartisan deficit reduction plan.

Beginning in the 101st Congress (1989–1991), Kassebaum served on the Labor and Human Resources Committee and, when the Republican Party recaptured the Senate in 1994, Kassebaum's seniority made her chair of the committee. Her chairmanship of Labor and Human Resources during the 104th Congress (1995–1997) marked the first time that a woman had chaired a major standing Senate committee and the first time that any woman had headed a Senate panel since Margaret Chase Smith chaired the Special Committee on Rates and Compensation of Certain Officers and Employees of the Senate in 1954. Kassebaum also rose to chair the Commerce Committee's Subcommittee on Aviation. In the 99th and 100th Congresses (1985–1989), she was named to the Select Committee on Ethics.

In 1996, Kassebaum declined to run for re-election, citing the "need to pursue other challenges, including the challenge of being a grandmother."[13] That year she also married former Tennessee Senator Howard Baker, Jr. Kassebaum worked briefly as a visiting professor at Iowa State while she and Baker divided their time between homes in Kansas and Tennessee. In 2001, Kassebaum was named a co-chair of the Presidential Appointment Initiative Advisory Board which made recommendations to the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee on how to streamline the presidential nominee appointment process. Later that year, when Howard Baker was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Japan, Kassebaum accompanied him on his assignment to Tokyo.

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Beverly Butcher Byron

1932–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM MARYLAND

1979–1993

After winning the election to fill the seat of her late husband, Beverly Byron went on to have a 14-year career in the House of Representatives. She used the experience she acquired as an unpaid aide to her husband and her family background to assert herself as an influential member of the Armed Services Committee. As a staunch defender of both military and defense spending, Congresswoman Byron served as one of the more conservative Democrats in Congress.

Beverly Barton Butcher was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on July 27, 1932, to Harry C. and Ruth B. Butcher. She grew up in Washington, D.C., where her father managed a radio station before becoming an aide to General Dwight Eisenhower for a short period of time in World War II. She graduated from the National Cathedral School in Washington, D.C., in 1950. In 1963, she attended Hood College in Frederick, Maryland, for one year before marrying Goodloe E. Byron. She became active in politics at about that time, serving in 1962 and 1965 as a treasurer for the Maryland Young Democrats. She eventually left her career as a high school teacher to work on her husband's campaign for the Maryland legislature and, in 1970, his successful campaign for a U.S. House seat that encompassed western Maryland. During her husband's tenure as a Representative, she worked closely with him, even debating his opponents on occasion when his official duties prevented district visits.[1]

One month before the general election in 1978, Goodloe Byron died of a heart attack while jogging along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Before finding time to gain perspective on the tragedy, Beverly Byron was pressured by local Democratic leaders, who faced a seven-day deadline to name an alternate candidate. "Before I knew what was happening, the officials from Annapolis were in my living room with papers to sign," Byron recalled. "My children made the decision for me." In addition to heeding the advice of Goodloe, Jr., Barton, and Mary, Byron further explained her motivation to campaign for her husband's seat when she commented, "I knew the things he stood for and I understood how he felt. I wanted to give it a try. All you can do is try."[2] In the general election, Byron easily defeated her Republican opponent Melvin Perkins, an unemployed vagrant, capturing 90 percent of the vote.[3] In winning election to the 96th Congress (1979–1981), she succeeded her husband, just as his mother, Katharine E. Byron, had succeeded her husband (Goodloe's father), William D. Byron, following the latter's death in 1941.

Representative Beverley Byron earned a reputation as a conservative Democrat who voted for Ronald W. Reagan and George H.W. Bush administration policies, frequently breaking ranks with moderate and liberal Democrats on both fiscal and social issues. She opposed a national health care system and a woman's right to seek an abortion except in extreme cases where the mother's life was in danger. In 1981, she was one of only two northern Democrats in the House to support President Reagan's budget, declaring, "The system we've been working under has not worked. I'm willing to give the President's proposals a chance."[4] Although she often angered fellow Democrats with her conservative agenda, Byron's party-crossing habit worked well in her right-of-center district. As the fourth person of the "Byron dynasty," she, much like her late husband and his parents, adopted a political agenda that typically mirrored the conservative interests of the majority of people living in western Maryland.[5] Beverly Byron won re-election to the next six Congresses

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE HONORABLE BEVERLY BYRON

without seriously being challenged, accumulating between 65 and 75 percent of the vote.[6] She received her husband's committee assignments on Armed Services and the Select Committee on Aging. In the 97th Congress (1981–1983), she served on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. She held all three assignments until she left Congress in 1993.

Congresswoman Byron's legislative interests gravitated toward military policy. From 1983 to 1986, she chaired the House Special Panel on Arms Control and Disarmament, where she sought to limit the scope of nuclear test ban proposals. She also backed the development of the MX Missile (the experimental mobile nuclear missile system), supporting the Reagan administration's contention that it would serve as a bargaining chip during future arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union. In a 1984 debate, Byron urged her colleagues in the House to support funding for the weapon: "I think for this nation, at this time, to decide not to go ahead with the MX, to let down our NATO allies, to not support the continuation of the modernization of our missile program is a wrong signal."[7] During her congressional career, Byron visited numerous military facilities and built a reputation for examining military hardware firsthand during inspections. In November 1985, Byron became the first woman to fly in the military's premier spy plane, the SR-71 "Blackbird," capable of cruising at Mach 3 (three times the speed of sound) at an altitude of about 90,000 feet.

In 1987, Byron beat out Representative Pat Schroeder, a more senior member of the House Armed Services Committee, for election as chair of the influential Military Personnel and Compensation Subcommittee. Two years earlier, Representative Les Aspin of Wisconsin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, had deferred plans to create a new military subcommittee for fear that a "civil war" would ensue; conservative members of Armed Services wanted Byron as head of the new subcommittee rather than Aspin's political ally, Schroeder.[8] Despite his delaying tactics, Aspin failed to muster enough support for Schroeder in 1987, thereby allowing Byron to assume a leadership role. As the first woman to head an Armed Services subcommittee, Byron oversaw more than 40 percent of the Defense Department's budget and had a hand in shaping military policy that coincided with the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact (the Eastern European Communist military coalition) and the end of the Soviet Union itself. Though she rarely wavered from her support for defense expenditures, Byron openly criticized the military during the Navy's "Tailhook" sexual harassment scandal of the early 1990s.

As a Representative, Byron did not consider the advancement of women's rights a priority. Admittedly not attuned to gender discrimination, she once stated, "It's hard for me to understand people who have doors closed on them."[9] Although she joined the Congressional Women's Caucus, Byron rarely participated in the meetings and activities of the organization. When caucus leaders modified the bylaws in 1981 to bolster its effectiveness, Byron balked at the changes, such as the new mandatory annual dues. She resigned from the caucus shortly thereafter declaring that, "I can't justify it for the amount of work I get in return in my district. I think there are others that feel the same."[10] Despite her inclination to align herself with congressional conservatives in both parties, Byron voted for the Equal Rights Amendment in 1983. Undecided until the day of the vote on the floor, she divulged that she found the legislation compelling because it might lead to greater opportunities for her daughter. When asked about her decision to back the amendment, Byron proclaimed that she voted her conscience, remarking, "Eventually, you just have to make up your mind."[11]

By the early 1990s, Byron's conservatism did not rest easily with the liberal wing of her party and with some of her constituents. "I go home and I get beat up," she said at the time. "Down here [in Washington], I'm wonderful."[12] Throughout her career, Byron expended little effort or money when campaigning for re-election, rarely conducting polls or running advertisements attacking her opponents. In March 1992, Byron's hands-off approach to campaigning played a part in her surprising loss in the Democratic primary. Tom Hattery, a liberal state legislator

who insisted that Byron was out of touch with her district because she agreed to take a large congressional pay raise while western Maryland suffered from a nine percent unemployment rate, garnered 56 percent of the vote in the primary. Byron's electoral upset—she was the first incumbent woman to lose a House race since 1984 and the first sitting Member to lose in the 1992 primaries—signaled an anti-incumbent mood that proved decisive in the fall elections. It also marked the first time in more than two decades that a Byron would not represent western Maryland.[13]

After Congress, Beverly Byron returned to Frederick, Maryland, with her second husband, B. Kirk Walsh, and served on the board of directors for a major defense contractor. In 1995, President William J. Clinton appointed her to the Naval Academy Board of Visitors. Four years later, Byron became a member of the Board of Regents for the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies.

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Geraldine Anne Ferraro

1935–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM NEW YORK
1979–1985

In 1984, Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro secured the nomination as the first woman vice presidential candidate on a major party ticket. Representative Ferraro's pragmatism and political skill, coupled with her close relationships with top Washington Democrats, allowed her rapid climb up the House leadership ladder. While serving in Congress, Ferraro was able to pursue a liberal, feminist agenda without ignoring the concerns of her conservative district or alienating her mostly male colleagues.

The daughter of Italian immigrants Dominick and Antonetta Ferraro, Geraldine Anne Ferraro was born on August 26, 1935, in Newburgh, New York. The youngest child and only girl in the family, Geraldine was born shortly after her older brother Gerald, for whom she was named, died in a car accident.[1] Dominick Ferraro died from a heart attack in 1943. Antonetta Ferraro moved her three children to the Bronx, where she worked to send her daughter to Marymount Catholic School in Tarrytown, New York. Geraldine Ferraro excelled in academics, skipping the sixth through eighth grades and graduating early from high school in 1952. She earned a full scholarship to attend Marymount College in New York City, graduating with a B.A. in English in 1956.[2] While teaching in New York public schools, Ferraro attended night school at Fordham University and earned her law degree in 1960. On July 16, a week after graduation, she married a real-estate broker, John Zaccaro; however, Ferraro kept her maiden name as a tribute to her mother.[3] She practiced law part-time while raising their three children: Donna, John, and Laura.[4] In 1974, Ferraro's cousin, District Attorney Nicholas Ferraro, offered her the position of assistant district attorney in Queens, New York. Geraldine Ferraro was later transferred to the Special Victims Bureau in 1975, where she quickly earned a reputation for her tenacity and talent in the courtroom.[5] Ferraro later said her work in the Special Victims Bureau changed her political views from moderate to liberal. Finding the work draining and citing unequal pay at the district attorney's office, she left in 1978, and set her sights on Congress.[6]

After serving as the U.S. Representative in a Queens, New York, district for nearly 30 years, Democratic Congressman James Delaney announced his retirement in 1978. An ethnically and financially diverse district, the bulk of the population, however, consisted of white middle-class and blue-collar workers, a setting that inspired Archie Bunker's neighborhood in the popular television show, *All in the Family*. Although formerly a bastion for Roosevelt and Kennedy Democrats, the district had become increasingly conservative.[7] Labeled a liberal feminist and lacking the support of local Democratic leaders, Ferraro faced long odds when she sought Delaney's vacant seat.[8] Capitalizing on her ethnic background and running on a platform of increased law and order, support for the elderly, and neighborhood preservation, she secured the party nomination with 53 percent of the vote in a three-way battle against Thomas Manton, a city councilman who had the support of the local Democratic leadership, and Patrick Deignan, a popular candidate of Irish descent.[9]

Ferraro moved on to a heated campaign in the general election against former Republican State Assemblyman Alfred DelliBovi. She quickly went on the offensive, adopting the slogan, "Finally, A Tough Democrat," when her opponent criticized her decision to send her children to private schools.[10] After Ferraro appealed to the nation-

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

al party for help in the close race, Speaker of the House Thomas "Tip" O'Neill of Massachusetts pressured the local Democratic leadership to lend their support.[11] She ultimately defeated DelliBovi with 54 percent of the vote earning a seat in the 96th Congress (1979–1981). As the first Congresswoman from Queens, she also was re-elected to two subsequent Congresses, winning in 1980 and 1982 with 58 and 78 percent of the vote, respectively.[12]

One of Ferraro's greatest challenges in Congress was balancing her own liberal views with the conservative values of her constituents. Especially in her first two terms, she remained mindful of the needs of the citizens in her district. Assigned to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee for the 96th and 97th Congresses (1979–1983), Ferraro earned a spot on the Public Works and Transportation Committee in 1981.[13] When appointed to the Select Committee on Aging in 1979, a post she held until 1985, she organized a forum in her district to discuss problems concerning housing, medical aid, and social support systems for the New York elderly.[14] In deference to the sentiments in her district, Ferraro voted in favor of some conservative legislation, such as a proposed constitutional amendment banning mandatory busing for school desegregation, tuition tax credits for private schools, and school prayer.[15] Early in her career, she supported a strong national defense posture.[16] Ferraro later broke from the Democratic Party leadership when she voted against a 1982 tax increase.

Ferraro generally remained loyal to the Democratic agenda, however, voting with her party 78 percent of the time in her first term and following the party line even more closely during her second and third terms.[17] She was particularly critical of the Ronald W. Reagan administration's policies towards women, disdaining what she called the White House's efforts to glorify the nonworking mother, stating, "I don't disparage that [being a stay-at-home mom], I did it myself. . . . But not every woman can afford to do that."[18] Ferraro looked after the economic needs of women, sponsoring the Economic Equity Act in 1981. The legislation reformed pension options for women, protecting the rights of widows and divorcées and allowing homemakers to save as much as their working spouses in individual retirement accounts.[19] One of the most controversial women's issues, reproductive rights, remained a strong personal issue for Ferraro. Despite criticism by conservative Catholics and even her own mother, Ferraro supported abortion rights, vowing to not let her religious beliefs as a Catholic interfere with her constitutional obligation to a separate church and state.[20]

It was her ability to push her own agenda without abandoning her conservative constituents or taking a threatening feminist stance that caught the attention of her fellow Democratic colleagues and allowed her rapid rise within the party leadership. Representative Barney Frank, a Democrat from Massachusetts, summed up her political skill, observing that "[Ferraro] manages to be threatening on issues without being threatening personally." [21] Speaker O'Neill observed Ferraro's seemingly natural political ability and took an immediate liking to the Congresswoman, whom he described as being "solid as a rock." [22] He admired her forthright yet pragmatic style and found her liberal policies, particularly her pro-labor stance, to be parallel with his own.[23]

Congresswoman Ferraro used her friendship with Speaker O'Neill to open doors for herself and other female colleagues. At the start of the 98th Congress (1983–1985), she sought a position on the prestigious Ways and Means Committee. Ferraro was passed over, mainly because New York was already heavily represented on that committee.[24] To the surprise of many congressional veterans, however, O'Neill appointed her to the prominent Budget Committee. In addition to Ferraro's assignment, other Congresswomen received their preferred appointments. Defending the increase in appointments of women to important committees, Speaker O'Neill claimed that their placement was long overdue and was quoted as saying, "They [women] hadn't sought those spots before."[25]

Ferraro's rise within the Democratic ranks was further evidenced by her election as Secretary of the Democratic Caucus in 1980 and again in 1982. Historically an honorific position typically held by women Members, party rules had changed such that the Secretary now sat on the

Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, the panel responsible for making committee assignments and forming party strategy.[26] Ferraro also increased her visibility within the party ranks by playing a prominent role in the 1980 Democratic National Convention. At the 1980 convention, Ferraro introduced the keynote speaker, Representative Morris Udall of Arizona.[27] Two years later in 1982, she was instrumental in achieving automatic delegate status to the 1984 Democratic National Convention for three-fifths of the Democrats serving in the House and the Senate, an effort to give professional politicians a chance to unify and shape the party's platform. In 1984, Ferraro became the first woman to chair the Democratic platform committee. Although she faced the arduous task of creating a unified platform for the upcoming presidential contest, the position afforded Ferraro invaluable media exposure and distinction in the Democratic Party.[28]

During the 1984 presidential campaign, political strategists and feminist groups pressured the Democratic Party to nominate a woman to the ticket. The movement, which hinged on the belief that selecting a woman as the vice presidential candidate would energize the party and help Democrats compete against popular incumbent President Ronald Reagan (by attracting women voters), gained momentum in the months preceding the convention.[29] As rumors circulated that presidential candidate Walter Mondale planned on selecting a female running mate, the leadership's favorite, Geraldine Ferraro, topped a list that included Representatives Lindy Boggs of Louisiana, Pat Schroeder of Colorado, and Barbara Mikulski of Maryland, along with San Francisco Mayor and future U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein. On her chances of becoming a vice presidential nominee, Ferraro remarked, "People are no longer hiding behind their hands and giggling when they talk about a woman for national office, and I think that's wonderful."[30] In July 1984, Mondale selected Ferraro as his running mate, making her the first woman to run for election for a major party on a national ticket.[31]

"The fact it is a struggle is never a good enough reason not to run. You do it because you believe you can make a difference. You do it because it's an opportunity available to you that could barely have been imagined by your ancestors."

—Geraldine Ferraro, on the decision to run for elective office

Ferraro's addition to the ballot was expected to appeal to the diverse audience she represented: women, Italian Americans, Roman Catholics, and the northeastern voters. Ultimately, her characteristic pragmatism won her the nomination. Her gender alone would appeal to women and progressive voters, but as fellow House Democrat Tony Coelho of California, commented, Ferraro wasn't a "threat" to the Democratic mainstream. Qualifying his statement, Coelho said, "She is not a feminist with wounds."[32] Still, some congressional colleagues criticized Ferraro as being too inexperienced on many important issues, most especially on foreign policy matters.[33] Other women, including potential candidates Representatives

Boggs and Schroeder, questioned Ferraro's selection, citing themselves as better candidates because of their long experience in Washington politics.[34] The campaign momentum stalled when allegations of financial wrongdoing by John Zaccaro emerged. In November 1984, the Mondale–Ferraro ticket was handily defeated by the incumbent Reagan–Bush team. John Zaccaro later was convicted in February 1985 of conducting fraudulent real estate transactions.[35]

After the defeat, Geraldine Ferraro returned to practicing law. She served as a fellow at the Harvard Institute of Politics from 1988 until 1992. In addition, she authored three books about her political career. Ferraro re-entered electoral politics when she ran for the U.S. Senate in 1992 and 1998. After failing to secure the Democratic Party's nomination in both unsuccessful campaigns, Ferraro vowed to never run again for public office. In 1993, President William J. Clinton appointed her to the United Nations Human Rights Convention in Geneva, Switzerland. Ferraro also was appointed vice chair of the U.S. Delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in September, 1995.[36] She later worked as president of a global management consulting firm, and as a television analyst and syndicated columnist.

After being diagnosed with multiple myeloma, a dangerous form of blood cancer, in 1998, Ferraro spoke publicly about her illness and her use of the drug Thalidomide to treat her condition. In a plea for continued research on Thalidomide's effects on her illness, she testified at a June 2001 Senate hearing. Using herself as an exhibit, she stated, "I look great, and I feel great, and it's what early diagnosis and research can do."[37]

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Bobbi Fiedler

1937–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM CALIFORNIA
1981–1987

Thrust onto the public stage because of her opposition to a controversial Los Angeles busing program, Bobbi Fiedler managed to convert her local celebrity into a political career. The former housewife and businesswoman who described herself as a "fiscal conservative and a social liberal" managed to unseat a prominent incumbent to earn a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.[1] Fiedler's congressional career ended following an unsuccessful run for the U.S. Senate.

Roberta "Bobbi" Frances Horowitz was born to Jack and Sylvia Levin Horowitz in Santa Monica, California, on April 22, 1937. After graduating from Santa Monica High School in 1955, she attended Santa Monica Technical School and Santa Monica City College through 1959. During the 1960s, she and her husband owned and operated two pharmacies in the San Fernando section of Los Angeles and had two children, Randy and Lisa.[2] The Fiedlers later divorced.

Bobbi Fiedler first entered the public spotlight when she became a vocal critic of a divisive Los Angeles busing program of the 1970s. Aimed at promoting racial integration in Southern California public schools, the mandatory busing system attracted the ire of parents throughout the district because of its tendency to force children to travel long distances to and from school. As a parent volunteer in a local elementary school, Fiedler led the charge of disgruntled parents by organizing an anti-busing group called BUSTOP. Fiedler's notoriety from her work with the protest organization helped launch her political career. In 1977, she won election to the influential Los Angeles city board of education which oversaw an urban school district encompassing more than 3 million people.[3] The high-profile leadership position spurred Fiedler's ascent on both the state and national scene. From 1977 through 1987, Fiedler served as a delegate to the California State Republican conventions, and she also was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1980 and 1984. During the 1984 Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas, Fiedler delivered a speech seconding President Ronald Reagan's nomination for re-election.[4]

Brimming with confidence from her newfound role as a leading public figure in the Los Angeles area, Fiedler decided to run for a seat in the 97th Congress (1981–1983) that represented portions of suburban Los Angeles in the San Fernando Valley, including the towns of Woodland Hills, Northridge, and Granada Hills. It was a district dominated by white-collar, middle-class families. She faced little opposition in the Republican primary, earning 74 percent of the vote against Patrick O'Brien. Despite her easy victory in the primary, Fiedler had the daunting task of running against 10-term incumbent Representative James Corman in the general election. Not intimidated by her opponent's influential position in Congress, Fiedler pronounced, "He's so out of touch he doesn't know what people in the district think."[5] Few people believed Corman, chair of the Democratic Congressional Committee and high-ranking member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, could be unseated by an inexperienced candidate. With a straightforward campaign strategy focusing on opposition to the Los Angeles busing system—a tactic that paralleled Congresswoman Louise Hicks' (of Massachusetts) path to the House a decade earlier–Fiedler stunned experts with one of the biggest upsets of the political season, defeating Corman on November 4, 1980, by 752 votes.[6] Fielder also was aided by Ronald W. Reagan's landslide defeat of incum-

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bent President James Earl "Jimmy" Carter in the 1980 presidential election; Carter's early concession speech, given three hours before the polls closed in California, may have tilted the closely contested race in Fiedler's favor by discouraging voter turnout among Democrats.[7]

In Congress, Fiedler was rewarded handsomely for her unlikely victory, winning appointment to the Budget Committee, where she served for all three of her terms and was on the Joint Economic Committee during the 99th Congress (1985–1987). She also was the senior Republican member of task forces on defense and international affairs as well as health. As a Congresswoman, Fiedler typically backed the Reagan administration and her Republican colleagues on fiscal matters, most especially in her position as a member of the Budget Committee. Nonetheless, she strayed from the party line with respect to her views towards women's rights. Admittedly not a feminist before becoming a politician, Fiedler commented that soon after taking office she felt a "special obligation" to represent the concerns of women. She went on to remark, "I began to realize that most men have very little real knowledge of the problems women face. They don't understand the special responsibility of working full time and getting up at one or two in the morning with a sick child."[8] During her tenure in Congress, Fiedler promoted a range of issues concerning women, such as Individual Retirement Account allotments for homemakers, child support and enforcement, and welfare reform, as well as supporting the Equal Rights Amendment. However, some feminists criticized her for not assuming a more public role in advocating the equal rights of women.[9]

As a result of 1982 reapportionment, Fielder's district became a Republican stronghold in California. Re-elected to both the 98th and 99th Congresses (1983–1987) with more than 70 percent of the vote, Fiedler nonetheless opted to leave her safe seat to challenge the longtime Democratic California Senator Alan Cranston in 1986.[10] Although Cranston had easily defeated his conservative Republican opponents in his previous two re-election bids, Fiedler entered the race in part because of her belief that her more moderate views would appeal to voters. Moreover, Cranston, a man she termed an "ultra-liberal" and the "last of the old-time big spenders," was viewed by some Republicans as vulnerable coming off his unsuccessful run for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984.[11] During the Republican primary, Fielder's candidacy fell apart when a grand jury indicted her and an aide for attempting to pay an opponent to withdraw from the race. Fiedler called the allegation "a political dirty trick" and maintained her innocence.[12] The indictment soon was dropped, but the political fallout was costly. Fielder lost the primary, garnering just 15 percent of the vote.

Following the end of her third term in Congress, she returned to Northridge, California, where she married Paul Clarke, her former chief of staff, on February 15, 1987. Fiedler expressed interest in succeeding outgoing U.S. Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole in the fall of 1987, but the Reagan administration did not nominate her for the Cabinet position.[13] Fiedler later worked as a lobbyist and political commentator.[14]

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Paula Fickes Hawkins

1927–

UNITED STATES SENATOR ★ REPUBLICAN FROM FLORIDA
1981–1987

An aggressive and outspoken Republican, Paula Hawkins sailed into office in a Republican sweep led by victorious presidential candidate Ronald Reagan in 1980. A staunch defender of her ever-changing Florida constituency, she also created a public dialogue on the subject of missing, exploited, and abused children. Hawkins's vigorous work to pass the 1982 Missing Children's Act helped bring to light a long-ignored national scourge.

Paula Fickes was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, on January 24, 1927, the oldest of three children raised by Paul, a chief warrant officer in the Navy, and Leone (Staley) Fickes. In 1934, the family settled in Atlanta, Georgia, where Paul Fickes took a teaching job at Georgia Tech. The Fickes eventually separated, and Leone Fickes moved with her children to Logan, Utah. Paula Fickes graduated from Cache High School in Richmond, Utah, in 1944. She attended Utah State University before taking a job as a secretary for the university's director of athletics. Paula Fickes married Walter Eugene Hawkins on September 5, 1947. The couple settled in Atlanta, where Walter studied electrical engineering; he later owned a successful electronics business. The Hawkins raised three children: Genean, Kevin, and Kelly Ann. The family moved to Florida in 1955 where Paula Hawkins first entered public affairs as a community activist and volunteer for the local Republican Party organization. In 1966, she helped orchestrate Republican Edward Gurney's successful campaign in the GOP primary and general election for a House seat. Two years later, Hawkins co-chaired the Richard Nixon presidential campaign in Florida. Hawkins's work as a GOP regular provided her the base from which to launch a political career, winning election to the Florida public service commission from 1972 to 1979. In 1974, she entered the primary race for the U.S. Senate seat held by Gurney, then a freshman incumbent under investigation for campaign finance improprieties.[1] Hawkins, however, failed to secure the GOP nomination. In 1978, Hawkins also lost a campaign for lieutenant governor of Florida.

In 1980, encouraged by the Republican National Committee chairman, Hawkins entered the race for the seat of incumbent Democrat Senator Richard B. Stone. She won a plurality against five other contenders in the GOP primary but fell short of the necessary majority by just a few points. In the run-off primary she overwhelmed the runner-up, former U.S. Representative Lou Frey, Jr., with 62 percent of the vote.[2] In the general election, she faced popular former U.S. Representative Bill Gunter, who had edged Senator Stone in the Democratic primary. The election seemed to hinge less on substantive issues than on the candidates' personalities, with Hawkins depicted, partly on her own volition, as being aggressive and forceful. "[Voters] don't want specifics," Hawkins said. "People are looking for somebody that will shake it up. . . . That's all they want. They want a fighter."[3] Observers agreed that Hawkins benefited from the long coattails of GOP presidential candidate Ronald Reagan, who won Florida with 56 percent of the vote on his way to victory. Hawkins won, too, but by a narrower margin, just 52 percent.[4] She was part of a Republican tide in the Senate, as 14 new GOP Senators were elected to the upper chamber, shifting control away from the Democrats for the first time in nearly three decades.

When Senator Stone resigned from office on December

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"Paula's like a teabag,"
one Florida
GOP official observed.
"You have to put her
in hot water to
see how strong she is."

31, 1980, Hawkins was appointed to fill his seat on January 1, 1981, thus giving her a minor seniority advantage over the rest of the Senate freshmen who were sworn in two days later. Senator Hawkins was assigned to three committees when the 97th Congress (1981–1983) convened: Labor and Human Resources; Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry; and Joint Economic. In the 98th Congress (1983–1985), she received additional appointments to the Foreign Relations Committee and the Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee. Hawkins also served on the Special Committee on Aging.

Hawkins immediately began cultivating her image as a scrapper. Her outspoken manner, however, was not always well-received by more staid Senate colleagues. After a year in office, Hawkins altered her approach, hoping that constituents would judge her legislative achievements rather than her aggressive style. "I guess I have my dog in too many fights," she confided to the *New York Times* in late 1981.[5] Hawkins lobbied hard for federal aid to help the state defray the costs of caring for, housing, and processing thousands of Cuban and Haitian refugees in Florida. She warned that otherwise, "We just might have to dig a ditch at our northern border, erect a sign, 'Yankees, Keep Out,' and apply for foreign aid ourselves. Florida is under siege, and it's no fault of our own." In particular, Hawkins expressed concern about the effects of the 1980 Mariel boatlift, which resulted when Cuban dictator Fidel Castro temporarily lifted emigration restrictions. It was later revealed that Castro emptied some of his nation's jails, setting hardened criminals aboard the "freedom flotilla" to Florida; 23,000 of the immigrants had conviction records. State authorities were extremely taxed handling the flood of refugees. Hawkins described the boatlift people in sweeping terms; they were, she told one newspaper, "terrorists." Her solution to the problem: "Send them home."[6]

As chair of the Investigation and Oversight Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, Hawkins initiated a year-long probe of the rising numbers of children reported missing by their families. She worked closely with a Florida couple, John and Reve Walsh, whose son, Adam, was abducted from a Florida shopping mall and was later found decapitated, a horrific episode that riveted national attention. The Walsh family had found that a number of bureaucratic road blocks hindered the search for their son and were determined to create a missing children's agency to facilitate searches. Paula Hawkins was a key ally in that effort. Her work led to the passage of the Missing Children's Act of 1982, a measure that established a national center for information about missing children. Prior to this legislation, parents had been required to wait 48 hours before the federal officials could become involved in the search for a missing child. Hawkins's bill abolished that waiting period. It also gave parents access to a Federal Bureau of Investigation database, the National Crime Information Center, where they could list their child and perform searches through records of existing reports.[7] By clearing away the red tape, Hawkins's bill helped locate more than 2,000 children in the first year of its existence.

In 1984, at the Third National Conference on Sexual Victimization of Children, Hawkins stunned the audience by revealing that she was sexually molested as a kindergartener by a trusted elderly neighbor. When the case went to court, however, the judge discounted her and other neighborhood children's testimony. The molester was set free. "I like to win," Hawkins recalled, "and it's bothered me all this time that the 'nice old man' got off and went on abusing children for the rest of his life. The embarrassment and humiliation of being called a liar will stay with me the rest of mine." For Hawkins, the effect of "going public" with this well-kept secret was personally therapeutic and rewarding in the sense that it encouraged others to do so as well. "Almost immediately, many other child abuse victims felt free to discuss their own difficult experiences," she recalled in her autobiography. "After all, if a U.S. Senator had opened up, why shouldn't they?"[8]

Hawkins's 1986 re-election campaign was judged to be a referendum not only on Hawkins's first term in office but the Reagan presidency as well. With 22 GOP seats up for election, the Republican majority in the Senate was at stake. Early on, GOP officials deemed Hawkins's contest

a key electoral battle and began putting money and resources into it. She faced the most popular politician in the state: two-term Governor Bob Graham, whose approval ratings topped 80 percent. At one point Hawkins trailed by as much as 22 percent in some of the polls, but political observers refused to count her out. "Paula's like a teabag," one Florida GOP official observed. "You have to put her in hot water to see how strong she is."[9] Nevertheless, her campaign was plagued by her ill health and poor luck. In May 1985, news reports revealed that Hawkins's estranged brother had been indicted on child abuse charges.[10] Hawkins maintained that the timing of that news release was a ploy to hurt her campaign. In early 1986, suffering pain from an old back injury, Hawkins checked herself into Duke University Hospital and was temporarily sidelined by a surgical procedure.[11] Lost weeks of campaigning hurt Hawkins in a state where voter turnover—by one estimate nearly one-third of the registered voters in 1986 had not been residents in 1980—was a perennial concern for politicians.[12] She also had the difficult task of campaigning against a Democratic opponent who supported such Republican positions as Strategic Defense Initiative, aid to the Contras in Nicaragua, and the death penalty.[13] Hawkins lost to Governor Graham by nearly 180,000 votes, or a 55 percent to 45 percent margin, as Democrats regained control of the Senate.[14]

After completing her term in the Senate, Hawkins returned to her home in Winter Park, Florida. She served for seven years as a representative for the United States on the Organization of American States Inter-American Drug Abuse Commission. In 1997, she retired from politics and joined the board of directors of a large drug and cosmetic company. Hawkins continues to serve as president of a management consulting company she founded in 1988.

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Lynn Martin

1939–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM ILLINOIS
1981–1991

In a decade in the House, Lynn Martin's expertise on economic issues, her quick wit, moderation, and independence helped her to become the first woman House Member to attain leadership positions high within the Republican Party. As she had in the Illinois house of representatives, Congresswoman Martin earned a reputation as a liberal on women's issues but also as a stalwart fiscal conservative eager to rein in a government that, in her view, had spent beyond its means since the 1960s. "All bureaucracy doesn't have to exist forever," Martin said shortly after arriving in Congress.[1]

Judith Lynn Morely was born on December 26, 1939, in Evanston, Illinois, youngest of two daughters of William Morely, an accountant, and Helen Hall Morely, a department store clerk. She grew up on the north side of Chicago in a heavily Irish-Catholic and Democratic neighborhood and attended public schools. Her earliest political experience was in running for eighth-grade class president against her boyfriend. "I lost by one vote. My vote. You see, I voted for my opponent because I thought it was polite," she recalled years later. "Well, he voted for himself, and I learned my lesson: if you believe in yourself, vote for yourself."[2] She made Phi Beta Kappa and earned a B.A. in English at the University of Illinois at Urbana in 1960. A week after she graduated she married John Martin, an engineering student. They raised two daughters, Julia and Caroline. Lynn Martin taught at several high schools in DuPage County and Rockford, Illinois.

Martin entered public service after becoming "interested in my community" and worried that the local government was "out of touch" and "buried."[3] In 1972, Martin was elected to the Winnebago County (Illinois) board and four years later won a seat in the state house of representatives. Her political mentors were Betty Ann Keegan, a Democrat in the Illinois state senate who first encouraged her to run for office, and Republican Congressman Robert Michel of Illinois, the future U.S. House Minority Leader. There she served on the appropriations committee and earned the nickname "the Axe" for her efforts to reduce spending.[4] Martin won election to the Illinois senate in 1978. That same year she and John Martin were divorced. Lynn Martin eventually remarried in 1987 to Harry Leinenweber, a U.S. District Court judge.

When U.S. Representative John Anderson retired to run for the presidency in 1980, Martin beat four other Republicans in the primary for the open seat in the northwest Illinois district bordering Wisconsin. The largely agrarian district was anchored by the town of Rockford, and had not sent a Democrat to Congress in the 20th century.[5] Martin's platform supported the Equal Rights Amendment and was pro-choice on the abortion issue, while fiscally conservative, calling for lower taxes and business deregulation. Her socially moderate stance earned her the support of women's groups. In a state that went comfortably for Republican presidential nominee Ronald Reagan in the general election, Martin cruised to victory with 67 percent of the vote against Democratic candidate Douglas R. Aurand. Though held to less than 60 percent of the vote in 1982 and 1984, she never was seriously challenged afterward.[6] "I had an opportunity to run for the House and wrestle with some things, like the direction of growth in government," Martin said shortly after taking office. "I knew if I ignored the opportunity, then I'd never have the right to complain about these things."[7]

In Congress, Martin quickly became a leader within the Republican Party. She possessed an encyclopedic

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knowledge of economic issues and a razor sharp tongue with which she skewered Democrats (and some Republicans) for what she identified as zealous spending habits. Her mentor, Minority Leader Robert Michel, got Martin a seat on the Budget Committee in the 97th Congress (1981–1983), a plum assignment for a freshman. Martin explained, "It's a little like getting sex education at age six. It's a little too soon to understand—there's a lot of stuff you shouldn't know until a lot later." Soon after, Martin was plotting budget strategy with the Reagan White House and clashing with the Defense Department, which wanted to vastly expand military spending at the expense of social programs.[8] In 1986, during the committee's budget negotiations, Martin stood in for the ailing Ranking Republican. She established a cordial working relationship with Democratic Chairman William Gray III of Pennsylvania, impressing observers with her acumen. In 1987, during a markup session on the budget, a question arose over whether the committee should restore a revenue-sharing program. Several of the men, both Republicans and Democrats, made assertive arguments for restoration. Martin balked, arguing that the deficit-strapped federal government had no money to share with local governments. "Maybe girls learn to say 'no' easier than boys," she chided her colleagues, drawing chuckles from many in the room.[9]

When Geraldine Ferraro became the Democratic vice-presidential candidate in 1984, Martin played a prominent role in steering Republican national strategy. First, she became Vice President George H. W. Bush's sparring partner, a stand-in for Ferraro to prepare for the fall debates. She adopted an aggressive style in those mock debates, throwing the Vice President off balance and convincing him that he needed to prepare more rigorously. Martin also was tapped to deliver Bush's nominating speech at the Republican National Convention in Dallas. The party further named her chair of the Reagan–Bush Illinois campaign. When Bush ran for President in 1988, she was the only woman named a national co-chair of his campaign. After the 1984 election she also won the historic distinction of being elected Vice Chair of the House Republican Conference, the first woman ever to serve in the House GOP leadership. She was re-elected to the post two years later. In 1988, when Conference Chair Dick Cheney of Wyoming opted to run for the party's second highest position of Whip, Martin entered the race for his vacant leadership spot. She lost her bid by only three votes to Jerry Lewis of California after party conservatives mounted a campaign against her, in part, for her voting record on social issues.[10]

Martin avoided labels such as "crusader" or "feminist." She once exclaimed, "I don't walk into every meeting humming, 'I Am Woman.'"[11] In the 100th Congress (1987–1989) she waged a successful crusade to bring 30,000 congressional employees under the protection of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (from which they had been exempt). It was, in large part, an effort to raise working conditions, reduce discrimination, and to improve the pay for women staff members whom Martin demonstrated were consistently underpaid.[12] She was oriented toward helping women through providing economic opportunity rather than government aid. "In a recessive economy," Martin said in 1981, "the people the most hurt are minority women. So the best place I could help would be to get it going again. If we're in a recession—if there are no jobs—programs don't mean a thing."[13]

Martin distinguished herself on several other committees, serving on House Administration (1981–1985), Public Works and Transportation (1983–1985), Armed Services (1985–1989), and Rules (1989–1991). On a number of important issues she parted company with Republicans: arguing for a minimum wage increase, voting to override President Reagan's 1986 veto of a sanctions bill against the apartheid regime in South Africa, joining with Democrats to stiffen punishment for white-collar criminals, and supporting pro-choice legislation.

In 1990, President Bush and other Republican leaders convinced Martin to give up her House seniority to challenge incumbent Democrat Paul Simon for a U.S. Senate seat. Observers thought it would be a close race. Martin's campaign suffered from several gaffes and a lack of funding (Simon outspent her by a nearly two-to-one margin).[14] Both candidates were pro-choice, though Simon managed to

win support of the Women's Campaign Fund because of his connections to that group's major donors. It was a blow to Martin's cash-strapped campaign. Simon also was able to capitalize on wide public support for Operation Desert Shield, the military buildup leading up to the Gulf War, by generating publicity from his seat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; he appeared on television with the troops in Saudi Arabia.[15] Martin lost in a landslide as Simon scooped up 65 percent of the vote.[16]

Martin's supporters in the party helped her in her post-congressional career. On December 14, 1990, President Bush appointed her Secretary of Labor, despite the fact that she was at variance with the administration on social issues. "I can't imagine the only people who should work for a President are those who sycophantically agree on everything," Martin said. "It would be the most boring Cabinet in the world and it would be of no use to the President."[17] She served as Labor Secretary from February 22, 1991, until January 20, 1993, developing several programs: "Job Training 2000" for youth apprenticeships; the Pension Opportunities for Worker's Expanded Retirement; and the "Glass Ceiling" Initiative. Martin later taught at Northwestern University, worked for Deloitte & Touche's Council on the Advancement of Women, chaired a University of Illinois task force on "The Future of the Health Care Labor Force in a Graying Society," and conducted a comprehensive study on sexual harassment in the workplace for a major automobile company.[18] She lives in Chicago, Illinois.

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Margaret (Marge) Roukema

1929–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM NEW JERSEY
1981–2003

For more than two decades Congresswoman Marge Roukema forged a reputation as a Republican moderate in the U.S. House, focusing on family issues and welfare reform. Personal tragedy helped prompt Roukema toward a career in politics and factored into one of her great legislative successes.

Margaret Scafati was born in Newark, New Jersey, on September 19, 1929. She was named for her mother, and her father, Claude, was a first-generation Italian American who worked as an auto mechanic. Margaret Scafati earned a B.A. degree in history and political science from Montclair State College in 1951 and subsequently pursued graduate studies there. In 1975 she also did graduate work in city and regional planning at Rutgers University. She worked as a high school teacher in American history and government before marrying Richard W. Roukema, a psychiatrist. The couple raised three children: Greg, Todd, and Meg. Marge Roukema's first public service position was on the board of education in Ridgewood, New Jersey, where she served from 1970 to 1973. Her political activity was, in part, spurred by her 17-year-old son, Todd, and his battle with leukemia. Roukema put her plans to attend law school at Rutgers University aside to tend to her dying son who succumbed to the disease in October 1976. Roukema later recalled that in the aftermath she was searching for an emotional and intellectual outlet.[1] She became active in local party politics as the first woman elected president of the Ridgewood Republican Club in 1977 and 1978. In 1977, she also supported moderate Republican gubernatorial candidate Tom Kean, at first as a volunteer but quickly rising to become his campaign coordinator in 30 towns. That experience led her to launch her own campaign for federal office.[2] In 1978, she mounted a challenge against incumbent Democrat Andrew Maguire for a U.S. House seat in northern New Jersey that encompassed Bergen County and included the towns of Paramus and Hackensack. But Roukema lost by a margin of about 9,000 votes, 53 percent to 47 percent.[3]

In 1980, Roukema again challenged Maguire, whom she described as a liberal "out of touch" with his constituency. Roukema, this time aided by the strong Republican turnout for Ronald Reagan, won the seat by a margin of 9,000 votes. In 1982 the district lines were redrawn, and it stretched west to include Sussex County, and Roukema was able to claim an even larger margin of victory: a plurality of 50,000 votes against Democrat Fritz Cammerzell. Indeed, in 11 re-election campaigns, she was never seriously challenged during the general elections, claiming between 65 and 71 percent of the vote. In her final two Republican primaries in 1998 and 2000, however, she faced stiff challenges from the conservative elements of her party who claimed that she was too liberal on a range of issues. Against a conservative state assemblyman in the 2000 primary, Roukema won by less than 2,000 votes, though she again dominated the general election with 71 percent of the vote.[4]

When she entered Congress in 1981, Roukema received assignments on the Committee on Education and Labor (later renamed Education and Workforce) and the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs (later renamed Financial Services). She sat on both committees for the duration of her career in the House, eventually rising to chair Financial Services's two subcommittees: Housing and Community Opportunity, and Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit. In addition, Roukema worked on the Education Reform and the Employer-

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Employee Relations subcommittees of Education and Workforce. In the 98th Congress (1983–1985) she joined the newly formed Select Committee on Hunger as its Ranking Republican Member; she served there for a decade until the committee was disbanded in 1995.

Roukema's committee assignments led her into legislative work on behalf of job training in the private sector, child support, welfare reform, and family leave policy. Her biggest legislative achievement was the enactment of the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, a bill that Roukema and Democrat Patricia Schroeder of Colorado worked on for years. It required large companies to extend unpaid leave time to new parents, disabled workers, and those caring for chronically ill relatives. Roukema secured the key compromise which helped pass the bill, an exemption for small businesses. Her experience caring for her son shaped her perspective on the issue. "When my son Todd was stricken with leukemia and needed home care, I was free to remain at home and give him the loving care he needed," Roukema told colleagues in a floor speech. "But what of the millions of mothers who work for the thousands of companies that do not have family leave policies?"[5] Roukema later recalled that "the tragedy with Todd was what made me so determined about the Family and Medical Leave Act."[6] She also tended to cross party lines to vote with Democrats on social issues, supporting abortion rights and gun control, for instance. In 1994, she was one of just 11 Republicans to vote to bring a Democratic anti-crime bill to the House Floor and to vote with Democrats to ban assault weapons.[7]

As Roukema's seniority rose in the GOP, so did her criticisms of the party's conservative turn during the 1980s and 1990s. During the controversy stirred by the investigation of the fundraising practices of House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Roukema suggested that an interim Speaker be named until the House Ethics Committee finished its probe. When the House levied a $300,000 fine against Gingrich for breaking ethics rules, Roukema insisted that he pay it from personal rather than campaign funds.[8] In May 1997 she bristled on the House Floor about Republican efforts to cut $38 million in funding for a major nutrition program for children and pregnant women. "We are not going to take food out of the mouths of little babies!" she declared. "Don't we ever learn?" In an interview at the time she warned, "Our party will either become a true majority party, or a regional party" in the South. "And the way you maintain a majority," she concluded, "is to find consensus within your party."[9]

By the 107th Congress (2001–2003), Roukema was the longest serving woman in the House and the dean of her state delegation. She also was the Ranking Republican on the Financial Services Committee, but the Republican leadership skipped over her in picking the new chair. "The fact that I was a woman had something to do with it," Roukema told the *New York Times*. Her outspokenness and the fact that she did not raise prodigious amounts of money to steer to the campaigns of fellow House Republicans also contributed to the decision, she added. "I was an Independent voter in Congress, and I voted my conscience and my state," Roukema recalled several years later. "That brought me down in [leadership's] estimation. I was not elected to do what leadership [said]. I was elected to do what my intelligence, my conscience, and my constituents needed. . . . That was my reason for being in Congress."[10] She was offered a position as U.S. Treasurer in the George W. Bush administration in 2001 but turned down the offer to serve as chair of the Financial Services' Housing and Community Opportunity Subcommittee.

In November 2001, Roukema announced that she would not seek re-election to a 12th term. She retired in January 2003, at age 73, and returned to New Jersey. Roukema served on the boards of several nonprofits dedicated to children's issues and planned to lecture about politics at several universities.[11]

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Claudine Schneider

1947–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM RHODE ISLAND
1981–1991

The first woman elected from Rhode Island to the U.S. House of Representatives, Claudine Schneider also was the first Republican Representative to serve the state in more than 40 years. During her five terms in Congress, Schneider earned a reputation as one of the House's strongest environmental advocates.[1]

Claudine Schneider was born Claudine Cmarada in Clairton, Pennsylvania, on March 25, 1947, the eldest of three children. Her father was a tailor.[2] She graduated from Pittsburgh's Winchester–Thurston High School in 1965, before studying at Rosemont College in Pennsylvania and the University of Barcelona in Spain. She received a B.A. in languages from Vermont's Windham College in 1969. She later attended the University of Rhode Island's School for Community Planning in 1975. After graduation, Cmarada moved to Washington, D.C., where she worked as executive director of Concern, Inc., a national environmental education organization. Engaged to Dr. Eric Schneider, she moved with him to Narragansett, Rhode Island, in 1970 when he took a position as a research scientist at the University of Rhode Island's Center for Ocean Management Studies. In 1973, she was diagnosed with Hodgkin's disease, a rare form of cancer in the lymph nodes, which she battled for five years. After twelve years of marriage, Claudine and Eric Schneider were divorced in 1985. Despite her continuing battle with cancer, Claudine Schneider became involved in the Rhode Island environmental movement. She founded the Rhode Island Committee on Energy in 1973, and the following year, she became executive director of the Conservation Law Foundation. In 1974, she led a group of concerned community and environmental groups, launching the first successful campaign in the United States to halt the construction of a nuclear power plant near her home in Charlestown, Rhode Island.[3]

In the mid-1970s, Claudine Schneider aspired to run as a Democrat for one of Rhode Island's two seats in the U.S. House but found little support among party leaders. Rarely did a candidate win without the support of the statewide machine and, though both parties were well-organized at all levels in Rhode Island politics, the Democratic Party had enjoyed a strong statewide majority since the 1930s.[4] A political moderate, Schneider switched party allegiances in 1978, finding more support from the minority GOP.[5] That same year, after her husband declined to seek the GOP gubernatorial nomination, Schneider expressed her own interest. Republican leaders had a different candidate in mind; however, they offered Schneider a chance for a U.S. House seat in a district that included Providence and the state's southern beaches.[6] She ran a competitive race against Democratic incumbent Edward Beard.[7] A former house painter, Beard's blue-collar background appealed to the capital city's ethnic Italian neighborhoods.[8] Schneider won 48 percent of the turnout, coming within 9,000 votes of Beard.[9] She continued her environmental pursuits and, in addition, she attracted more publicity as a television producer and a public affairs talk show host for a statewide Sunday morning program. She challenged Beard again in 1980 when he ran for a fourth term. This time Beard's reputation for being quarrelsome and ill-informed hurt his reputation.[10] Schneider, on the other hand, garnered more ethnic appeal by taking Italian lessons. She won an upset victory, winning with 55 percent of the vote as the first woman to represent Rhode Island.[11] The first Republican to win either of the state's two House seats since 1938, Schneider was re-

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elected to the four succeeding Congresses, enjoying increasingly larger margins of victory.[12] At 72 percent, her 1986 and 1988 victories were the highest percentage for a GOP candidate in Rhode Island since 1878.[13]

Claudine Schneider arrived for the 97th Congress (1981–1983) insisting that she was not a liberal Republican, but outside her economic policies, her voting record indicated otherwise.[14] Schneider tended to be a fiscal conservative, allying with her fellow Republicans on issues such as balancing the federal budget and curbing inflation.[15] "We've got to stop the government from spending more money," she said. "I don't look to the government to solve our problems."[16] Schneider stopped short of slashing the social programs on which her working-class constituents depended, claiming, "We can help them, but we can do it in a cost-efficient fashion."[17] However, Schneider quickly earned a reputation as a GOP critic of President Ronald Reagan's conservative social agenda. She opposed the President's position 75 percent of the time, more than the average for House Democrats. Her liberal district urged her in this direction; during her freshman term, she estimated that her constituent mail ran 19-to-1 against the President.[18]

Schneider's committee assignments recognized her environmental expertise. She served on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and the Committee on Science, Space and Technology. In the 98th Congress (1983–1985), Schneider was appointed to the Select Committee on Aging—an appropriate appointment, as Rhode Island had the second oldest population in the country.[19] Her differences with President Reagan often translated into differences with the Republican Party leadership in Congress, which consequently excluded her from some important committee assignments. For the 101st Congress (1989–1991), she lost a bid to the prestigious Energy and Commerce Committee, the prime forum for the discussion of environmental issues.[20] Schneider rose to Ranking Member of the Science, Space, and Technology Committee's Subcommittee on Natural Resources, Agricultural Research, and Environment.

Given her background, protecting the environment became the predictable cornerstone of Representative Schneider's work in Congress. Her first and greatest environmental triumph was her work on a multi-year battle to close the Clinch River nuclear reactor. A private and federally funded project, the Clinch River Nuclear Reactor was scheduled to open near Oak Ridge, Tennessee, before the James Earl "Jimmy" Carter administration halted its construction in 1977. However, a powerful lobby, which included President Reagan and Tennessee Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, Jr., all endorsed the reactor's continued construction in the early 1980s. As one of Clinch River's most vocal critics, Schneider called the project "a confederacy of corporate issues."[21] She teamed with other moderate GOP freshmen to fight its continued construction on the grounds that the project's costs outweighed its benefit. In May 1981, Schneider convinced the fiscally conservative Science Committee to cut $230 million in additional funding. In 1983, she offered legislation which eliminated the remaining federal funding for the Clinch River project. This proved to be the final blow, shutting down the severely underfunded project. Upon the Clinch River reactor's demise, Schneider proudly claimed, "We won it on the economic argument. This was a total, complete victory."[22]

As a former television host, Schneider knew how to attract attention to some of her core issues. In an effort to promote a more peaceful relationship with the Soviet Union, Representatives Schneider and George Brown of California headed a project, called "CongressBridge," to exchange live satellite transmissions on television between the Supreme Soviet and Members of Congress.[23] When the project launched in 1987, Schneider commented, "For too long we have seen each other only as warmongers. The time is ripe for new ways of thinking. [We are] getting beyond posturing."[24]

Her ability to garner the spotlight and her reputation for being feisty and independent made Schneider a well-respected politician in Rhode Island. In 1984, the state Republican Party considered her as a challenger for Senator Claiborne Pell's seat. She waited, however, until 1990 to take on the popular incumbent, boosted by her clear 1986 and 1988 House victories in a district so large

"We've got to stop the government from spending more money," Schneider said. "I don't look to the government to solve our problems." Schneider stopped short of slashing the social programs on which her working-class constituents depended, claiming, "We can help them, but we can do it in a cost-efficient fashion."

that her elections were nearly statewide. The race between Schneider and Pell drew national attention, as Schneider ran close to the Senator in some polls.[25] A popular stalwart in Rhode Island politics, Pell mostly relied on his reputation and television spots in his bid for re-election to a sixth term. Schneider, on the other hand, campaigned vigorously, returning to Rhode Island every weekend. She boasted a grass roots campaign, even walking unescorted through a dangerous West Providence neighborhood to draw attention to its social problems. As the contest drew closer, President George H.W. Bush made a stop in Providence to speak on Schneider's behalf. On the eve of the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq, foreign policy was a popular issue among Rhode Island voters. Pell's experience on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee gave him the edge over Schneider, whose foreign policy experience included her televised debates with the Supreme Soviet and attendance at a Conference on Peace and disarmament in April 1985.[26] Rhode Islanders also strongly supported the Democratic Party, as one voter commented before heading to the polls, "I'd vote for her; she's young and she's got drive. But that might bring the Senate into Republican hands. That might prevent me from voting for her."[27] Schneider failed to unseat the popular incumbent, receiving 38 percent of the vote.[28]

After leaving Congress in 1991, Schneider remained active in the environmental protection movement. She invested in a Massachusetts-based consulting company, which sold environmentally sound energy systems in Central and South America. Schneider also accepted a teaching position at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Following Democratic presidential candidate William J. Clinton's 1992 victory, she received an appointment to the Competitiveness Policy Council.[29] In 1999, Schneider was diagnosed with cancer for a second time. She sought a successful, alternative treatment. Having defeated the disease twice, she settled permanently in Boulder, Colorado.[30]

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MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

University of Rhode Island (Kingston, RI), Special Collections, University Library. *Papers:* 1973–1990, 63.5 linear feet. The Claudine Schneider Papers, transferred through Schneider's office manager, were donated by the Congresswoman in 1990 and 1991. Prior to their transfer, the records were housed in Schneider's Washington, D.C., office. Included are official records from Schneider's five terms (1981–1991) as the U.S. Representative from Rhode Island's second district. The collection deals chiefly with Schneider's political campaigns and House service but includes materials predating her congressional career which relate to her later legislative work.

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Barbara B. Kennelly
1936–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM CONNECTICUT
1982–1999

Raised in a prominent Connecticut political family, Barbara Bailey Kennelly became one of the highest-ranking women in the history of the Democratic Party and the U.S. House. Unlike many feminists who sought to challenge the political system from the outside, Congresswoman Kennelly capitalized on her name, "lifelong familiarity with public service," and political connections to gain positions of power in the House leadership—a coveted seat on the powerful Ways and Means Committee and the vice chairmanship of the Democratic Caucus.[1]

Barbara Ann Bailey was born in Hartford, Connecticut, on July 10, 1936, daughter of John Bailey, a Connecticut political boss and state Democratic leader and, later, chairman of the Democratic National Committee in the 1960s. He was widely credited with having engineered John F. Kennedy's presidential nomination and victory in 1960. Her mother, Barbara L. Bailey, was an advocate for women's rights and had worked as a teacher prior to marrying in 1933. Barbara Ann Bailey attended St. Joseph Cathedral School and graduated from Mount St. Joseph Academy in West Hartford in 1954. She earned a B.A. from Trinity College in Washington, D.C., in 1958, a certificate in business administration from Harvard Business School in 1959, and an M.A. in government from Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1971. Barbara Bailey married John Kennelly, speaker of the Connecticut house. They had four children: Eleanor, Barbara, Louise, and John. Barbara Kennelly spent her early career outside of politics, however, working as the director of two social service organizations. Kennelly was nearly 40 when she was appointed in 1975 to fill a vacancy on the Hartford court of common council. She was elected to the post the next year and served for a total of four years. In 1978, when Connecticut Secretary of State Gloria Schaffer left office, Kennelly launched her own successful campaign to win election to the post against the wishes of Democratic leaders, cobbling together a coalition that observers said was reminiscent of her father's deal-making skills.[2] The secretary of state's office had been a traditional steppingstone for women politicians in Connecticut: in the 1940s Chase Woodhouse and, in the 1970s, Ella Grasso, both launched congressional careers from the post which had earned them wide name recognition with voters.

On September 8, 1981, six-term Democratic Congressman William R. Cotter died, leaving a vacancy in a district encompassing Hartford, and more than a dozen other small towns in central Connecticut. The largest employers were several major insurance corporations, a defense contractor, and state government agencies. Despite a large white-collar workforce, Hartford itself was rated as one of the poorest midsized cities in the nation, having suffered during the economic downturn of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Kennelly won the Democratic nomination uncontested and faced Republican Ann Uccello, the former mayor of Hartford in the special election.[3] The campaign turned on the economic policies of the Ronald Reagan administration, with Kennelly sharply criticizing the President's budget and tax plans and Uccello defending them. Kennelly had built-in advantages, running in a district safely held by Democrats for 22 years and using her name recognition to bring in big political contributions. She outspent Uccello by about a 3-to-1 margin.[4] "To me, in 1981, it is very important to be the daughter of John Bailey," Kennelly said. "I used to try to separate it. I don't try to separate it anymore because the more I am in

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this business, the prouder I am of him." Nevertheless, she added, "I'm not running as John Bailey's daughter. I'm running as Barbara Kennelly, a woman who has established a record."[5] On January 12, 1982, Kennelly won a special election to the 97th Congress (1981–1983) by defeating Uccello with about 59 percent of the vote.[6] She took her seat on January 25, 1982, when she was assigned to the Committee on Government Operations and the Committee on Public Works and Transportation. Kennelly was returned to Congress later in the fall of 1982, winning 68 percent of the vote against Republican candidate Herschel Klein. She never was seriously challenged thereafter, serving a total of nine terms in the House.

Congresswoman Kennelly drew on her father's advice for working within the existing power structure and cracking the old boys' network by socializing with the Democratic leadership. She worked hard to ingratiate herself, polishing her golf game in order to mingle with the mostly male membership.[7] Her efforts paid dividends. Kennelly quickly established herself and set a number of firsts for a woman Member. In her first full term during the 98th Congress (1983–1985), she left her prior committee assignments to join the influential Ways and Means Committee, where she served on the Subcommittees on Human Resources and Select Revenue Measures. House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill of Massachusetts also named Congresswoman Kennelly to the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee which made committee appointments and set the broad outlines of the party's legislative agenda. In 1987, she became the first woman to serve on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Two years later, she was appointed Chief Deputy Majority Whip, the first woman named to that position. During the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), Kennelly ran against Louise Slaughter of New York and captured the vice chairmanship of the Democratic Caucus. At the time, it made her the highest ranking woman ever in the Democratic Party leadership. As a leader in her party, Kennelly's voting record rarely strayed from the Democratic line.

The seat on Ways and Means gave Kennelly a powerful post from which to tend to her district and other longtime legislative interests that had national reach: child support, housing credits, welfare reform, and tax reform. "Her father must have injected her and her mother must have fed her political milk," said her friend New York Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro, "because she really has this sixth sense. Obviously she's going to be concerned about how something affects her district, but she looks at the bigger picture."[8] The Ways and Means assignment was particularly important for the insurance industry which resided in her district. Kennelly helped pass measures that both lowered its tax burden and restrained new tax regulations. In the 100th Congress (1987–1989), over the wishes of powerful Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, Kennelly presented and won passage for a scaled-back plan to regulate tax-free earnings on premium payments.[9] A self-admitted "policy wonk," she pushed legislation to reduce the vesting period for pension plans, to allow the terminally ill to collect life insurance benefits early and tax-free, to increase the minimum wage, and to defeat a bill that would have denied illegal immigrants a public education.

Kennelly supported women's rights as a member of the Women's Caucus, though she admitted that it was only at the urging of her daughters that she began to pursue women's issues more vigorously during her House career. "Am I going to tell you I am going to change the world of [Ways and Means Chairman] Danny Rostenkowski? No," she said in 1983. "Am I going to try? Yes."[10] Later, reflecting on the fact that only 25 of her colleagues in the House were women, Kennelly said, "We are desperate in Congress for more women."[11] In 1983, Kennelly introduced the Child Support Enforcement Amendment, which required states to withhold earnings if child support payments were more than a month late. The House and Senate unanimously passed the bill in 1984.[12] Kennelly again supported strengthening laws against "deadbeat" parents who were delinquent on their payments in the 1996 Welfare Reform Bill.[13] She also used her seat on Ways and Means to help preserve the

childcare federal tax deduction and to expand the standard deduction for single parents.[14] She joined other women lawmakers in 1991 to protest the appointment of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court in the face of sexual harassment charges by Anita Hill. Kennelly also supported women's reproductive rights.

Kennelly did not run for re-election in 1998, choosing instead to give up her safe House seat for a bid to run for the governor's office in Connecticut. She easily won the Democratic nomination, but her campaign lacked funds and never found its stride.[15] Kennelly suffered a double-digit loss to the well-financed Republican incumbent John Rowland. Afterwards, Kennelly was appointed Associate Commissioner and Counselor at the Social Security Administration, overseeing the office of retirement policy. She also served as an advisor and lobbyist for a national law firm. In April 2002, Kennelly was named president and CEO of the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare. Following the death of her husband in 1995, Kennelly resided in Connecticut.

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Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, "Barbara Bailey Kennelly," http://bioguide.congress.gov

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

University of Connecticut Libraries (Storrs, CT). Archives & Special Collections, Thomas J. Dodd Research Center. *Papers:* ca. 1977–1998, 79.3 linear feet. The collection of Barbara Kennelly includes correspondence to and from constituents and colleagues, notes, research materials, speeches, official congressional documents, congressional records, press clips, photographs, audio and video tapes, and special interest reports. A finding aid is available in the repository and online.

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Jean Spencer Ashbrook

1934–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM OHIO
1982–1983

Jean Ashbrook, who once described herself as "a small-town girl who enjoyed the role of wife and mother," came to Congress in a manner that by the 1980s had become less conventional for women: the widow's mandate.[1] Congresswoman Ashbrook served out the remaining seven months of John Ashbrook's term and retired when her Ohio district was reapportioned out of existence.

Emily Jean Spencer was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 21, 1934. She attended schools in Newark, Ohio, and graduated from Newark High School in 1952. Spencer received a bachelor of science degree from Ohio State University in 1956. In 1974, she married John Ashbrook, a lawyer, newspaper publisher, and son of a former conservative Democratic Representative from Ohio. As a homemaker, Jean Ashbrook raised three children from a previous marriage: Elizabeth, Katherine, and John. She also served as a member of several charities and political clubs. John Ashbrook had children of his own, three daughters from a marriage to Joan Needles which ended in divorce in 1971.

John Ashbrook, who followed in his father's professional footsteps, was elected as a Republican to 11 terms as the U.S. Representative from an Ohio district that covered a large swath of the north-central part of the state, an agricultural region with the town of Mansfield as its largest population center. Congressman Ashbrook served as the Ranking Republican on the Education and Labor Committee and also on the Judiciary and Select Intelligence committees. Ashbrook earned the reputation as one of the House's most "militant and dedicated" conservatives but also one of its most independent. "I have never felt I had to go along with anything," he once remarked, "and getting along is not important to me."[2] This sentiment rang true when Ashbrook challenged President Richard Nixon for the Republican nomination in 1972. Undeterred by the opposition he received from many conservatives in the GOP, Ashbrook entered the race to draw attention to what he perceived as the "leftward drift" of the Nixon administration.[3]

John Ashbrook had entered the primary for Ohio's senatorial nomination before he died suddenly on April 24, 1982. Ohio Governor James A. Rhodes urged Jean Ashbrook, who had been campaigning across the state for her husband's Senate race, to run for his vacant House seat. "Immediately I said, 'Yes,'" she recalled. "I really don't know why." Her motivation, like that of many widows who had preceded her, became clearer during the brief campaign as she pledged to continue the conservative politics of her husband. At her announcement press conference Ashbrook emphasized her experience as a congressional spouse. "We were a team," she said. "I campaigned for eight years in the 17th District, and I do of course believe for what [John] stood for. I think John thought I was capable. I think I could do a good job."[4]

Congressman Ashbrook's district was one of two Ohio seats slated for elimination at the end of the 97th Congress (1981–1983) as a result of a redistricting plan precipitated by declining state population. His district was chosen for consolidation because of his decision to seek the Republican nomination for the Senate.[5] Aware that her tenure in Congress would be brief, Jean Ashbrook nonetheless entered the race to succeed her husband in the House.

Despite a voter turnout of only 10 percent in the June 29 special election, Ashbrook defeated Democrat Jack

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE HONORABLE JEAN ASHBROOK

Though Ashbrook's husband had been a close friend of President Reagan's, she acknowledged concerns over the economy in her district by noting that, "I'm pro-Reagan, but John Ashbrook was never a rubber stamp for anyone. I'm definitely backing the President, but I will have my eyes and ears open."

Koelbe with 74 percent of the vote. "Under the circumstances, it's a bittersweet victory for me," Ashbrook told her supporters. "But I'm very pleased that the people of the 17th District have reaffirmed their commitment to President Ronald Reagan and the principles they shared with my late husband." Though her husband had been a close friend of the President, Ashbrook acknowledged concerns over the economy in her district by noting that, "I'm pro-Reagan, but John Ashbrook was never a rubber stamp for anyone. I'm definitely backing the President, but I will have my eyes and ears open."[6] Ashbrook's election and seating in the House on July 12 set a new record for the number of women in Congress–22. "My gosh, I made history," Ashbrook said at the time. "That was rather nice."[7] After being sworn in on July 12, 1982, she received an assignment on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Her only ambition, she remarked, was "to carry on John's conservative philosophy."[8]

In her first speech on the House Floor, Ashbrook spoke out against President Reagan's veto of a bill to strengthen copyright laws. The legislation would have been a boon to the printing industry, which was a major employer in her district. "I hated to do that to the President," she said. "But after all, I said I wouldn't be a rubber stamp."[9]

In most other legislative matters, Ashbrook was a confirmed supporter of the Reagan administration. In July, Ashbrook introduced a bill that would have denied federal law enforcement or criminal justice assistance to any jurisdictions that implemented certain gun control ordinances. She also introduced a bill to prescribe mandatory minimum sentences for anyone convicted of federal felonies committed against senior citizens. Ashbrook supported the Enterprise Zone Tax Act of 1982, which provided tax relief and regulatory exemption for businesses that relocated to poor areas with high unemployment. She also backed a bill that would have created a U.S. Academy of Freedom to educate citizens about the dangers of communism and to promote democracy abroad.

After retiring from Congress on January 3, 1983, Ashbrook returned to Ohio. She resides in her hometown of Newark.

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MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

Ashland College (Ashland, OH), Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs. *Papers:* 1950–1982, 300 linear feet. Personal, business, and congressional papers and correspondence, including campaign files, photographs, portraits, motion picture film, video tape, and memorabilia. A description of the material is available at the Web site: http://archives.ashland.edu/Ashbrookmancol.html.

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Katie Beatrice Hall

1938–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM INDIANA
1982–1985

Growing up in the pre-civil rights era South, Katie Hall could not exercise her constitutional right to vote. Subject to segregation laws, Hall felt trapped in her tiny hometown until she heard two speeches that changed her life; the speakers were African-American Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., of New York, and William Dawson of Illinois. The experience led her to believe that she could receive a quality education and that there was a better life for her outside Mississippi.[1] Hall eventually sought public office and became the first African American elected from Indiana to serve in the House of Representatives. Among her chief accomplishments was piloting a bill through Congress to make the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., a national holiday.

On April 3, 1938, Katie Beatrice Green was born to Jeff and Bessie Mae Hooper Green, in Mound Bayou, Mississippi. One of twelve children, Katie attended the public schools in Mound Bayou before receiving a B.S. from Mississippi Valley State University in 1960. During her junior year of college, in 1957, she married John H. Hall. The couple had three children: Jacqueline, Junifer, and Michelle. In 1968, Katie Hall received her M.S. degree from Indiana University in Bloomington. She subsequently taught social studies in Gary, Indiana, an industrial city on the south shore of Lake Michigan. Hall's early political involvement included campaigning for black lawyer Richard Hatcher, a Gary mayoral candidate. Her experience on the sidelines encouraged her to enter electoral politics herself. Hall ran an unsuccessful campaign for the Indiana state house of representatives in 1972, but won a seat there in 1974. Two years later, Hall was elected to the state senate, where she served from 1976 until 1982. She also served as the chair of the Lake County Democratic Committee from 1978 to 1980, and chaired the 1980 Indiana Democratic convention.

In September of 1982, Indiana Democratic Representative Adam Benjamin, Jr., died suddenly of a heart attack. Katie Hall attended a public forum a week after the Congressman's death to discuss a possible successor and was surprised to hear mention of her name; however, her aspiration for national office was not new. "I had always thought about running for Congress," she admitted, but refrained because "I saw Adam as a very highly respected Congressman who did the job very well. I saw him as a person who was undefeatable."[2] Patricia Benjamin, the Congressman's widow, also expressed interest in succeeding her husband. Under Indiana law, the chairman of the district's Democratic committee selected the nominee to fill the vacancy for the remainder of the 97th Congress (1981–1983).[3] Then-chairman Richard Hatcher, whom Hall considered her political mentor, did not forget Hall's support for his mayoral campaigns.[4] He selected his protégé to run for the vacant seat which represented the northwest corner of the state, anchored by Gary. At the same time, the committee nominated Hall—with Hatcher casting the deciding vote—to a full term in the 98th Congress (1983–1985) to represent a newly reapportioned district.[5] The district's boundaries remained relatively unchanged after the reapportionment, and white northern Indiana Democrats expressed concern over Hall's electability because of her race; downtown Gary was primarily black, but the suburbs gave the district a 70 percent white constituency.[6] A legal battle ensued when Patricia Benjamin's supporters claimed that Hatcher, as chairman of the old district, did not have the

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

right to select a candidate for the new district.[7] The courts refused to overturn Hatcher's decision, and Hall's nomination as the Democratic nominee for both the vacancy and the full term stood, a position tantamount to election in the working-class, Democratic district. Hall defeated her Republican opponent, Thomas Krieger, with 63 percent to win election to the remainder of the 97th Congress.[8] She simultaneously won election with 56 percent of the vote for the 98th Congress.[9] Upon her election, Hall became the first black woman from Indiana to serve in the U.S. Congress.

When she arrived in Washington to be sworn in on November 2 1982, Representative Hall received assignments typical to freshmen Members: the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the Committee on Public Works and Transportation. Representative Hall voted with the Democratic majority against much of the Ronald W. Reagan administration's legislative agenda, focusing on education, labor, and women's issues. In addition, Congresswoman Hall became involved in the fight to alleviate famine in Africa when, during a congressional trip to northern Ethiopia, she was moved by the widespread suffering she witnessed. Hall also supported a variety of measures designed to reduce her urban and industrial district's high rate of unemployment and to mitigate the attendant social problems: crime, family debt and bankruptcy, and alcohol and drug abuse. As a member of the House Steel Caucus, Hall endorsed the Fair Trade in Steel Act, which was intended to revitalize Gary's ailing steel industry.

Katie Hall's most lasting legislative contribution came as chairwoman of the Post Office and Civil Service's subcommittee on Census and Population. Devoted to commemorating the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in July 1983, Hall introduced a bill to make King's birthday a federal holiday. Since the King assassination in 1968, similar measures had been introduced annually, but all had failed. As a nod to her negotiating abilities, Hall became the measure's floor manager. The primary argument against the bill led by fiscal conservatives was the large cost of the holiday to the federal government, estimated at $18 million in holiday overtime pay and lost work time.[10] Hall courted detractors by moving the holiday from a fixed date—King's January 15 birthday—to the third Monday of January to prevent government offices from opening twice in one week, therefore saving money. Under Hall's leadership, the House Subcommittee on Census and Population passed the measure in a five-to-one vote, sending it to the House Floor. In opening the debate, Hall reminded her colleagues that "the legislation before us will act as a national commitment to Dr. King's vision and determination for an ideal America, which he spoke of the night before his death, where equality will always prevail."[11] Hall's persistence paid off. In November 1983, 15 years after King's assassination, the bill passed the House by a vote of 338 to 90.[12] Impressed by Hall's success, veteran lawmaker William Gray of Pennsylvania observed, "Sometimes when you get to the goal line it's good to go to someone fresh and new to take it over. She brought a freshness of approach, a spirit of reconciliation to what had sometimes been a bitter battle."[13]

In her 1984 bid for renomination and re-election to the 99th Congress (1985–1987), Katie Hall faced a formidable challenge. Despite her widespread support, including from Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill of Massachusetts, two strong Democrats challenged Hall in her district primary, former Adam Benjamin aide Peter Visclosky and county prosecutor Jack Crawford. Hall maintained that intraparty opposition was, in some measure, based on her race and gender. During one debate Hall declared, "If I wasn't black and female, there wouldn't be a contest."[14] Reverend Jesse Jackson, whose name appeared on the primary ballot for the Democratic presidential nominee, also rallied to her aid.[15] In the May primary, Hall lost the Democratic nomination to Visclosky by a margin of 2,367 votes. Hall immediately cited racial injustice for her primary loss.[16] Most detrimental to her case, however, was that outside of Hatcher, prominent African-American officials in Gary had not rallied support behind her, resulting in only a 50 percent voter turnout in the predominately black city.[17] Hall also questioned returns in

areas where polls indicated she ran stronger than the final count.[18] The incumbent filed a petition and won a suit for a recount of the primary results; however, the recount only confirmed her losing margin.

After Congress, Hall continued to be active in Indiana Democratic politics. In 1986 and in 1990, she tried but failed to recapture the Democratic nomination in her old House district. Hall returned to Gary and served as the vice chair of the city's housing board commissioners. Hall became the Gary city clerk in 1985. She resigned in January 2003, after pleading guilty to charges of federal mail fraud.[19]

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Barbara F. Vucanovich

1921–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM NEVADA
1983–1997

In 1982, Barbara Vucanovich became the first Nevada woman elected to federal office. At the time, Vucanovich represented one of the biggest districts in the country, covering nearly the entire state. Winning her first elective office at the age of 61, the former business owner and congressional aide won an influential seat on the Appropriations Committee (eventually chairing the Military Construction Subcommittee) and served seven terms in the House of Representatives.

Barbara Farrell was born on June 22, 1921, in Fort Dix, New Jersey, to Thomas and Ynez Farrell. Public service was a part of her life from an early age.[1] Her father was the chief civil engineer for New York under Governors Al Smith and Franklin Roosevelt. Her mother had been a volunteer ambulance driver in World War I. Barbara Farrell was raised in Albany, New York, graduating from the Albany Academy for Girls in 1938. She attended the Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart from 1938 to 1939. In 1949, the family moved to Nevada. On March 8, 1950, Barbara Farrell married Ken Dillon and they settled in the Reno area in the northwest part of the state. The couple raised five children: Patty, Mike, Ken, Tom, and Susan, before her husband died in 1964. Barbara Farrell Dillon married George Vucanovich on June 19, 1965. While raising her family, Barbara Vucanovich also owned and operated a speed reading school and a travel agency.

Vucanovich's first experience in politics came in 1952 when she served as a delegate to the Nevada state GOP convention. Three years later, she won a one-year term as president of the Nevada Federation of Republican Women. She worked for Republican Paul Laxalt for nearly 20 years while he served as Nevada's lieutenant governor and governor. When Laxalt won election to the U.S. Senate, Vucanovich worked for him as manager of his district office and as a campaign adviser from 1974 until 1982. It was in that capacity that she learned the nuances of constituent service, a skill that even her opponents admired. One observer noted Vucanovich "is good with people, and she can think on her feet talking to them."[2] In 1976 and 1980 she served as a delegate to the Republican National Convention.

Reapportionment after the 1980 Census split Nevada into two congressional districts, one which encompassed the expanding city of Las Vegas and the other covering the sprawling remainder of the state. Senator Laxalt encouraged Vucanovich to run for the larger district. "Good Lord, what would I be able to do?" she replied. It was a "wide-open state" she observed—open 24 hours a day for gambling and legalized prostitution. As a 61-year-old grandmother with five grown children and 15 grandchildren, she seemed an odd fit. "You would be wonderful," Laxalt responded. With that endorsement, she secured the GOP nomination and squared off in the general election against Democratic opponent State Senator Mary Gojack, who had previously challenged Laxalt for his Senate seat in 1980. Though she had lost her Senate bid by a wide margin, the race had helped increase Gojack's visibility; however, President Ronald Reagan also bolstered Vucanovich's name recognition when he made an appearance at a rally in Reno on her behalf while stumping for Nevada Republican candidates.[3] The economy was a major focus of the 1982 campaign—unemployment in Las Vegas and Reno had eclipsed 10 percent during the ongoing national recession—and the issue offered a clear dividing line between the two candidates. Gojack seized this statistic, arguing that the Republican administration had not aided Nevada during the economic downturn.

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Vucanovich supported the Reagan administration's plan, one of lower taxes and reduced government spending. She also shared the President's optimism that the economy was on its way to recovery.[4] Gojack's ties to the women's rights movement and the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) battle in the 1970s contrasted with Vucanovich, who painted herself as a social conservative. "The real choice is between a liberal and a conservative," Vucanovich said. "Mary's . . . trying to effect social change. But the people here are very conservative. They back the President and so do I. I think he's trying to turn the country around from the socialistic bent to less government and less spending."[5] Vucanovich was victorious with 56 percent of the vote.[6]

Congresswoman Vucanovich successfully secured six additional terms in Congress. Of those elections, only one was won with an overwhelming majority, 71 percent in the Reagan landslide of 1984. Another was much closer. In 1992, running against the popular mayor of Reno, Pete Sferrazza, and three minor party candidates, Vucanovich won just 48 percent of the vote. Sferrazza campaigned as a pro-choice candidate, railing against increasing congressional salaries and cost of living raises. He ran well in Reno and its surrounding counties, but Vucanovich—who outspent her opponent three-to-one—held on to her seat by a five-point margin, winning in large part because she carried the vast rural stretches of the state by a wide margin.[7] Two years later, in her final House race, Vucanovich won with 64 percent of the vote. The fact that she campaigned statewide for her enormous district made Vucanovich a logical choice for a potential gubernatorial campaign in 1990, a candidacy for which she received widespread encouragement and support. "The people of Nevada have told me they believe, as I do, that I can be elected governor and that I would make a great governor," she said; however she declined the nomination: "At the same time, [voters] feel my voice is too important in the House of Representatives, and I happen to agree with them."[8]

During her tenure in Congress, she served on four committees: Appropriations, Interior and Insular Affairs (later named the Resources Committee), House Administration, and the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families. At the time of her retirement, she ranked 14th out of 23 Republicans on the Appropriations Committee and was the chair of the Subcommittee on Military Construction—only the second woman ever to chair a subcommittee of that prestigious panel.[9] Her grandmotherly demeanor played to her advantage in an institution filled with men, many of whom were decades younger than she. She once entered the Republican Cloakroom to find male Congressmen sprawled on the couches, smoking cigars, and telling patronizing jokes about women. She thought to herself, "You know, I've raised three boys, why do I have to put up with this junk?" Vucanovich turned to her colleagues, "Hey, listen you guys, knock it off, will you?" The jokes stopped.[10]

Vucanovich lived up to her campaign persona as a fiscal and social conservative. She was one of a handful of women to consistently vote against any measure that permitted abortion or federal funding of the procedure and, in 1993, voted for a parental consent law. In 1984, she opposed the addition of an ERA plank in the GOP platform, arguing that if it did manage to pass, legal challenges to its exact meaning would clog the courts "for 100 years."[11] Vucanovich also supported the death penalty and was a major recipient of National Rifle Association funding for her positions against gun control.[12] Realizing that her votes sometimes conflicted with her constituents' wishes, she asked them to take a wider perspective of her House service: "I don't ask you to agree with me on every issue, but I do ask that you look at what I stand for, consider the job I have done, and decide if you believe I have earned your vote."[13]

As a Member of the House of Representatives, Vucanovich pursued a variety of issues important to Nevada's natural resources. Vucanovich opposed a federal plan to use Yucca Mountain in Nevada as the U.S. government's primary storage dump for nuclear waste. The measure eventually passed Congress after her retirement. From her seat on Interior and Insular Affairs, Vucanovich also protected the Nevada mining industry. She vigorously opposed an early 1990s overhaul of the Mining Act of 1872, arguing that it favored eastern coal interests rather

than western mining. She proposed 150 amendments to stall its progress, and the measure later lapsed at the end of the 102nd Congress (1991–1993). Vucanovich also strenuously opposed President William J. Clinton's proposed 12.5 percent gross royalty on minerals, and she went so far as to invite the President to visit mining operations in western Nevada.[14]

At the beginning of her freshman term in 1983, Vucanovich was diagnosed with breast cancer during a routine mammogram, which identified the cancer at an early stage, leading to prompt, lifesaving treatment. Thereafter, Representative Vucanovich supported all efforts to increase medical research and treatment for women, despite her fiscal conservatism. "As a breast cancer survivor, I know the importance of medical research," Vucanovich said in a floor speech. "I also know the many questions that run through your head—why, how, and why me? We need diverse research to provide us with these essential answers."[15] In 1989, she introduced the Omnibus Breast Cancer Control Act, which required Medicare and Medicaid coverage for annual mammograms for women over certain ages and increased funding for a public awareness program through the National Cancer Institute. "Breast cancer is not a partisan issue or a women's issue," Vucanovich told her colleagues. "Breast cancer must become a legislative and communications priority in the government and the private sector."[16]

In 1996, at age 75, Vucanovich announced her retirement from Congress. She told reporters that she wanted to spend more time with her family. "I look forward to returning to Nevada full time and expect to continue working on Nevada's behalf as a private citizen," she said.[17] Her husband passed away in December 1998. In 2000, a post office in Nevada was named after Vucanovich to honor the state's first female member of Congress.[18]

FOR FURTHER READING

Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, "Barbara Farrell Vucanovich," http://bioguide.congress.gov

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

University of Nevada (Reno, NV), Special Collections Department, http://www.library.unr.edu/specoll/. *Papers:* ca. 1982–1996, 86 cubic feet. Includes congressional papers and correspondence: press clippings and releases, Appropriations Committee files, staff files, legislative files, campaign materials, Commission on Presidential Debate materials, office administrative files, and photographs. Also includes portraits, video tape, sound recordings, memorabilia. A finding aid is available in the repository. Restricted.

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Sala Galante Burton
1925–1987

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM CALIFORNIA
1983–1987

A Polish émigré who fled the Nazis and settled in America, Sala Galante Burton succeeded her husband, the powerful California Representative Phillip Burton, after he died suddenly in 1983. In the House, Congresswoman Burton championed many of the same interests she had worked for during her decades as a leading figure in the California Democratic Party: civil rights, women's reproductive rights, the environment, and world peace.

Sala Galante was born in Bialystock, Poland, on April 1, 1925, daughter of Max Galante, a Polish textile manufacturer. With her Jewish parents she fled from Poland in 1939 at the age of 14, just before the Nazi invasion and occupation. "I saw and felt what happened in Western Europe when the Nazis were moving," Burton recalled years later. "You learn that politics is everybody's business. The air you breathe is political—it isn't just a game for certain people. We must all be vigilant in terms of whom we elect to office, vigilant in terms of our civil rights and liberties."[1] She retained those memories and a hint of her Old World accent for the remainder of her life. She attended public schools in San Francisco, and studied at San Francisco University. From 1949 to 1950, she was associate director of the California Public Affairs Institute. Galante also worked with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its efforts to eliminate job and housing discrimination. Sala Galante met her future husband, Phillip Burton, at a California Young Democrats convention in 1950. They married three years later and raised a daughter, Joy, whom Sala Burton had from a previous marriage that had ended in divorce.

In the 1950s, Sala Burton embarked on an active political career that paralleled her husband's rise to influence in state and national politics. She had a lighter, more genial touch than her husband's sometimes brusque approach to issues. Phil Burton, who lost a race to be House Majority Leader in 1976 by one vote and was regarded as the dean of California politics, often referred to her as his better political half, "the popular Burton." He added, "I keep Sala busy repairing all the fences I've busted." [2] She was a founder of the California Democratic Council and served as its vice president from 1951 to 1954. Burton presided over the San Francisco Democratic Women's Forum from 1957 to 1959 and was a member of both the San Francisco County and California State Democratic Central committees. She also was a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions in 1956, 1976, 1980, and 1984. In 1964, when Phillip Burton won the first of 10 consecutive terms to the U.S. House from a San Francisco district, the Burtons moved to Washington, D.C. In Washington, Sala Burton served as president of the Democratic Wives of the House and Senate from 1972 to 1974.

Eight days after Phil Burton died suddenly in April of 1983, Sala Burton announced her candidacy to fill her husband's unexpired term as Representative for his San Francisco district. She told supporters, "I will continue in his footsteps."[3] She also minimized gender issues in the campaign. "I'm not running because I'm a woman," Burton told voters during her campaign. "I'm running because I think I can do more in Congress than anyone."[4] Her main competitors were Democratic attorney Richard Doyle, Republican real estate broker Duncan Howard, and Republican Tom Spinosa, who had lost several campaigns to Phil Burton. While her husband used the telephone to gather support, as if it were "an extension of his body" by one aide's account, Sala Burton was a tireless

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door-to-door campaigner. "I want to go everywhere, she said. "I want to feel like I've earned this."[5] Turnout was light at the June 21 special election (less than 30 percent), but Burton won 55 percent of the vote in a field of 11 candidates; Howard finished second with 22 percent. In her two re-election campaigns Burton was never seriously challenged, winning 72 percent against Spinosa in 1984 and 75 percent against Republican Mike Garza in 1986.

When Sala Burton took her seat in the House on June 28, 1983, she received her husband's assignments on two committees: Education and Labor and Interior and Insular Affairs. She also received an assignment on the Select Committee on Hunger during the 98th and 99th Congresses (1983–1987). In the 99th Congress, after failing in a hard-fought effort to win a seat on the prestigious Appropriations Committee, Burton dropped her Education and Labor and her Interior assignments to get a seat on the influential House Rules Committee. She served there through the remainder of her time in Congress, working on the Subcommittee on the Legislative Process.

Burton set out, in her own words, "to represent, as my husband did, the dispossessed, the hungry, the poor, the children, people in trust territories, the aged—those people who don't have a lot of lobbying being done for them."[6] From her committee assignments, Burton was able to serve as an advocate for a broad range of policies such as social welfare programs, child nutrition assistance, bilingual education, and the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). One of her first actions was to sign on as a co-sponsor of the ERA. Burton took a special interest in education legislation for primary-and secondary school students, helping to secure funding for federal grants to open public schools for "latch key" kids who came from households with working parents. Burton backed provisions to the Higher Education Act that provided poor women the childcare support to allow them to attend school. She also wrote an amendment to outlaw so-called "Saturday night specials"—cheap handguns—which the Rules Committee adopted but which was voted down on the House Floor.[7] Congresswoman Burton authored a bill to create a protective breakwater for ships moored in an area of San Francisco Bay that was part of Golden Gate National Recreation Area, which her husband created.[8] Her support for environmental protection measures led her to advocate restrictions on oil drilling off California's coast. Burton was a noteworthy critic of military spending under the arms buildup of the Ronald W. Reagan administration, opposing the funding of the MX missile. She also was an opponent of Reagan's foreign policy, strongly denouncing the U.S. invasion of Grenada, voting against aid to Contra rebels in Nicaragua, and withdrawing her original support for an 18-month extension of the U.S. Marine occupation in Lebanon.[9] She spoke in defense of Soviet dissidents and Salvadoran refugees, opposing an immigration reform bill which she described as discriminatory.[10]

In the final year of her life, Sala Burton battled cancer, undergoing surgery in August 1986. Though she easily won re-election to the 100th Congress in 1986, she was too ill to take the oath of office on the House Floor and, by special resolution, was sworn in at her home by California Representative Don Edwards. The following day she entered the hospital. In her final weeks, much the same way that Phil Burton had supported her as a successor, Sala Burton said that when the seat became vacant, she would support the candidacy of her campaign chairwoman, Nancy Pelosi. Burton died in Washington, D.C., on February 1, 1987. Sala's death brought to a close the "Burton era" in the House, since in 1983 Phil had died and his brother, John, had retired from a neighboring congressional district.

FOR FURTHER READING

Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, "Sala Galante Burton," http://bioguide.congress.gov

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

University of California (Berkeley, CA), Bancroft Library. *Papers:* 1983–1986, 6.25 feet. Includes correspondence and other routine working files from Congresswoman Burton's tenure in the U.S. House of Representatives. Correspondence is chiefly incoming from other Members of Congress, friends, constituents, and organizations. Also includes press clippings and releases, election files, subject files, legislative and voting records, photographs, audio cassettes, and video cassettes. Finding aid in repository. Restricted. Advance notice required for access.

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Helen Delich Bentley

1923–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM MARYLAND
1985–1995

As a Member of Congress representing suburban Baltimore, Helen Delich Bentley focused on the issues that were at the center of her earlier careers as a journalist and federal appointee—those affecting the maritime industry and American trade. Able to attract blue-collar and traditionally Democratic voters, despite remaining relatively conservative, Bentley's gruff style and raspy voice seemed the very embodiment of her decades of experience spent on the city docks and plying the oceans. "I am a woman who worked in men's fields for a long time. I insisted on working on the city side of the paper and not the women's pages," Bentley once explained. "I did it all on my own. Women have to be willing to work and produce and not just expect favors because they are women."[1]

Helen Delich was born to Michael Ivanesevich Delich and Mary (Kovich) Delich, Yugoslavian immigrants, in Ruth, Nevada, on November 28, 1923. She and her six siblings grew up in the neighboring town of Ely. Michael Delich, a copper miner, died of an occupational disease, silicosis, when Helen was just eight years old. Helen graduated as valedictorian from White Pine High School in Ely in 1941, earning two scholarships to attend the University of Nevada. She transferred to the University of Missouri's journalism school in the fall of 1942. In the summer of 1942, Delich managed the U.S. Senate campaign of James G. Scrugham in two Nevada counties. Scrugham, a Democrat and five-term U.S. Representative, won the election. When he was sworn into the Senate in 1943, he hired Delich as his secretary. She worked nine months in Scrugham's Capitol office, before returning to the University of Missouri in the fall of 1943. She earned a bachelor's degree in journalism in 1944 and worked newspaper jobs in Indiana and Idaho.

In June 1945, Helen Delich was hired by the *Baltimore Sun*, beginning a three-decade-long relationship with the newspaper. She specialized in labor issues and, in 1947, became the first woman to cover an American Federation of Labor convention. A year later, the *Sun*'s city editor gave her a new beat.[2] Through direct observation and the cultivation of sources ranging from dockhands to union officials to bureaucrats and local politicians, Bentley educated herself and then the public on issues related to America's maritime interests, using the port of Baltimore as a prism through which to understand the industry. Her "Around the Waterfront" column was syndicated in 15 newspapers and eventually led to the development of a popular, long-running television show on the maritime industry. She often traveled aboard ship to produce stories, taking her on the high seas around the world. Delich's demeanor and presentation were as salty and as blunt as the sailors and stevedores about whom she wrote. Over the years, she earned a national reputation as an authority on maritime issues.[3] On June 7, 1959, Helen Delich married William Bentley, a school teacher. They had no children.

In 1968, when GOP presidential nominee Richard Nixon chose Maryland Governor Spiro Agnew as his vice presidential running mate, Bentley served as an advisor on shipping matters for the Nixon–Agnew campaign. Shortly after winning the election, President Nixon named Bentley as chair of the Federal Maritime Commission. Confirmed by the Senate in October 1969, she became the highest ranking woman in the Executive Branch. She chaired the commission until 1975, calling attention to the country's aging and declining merchant fleet. She later worked as a columnist for *World Port Magazine* and as a shipping company executive.

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE HONORABLE HELEN BENTLEY

In 1980, Bentley made her first attempt to win political office by challenging a powerful, nine-term House incumbent in a Maryland district encompassing northern Baltimore and its suburbs. After securing the Republican nomination by upsetting Baltimore County Republican Chairman Malcolm McKnight in the primary, Bentley faced Representative Clarence "Doc" Long. Congressman Long was an institution in Maryland politics and the chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations.[4] In 1980, the overwhelmingly Democratic district encompassed the predominantly Jewish suburb of Pikesville, the upper-income community of Towson, and to its east the blue-collar towns of Sparrows Point and Dundalk. Many Democrats residing in the district, however, tended to be conservative. Bentley enjoyed wide name recognition from her work as a journalist and her time on the Federal Maritime Commission. During the campaign, she focused on her support of dredging Baltimore Harbor to accommodate larger ships, a move which she argued would boost maritime business.[5] In the general election, Long defeated Bentley with a 57 to 43 percent margin.[6]

Bentley would not relent, however, and challenged Long again in 1982. Reapportionment improved her chances as the reconfigured district included a slice of suburban, middle-class Harford County northeast of the city.[7] In a losing effort, Bentley nevertheless closed the margin to 53 percent to 47 percent.[8] In 1984, Bentley challenged Long a third time. "If we lived in the Middle Ages, she would be called Helen the Determined," observed a high-ranking state Republican. "This election is either the last hurrah or the dawn of a new day" for Bentley.[9] Long had become a GOP target, having used his Appropriations post to challenge the Ronald W. Reagan administration's foreign policy programs. In a race that drew national attention, GOP leadership sent former President Gerald Ford, Vice President George H.W. Bush and his wife Barbara, and President Reagan's daughter, Maureen, to stump for Bentley in the district. The campaign became the most expensive congressional race in state history, with the candidates collectively spending more than $1.2 million.[10] Bentley's anti-tax and jobs creation message appealed to the working-class voters and the "Reagan Democrats" in her district. This time she prevailed with 51 percent of the vote, riding Reagan's coattails.[11] Bentley's district went for Reagan by better than a 2-to-1 margin.[12] In her subsequent four re-election campaigns Congresswoman Bentley won by wide margins, ranging from about 60 percent to 75 percent of the vote.[13]

When she took her seat in the 99th Congress (1985–1987), Bentley was assigned to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and the Committee on Public Works and Transportation. She remained on Merchant Marine and Fisheries throughout her five terms in the House. Beginning in the 101st Congress (1989–1991), she left Public Works and Transportation to serve on the Budget Committee. In the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), she left the Budget Committee for a seat on the powerful Appropriations Committee. Bentley also served on the Select Committee on Aging from the 99th through the 102nd Congresses (1985–1992).

As a Member of Congress, Helen Bentley focused on shipping and trade issues. She immediately used her seat on the Public Works Committee to find funding for a harbor-deepening project in Baltimore. Within a year, she secured more than $17 million for the project, ensuring that the dredging was underway by the start of her second term in office. She routinely combed legislation on her various committees—in the words of one observer, like a "suspicious watchdog"—trying to ferret out bills that might be contrary to the interests of Baltimore.[14] She also concentrated on constituent services, for which she became widely known. She was such a trusted and known entity within the Baltimore maritime community, that in the winter of 1989–1990 she acted as a mediator between the local unions and shipping management to bring about a resolution to a labor dispute.[15]

As an aggressive protector of American business, Congresswoman Bentley backed numerous "Buy America" campaigns, targeting key U.S. trading partners and opposing free trade programs such as the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993. It was in this

Congresswoman Bentley was an aggressive protector of American business. "I'm tired of employing foreigners all the time in foreign countries and helping them out. I want to help out Americans."

regard that she achieved national prominence. "I'm tired of employing foreigners all the time in foreign countries and helping them out," said Bentley, who plied her district in an American-made station wagon with the license plate, "BUY USA." "I want to help out Americans."

One particular target of her fury in the late 1980s and early 1990s was the widening U.S. trade gap with Japan. In 1987, Bentley organized a public relations stunt in which she and several GOP colleagues used sledgehammers to destroy a Japanese-made radio on the Capitol steps. The act was part protest of Japanese technology sharing with the Soviet Union and also a visible sign of U.S. frustration with rigid Japanese trade policies.[16] After taking a trip to the Far East, House Speaker Thomas Foley of Washington joked with Bentley, "Helen, you're the most famous American in Japan since Admiral Perry."[17] Bentley also assailed the Pentagon's reliance on overseas manufacturers as being contrary to "all responsible military strategies to the point where I begin to wonder if we have forgotten what defense is all about."[18] As a fiscal conservative, she backed a 1992 balanced budget constitutional amendment and counted as one of her major congressional achievements a floor debate on a measure she sponsored to cap federal spending increases at 2 percent per year (the measure lost by a wide margin).

Congresswoman Bentley's voting on social issues revealed an admixture of viewpoints. She enthusiastically supported the Equal Rights Amendment, having worked in jobs where she was paid far less than men who did less work. She also backed many federal programs that sought to advance the cause of women's health care. Yet, Bentley opposed federal funding for abortions and voted for a 1993 bill that required parental notification of minors' abortions. She also opposed the Family and Medical Leave Act.

Representative Bentley declined to run for virtually certain re-election to the 104th Congress (1995–1997); she instead sought the GOP nomination for governor of Maryland. An early favorite in the race, she was upset in the Republican primary by conservative Ellen Sauerbrey, 52 to 38 percent. In 2000, Bentley led the Maryland "George W. Bush for President" campaign. Two years later she won the Republican nomination for her old seat—facing Baltimore County Executive Dutch Ruppersberger. Redistricting by the Democratic-controlled state legislature, however, had tilted the district toward a more liberal base. "I still have that vim for all the issues important to me," said the 78-year-old Bentley, adding that the race would come down to a single issue: "Integrity."[19] Ruppersberger eventually prevailed, with 54 percent of the vote to Bentley's 46 percent.[20] Bentley resides in her old district, leading a consulting firm specializing in transportation and trade issues.[21]

FOR FURTHER READING

Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, "Helen Delich Bentley," http://bioguide.congress.gov

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

University of Maryland, Baltimore College (Baltimore, MD), the Langsdale Library. *Papers*: 1945–1995, 596 cubic feet. Collection covers Bentley's career from her work as a maritime reporter for the *Baltimore Sun* through her five terms in the U.S. House of Representatives through her failed 1994 gubernatorial Republican primary election in Maryland. Among the items in the collection are the newspaper articles she wrote on the port of Baltimore as a *Sun* reporter, correspondence, reports, some video, campaign materials, published and unpublished reports, and hearings. A finding aid is available in the repository.

University of Oklahoma (Norman, OK), The Julian P. Kanter Commercial Archive, Department of Communication. *Sound and video reels*: 1982–1994, three sound reels and six video reels. Includes 24 commercials used during Bentley's campaigns for the 1982, 1984, 1986, and 1988 U.S. congressional elections and the 1994 gubernatorial election in Maryland, Republican Party.

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Jan L. Meyers
1928–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM KANSAS
1985–1997

In 1995, Jan Meyers, a five-term Representative from Kansas, became the first Republican woman to chair a standing House committee in more than 40 years. That milestone capped Meyers's long tenure as a public servant that began on the Overland Park (Kansas) City Council and included more than a decade in the state senate. Reflecting on a political career that sometimes saw her take a stand against her party on major social issues, Meyers advised would-be politicians, "Listen to your conscience and your constituents—both. Most of the time they'll agree. If your conscience is different than your constituents', then you'll have a hard time."[1]

Janice Lenore Crilly was born on July 20, 1928, in Lincoln, Nebraska, the daughter of Howard M. Crilly, a newspaper publisher, and Lenore N. (Hazel) Crilly. Janice Crilly and her brother, Donn, were raised in Superior, Nebraska, where her father ran the local newspaper, *The Superior Express*, beginning in the mid-1930s.[2] In 1948, she graduated with an Associate Fine Arts degree from William Woods College in Fulton, Missouri, and with a B.A. in communications from the University of Nebraska in 1951. Following graduation, she worked in advertising and public relations. Crilly married Louis "Dutch" Meyers, who eventually became a Kansas City television station executive, and they raised a daughter and son, Valerie and Philip.

Jan Meyers's career in Kansas GOP politics began in 1966, when she served as Overland Park's chairwoman for Edward Lawrence "Larry" Winn, Jr.'s campaign for a U.S. House seat representing suburban Kansas City. Two years later, she was district co-chair for the first of Senator Robert Dole's string of five successful Senate races. In 1974, Meyers chaired Republican Bob Bennett's gubernatorial campaign in Johnson County. From 1967 to 1972, she served as a member of the Overland Park City Council, presiding for two years. In 1972, Meyers won election to the Kansas state senate and served there for the next 12 years, rising to chair the public health and welfare committee as well as the local government committee. In 1978, Meyers entered the GOP primary for one of Kansas's seats in the U.S. Senate but garnered only 10 percent of the vote and finished fourth in a race eventually won by Republican Nancy Kassebaum.

When Representative Winn retired in 1984, Meyers entered the GOP primary to succeed him. By that point, the district was a narrow north-south sliver nestled in the northeast corner of Kansas across the river from the metropolis of Kansas City, Missouri. Geographically the smallest of the state's four congressional districts, it was dominated by two counties—Wyandotte, which encompassed Kansas City, Kansas, with a large blue-collar and working-class population and, to the south, Johnson County, a white-collar, suburban, affluent address which included the city of Overland Park. Meyers began the race with the best name recognition but her support for legalized abortion alienated many among the conservative Republican base. In a five-way race she won the party nomination with just 35 percent of the vote; her nearest opponent, Russell Leffel, captured 28 percent. In the general election she faced a formidable opponent in the Democratic candidate, Kansas City Mayor John Reardon. Though Reardon supported a nuclear weapons freeze, he distanced himself from most Democratic economic programs and supported a ban on abortions. Meyers hewed to budget and military issues, running on President Ronald W. Reagan's platform, calling for strong defense and a bal-

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anced budget amendment. She emphasized her long experience in state politics and plastered the district with "Jan Can" posters.[3] Benefiting from being on a ticket that featured Reagan and the popular Kassebaum (who received more votes than Reagan in the November elections), Meyers won with 55 percent to Reardon's 40 percent (the district went for Reagan by a nearly 2-to-1 margin).[4]

Meyers faced little opposition in her subsequent general elections; indeed, in 1988, she defeated a Democratic challenger by a 3-to-1 margin. Meyers faced only one serious primary challenge. In 1992, a conservative Kansas state representative tried to capitalize on anti-incumbent sentiment by questioning Meyer's use of franking privileges for campaign mail. Meyers prevailed 56 to 23 percent in the primary and won the general election by a margin of 20 percentage points.[5]

When Congresswoman Meyers arrived in the House, she was determined to work her way into a position of power through traditional routes. She sought a seat on high-profile committees such as Ways and Means and Appropriations, but was unable to secure a spot on either. Instead, she was appointed to the Committee on Science and Technology, the Committee on Small Business, and the Select Committee on Aging. In the 100th Congress (1987–1989), she transferred from Science and Technology to the more prestigious Foreign Affairs Committee.

Meyers was most active on the Small Business Committee. She introduced a number of legislative measures to protect small business interests and to ensure that they had fair representation in government. She worked to bring permanent tax cuts for small businesses and exempt them from minimum wage laws and to increase the health care deductions for the self-employed to 100 percent. In 1993, Meyers opposed the Family and Medical Leave Act, which required employers to provide unpaid leave for employees tending to newborns or sick family members; she believed it would disproportionately affect small businesses. She supported the North American Free Trade Agreement, arguing that by lifting trade barriers between the U.S., Canada, and Mexico, policymakers could prevent European countries from forming a trade bloc with America's northern and southern neighbors. More importantly, she noted, her constituents supported the measure.[6]

When Republicans took control of the House in the 1994 elections, Jan Meyers was promoted to chair of the Small Business Committee. It marked the first time that a Republican woman had chaired a House committee since Edith Nourse Rogers headed Veterans' Affairs in the 83rd Congress (1953–1955). "Leadership positions come as a result of seniority," Meyers said later. "I sincerely hope that women continue to run and continue to get elected, and I think that will ultimately result in more women being elected to leadership positions."[7]

In 1995, the House leadership briefly considered disbanding the Small Business Committee. But Meyers pointed out that small business owners were a major constituency of the GOP and that they deserved a forum for their interests. She introduced legislation that would have created a Cabinet-level post for the Small Business Administration.[8] Meyers often referenced the "ingenuity and can-do attitude" of small businesses in America and the fact that by the 1990s, women and minorities represented the fastest growing segment of that business sector.[9] In 1994, during the debate over universal health care, Meyers advocated small business opposition against government mandated programs. "Small business owners, including those currently offering health care, still believe that the government that governs best, governs least," she said. "Let us heed their wisdom and real world experience."[10] Reflecting on the Congresswoman's work on behalf of small-sized employers, Kansas Senator Dole later said in a tribute on the Senate Floor, "Jan Meyers never stopped fighting to reduce the regulatory and tax burdens on America's small businessmen and women."[11]

Rising through the committee ranks via her seniority, Meyers also attempted to ascend the party leadership ladder. She often volunteered for bottom-rung partisan positions, such as serving on various task forces and policy groups. Meyers won a spot on the Republican Policy Committee (chairing a panel which helped overhaul the GOP Conference rules) and served on the Republican Task Force on Health Care Policy. In the 101st Congress

(1989–1991), she also served as a vice chair of the Energy and Environment Study Conference and, two years later, Minority Leader Robert Michel of Illinois appointed Meyers to his Economic and Health Task Force. Yet, her dutiful approach to such chores did not earn her the political capital needed to break into the elected leadership ranks. In late 1988, Meyers lost a contest for the Republican Conference Secretary's post to Representative Vin Weber of Minnesota, a protégé of Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia.[12]

Meyer's fiscal conservatism contrasted with her moderate social positions, especially on reproductive issues and gun control. She was a regular defender of a woman's right to seek an abortion, particularly in cases of rape or dire medical threat to mothers. Meyers criticized the George H. W. Bush administration in 1992 for legislation prohibiting women's health counselors at federally funded clinics from discussing a range of options, including abortion, with patients. "It is a family planning issue. It is an issue of equity for poor women, and of free speech," Meyers said on the House Floor. "They should be able to get full information about that health care."[13] She voted against proposals to require parental notification for minors' abortions and supported funding for U.S. family planning efforts overseas. Both positions put her at odds with many GOP colleagues. From her seat on the Foreign Affairs Committee, Meyers also advocated anti-drug efforts on both the supply and the demand side of the illegal drug trafficking problem. "We must make the user's life so difficult, and the use of drugs so socially unacceptable, that people will not start drug use," she said.[14] Meyers approved of Republican efforts to overhaul the welfare system in the mid-1990s—arguing that the emphasis should be shifted from federal- to state-based aid and that those receiving entitlements should shoulder more responsibility.[15]

Meyers declined to run for re-election in 1996, noting that she wanted to spend more time with her family. "There are other things in life I want to do, and being a Member of Congress, if you take the job seriously, simply does not leave time," Meyers told the press.[16] She also said she believed that Members of Congress should serve no more than 10 to 14 years.[17] Meyers returned to Overland Park, Kansas, where she joined foundation boards for a local library and a community college.

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Catherine S. Long

1924–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM LOUISIANA
1985–1987

Catherine ("Cathy") S. Long married into Louisiana's legendary political family and spent nearly four decades immersed in state and national politics as a politician's wife. When her influential husband, Gillis Long, died suddenly in 1985, Democratic Party leaders believed Cathy Long was a logical choice to succeed him, having served as his campaign surrogate and close advisor. She easily won the special election to his seat. "The biggest change in my life is not Congress," Congresswoman Long told a reporter shortly after taking office. "It was the death of my husband."[1]

Cathy Small was born in Dayton, Ohio, on February 7, 1924. She graduated from high school in Camp Hill, Pennsylvania, and studied at Louisiana State University where she received a B.A. in 1948. In 1947, Cathy Small married Gillis Long, a decorated World War II veteran and member of one of Louisiana's most powerful political families. He was a distant cousin of the flamboyant Louisiana political boss Huey Long and longtime U.S. Senator Russell Long. In 1962, he won election to the U.S. House of Representatives from a central Louisiana district encompassing Baton Rouge. A supporter of civil rights, he was targeted in 1964 by his cousin, Speedy Long, who defeated him for renomination by charging that Gillis Long had aided the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill.[2] Long had voted with the House leadership to expand the membership of the House Rules Committee, effectively giving a majority to civil rights advocates and unleashing a logjam of reforms. After his defeat, Long served in the Lyndon B. Johnson administration for two years before returning to private law practice. Gillis Long won re-election to the U.S. House in 1972 to the first of seven consecutive terms in his old district. He became one of the most respected figures in the Democratic Party as chairman of the House Democratic Caucus in the early 1980s, a high-ranking member of the Rules Committee, and a close ally of Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill of Massachusetts.

While raising their two children, George and Janis, Cathy Long's early career included nonelective political work. After college she had worked as a pharmacist's mate in the U.S. Navy. She subsequently was a staff assistant to Oregon Senator Wayne Morse and Ohio Representative James G. Polk. She also served as a delegate to Democratic National Conventions and was a member of the Louisiana Democratic Finance Council and the state party's central committee. She put that experience to work on behalf of her husband's career—campaigning, canvassing the district to hear constituent issues, and acting as an informal adviser to Gillis Long. "You couldn't have found a wife that was more active than I was," she recalled. A heart condition slowed her husband in his later years in the House, leaving Cathy Long to make the frequent trips back to the district for the "physical campaigning."[3] Throughout her husband's political career, Cathy Long recalled, she campaigned more than the candidate. "I feel thoroughly at home with campaigning, I've done it so much," she said.[4]

When Gillis Long died on January 20, 1985, the party turned immediately to his widow to run for his vacant seat. "From the very minute Gillis died, I was under terrific strain to run," Cathy Long recalled. "One person called me at 3 a.m. that morning and said, 'You have to run.' At the wake I had two people give me checks for $1000 each."[5] On February 4, 1985, she declared her intention to seek the nomination.[6] Long ran on her husband's name recognition with a central campaign pledge to fulfill

his legislative interests without offering many specific policy positions of her own. She also noted her familiarity with the institution: "I don't have to start from scratch. I already know the way Congress works."[7] The Baton Rouge-centered district contained a cross-section of Louisiana culture, with rice, soybean, and sugar farmers, as well as Cajuns, African Americans (who made up 33 percent of the constituency), and labor union interests.[8] Unemployment, which had eclipsed 12 percent in the district, emerged as the primary issue in the campaign. Long's principal competitor, Louisiana state legislator John "Jock" Scott, challenged her refusal to commit to positions on the issues: "If Cathy Long can't talk to us here, how can she talk for us in Washington?"[9] Cathy Long defeated Scott by a more than a 2-to-1 margin with 56 percent of the vote (in a field with three other candidates) and carried all but one of 15 parishes in a special election on March 30, 1985.[10] Sworn in on April 4, 1985, Cathy Long was appointed to the Committee on Public Works and Transportation and the Committee on Small Business. Among her chief allies were two longtime friends and Members of the state delegation: Representatives John Breaux and Lindy Boggs who, in 1973, succeeded her late husband, Majority Leader Hale Boggs.

As a Representative, Cathy Long hewed to the same agenda as her husband, who often criticized the Ronald W. Reagan administration.[11] Her first major vote was against aid to the Nicaraguan Contra rebels. For the most part, however, she focused on Louisiana's economic needs. She sought to preserve price supports for sugar and opposed an amendment to the Mississippi River and Tributaries Project Bill that would have required local governments in the lower Mississippi Valley to share the costs of flood control. It was a program that the federal government had for decades recognized as an issue of national concern. Long also joined her colleagues in the Louisiana delegation in introducing legislation to authorize the Legal Services Corporation to make a grant to the Gillis W. Long Poverty Law Center at Loyola University in New Orleans.

Additionally, Representative Long worked on issues impacting women and other minorities. She cosponsored the 1985 Economic Equity Act, which secured pension and health benefits for women and sought to restrict racial and sex discrimination in insurance practices. In foreign affairs, the Louisiana Representative voted for economic sanctions against South Africa for its apartheid system and worked to provide aid for Nicaraguan refugees.

Shortly after taking office, Long sought to dispel notions that she was a one-term caretaker. "I would not have run if I didn't want to stay," she told a reporter. "Of course I'm going to run again. It was part of the decision I made at the time."[12] Yet, several months later, citing the burden of remaining campaign debts from her special election and a year in which she lost nearly a half dozen close friends and family members, Long declined to run for re-election in 1986. "The decision was not an easy one," she told reporters on October 15, 1985. "I sought this seat to carry on my husband's work. I would love to continue the job, but the weight of my current debt jeopardizes the possibility of a credible campaign in 1986. I believe it better for me to step aside now to give all others the opportunity to pursue this job."[13]

After Congress, Long worked as a volunteer in Washington, D.C., area homeless shelters and as a reading tutor. She also spent time with her grandchildren, who grew up near the capital. Cathy Long resides in Washington, D.C.

FOR FURTHER READING

Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, "Catherine Small Long," http://bioguide.congress.gov

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

Louisiana State University (Baton Rouge, LA), Special Collections. *Papers:* 1984–1986, 60 cubic feet. Includes personal and congressional papers and correspondence, photographs, portraits, video tape, sound recordings, and memorabilia; also includes legislative and committee files, issue mail and computer indexes to constituent correspondence, speeches, and campaign and political files. A preliminary finding aid is available in the repository. Restricted.

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Constance A. Morella

1931–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM MARYLAND
1987–2003

Congressional politics at the end of the 20th century became more polarized, and for moderates, their plight became unenviable. Constance Morella was one of a shrinking group of moderate House Republicans who had been so numerous during the 1960s and 1970s. From the first, she built her career around her Maryland district, but the 2000 Census offered an opportunity to recast her constituency dramatically. At the same time she found herself tied more closely to her party after the Republicans took control of the House in 1995, making her vulnerable, as Democrats recruited stronger candidates to run against her.

Constance Albanese was born on February 12, 1931, in Somerville, Massachusetts, to Italian immigrants Salvatore and Christina Albanese. Her father was a cabinetmaker, and her mother worked in a laundromat. Constance Albanese attended Boston University, graduating in 1951, and marrying Anthony Morella in 1954. The couple moved to Maryland, where she taught high school. Eventually, they would have three children (Paul, Mark, and Laura) and help raise Constance Morella's sister's six children (Christine, Catherine, Louise, Paul, Rachel, and Ursula) after she died. After receiving her MA degree from American University in 1967, Morella taught at Montgomery College in Rockville, Maryland, from 1970 to 1986. Morella also became active in community organizations and was soon serving in a variety of public positions, finding herself attracted to the Republican moderates, as represented by Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York. She was a member of the Montgomery County commission for women (1971–1975), and in 1974 she ran unsuccessfully for the Maryland general assembly. She was elected to the general assembly in 1978, serving through 1987.

Morella's first run for a seat in Congress took place in 1980. She ran unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination against former Representative Newton Steers, Jr. When incumbent Representative Michael Barnes announced in 1986 that he was retiring from the House to make what later was an unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate, Morella won the vacant seat over State Senator Stewart Bainum, Jr., with 53 percent of the vote. The district covered much of Montgomery County outside of Washington, with more than 60,000 federal employees and the center of Maryland's technology industry. Having run on a platform of strong ties to the district, backing from women's groups, and support for some elements of the Ronald W. Reagan administration's foreign policy, this election was crucial in setting her style as a House Member.[1] A moderate Republican had won election to Congress in a Democratic state. "[The 1986] election shows that Montgomery County voters are very independent," Morella recalled. "It proves that party label is nothing that's going to keep people from voting for a person."[2] High voter turnout in her hometown of Bethesda also gave her the edge.[3]

Morella built her House career by emphasizing those issues of greatest concern to her constituents. She also developed an intense district presence. "Three things are certain in Montgomery County," noted the *Washington Post* in 1992, "death, taxes and Connie Morella showing up for every small-town parade and public forum."[4] Morella worked hard to establish a close relationship with her district, developing a reputation for independence while muting her party affiliation in the heavily Democratic district.[5] As a result, Morella was frequently on the other side of major issues from the rest of her Republican

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Morella fell victim to one of the vulnerabilities of an incumbent who relies on a close and familiar relationship with the district: the vagaries of redistricting. "Don't look at me as a symbol," Morella appealed to voters who continued to like her but were unhappy with her party. "Look at me."

colleagues. "We'd like her to vote with us more often," Republican Representative Henry Hyde of Illinois said in 1990. "But to get elected she must reflect her district, and she votes like her predecessors." [6] Her initial committee assignments catered to her district's greatest concerns: the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the Committee on Science, Space, and Technology. During the first part of her House career, she used these committee assignments as the basis of her legislative activities in areas such as federal pay, parental leave, and health care benefits for the civil service.

Morella's ability to establish a close nonpartisan bond with her district through serving the interests of her constituents allowed her to win re-election by wide margins. In the early 1990s, Morella consistently won more than 70 percent of the vote. This period of electoral popularity allowed her to begin venturing into more policies that often built on her committee assignments. She staked out positions on health care, calling for more scientific research on cancer and HIV/AIDS and affordable child-care programs. House colleagues called her the "angel of NIST"—the National Institute of Standards and Technology, based in the district.[7] She took an interest in programs to combat domestic violence and teen pregnancies. But Morella also began venturing into less safe territory relative to her own party's legislative priorities. In contrast to many Republican colleagues, Morella supported abortion and reproductive rights. In 1992 she led an unsuccessful effort to remove the anti-abortion plank at the Republican National Convention. "I would like to move the party closer to the center," she said in 1993. [8] While her stand gained her the endorsement of abortion rights groups, Morella strongly believed the issue went beyond politics. In 1996 she said of abortion that "it has to do with one's personal beliefs, and it doesn't belong on the agenda for politicians."[9]

During her tenure in Congress Morella was frequently mentioned as a possible nominee for governor or U.S. Senator.[10] She resisted, however, efforts to position herself to be able to influence the direction of her party colleagues. "Do I seek to be in leadership?" Morella told the *Washington Post*. "No. I'll be damned if I kowtow to anyone. I need the independence. And you just don't have that in leadership. You have to do what they want."[11]

When the Republicans captured the House after the 1994 elections, Morella's status underwent a transformation. Formerly a backbench Member of a minority party, she became chair of the Subcommittee on Technology on the renamed Committee on Science. Because the Republicans eliminated the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Morella became a member of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, renamed the Committee on Government Reform in 1999. Morella later became the chair of its Subcommittee on the District of Columbia during the 107th Congress (2001–2003). Of her service as subcommittee chair, Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton of Washington, D.C., said, "Everybody loves Connie."[12]

Becoming part of the majority was not cost-free for Morella, however. Many of the new Republican Members dismissed moderates like Morella as "squishy" and resented the ability of the senior moderates to temper some of their policy proposals.[13] Meanwhile, the still-popular Morella now confronted constituents who were unhappy with what the Republican majority was doing —particularly in the polarizing atmosphere developing between the Republican Congress and Democratic White House. In the late 1990s, Morella's re-election margins began to erode. Her opponents became better known and more experienced, and they had deeper financial pockets.[14] Past supporters of Morella began to listen sympathetically to the argument that a vote for Morella was a vote to keep Newt Gingrich as Speaker. "What I saw," charged her 1998 opponent Ralph Neas, "was someone who would vote against the Republican leadership when it no longer made a difference."[15] When the Republicans narrowly retained their majority in 1996, the news that Gingrich admitted to ethical violations led some Republican moderates to refrain from voting for Gingrich as Speaker or to vote for other candidates. Morella was among five Republicans to vote "present."[16] In one of the major battles between the Republican Congress and the

Democratic President, Morella joined a minority of Republicans who voted against impeaching William J. Clinton in 1998.[17] She would recall that Congress "did become more polarized, which is really too bad."[18]

The Maryland redistricting for the 2002 elections contributed to the erosion of Morella's base. Her new district, created by a Democratic state legislature, lopped off the northwestern portion that had supported her most strongly while adding highly Democratic territory to the east. The core of her old district (including her Bethesda base) that she retained was made up largely of voters that were becoming more Democratic over time.[19] One state senator proclaimed, "If she runs, she loses."[20] Morella agreed. "They wanted to gerrymander me into retirement."[21] She was widely viewed as the most vulnerable House Republican in the country.[22] A potentially divisive Democratic primary between State Delegate Mark K. Shriver, a member of the Kennedy family, and State Senator Christopher Van Hollen, Jr., held out the promise that Morella would face an opponent with a depleted war chest.[23] Both national parties concentrated resources on the race, raising $5.6 million, the most expensive race in Maryland history.[24]

Morella fell victim to one of the vulnerabilities of an incumbent who relies on a close and familiar relationship with the district: the vagaries of redistricting. "Don't look at me as a symbol," Morella appealed to voters who continued to like her but were unhappy with her party. "Look at me."[25] Despite national and statewide Republican gains, Van Hollen, the Democratic challenger with the greatest legislative experience, eked out a 9,000-vote victory over Morella in a race where more than 200,000 votes were cast.[26] "I had a flawless campaign," she would recall later. "Can you imagine—the only one I lost was flawless." Looking back, though, she remained philosophical about her career. "It was a great privilege," she told the *Washington Post* a year later. "It was time for me to move on."[27]

Morella returned to Montgomery County amid rumors and talk that she would become a member of the administration of President George W. Bush or of Maryland Governor Robert L. Ehrlich, Jr. In July 2003, President Bush nominated her to be U.S. Ambassador to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.[28] After assuming her post on October 8, 2003, she continued to worry about the increasing polarization in Congress.[29] Moderates, she mused, "have been endangered, and I hope that changes."[30]

FOR FURTHER READING

Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, "Constance Morella," http://bioguide.congress.gov

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

University of Maryland Libraries (College Park, MD), Archives and Manuscripts Department, Special Collections. *Papers:* 1975–2002, 189 linear feet. The papers of Constance Morella document her legislative efforts on such issues as scientific research and development, education, the federal workforce, equity for women, and the environment. The files consist of correspondence, newspaper clippings, press releases, photographs, memorabilia, awards, and subject files. The collection is unprocessed, although a preliminary inventory is available.

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Elizabeth J. Patterson

1939–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM SOUTH CAROLINA
1987–1993

Representative Elizabeth Patterson of South Carolina carved out a political career as a Democrat in a conservative-leaning district, portraying herself as a budget hawk and opponent of tax increases, though not at the expense of providing for working-class needs. The daughter of a powerful politician, Patterson's long experience in public service, fiscal austerity, and ability to capitalize on the South Carolina GOP's internal divisions gave her narrow majorities over her opponents. Ultimately, her middle-of-the-road approach lost its appeal in a conservative state.[1]

Elizabeth Johnston was born on November 18, 1939, to Olin DeWitt Talmadge Johnston and Gladys Atkinson Johnston in Columbia, South Carolina. Her father, Olin Johnston, was a political fixture in South Carolina politics, serving in the state house of representatives before being elected governor in 1935. He served a total of six years as governor (1935–1939; 1943–1945), before resigning in his second term after he had won election to the U.S. Senate. Johnston served 20 years in the Senate and was the longtime chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Elizabeth Johnston attended public schools in suburban Maryland but graduated from Spartanburg High School in Spartanburg, South Carolina, in 1957. In 1961, she received her bachelor's degree at Columbia College in Columbia, South Carolina. She subsequently studied political science at the University of South Carolina. On April 16, 1967, Elizabeth Johnston married Dwight Patterson and they raised three children: Dwight, Olin, and Catherine. Elizabeth Patterson, worked as recruiting officer for the Peace Corps and VISTA, as a Head Start coordinator for the South Carolina Office of Economic Opportunity, and as a staff assistant for South Carolina Representative James R. Mann from 1969 to 1970. Patterson made her debut in elective politics when she won an open seat on the Spartanburg County Council in 1975. She served in that capacity for two years, securing a reputation as a fiscal conservative who trimmed county expenses while opposing a tax increase.[2] In 1979, Patterson was elected to the South Carolina senate, where she served through 1986. She worked diligently on the finance committee to reduce and restructure the state budget. She also served on the governor's task force on hunger and nutrition.

Patterson declared her candidacy for a South Carolina U.S. House seat in 1986, when four-term Republican Representative Carroll A. Campbell, Jr., declined renomination in order to run for governor. The district encompassed the Greenville and Spartanburg area, which had swung Republican in the 1960s. With the exception of the 1976 election, South Carolina had voted for the GOP presidential candidate since 1964, and the district had been a mainstay of conservatives. As a stronghold of evangelical and fundamentalist conservatives, the district increasingly was contested between religiously conservative Republicans versus more "commerce-minded" Republicans and moderate to conservative Democrats.[3] Patterson campaigned as a fiscal conservative with a social conscience. As a moderate, she supported pro-choice legislation citing that, "the government should not interfere with this most personal decision."[4] She advocated giving aid to the Nicaragua Contra rebels, opposed gun control, and also supported the death penalty. In the general election, Patterson faced Republican William D. Workman III, a former newspaper editor, the mayor of Greenville, and the son of a man who had once opposed

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Olin Johnston for the Senate.[5] Workman had survived a heated GOP primary in which he'd been attacked by religious fundamentalist opponents as a tool of big business. Though polls favored Workman, Patterson skillfully exploited divisions in the GOP between her opponent and religious-right critics by painting him as a friend of corporations and the district's bluebloods. When Workman charged Patterson was a free-spending Democrat, she countered with television advertisements that declared, "I'm one of us"— in which she was portrayed as a homemaker and family values candidate.[6] Patterson won by a plurality of about 5,400 votes out of more than 130,000 cast, a margin of 51 percent.[7]

In subsequent elections, the district remained competitive. Less than a month on the job, Patterson was specifically targeted by the GOP for defeat.[8] Although President George H.W. Bush carried the district with 68 percent in the 1988 presidential elections (six points ahead of his statewide percentage), Patterson held on against Knox White, another business-oriented Republican, winning with 52 percent of the vote. During the 1990 midterm elections, because an economic downturn eroded support for the President Bush and Patterson cast a popular vote against a federal tax increase, South Carolina voters gave her a third term with her largest margin—61 percent against Republican Terry Haskins, the South Carolina house minority leader who was supported by religious conservatives.[9]

While in the House, Patterson sat on three committees: Veterans' Affairs; Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs; and the Select Committee on Hunger. From her Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs post, Representative Patterson weighed in on the savings and loan industry crisis. High interest rates in the early 1980s made many of these institutions insolvent. In 1988 alone, more than 190 savings and loan banks failed, and by the time new regulatory practices were in place, the government bailout of the industry through the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) was estimated to cost more than $160 billion. "We must protect the depositors. We must protect the taxpayers. And finally, we must protect the safety and soundness of our banking industry," Patterson declared on the House Floor. She argued that uninsured deposits, foreign or domestic, should not be protected at a cost to the bank insurance fund.[10] She also opposed a radical overhaul of the FDIC, while allowing it greater power to intervene to close down insolvent banks. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Improvement Act, passed in 1991, greatly revised the agency's operations.

In 1990, Patterson chaired the Conservative Democratic Forum's Task Force on Budget Reform and eventually voted against the 1990 proposed tax increase (a move which aided her re-election later that year). She also served on the Speaker's Task Force on Budget Reform, and, in 1991, introduced the Budget Simplification and Reform Act, which would have amended the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 to limit the use of continuing resolutions and expedite the rescission process. Her bill also contained a clause that would have required Members to provide explanatory statements identifying the sponsor and the cost of projects that benefited 10 or fewer people, as a means of combating pork barrel legislation. "Let us spread a little sunshine on Capitol Hill," Patterson said.[11]

Patterson also defended the beleaguered textile industry, which, until the 1980s, when it began losing to foreign competition, had been a major employer in her district. She joined the bipartisan Congressional Textile Caucus and, in 1992, Patterson was appointed chair of the panel. Patterson often expressed frustrations felt by her constituents who not only were losing jobs but were unable to "buy American." Patterson told of one occasion when her daughter went shopping in the district for a simple cotton shirt and had to resort to buying a foreign-made item. "It was made in China . . . where human rights abuses are rampant and where wages are slave wages," Patterson lamented to colleagues. "At the same time, a shirt factory in my district is closed, a factory where shirts were made of better quality and sold for a cheaper price. Those people cannot buy the clothes that I bought for my children because they are out of work."[12]

In the 1992 elections, a year eventually dominated by Democrats and women candidates, Patterson faced a tough campaign against Bob Inglis, a 33-year-old Republican challenger. Inglis, a corporate lawyer and the Greenville County GOP chairman, was highly organized and targeted 11 precincts which he believed would determine the election in the district. He also won the support of the Christian Coalition, which distributed material that accused Patterson of supporting "abortion on demand," although she had consistently opposed the procedure in all cases except rape, incest, or when the mother's life was in danger.[13] Inglis, meanwhile, depicted Patterson as a liberal on the abortion issue and as a political tool of banking interests. Inglis pledged to take "not one dime" from political action committees and declared that he would honor a pledge to serve just three terms in the House. He also attacked her for abusing the informal House "bank" maintained for Members by the Sergeant at Arms (she bounced two checks) by distributing bumper stickers in the form of a check that read, "Bounce Liz."[14] One observer noted that the Patterson campaign was slow to respond: "one problem was that she was so moderate she was hard to define. Nobody thought that she would lose."[15] Patterson eventually did lose by a margin of about 5,600 votes, 50 to 47 percent.

After leaving Congress, Patterson sought the lieutenant governorship of South Carolina in 1994. While she won the closely contested Democratic primary, she eventually lost in the general election. Patterson settled into a teaching job as a political science professor at Spartanburg Methodist College. In 1999, she received an M.A. in liberal arts from Converse College. Elizabeth Patterson resides in Spartanburg, South Carolina.

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Patricia F. Saiki

1930–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM HAWAII
1987–1991

Patricia Fukuda Saiki's revitalization of the Hawaiian Republican Party propelled her to election as the first GOP Representative in the state since it entered the Union in 1959. As a Member of Congress, Saiki focused on economic and environmental legislation important to her Honolulu constituency as well as the international Asian community. In 1990, Saiki left the House to campaign for a Senate seat in a race that many political observers believed might signal a shift in the balance of political power in Hawaii. "Before Pat Saiki was elected to Congress, it was hard for us to relate to young people and tell them, 'It's great to be a Republican,'" noted a Hawaiian GOP member. "Now we can begin to spin the tale that will make people interested in supporting the Republican Party in Hawaii."[1]

Patricia Fukuda was born to Kazuo and Shizue Fukada on May 28, 1930, in Hilo, on the big island of Hawaii. She graduated from Hilo High School in 1948 and received a bachelor of science degree from the University of Hawaii at Manoa in 1952. In 1954, she married Stanley Saiki, an obstetrician, and they had five children: Stanley, Stuart, Sandra, Margaret, and Laura. Patricia Saiki taught history in Hawaii's public and private schools for 12 years. Her path to politics began with her work as a union organizer and research assistant to Hawaii senate Republicans. In the mid-1960s, Saiki served as the secretary and then the vice chair of the state Republican Party. She attended the state constitutional convention in 1968, and that year won election to the Hawaii senate, where she served for six years. In 1974, Saiki won election to the state house of representatives, where she served until 1982 and rose to the position of assistant GOP floor leader. In 1982, Saiki left the legislature and made an unsuccessful bid for lieutenant governor. She subsequently oversaw a threefold expansion in party membership and helped the party raise $800,000 during her two-and-a-half-year tenure as party chair. Her hand in reviving the Republican Party in the strongly Democratic state aided President Ronald W. Reagan's victory there in the 1984 presidential election (the only previous Republican presidential candidate to carry the state was Richard Nixon in 1972) and the election of Democrat-turned-Republican Frank Fasi as Honolulu mayor.

After spending nearly two decades in state politics, Saiki decided to run for the U.S. House seat vacated in July 1986 by five-term Democrat Cecil Heftel, who left to run for governor. As the state's population center, the district encompassed Honolulu, its suburbs, and the Pearl Harbor Naval base (Hawaii's only other congressional district included the rest of Oahu and the other islands). Tourism and commercial shipping were the lifeblood for the cosmopolitan population of Caucasians, Asian Americans, and native Hawaiians, most of whom were registered Democrats. The potential for influence in Washington as well as the war on drugs were the major issues leading up to the September special election to fill the remaining four months of Heftel's term in the 99th Congress (1985–1987). Liberal Democratic State Senator Neil Abercrombie was the early favorite; however, a third candidate, Democrat Mufi Hannemann, a 32-year-old corporate lobbyist and former White House fellow, entered the race, siphoning off a portion of the liberal vote. Saiki certainly benefited from the Democratic interparty warfare; however, she was unable to best Abercrombie in the September 20 special election. He prevailed over Saiki by fewer than 1,000 votes, 30 to

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29 percent; Hannemann trailed by about 2,200 votes (28 percent). On the same day, Saiki won the Republican primary to run for a full term in the 100th Congress (1987–1989), while Abercrombie and Hannemann battled for the Democratic nomination for the full term. As the two Democrats faced off in the closed primary, several thousand Saiki supporters temporarily registered as Democrats in order to give Hannemann a narrow win, instantly reducing Abercrombie to lame-duck status in the 99th Congress.[2]

In the general election for the 100th Congress, Hannemann had history on his side: Since the state entered the Union in 1959, Hawaii sent only Democrats to the House of Representatives. But Hannemann also faced several obstacles. First, the acrimony from the primary carried over as Abercrombie withheld his endorsement. More importantly, Saiki's ancestral roots as a Japanese-American—one-third of the voters shared her ethnic background—helped her popularity. Saiki won the general election with 59 percent of the vote, a 33,000-vote plurality; no previous Hawaiian Republican candidate for the U.S. House had ever polled more than 45 percent of the vote.[3] She became the first Republican to represent Hawaii in the House since Elizabeth Farrington won election as a territorial delegate in 1954 (Republican Hiram Fong served in the U.S. Senate from 1959 to 1976). Two years later, Saiki went unopposed in the 1988 Republican primary. In the three-way Democratic primary, Mary Bitterman, a former director of the Voice of America, emerged as the convincing winner; however, she spent the bulk of her treasury securing the nomination, leaving her little money for the general election. She was not able to dent Saiki's record, and the incumbent won comfortably with a 55 percent majority.

Throughout her career, Saiki established a fiscally conservative voting record on economic issues, in line with most of her GOP colleagues. She also supported much of the Reagan and George H.W. Bush administration's foreign policy programs—voting for aid to the Nicaraguan Contras, funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative, and the death penalty for drug-related murders. Where she parted company with many Republicans was on her moderate stance on touchstone social issues, chief among them reproductive rights. Saiki supported women's reproductive freedom. "I don't want to be sexist about this, but anything that involves a woman's life or career, it's very personal, very close to us," Saiki told the *New York Times*. "We're the ones who experience it. We're the ones who have to pay for it."[4]

Saiki received seats on the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs; the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries; and the Select Committee on Aging. Her seat on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, with assignments on its oceanography and fisheries subcommittee, was particularly important to her ocean-side constituency. Saiki worked to preserve the islands' natural beauty and unique resources. She attempted to persuade the Bush administration to suspend military test bombing on the island of Kahoolawe, situated just offshore from Maui. Claimed by U.S. officials in the early 1950s, the island nevertheless retained significant cultural relevance for native Hawaiians.[5] In 1990, she supported an amendment to revise the annual accrual method of accounting for pineapple and banana growers, whose longer growth and production cycles distorted their income statements and exposed them to excess taxation.[6] Saiki also advocated a ban on environmentally unsound drift fishing nets in the South Pacific, urging the U.S. Secretary of State to call an international convention to discuss the topic.[7]

In 1987, Representative Saiki cosponsored legislation that called for monetary reparations and an official apology to the Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II. In September 1987, Saiki voted with the majority as one of the few Republicans to favor the bill; nearly 100 GOP Members opposed it. After the measure passed the Senate, Saiki was present when President Reagan signed it into law a year later. She subsequently pressed Congress to expedite payouts.[8] As an Asian American representing a district in the middle of the Pacific, Saiki also was involved with Pacific-Rim issues. She served on congressional delegations that visited Tonga for the South Pacific island monarch's birthday and

attended the funeral for the Emperor of Japan. In May of 1989, several weeks before the Chinese military's massacre of student protestors in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, Saiki introduced a resolution in the House declaring congressional support for democratic rights in the People's Republic of China. "I have been deeply moved by the determination and idealism of the Chinese students," she said. "Fighting in a nonviolent way for what one believes to be true has been a cornerstone of many civil rights movements."[9]

In April 1990, popular, long-serving Hawaii Senator Spark Matsunaga died of cancer. Urged by her friend President George H.W. Bush, Saiki entered the election to fill the Democrat's vacant seat. "Hawaii needs a Senator who can make the people on Pennsylvania Avenue and Constitution Avenue understand the people on Kamehameha Avenue," Saiki said while announcing her candidacy.[10] Democratic Governor John Waihee appointed Hawaii Congressman Daniel Akaka to serve as interim Senator until the November special election. Also the Democratic candidate in the special election, Akaka's new position made him the favorite. Yet, Saiki proved a formidable opponent. She won the primary against four other Republican candidates with a strong 92 percent of the vote. Both candidates supported the key economic issues that many Hawaiians favored: maintaining price supports for cane sugar, promoting increased tourism, and halting target practice on Kahoolawe. Saiki proved a more dynamic candidate than the sedate Akaka. She also had repeatedly proved her ability to draw votes from the Japanese-American community. Moreover, the growing suburban, conservative Caucasian population allowed her, in the words of one political strategist, to "cut into the Democratic establishment."[11] Political observers believed Saiki might be among a handful of candidates to help Republicans regain control of the Senate. However, Akaka had the support of the well-entrenched Hawaiian Democratic establishment, and his warm, pleasing personality appealed to voters. Saiki lost to Akaka by a healthy margin of about 33,000 votes, 54 percent to 45 percent.

After Saiki left Congress, President Bush appointed her director of the Small Business Administration, where she served from 1991 to 1993. In 1993, she taught at Harvard University's Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government. The following year, she became the first woman candidate on a major party ticket for Hawaii governor. Saiki lost a three-way race to Democratic Lieutenant Governor Ben Cayetano.[12] Patricia Saiki lives in Honolulu, where she has returned to teaching.

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Jolene Unsoeld

1931–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM WASHINGTON
1989–1995

Jolene Unsoeld's passion for the environment and government transparency shaped a public service career that eventually took her to the U.S. House of Representatives. Serving a Washington state district that stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the Cascade Mountains, each of Unsoeld's congressional campaigns tested her ability to serve a constituency of diverse business and environmental interests. "Sometimes I feel like I'm in a marathon relay race," Unsoeld once said of her grueling campaigns. "I'm running alone, but they keep sending in replacements. I wipe them out, and they send in more."[1]

Jolene Bishoprick was born on December 3, 1931, in Corvallis, Oregon, one of four children born to Stanley and Cora Bishoprick. Her father was in the timber business and moved his family to Oregon, Canada, and China with each new job assignment, finally settling in Vancouver, Washington. From 1949 to 1951, Jolene Bishoprick attended Oregon State University in Corvallis. In college, she met mountaineer and environmental advocate William "Willi" Unsoeld, one of the first climbers to ascend Mt. Everest's treacherous west ridge. They were married at the summit of Oregon's Mount Hood, and Jolene Unsoeld, also an accomplished mountaineer, became the first woman to climb Wyoming's Grand Teton via its north face.[2] The Unsoelds eventually raised four children, two girls and two boys: Krag, Regon, Nanda Devi, and Terres. Willi Unsoeld directed the Peace Corps in Katmandu, Nepal, and served with the Agency for International Development from 1962 to 1967. Jolene Unsoeld worked as director of an English-language institute. The family returned to the United States in 1967 and settled in Olympia, Washington, in 1971.

While living in the state capital, Jolene Unsoeld took an interest in politics as a self-described "citizen meddler," recalling, "We had moved to Olympia, and there was the state Capitol, so I set out to see what was happening under that dome."[3] Unsoeld successfully lobbied for a 1972 bill in the state legislature that created Washington's public disclosure act. Subsequently serving as a self-appointed watchdog for special interest groups, she authored two editions of the book, *Who Gave? Who Got? How Much?*, which revealed major interest groups' contributions to politicians in the Washington legislature. Tragedy marked her early life in public service; twice, in a span of less than three years, Unsoeld lost family members in mountain-climbing accidents. In September 1976, 22-year-old Nanda Devi died while ascending the Himalayan mountain for which she was named.[4] In March 1979, Willi Unsoeld was one of two people killed in an avalanche while climbing Mt. Rainier.[5] "Living beyond grief is probably as hard a thing as you ever tackle," Jolene Unsoeld observed years later. "It does toughen you, which is necessary if you're going to be in this type of [public] service."[6] In 1984, Unsoeld won an open state legislature seat, where she specialized in environmental issues. From 1980 through 1988, she also served as a member of the Democratic National Committee.

In 1988, building on support from her grassroots environmental activities, Unsoeld entered the race for the open seat in a western Washington district when seven-term incumbent Representative Don Bonker, a Democrat, ran for the U.S. Senate. The district encompassed much of southwest Washington. Its boundaries stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the west to the Cascade Mountain range further east, and from the state capital Olympia in the

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north to the Columbia River and border with Oregon in the south. Fishing and lumber production were the primary industries in the largely Democratic district, populated by a number of blue-collar workers. However, the district was increasingly divided between moderates concerned with job creation and liberal reformers and environmentalists.[7] In the Democratic primary, Unsoeld captured 50 percent of the vote, defeating John McKibbin, a Clark County commissioner and a moderate who portrayed Unsoeld as being too liberal for the district.[8]

In the general election, Unsoeld faced Republican Bill Wight, a retired Army lieutenant colonel and native of the area who had returned in 1988 after a long tour of duty at the Pentagon. Wight ran on an economic development and anti-drug, anti-crime platform. He portrayed Unsoeld as an environmental extremist and an ultra-liberal feminist. Unsoeld countered by stressing her local ties to the community and highlighting Wight's carpetbagger status as "the hometown boy from the Pentagon."[9] She also ran an energetic campaign, driving her own car from stop to stop around the district (usually unaccompanied by staff) to address town meetings, business gatherings, or union groups. Her willingness to stick to her convictions, especially on the environment, eventually won the admiration of even those who opposed her.[10] The election was the closest House race in the country that year. Unsoeld prevailed with a 618-vote margin of victory, out of more than 218,000 votes cast; she was declared the winner after a recount, five weeks after election day.[11]

Unsoeld received assignments to three committees: Merchant Marine and Fisheries; Education and Labor; and Select Aging. The Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee was particularly important to Unsoeld's career-long goal to support environmental legislation while protecting the fishing and logging industries important to her district. She focused much of her energy on saving U.S. Pacific salmon runs from Japanese fishermen, who used a controversial form of drift nets (some 30 miles in length) which swept vast ocean areas of all marine life. In 1989, Unsoeld told a hearing of the Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee that foreign fishers were "stealing" $21 million in U.S. salmon annually.[12] In late 1989, when the U.N. banned all use of drift nets, Unsoeld hailed it as "a major breakthrough." She added, "The next step is to ensure strict enforcement. Drift nets are a horribly destructive technology."[13] Unsoeld also advocated restrictions on the timber industry, to prevent what she described as "over-cutting" in old-growth forests in order to sustain the business and also to protect the natural habitats of endangered species. She backed a ban on timber exports also supported by the George H.W. Bush administration, noting that as much as 25 percent of all exported logs never passed through American mills. With environmental regulations threatening several thousand jobs in her district alone, Unsoeld attempted to appease the timber industry by pushing for federal money to retrain laid off lumber workers. "Our over-cutting, our mismanagement of the forest, our export of raw logs, all are to blame for the situation we're in," Unsoeld said, noting that her grandfather and father worked in the industry. "It's a difficult and complex situation. People criticize me because they are emotional, they feel threatened. I understand that. . . . Nobody who knows anything about the forest believes we can continue cutting the way we have."[14] In 1991, she sought a ban on oil and gas drilling off the coast of Washington state, eventually achieving a nine-year moratorium.[15]

Unsoeld's environmental positions made her an endangered incumbent during her 1990 bid for re-election. "I know we'll have to put together an obscene amount of money," she told the *New York Times* months before the race.[16] That instinct was correct, as Unsoeld raised a record $1.3 million and took part in the most expensive House race in state history.[17] Unsoeld faced Gomer Robert Williams in the general election, a former Washington state legislator and the 1988 GOP candidate for governor. Williams had strong backing from both fundamentalist Christian groups and the timber industry. One of the most contentious campaign issues was the federal intervention to save the endangered spotted owl and its old-growth forest habitat. It was an environmental preservation policy that directly threatened the logging industry. Unsoeld supported protecting

the bird and Williams capitalized on this unpopular position as well as pegging her as a "tax-and-spend liberal."[18] In addition, Unsoeld had problems with her liberal base when she switched her position on the gun control debate midterm. After supporting restrictions in 1988, she opposed a strict assault weapons ban, instead authoring a successful amendment that banned only assault weapons assembled in the U.S. with foreign parts.[19] Despite her odds, Unsoeld eventually defeated Williams by about 13,000 votes out of nearly 178,000 cast, a 54 percent plurality. In 1992, riding Democratic presidential candidate William J. Clinton's coattails, Unsoeld defeated Republican Pat Fiske with her largest plurality—56 percent.

Unsoeld faced a tough battle for re-election in 1994. In a bruising open primary she weathered an assault by Republican Tim Moyer, a millionaire businessman and moderate who painted her as a model for a big-spending Congress. Moyer's campaign eventually fell apart when his tax record was called into question; however, in the general election, Moyer's mentor, the conservative populist Linda Smith, took up his slack. Smith was a champion of tax limits and maintained statewide recognition as the proponent of a measure that placed caps on state spending. She also had a large base of fundamentalist Christian backers, who campaigned actively on her behalf. Running on the "Contract with America," Smith won by a 14,000-vote margin out of more than 192,000 votes cast, 52 percent to Unsoeld's 45 percent. A third-party candidate who supported gun control won three percent of the vote.

Since leaving Congress in January 1995, Unsoeld has continued to advocate environmental reform and government transparency. "I believe all activism comes about because you see something that drives you crazy, and you want to do something about it," she once told an interviewer.[20] Unsoeld resides in Olympia, Washington.

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Jill L. Long

1952–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM INDIANA
1989–1995

Jill Long[1], an academic by training, rose through the ranks of Indiana politics to become an influential advocate for the state's agricultural interests. Long wrested away from Republicans a northeastern Indiana district considered a safe GOP seat. She went on to serve in the House for three terms, campaigning as a no-tax, conservative Democrat. In Congress, Long focused on farm issues and, as chair of the Congressional Rural Caucus, doubled the group's membership.

Jill Lynette Long was born on July 15, 1952, in Warsaw, Indiana. Raised on a family grain and dairy farm, she graduated from Columbia City Joint High School in Columbia City, Indiana. After receiving a B.S. at Valparaiso University in 1974, Long pursued her academic studies at Indiana University; she earned an M.B.A. in 1978 and a Ph.D. in business in 1984. From 1981 to 1988, Long taught business administration as an assistant professor at Valparaiso University. She also served as a lecturer at Indiana University at Bloomington and an adjunct at Indiana University–Purdue University at Fort Wayne from 1987 to 1989.

Long's first public service experience was as a member of the city council of Valparaiso from 1984 to 1986. She was dubbed "Jill Longshot" when she ran as a Democrat against GOP incumbent Dan Quayle in the 1986 race for a seat in the U.S. Senate. "I sort of like the nickname," Long admitted. "The more people hear it, the more they'll remember me."[2] That contention proved prophetic later in her career, though at the time Quayle beat her handily with 61 percent of the vote. In 1988, she ran in a Fort Wayne-centered U.S. House district in northeast Indiana against incumbent Dan R. Coats (a Quayle protégé who had moved on to take his mentor's old House seat). Coats turned back Long's bid, capturing 62 percent of the vote.[3]

When Coats was appointed to fill his mentor's U.S. Senate seat after Quayle resigned to become Vice President in 1989, Long challenged the Republican candidate Dan Heath in a special election for the vacant Indiana House seat. The district had been in GOP control since 1976, and Heath, a former adviser to the Fort Wayne mayor and Representative Coats, was initially favored to win. The candidates held similar positions on the budget, military spending, and gun control. Both also grew up on farms and shared many of the same views on agriculture policy.[4] In part because of her name recognition, but also because of an anti-tax pledge and attacks on Heath's controversial connection to a proposed Fort Wayne income tax plan, Long defeated her opponent by a slim one-point margin in the March 28, 1989, special election, winning with fewer than 2,000 votes out of more than 128,000 cast.[5] Democrats trumpeted her surprise election, eager to advertise their success in what had traditionally been a "safe" seat for the GOP. In the 1990 and 1992 elections, Long defeated her Republican challengers by 61 and 62 percent, respectively. She ran effectively as a conservative Democrat, depriving her Republican challengers of issues related to taxation and fiscal conservatism. "She's done a good job of impersonating a Republican," a longtime local GOP chairman observed. "Tell the truth, she sometimes sounds more conservative than I do."[6]

After being sworn in on April 5, 1989, Long sought and received a seat on the Agricultural Committee to represent her largely rural district. She served on several of its subcommittees: Environment, Credit, and Rural Development; General Farm Commodities; and Livestock. She was successful in amending the 1990 Farm Bill to

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE HONORABLE JILL LONG THOMPSON AND SUNRISE PHOTOGRAPHY

include provisions that provided incentives to farmers who employed conservation techniques and ensured fair planting flexibility for farmers. In 1993 she was elected chair of the Congressional Rural Caucus. She managed to double its membership to more than 100 and earned a reputation as a leading advocate for farm interests on Capitol Hill.

Long established herself as a fiscal conservative, opposing congressional pay raises and all tax increases (including President William J. Clinton's 1994 budget). "I'm cautious and moderate by nature," she said. "I was raised not to like taxes, to save money, to darn socks and refinish furniture—all the 4-H Club stuff."[7] On the Task Force on Government Waste, Long helped investigate dozens of government agencies to identify inefficient use of federal money. But she usually sided with liberals on social issues. She voted to increase the minimum wage and for federal funding for abortion in cases of rape and incest. She also opposed the authorization granting President George H.W. Bush to use force against Iraq in the Persian Gulf War. As a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee and its Subcommittee on Hospitals and Health Care, she worked for better treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder and advocated the expansion of hospice care for dying veterans. She also served on the Select Committee on Hunger.

Congresswoman Long had been a Democrat popular among GOP voters, relying by one estimate on 20 percent or more of the Republican vote.[8] The Republican groundswell of 1994 and the backlash against Democratic President Clinton cut into her margins. Despite her fiscally conservative roots, Long was one of the victims of the 1994 "Republican Revolution," losing by 10 percent of the vote to Republican Mark E. Souder, an aide to Senator Dan Coats. After Congress, she served briefly as a Fellow at the Institute of Politics in the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. President Clinton then appointed her as an Undersecretary of Agriculture, where she served from 1995 to 2001. As Undersecretary for Rural Development, Long managed 7,000 employees and an $11 billion budget. After leaving the Department of Agriculture, she taught as the Mark E. Johnson Professor of Entrepreneurship at Manchester College in North Manchester, Indiana, and as an adjunct professor in the School of Public and Environmental Affairs at Indiana State University.

In 2002, Long easily won the Democratic primary for a newly redrawn U.S. House seat in north-central Indiana encompassing South Bend and lying just west of much of her old district. She faced business executive Chris Chocola in the general election for the open seat. In a competitive and, at times, heated race in which both candidates spent more than $1 million, Long narrowly lost to her Republican opponent, 50 to 46 percent.[9] After her defeat, she offered a conciliatory message to her backers: "It's important for us to give support to whoever is elected in this position because the top priority for all of us is to do all we can to make sure our government is as strong as it can be."[10] Long lives on a farm with her husband, Don Thompson, a former Navy pilot, near Argos, Indiana.[11]

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Susan Molinari

1958–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM NEW YORK
1990–1997

Representative Susan Molinari crafted a meteoric political career as a moderate Republican who could reach out to an increasingly important voter demographic: young, suburban, middle-class mothers. Hailing from a Republican political dynasty that had played a role in Staten Island politics for nearly 50 years, she succeeded her father—Guy Molinari—in the U.S. House of Representatives. When the Republicans took control of the House in 1994, they quickly elevated the charismatic Molinari to prominent positions, giving her a place in GOP policy deliberations.

Susan Molinari was born on March 27, 1958, in the Bronx, New York, the only child of Guy and Marguerite Wing Molinari. The son of a politically involved family, Guy Molinari served in the New York state assembly from 1974 to 1980 and later spent 10 years in the U.S. House of Representatives representing Staten Island, New York. In 1976, Susan Molinari graduated from St. Joseph Hill Academy in Staten Island. Four years later, she graduated with a B.A. from New York State University at Albany and, in 1982, she earned a M.A. in political communications at SUNY Albany. From 1981 to 1983, Molinari worked as a finance assistant for the Republican Governor's Association. She also worked two years as an ethnic community liaison for the Republican National Committee in Washington. In 1985, she won election to the city council of New York, defeating her Democratic opponent by fewer than 200 votes.[1] As the only Republican on the 36-member council, Molinari served as minority leader and was entitled to sit on all committees. Popular among constituents, she won re-election with 75 percent of the vote.[2] In 1988, Susan Molinari married John Lucchesi of Staten Island; the couple divorced in 1992, with no children.[3]

In 1990, Representative Guy Molinari resigned his U.S. House seat to become the Staten Island borough president.[4] His district, which encompassed all of Staten Island and a portion of Brooklyn, had a nearly 2-to-1 Democratic edge in voter enrollment but was nevertheless known as New York City's most conservative enclave. Susan Molinari declared her candidacy for the March 20 special election, running on her four years' experience on the city council and the strength of her family name. She received a boost from her father's well-established political machine and a fundraising visit by President George H.W. Bush. Molinari's platform included a mix of anti-crime programs, promises to reduce taxes, reasonable defense spending, support for reproductive rights, and pro-environmental positions.[5] On the eve of the special election, the *New York Times* endorsed Molinari over Democratic candidate Robert J. Gigante because she "promises to add a moderate Republican voice to the city's Democrat-dominated congressional delegation."[6] Molinari defeated Gigante with a 24 percent margin. In her subsequent three re-election campaigns in her newly reapportioned (but largely intact) district, she won with comfortable majorities between 50 and 69 percent. In each contest Molinari topped her main Democratic challengers by 15 percentage points or more, as a sizeable number of voters went to the polls for third-party candidates.[7]

When Susan Molinari was sworn into Congress on March 27, 1990, she received assignments on the Small Business and Public Works and Transportation (later, Transportation and Infrastructure) committees. In the 102nd Congress (1991–1993), she took a seat on the Education and Labor Committee and left Small Business. When the Republicans took control of the House in the

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104th Congress (1995–1997), Molinari traded in her Education and Labor seat for a place on the Budget Committee.

From her post on Education and Labor, Molinari sought to strengthen laws to prevent sexual abuse and domestic violence. She also introduced several initiatives to encourage businesses to diversify their work forces and bring more women into the management ranks. In 1993, she voted for the Family Leave Act, which required companies to grant employees a minimum of six weeks of unpaid leave for care of a newborn or a sick family member. She also used her committee assignments to tend to district business. Molinari used her Public Works and Transportation seat to impose stricter regulations on Staten Island's Fresh Kills landfill, which had a bad environmental track record. In 1990, Molinari also managed to keep federal funds flowing for the construction of the Stapleton Homeport, a U.S. Navy facility located on Staten Island. Aside from her committee work, in 1992 and 1993, Molinari traveled to Croatia, one of several states which emerged after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Many Staten Island constituents had family ties to the Balkans, and Representative Molinari took a keen interest in urging the U.S. government to recognize the republic—a move that would facilitate expansion of aid efforts.

In August 1993, Molinari became engaged to Congressman Bill Paxon, a rising star in the GOP who represented a suburban Buffalo, New York, district. Paxon dropped to his knees on the House Floor and proposed. "I said, 'Yes—but get up,'" Molinari recalled.[8] Molinari and Paxon married July 3, 1994.[9] The next few years were heady ones for the young Washington power couple. By 1993, Molinari was the darling of the Republican Party—a smart, articulate, spokeswoman in a party with a dearth of female faces. She considered a run for New York governor in 1994, but passed on it, citing her desire to cultivate an as-normal-as-possible married life.[10] In 1996, Paxon and Molinari had a daughter, Susan, born on May 10. Representative Molinari became one of just four women to give birth while serving in Congress. Another Daughter, Katherine Mary, was born several years later.

In the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), her third term on the job, Molinari observed that conditions had improved for Congresswomen. "For the first time there's not that resentment against women Members. . . . There's a growing attitude among the men that they want to do what is best," she told the *New York Times*. But, she added, "Congress is still being run by the same people. Women have hit a glass ceiling here."[11] She began working toward a post in the Republican leadership, noting that, "I spend a lot of time trying to promote the Republican Party. . . . And, frankly, there has been an awful lot of discussion there should be a woman in the leadership and I don't disagree."[12]

In the late fall of 1994, Molinari won the vice chairmanship of the Republican Conference, making her the fifth-ranking Republican in the House and one of the highest-ranking women ever in the GOP leadership. In the summer of 1996, party leaders chose Molinari to deliver the keynote address at the Republican National Convention in San Diego, which nominated Senator Robert Dole of Kansas as its presidential candidate. She fit the profile that GOP leaders were seeking to appeal to: the young, middle-class, suburban mothers whom incumbent President William J. Clinton had lured away in droves in the 1992 campaign. Observers believed that by choosing Molinari, Dole was extending an olive branch to party moderates and pro-choice advocates alienated by House conservatives. Molinari took center stage at the GOP convention, while controversial congressional Republican leaders were given less prominent roles.

Congresswoman Molinari's rise into the Republican leadership, however, made her position as a moderate more precarious. By 1994, the *New York Times,* which had endorsed Molinari in 1990, was critical of her environmental record and her pro-business orientation, describing her as "reflexively conservative" on most major issues save abortion.[13] "Conservatives don't really look at her as one of them," said Representative John A. Boehner, an Ohio Republican. "The moderates don't really look at her as one of them. My point here is that she is not trying to walk this fine line. She has created this path based on her own per-

sonality and style."[14] Former allies were angered by her support for a ban on late-term abortion as well as for her efforts campaigning on behalf of pro-life candidates in the 1994 elections. Labor groups, smarting from GOP efforts to cut Medicaid, vowed to turn her out of office. Molinari suggested she had a pragmatic approach. "If you want to call me a moderate, I'm fine. I enjoy positive Conservative Party ratings, too. If you want to call me a feminist, that's good, too," she said. "I don't get bogged down with what that label is going to be on any particular day, because it does change."[15]

In late May 1997, Molinari announced her retirement, effective that August, to pursue her lifelong passion as a television personality and focus on raising her family. House Republicans and other colleagues were stunned by that decision, one which Molinari insisted she had been considering for more than a year.[16] Less than two months later, Bill Paxon fell out of favor with Speaker Newt Gingrich. He resigned his post as one of Gingrich's top lieutenants in July 1997 and did not seek re-election a year later.[17] Susan Molinari's career in television as cohost of the "CBS News Saturday Morning" program was short-lived. After nine months, she left to teach as a visiting Fellow at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government in the fall of 1998. In 1998, she wrote *Representative Mom: Balancing Budgets, Bill, and Baby in the U.S. Congress*, a memoir of her career on Capitol Hill. She continued to do television political commentary and opened a Washington-based consulting firm. Molinari also chaired the Century Council, a nonprofit which aimed to curb underage drinking and drunk driving. Molinari and her family reside in Alexandria, Virginia.

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Barbara-Rose Collins

1939–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM MICHIGAN

1991–1997

A longtime community activist and single mother, Barbara-Rose Collins was elected to Congress in 1991 on a vow to bring federal dollars and social aid to her economically depressed downtown Detroit neighborhood. In the House, Collins focused on her lifelong interest as an advocate for minority rights and economic aid as well as preserving the family in black communities.

Barbara Rose Richardson was born in Detroit, Michigan, on April 13, 1939, the eldest child of Lamar Nathaniel and Lou Versa Jones Richardson. Her father supported the family of four children as an auto manufacturer and later as an independent contractor in home improvements. Barbara Richardson graduated from Cass Technical High School in 1957 and attended Detroit's Wayne State University majoring in political science and anthropology. Richardson left college to marry her classmate, Virgil Gary Collins, who later worked as a pharmaceutical salesman to support their two children, Cynthia and Christopher.[1] In 1960, the Collins' divorced and, as a single mother, Barbara Collins was forced to work multiple jobs. Collins received public financial assistance until the Wayne State University, physics department hired her as a business manager, a position she held for nine years. Collins subsequently became an assistant in the office of equal opportunity and neighborhood relations at Wayne State. In the late 1960s, Collins heard a speech by black activist Stokeley Carmichael at Detroit's Shrine of the Black Madonna Church. Inspired by Carmichael's call to African Americans to improve their own neighborhoods, Collins purchased a house within a block of her childhood home and joined the Shrine Church, which focused on uplifting black neighborhoods via a sociopolitical agenda. In 1971, Collins was elected to Detroit's region-one school board, earning widespread recognition for her work on school safety and academic achievement. Encouraged by the Shrine Church pastor, Collins campaigned for a seat in the state legislature in 1974. She adopted her hyphenated name ("Barbara-Rose") to distinguish herself from the other candidates.[2] Victorious, she embarked on a six-year career in the state house. Collins chaired the constitutional revision and women's rights committee, which produced, *Women in the Legislative Process*, the first published report to document the status of women in the Michigan state legislature.[3]

Bolstered by her work in Detroit's most downtrodden neighborhoods, Collins considered running for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1980 against embattled downtown Representative Charles Diggs; however, Collins heeded the advice of her mentor, Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, to run a successful bid for Detroit city council instead.[4] Eight years later, she challenged incumbent U.S. Representative George W. Crockett, who had succeeded Diggs, in the Democratic primary. In a hard-fought campaign, Collins held the respected but aging Crockett to a narrow victory with less than 49 percent of the vote. Crockett chose not to run for re-election in 1990, leaving the seat wide open for Barbara-Rose Collins. Collins's 1990 campaign focused on bringing federal money to Detroit, an economically depressed city which was losing its population to the suburbs. Her district's rapidly rising crime rate (ranked among the top three or four districts in the nation) also hit home for the candidate.[5] In 1989, Collins's teenaged son was convicted of armed robbery, and she concluded that he went astray because he lacked a strong male role model. "I could teach

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a girl how to be a woman, but I could not teach a boy how to be a man," she later told the *Detroit Free Press*.[6] Drawing from this experience, Collins aimed at strengthening black families, rallying under the banner "save the black male." In a crowded field of eight candidates, Collins won her primary with 34 percent of the vote, a victory that amounted to election to Congress in the overwhelmingly Democratic district. Collins sailed through the general election with 80 percent of the vote and was twice re-elected with even greater percentages.[7]

One of three black women in her freshman class, Collins sought the influence and counsel of longtime Michigan Congressman John Dingell, Jr. Dingell aided Collins in gaining a seat on the Public Works and Transportation Committee (later Transportation and Infrastructure).[8] She also received assignments to the Committee on Science, Space, and Technology and the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families. She later traded these two panels for Government Operations (later named Government Reform and Oversight) and the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, where she chaired the Subcommittee on Postal Operations and Services in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995). A member of the Congressional Black Caucus and the Congressional Women's Caucus, Representative Collins also was appointed as a Majority Whip-At-Large from 1993 until 1994.

Collins's career focused on her campaign promises of economic and social aid for the urban black poor. She started in October 1992 by encouraging agricultural growers to donate excess food, which would otherwise go to waste, to urban food banks and shelters.[9] Collins generally supported President William J. Clinton's economic and job stimulus initiatives; however, she vocally opposed adopting the North American Free Trade Agreement, arguing that opening American borders to cheaper Mexican products would take domestic manufacturing jobs away from urban minority workers.[10] Though she favored the bill's final version, she voted against the President's April 1994 omnibus crime bill, objecting to its extension of the death penalty to several more federal crimes and opposing a section that guaranteed life in prison for people convicted of three felonies. Collins argued that these provisions would have the greatest impact on minorities, declaring, "I think justice is dispensed differently for people of color, be they black or Hispanic."[11] Collins's advocacy of the family unit was apparent when she expressed enthusiastic support for the October 1995 "Million Man March," a mass rally in Washington D.C., in which marchers expressed their commitment to family. Collins planned to provide water for marchers, exclaiming, "The idea is electrifying. . . . Black men will be reaffirming their responsibility for black women and for the black family."[12] She also advocated adding housework, childcare, volunteer work, and time put into the family business as a component for calculating the gross national product. "If you raise the status of women," she declared, "we would be more conscious of the family unit."[13]

With her domestic focus, Representative Collins generally opposed greater spending on foreign aid. "Our cities are hurting," she observed. "We must learn how to take care of America first."[14] In April 1994, however, Collins took an interest in foreign policy when she and five other Democratic House Members were arrested after staging an unlawful sit-in at the White House to protest American policy towards Haiti. In the wake of the island nation's military coup, the protestors wanted greater acceptance of Haitian refugees, and they demanded that a light embargo of the country be strengthened.[15] "What's being done to Haitians is inhumane and immoral," Collins said at the time. "The fact of the matter is we welcome Hungarians with open arms, we welcome Vietnamese with open arms, we welcome Cubans with open arms, but when it comes to black Haitians, we tell them, 'Stand back we don't want you,' the result being that hundreds are drowned at sea, children and women eaten by sharks."[16] All six Members were fined and released.

While popular among her constituents, Collins drew negative publicity when the Justice Department and the House Ethics Committee investigated her office in 1996 for alleged misuse of campaign and scholarship funds.[17]

Though previously unopposed in the 1994 primary, six opponents stepped forward following the public controversy. Challenger Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick defeated the incumbent in the primary by a 21-point margin and went on to win the general election. Barbara-Rose Collins remained active in local politics. In 2002, she won a seat on the Detroit city council for a term ending in 2006.

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NOTES

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Joan Kelly Horn
1936–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM MISSOURI
1991–1993

In her first attempt at elected office, Joan Kelly Horn earned a spot in the 102nd Congress (1991–1993) by securing an upset victory against a two-term incumbent. During her short tenure in the U.S. House, she focused on the needs of her district by channeling federal money into a series of local projects in her home state of Missouri. Representing an area once described as "the most unstable district in the state," Horn became part of a pattern of party turnover when she lost her bid for re-election to her Republican opponent in 1992.[1]

The daughter of an advertising executive, Horn was born on October 18, 1936, in St. Louis, Missouri. After graduating from the Visitation High School in St. Louis in 1954, she attended St. Louis University. She left school in 1956 to marry after completing three semesters. Joan Kelly Horn worked part-time as a Montessori teacher while she raised her six children: Michael, Matthew, Kelly, Stephen, Mark, and Kara. She later resumed her education, earning a B.A. and an M.A. in political science from the University of Missouri at St. Louis, in 1973 and 1975, respectively.[2] In 1987, Horn married her second husband, E. Terrence Jones, a dean at the University of Missouri at St. Louis who had one son from a previous marriage. The couple divorced in 1999.[3] Upon the completion of her academic studies, Horn worked on a variety of local projects encompassing education, conservation, and community development. She also was active in the local Democratic Party and led both the Missouri Women's Political Caucus and the Freedom of Choice Council. In 1987, Horn became committeewoman of the Clayton Township of Missouri. She also served as a political consultant in a firm she operated with her husband.[4]

Although she lacked extensive political experience, Horn decided to run for Congress in 1990. In the Democratic primary for the congressional seat representing a suburban district northwest of St. Louis, she faced John Baine, a stockbroker. During the campaign, her opponent questioned her "family values," an allusion to her decision to live with her second husband prior to marriage and to the public battle she waged with town officials in the affluent St. Louis suburb of Ladue concerning a town ordinance banning unmarried couples from occupying the same residence. She responded by reminding voters that she had a husband, six children, seven grandchildren, and the qualifications to go to Congress.[5] After easily defeating Baine in the primary, Horn had a much tougher challenge in the general election. Realizing that few experts gave her a chance to succeed against the two-term incumbent Republican Jack Buechner, she adopted an aggressive campaign strategy that included a blitz of advertisements alleging that her opponent used his position in the House for personal gain.[6] In an extraordinarily close election, Joan Kelly Horn pulled off an unexpected upset, defeating Buechner by 54 votes. After being sworn in on January 3, 1991, Horn told supporters, "It's an awesome responsibility. The people of the Second District sent me here, and they deserve to know that I'll work very hard for them."[7]

In Congress, Horn served on three committees: Public Works and Transportation; Science, Space and Technology; and Select Children, Youth and Families. Interested in "bringing the federal government to the people," Horn used her committee assignments to direct federal money to her district.[8] In addition to helping obtain funding for a light-rail system in the region, she also played an important role in increasing federal appropriations for the

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aerospace manufacturer McDonnell Douglas, which employed thousands of people from her district. During her one term in the House, Horn promoted the expansion of the St. Louis airport, worked to protect the benefits of Trans World Airline (TWA) employees in the St. Louis area when it became clear that the airline was in financial hardship, and succeeded in persuading the House to boost the amount of money earmarked for Pentagon programs created to assist the conversion of defense industries to civilian companies.[9]

Among the small number of women serving in the House during the 102nd Congress, Horn reflected upon her minority status when she commented, "There are just so few of us. Not that it's deliberate; it's just systematic to the institution. Since we aren't going to get equity, we have to work with men."[10] As a Representative, Horn worked closely with Democratic Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, also from Missouri. She also used her position in Congress to address issues of interest to women, in particular, abortion. Although she downplayed her record of abortion rights activism during her initial congressional bid for fear of alienating conservative voters in her district, Horn resumed her strong pro-choice stance in the House. Voting against the "gag rule" that barred physicians in government-funded clinics from advising patients on abortions, she also backed a controversial measure in 1991 that would have allowed American military women stationed overseas access to abortions in military hospitals.[11]

Horn quickly earned a reputation as "conscientious" and "diligent," compelled to perform district work vital for freshmen Members seeking re-election.[12] Making frequent trips to her district to ascertain the needs of her constituents, she continued to organize meetings, speaking appearances, and seminars to promote her message in the St. Louis area. Horn also earned credibility with many voters when she fulfilled two of her major campaign promises: her refusal to accept a pay raise and to travel at the expense of taxpayers. While she donated her share of a congressional pay hike to charity, she also funded her own business trips, such as a tour of a McDonnell Douglas plant in California.[13]

One of Horn's most controversial votes in Congress involved the balanced budget amendment, which aimed at reducing the federal deficit. Amid much criticism, Horn and 11 of her Democratic colleagues who originally cosponsored the measure later switched their position and voted against the bill; according to Horn, the budget cuts she supported derived from military spending, unlike the proposed amendment that took money from domestic programs. When President George H.W. Bush and other Republican leaders attacked Horn for her change of heart, the Missouri Congresswoman defended her position declaring, "I didn't change, the amendment changed."[14] Despite being quick to defend her record, Horn's decision to turn her back on the legislation she once supported haunted her re-election campaign.

In 1992, Horn's campaign platform included promises to reduce the federal deficit, to strengthen the local economy by increasing employment opportunities, and to promote "family-friendly policies." Already facing a difficult race against the experienced Missouri State Representative and minority floor leader James Talent, Horn also had to contend with a reapportioned district that lost several Democratic neighborhoods.[15] In the November 1992 general election, Horn narrowly failed to retain her congressional seat for the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), capturing 47 percent of the vote to Talent's 50 percent.[16]

After leaving Congress, Horn served in the Department of Commerce and resumed her local service commitment as director of the St. Louis community development agency. In 1996, she attempted a political comeback when she announced her candidacy for her old district. Declaring herself "the voice of moderation," she defeated her four opponents in the Democratic primary but lost once again to Talent in the general election, garnering just 37 percent of the vote.[17]

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Jocelyn Birch Burdick

1922–

UNITED STATES SENATOR ★ DEMOCRAT FROM NORTH DAKOTA

1992

Jocelyn Burdick was appointed to a brief three-month term to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband, Quentin Burdick, a longtime North Dakota Senator and Representative. She earned the distinction of being the first woman Senator from the state and one of a record number of women serving simultaneously in the Senate.

Jocelyn Birch was born to Albert and Magdalena Towers Carpenter Birch in Fargo, North Dakota, on February 6, 1922. Her great-grandmother, Matilda Jocelyn Gage, was a leading women's suffrage advocate in the 1870s. Jocelyn Birch attended Principia College in Elsah, Illinois, and graduated with a B.S. degree from Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, in 1943. She worked as a radio announcer in Moorhead, Minnesota. In 1948, she married Kenneth Peterson of Grand Forks, North Dakota. They raised two children—a son, Birch, and daughter, Leslie—before Kenneth Peterson died in 1958. Two years later, Jocelyn Birch Peterson married Quentin Northrop Burdick. Previously, a Fargo, North Dakota, lawyer, and son of former Congressman Usher Burdick, Quentin Burdick was elected to the U.S. House in 1958, serving one term before he won a special election to fill a vacant U.S. Senate seat. He served in the Senate 32 years, earning a reputation for his liberal voting record and ability to funnel federal dollars to fund projects in his home state.[1] A widower, Quentin Burdick had four children from his previous marriage: Jonathan, Jan Mary, Jennifer, and Jessica. Jocelyn Burdick raised their combined six children (plus one they had together, Gage, who died in 1978) and served as her husband's adviser and as a volunteer in his four Senate re-election campaigns.

Quentin Burdick was the third-longest-serving Senator in office (behind South Carolina's Strom Thurmond and West Virginia's Robert Byrd) when he died from heart failure on September 8, 1992. Jocelyn Burdick was appointed as a Democrat to the U.S. Senate by North Dakota Governor George Sinner on September 12, 1992. Governor Sinner noted that Burdick was "dumbfounded" when he first approached her; however, after consulting her relatives, she agreed to fill her late husband's seat temporarily until the December special election.[2] She was the first and only woman ever to serve North Dakota in the U.S. Congress. Burdick took the oath of office on September 16, 1992, telling her Senate colleagues, "I am deeply honored and I look forward to spending the next three months doing my best to carry on Quentin's agenda."[3] Burdick joined Senators Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas and Barbara Mikulski of Maryland as one of three women in the Senate, a record number at the time. Later that fall Dianne Feinstein of California also entered the Senate, raising the total to four.

During her three-month tenure, Burdick served on the Environment and Public Works Committee, which Quentin Burdick had chaired at the time of his death. The only time Burdick spoke on the Senate Floor was to say goodbye to her colleagues on October 2, 1992. "I am honored to be the first woman to represent North Dakota in Congress," she said. "I hope that the 103rd Congress will find many more women seated in this body." Jocelyn Burdick served until December 14, 1992, when her special term concluded. Fellow North Dakota Senator Kent Conrad had earlier announced his retirement from his own Senate seat, fulfilling a 1986 election vow in which he promised to vacate his seat if the federal deficit was not

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE U.S. SENATE HISTORICAL OFFICE

"I am deeply honored and I look forward to spending the next three months doing my best to carry on Quentin's agenda," Jocelyn Burdick told her Senate colleagues.

significantly reduced after his first term. Succumbing to pressure from North Dakota Democrats, as well as Burdick, who indicated that Conrad was the candidate "to carry on the Burdick legacy," Conrad ran and won the election to fill the remainder of the unexpired portion of the term ending on January 4, 1995.[4]

After leaving the Senate, Burdick returned to North Dakota. She resides in Fargo.

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Eva M. Clayton

1934–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM NORTH CAROLINA
1992–2003

Eva Clayton became the first African-American woman to represent North Carolina in Congress, and the state's first black Representative since 1901. From her post on the House Agriculture Committee, Clayton advanced the interests of her rural district in the northeastern part of her state and called attention to the economic inequalities which impacted African Americans nationally.

Eva McPherson was born in Savannah, Georgia, on September 16, 1934. She grew up in Savannah and received a B.S. degree in biology from Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1955. In 1962, she earned an M.S. in biology and general science from North Carolina Central University in Durham. She originally planned to become a doctor and travel to Africa to do missionary work. Shortly after receiving her undergraduate degree, Eva McPherson married Theaoseus Clayton, who became a prominent lawyer, and they raised four children: Theaoseus Jr., Martin, Reuben, and Joanne.

The civil rights movement mobilized Eva Clayton to become active in civic and political affairs. At one point, she even picketed her husband's law office to protest the fact that Theaoseus and his white law partner owned the building in which a racially segregated restaurant was open for business.[1] As early as 1968, Eva Clayton was recruited by civil rights activist Vernon Jordan to seek election to Congress in a north-central North Carolina district. Though Clayton won 31 percent of the vote in the Democratic primary, the incumbent, Lawrence Fountain, prevailed. Her campaign, however, had the intended effect of spiking black voter registration.[2] "In 1968, the timing wasn't there," she later admitted.[3] Reluctantly, Clayton withdrew from law school after the birth of her fourth child. "I wasn't super enough to be a supermom," Clayton recalled years later. "I left to be a mom. My husband was supportive, but I felt enormously guilty. I think I would do it differently now. I think I would know how to demand more of my husband."[4] In the early 1970s, she worked for several public-private ventures, including the North Carolina Health Manpower Development Program at the University of North Carolina. In 1974 she cofounded and served as the executive director of Soul City Foundation, a housing organization which renovated dilapidated buildings for use as homeless shelters and day care centers. Two years later, she worked on the successful gubernatorial campaign of Jim Hunt, who later appointed Clayton the assistant secretary of the North Carolina department of natural resources and community development. Clayton served in that capacity from 1977 until 1981. After leaving state government, she founded an economic development consulting firm. A year later, in 1982, she won election to the Warren County Board of Commissioners, which she chaired until 1990. Over the next decade, Clayton helped steer more than $550 million in investments into the county and also successfully passed a bond issue for new school construction.

When Congressman Walter Jones, Sr., announced his retirement in 1992, Clayton entered the Democratic primary to fill his seat. The district had recently been reapportioned by the state legislature, one of two congressional districts in North Carolina which consisted of black majorities. Jones died in September 1992, and his son Walter, Jr., was considered the favorite in the primary. He captured 38 percent to Clayton's 31 but fell two points shy of winning the nomination outright. In the run-off, Clayton secured the support of her other primary

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opponents and won 55 percent to Jones's 45 percent. In the general election, Clayton ran on a platform of increased public investment and job training for rural areas in the district, which encompassed a large swath of eastern North Carolina, including the towns of Goldsboro, Rocky Mount, and Greenville. To lower the federal deficit, she advocated slashing the defense budget. "We went into the projects and knocked on doors and got people out" to vote, Clayton recalled.[5] On November 3, 1992, she won the special election to fill the last two months of Walter Jones, Sr.'s unexpired term in the 102nd Congress (1991–1993) and defeated Republican Ted Tyler for the full term in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995). Mel Watt, an African American, also won election from a North Carolina district to the House on November 3, but Clayton, by virtue of the fact that she was elected to the 102nd, became the first African American to be seated from North Carolina since George White, who left Congress in 1901. In her subsequent four bids for re-election, she won comfortably, with 60 percent or more of the vote. She defeated Tyler three times, including in 1998 after court rulings reshaped the district once again by adding 165,000 new constituents and shrinking the African-American majority by seven percent, effectively dividing the district between black and white constituents. In 2000, the GOP ran Duane E. Kratzer, Jr., who managed just 33 percent of the vote to Clayton's 66 percent.

Clayton claimed her seat in the 102nd Congress on November 5, 1992, but did not receive committee assignments until the 103rd Congress convened in January 1993. She won spots on two committees: Agriculture and Small Business. Clayton eventually became the Ranking Democratic Member on the Operations, Oversight, Nutrition, and Forestry Subcommittee of Agriculture. Her Democratic colleagues also made her the first woman president of the freshman class. In 1995, she was appointed to the Democratic Advisory Committee to formulate party strategy. In the 105th Congress (1997–1999) she dropped her Small Business assignment for a seat on the prestigious Budget Committee. Clayton also was assigned to the Social Security Task Force.

Clayton became a staunch defender of the rural and agricultural interests of her district, which comprised 20 counties with numerous peanut and tobacco growers. Along with Missouri Republican Jo Ann Emerson, she revived the Rural Caucus and rallied more than 100 Members to pledge continued federal aid to farmers, rural job creation, and technology initiatives. In 1993 and 2000, respectively, Clayton voted against the North American Free Trade Agreement and permanent normal trade relations with China. She insisted that both would adversely affect the agricultural industry and remove low-wage jobs from her district. "Must eastern North Carolina lose in order for the Research Triangle to win?" she asked in a pointed reference to the state's booming high-tech corridor to the west of her district.[6] Although Clayton advocated smaller defense budgets, she remained supportive of naval contracts for projects at the nearby Newport News shipyards which provided jobs for her constituents. From her seat on the Agriculture Committee, and in contrast with many Democratic colleagues, Clayton supported extension of tobacco subsidies to farmers at a time when critics attacked the program. "This is not about smoking," Clayton said. "This is about discriminating against the poorest of the poor of that industry. . . . They really are attacking the small farmer."[7] She also fought successfully to preserve Section 515 of the Agriculture Department's affordable housing program, which provided federal loans for multiple-unit housing projects in rural areas.[8]

Clayton's district suffered a major natural disaster in 1999, when Hurricane Floyd dumped rains on the state, submerging parts of eastern North Carolina under 14 feet of swollen river water. Clayton and other Members of the state delegation secured billions in relief aid. Clayton also acquired $1.5 million in federal money for a study of a dike along the Tar River in Princeville, the nation's first town chartered by African Americans in 1885. She also assembled a volunteer force of more than 500 people, who aided flood victims throughout eastern North Carolina.

As she gained seniority and prestige in the House, Clayton created a high profile for herself as an advocate

for programs to help economically disadvantaged African Americans. Throughout her career, she stressed the importance of job training. "The issue of equity in jobs and fairness of opportunities is paramount," Clayton said. "Job opportunities combined with a fair wage are key to strengthening families and communities and increasing our quality of life."[9] With fellow North Carolinian Mel Watt, Clayton, as chair of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, organized a campaign to get 1 million African Americans to buy homes by 2005. In 1996 she also played a key part in fighting GOP efforts to cut youth summer job programs. Declaring that she intended "to wake up" the House, Clayton said that the programs helped more than 615,000 youth in 650 cities and towns: "This is the first opportunity many of these young people have to get a job."[10]

In November 2001, Clayton declined to seek renomination to a sixth term in the House. She had been involved in intense bargaining with state legislators to make sure her majority African-American district was "protected" during reapportionment after the 2000 Census. "My heart is leading me somewhere else," Clayton explained of her retirement. "I don't know exactly where that is, but I do want to have another opportunity for public service before I really hang it up."[11] Clayton was succeeded by an African-American man, Frank Ballance, Jr., in the fall 2002 elections. After retiring in January 2003, Clayton returned to her home in Littleton, North Carolina.

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Leslie L. Byrne
1946–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM VIRGINIA
1993–1995

Leslie Byrne made Virginia history in 1992 by becoming the first woman elected to Congress from the Old Dominion. "I am Virginia's first Congresswoman, but now my job is not to be a historical footnote," she told reporters. "My job is to serve."[1] Elected as part of a large, reform-minded freshman class, Byrne sought to protect the northern Virginia families and federal government employees that formed her base constituency. She also proved fiercely loyal to the Democratic Party, proposing punishment for subcommittee chairmen who refused to support President William J. Clinton's economic initiatives.

Leslie Beck was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, on October 27, 1946. Her father, Stephen Beck, was a smelter, and her mother, Shirley, an office manager.[2] She attended Mount Vernon College, in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, and the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, where she majored in psychology and drama, graduating in 1965. During her sophomore year, she married Larry Byrne, and the couple eventually moved to Falls Church, Virginia, in 1971, where they raised two children, Alexis and Jason.

Leslie Byrne served as chair of the Fairfax County commission on fair campaign practices from 1978 to 1980, and as president of the Fairfax Area League of Women Voters from 1982 to 1983. Byrne was elected to the Virginia house of delegates, where she served from 1986 to 1992. Her greatest legislative triumph in the state legislature was forcing a bill out of committee, against the wishes of party leadership, requiring open container trucks to be covered with protective tarps. She gained a reputation as an outspoken legislator who often showed disdain for opponents by putting on lipstick during floor debate.[3] When the legislature adjourned from its brief annual sessions, Byrne worked as president of a human resources consulting firm.

In 1992, Byrne ran for a U.S. House seat in a newly created northern Virginia district centered in Fairfax County. The new district contained primarily suburban, dual-income households and many federal government workers. Byrne went unopposed in the Democratic primary. In the general election, with the help of women's funding groups, such as EMILY's List, she ran the best-financed campaign in the country for an open congressional seat, raising approximately $800,000. The campaign was a brutal battle of political opposites. As one voter quipped, "There's nothing fuzzy about this race."[4] Byrne portrayed her Republican opponent, Henry N. Butler, as an arch-conservative and, late in the race, questioned his character while downplaying suggestions that she used her gender as a campaign issue. Byrne insisted that her platform was similar to that of Democratic presidential candidate, Bill Clinton.[5] Butler responded by painting Byrne as an anti-business, tax-and-spend liberal destined to stymie economic growth. Byrne came under a good deal of criticism for negative TV ads which attacked her opponent. She later admitted that she was walking a fine line; however, she indicated that accusations of wrongdoing were leveled at her because of her gender. "What comes across in men as 'fighter, outspoken, champion of the people' comes across in women differently," Byrne said. "There was the constant tension between getting the facts out and going toe-to-toe with him, and not wanting to be perceived as pushy [or] brassy."[6] Byrne defeated Butler with 50 percent of the vote. He took 45 percent against two other independent candidates. District residents, however, were

IMAGE COURTESY OF AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

ideologically split, favoring incumbent President George H.W. Bush over Clinton, 43 percent to 42 percent.[7]

Byrne was elected to the 103rd Congress (1993–1995) as part of a large, reform-minded, diverse freshman class. A rash of retirements and defeats in the 1992 election also opened more than 200 vacancies on various committees (the most in 44 years), granting ample opportunity for new Members to receive coveted assignments.[8] Byrne sought a position on the prestigious Ways and Means Committee. No new women from either party, however, won appointment to that committee. Fellow Virginian and three-term incumbent Lewis Payne gained a seat representing the state's delegation on that panel.[9] Byrne instead received two lower-level assignments: Post Office and Civil Service and Public Works and Transportation. These committees made sense in light of her constituency: 17 percent of her constituents were federal employees, and traffic and transportation problems that burdened the Washington, D.C., area were at the forefront of voters' concerns.[10] Byrne received a nod from the Democratic leadership when she was appointed an At-Large Whip.[11]

Byrne's one term in office focused on protecting and increasing benefits to the families and federal employees in her district, particularly concentrating on health care, education, and retirement benefits. She sponsored legislation that expanded childhood immunizations and provided more funding for Head Start education programs, arguing that money spent on young children would head off far more expensive problems in the future. Byrne introduced a bill that would allow penalty-free withdrawals from retirement accounts to purchase homes or to pay for education expenses. She proposed evaluating Social Security benefits providing minimum health care and health insurance for the elderly, as well as adding services to this benefit, such as in-home health care and nutritional counseling.

Byrne gained the most notoriety, however, for being a maverick within her own party. In May 1993, she led the movement to create a petition calling for the removal of House subcommittee chairs who opposed President Clinton's first budget package. Though she initially was skeptical of the President's proposed pay freeze for federal employees, knowing the effect it would have on her district, Byrne nonetheless supported President Clinton's economic initiatives and budget proposal. Byrne indicated that dissenting subcommittee chairs were poor leaders for being unwilling "to step up to the plate" and swallow some of the budget's unpopular measures, including tax increases, in order to cut the deficit. "There's a strong feeling among many [Democrats] that those who serve in a leadership position ought to be there when the country needs them," Byrne said. "This particular issue should not be decided by sticking our finger in the wind. There is no free lunch. We ate it and now we have to pay for it."[12] Gathering more than 80 signatures, she was able to force the Democratic Caucus to consider her effort at party discipline. Speaker Thomas Foley of Washington State convinced Byrne not to bring the proposal to a formal vote by promising to consider it within the Steering and Policy Committee, which determined party strategy. No changes came about, but Byrne claimed that the move had its desired effect.[13]

In the 1994 election, Byrne faced Republican challenger Thomas M. Davis III, the Fairfax County board chairman. Davis emphasized fiscal restraint and conservative values, while highlighting the need to aid the disadvantaged.[14] Byrne went on the offensive, touting her legislative achievements for families and painting Davis as unfriendly to unions.[15] In a hotly contested race, Davis defeated the incumbent in a Republican sweep in which the GOP took control over the House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years, collecting 53 percent of the vote to Byrne's 45 percent.

After leaving the House, Byrne was an unsuccessful candidate for the 1996 Democratic nomination for a Virginia seat in the U.S. Senate. From 2000 to 2003, she served as a Democrat in the Virginia senate. In June 2005, Byrne won the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor of Virginia but lost narrowly in the general election in November 2005.

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Patsy Ann Danner

1934–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM MISSOURI

1993–2001

Elected to the U.S. House by unseating an eight-term incumbent, Patsy Danner carved out a reputation as a moderate, independent Democrat. Congresswoman Danner used her seat on the Public Works and Transportation Committee to tend to aviation interests in her district. As a member of the International Relations Committee, she criticized American troop commitments in the Balkans and a series of free trade agreements favored by the William J. Clinton administration in the 1990s.

Patsy Ann "Pat" Berrer was born in Louisville, Kentucky, on January 13, 1934, daughter of Henry Joseph Berrer and Catherine Shaheen Berrer. She studied at Hannibal-LaGrange College for one year, in 1952, but did not graduate with a degree. Patsy Berrer married Lavon Danner, and together they had four children—Stephen, Shavonne, Shane, and Stephanie—but were later divorced. In 1982, Danner remarried to C. Markt Meyer, a retired airline pilot. Patsy Danner graduated with a B.A. in political science from Northeast Missouri State University in 1972.

Danner became involved in Missouri politics during the 1970s. From 1970 to 1972, she served as the vice chair for the Congressional District Democratic Committee in northeast Missouri and on the Macon County Democratic Committee. From 1973 to 1976, she acted as the chief district aide to U.S. Representative Jerry Litton. A charismatic favorite son from north-central Missouri, Litton was killed in a plane crash the night he secured the Democratic nomination from Missouri for the U.S. Senate in 1976. Danner lost in the Democratic primary to fill Litton's seat, which represented a large area of northwestern Missouri. During the James Earl "Jimmy" Carter administration, she served in a sub-Cabinet post as co-chair of the Ozarks Regional Commission from 1977 to 1981; she was the first woman to chair a regional commission. In 1983, she won election to the Missouri state senate, where she served for a decade. She eventually chaired the transportation committee and was vice chair of the education committee. In 1991, Danner's son, Steve, joined her in the Missouri senate. At the time, they were the only mother–son combination in a single legislature in the country. "I think both of us have the same philosophy," she said, "we serve our constituents first."[1]

In 1992, Pat Danner announced her candidacy for the Democratic primary in the U.S. House district her former boss, Representative Litton, once represented, encompassing northwest Missouri and the Kansas City suburbs. She won the Democratic Party's backing to face eight-term Republican incumbent Tom Coleman, a protégé of one-time Missouri Attorney General (and later U.S. Senator) John Danforth, who had won the general election in 1976 to succeed Litton. For years, Coleman had relatively little competition. Then, in 1990, his challenger, an unknown farmer, spent virtually no money and captured 48 percent of the vote. Constituents, particularly farmers, believed that Coleman, a lawyer who was the Ranking Republican on the Agriculture Committee—a key panel for the district's predominantly rural economy—had lost touch with his district. In an anti-incumbent year, Danner tapped into that sentiment. She questioned Coleman's support for a $35,000 congressional pay raise and for having one of the House's highest mailing budgets at taxpayer expense. Danner also suggested that Coleman had done little to help constituents who had suffered from the 1991–1992 recession. Coleman touted his seniority on the Agriculture Committee, appealing to voters that he could

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE HONORABLE PAT DANNER

exercise greater influence than Danner. He also sought to turn the insider label back on Danner by running television commercials which portrayed the state senate veteran as a lifetime politician. But Danner, who had assembled her own "Farmers for Danner" group, struck a chord with agricultural interests: "I know what it's like to lose a crop and I know what it's like to make a crop," Danner said during a debate with Coleman. She won the election with 55 percent of the vote. In her victory speech, Danner invoked Litton's memory: "There never will be another Jerry Litton, but I'll try my best to be the kind of Congressman for this district that he was."[2] In her three subsequent re-election campaigns, Danner steadily added to her margins of victory: 66 percent in 1994, 68 percent in 1996, and 71 percent in 1998.

When Danner took her seat in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), she hoped to use her close connection to Majority Leader Dick Gephardt of St. Louis to win a seat on the Appropriations Committee and the Public Works and Transportation Committee. Though unable to secure the plum Appropriations assignment, she received a Public Works and Transportation (later renamed Transportation and Infrastructure) post and an assignment to the Small Business Committee. She remained on Transportation and Infrastructure for her four terms of House service, with seats on the Aviation and Ground Transportation Subcommittees. She resigned the Small Business assignment after her first term and received a seat on the International Relations Committee in the 105th and 106th Congresses (1997–2001). On International Relations, Danner served on the Subcommittee for International Economic Policy and Trade with oversight important to the farm constituency in her district.

Congresswoman Danner emerged as a moderate-to-conservative Democrat in the House. As a freshman, she voted in favor of the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 but opposed a nationalized health care system. Danner also voted against the Clinton administration's 1993 budget and economic stimulus package, both of which she had supported in their early stages. An abortion opponent during her years in the Missouri legislature, Danner moderated her stance somewhat as a Member of the U.S. House, voting against a bill requiring parental notification by minors; she opposed another measure to allow federally financed abortions. Danner maintained that federal funds could only be made available in the case of rape, incest, or dire threat to the mother's life. She voted against the Brady Handgun Bill, which required a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns. Danner also introduced a bill that would have given states the authority to regulate out-of-state shipments of waste, a function exclusively under federal control at the time.[3] In 1994, also as a freshman, she dropped out of the Congressional Women's Caucus, claiming that it was not worth the investment of the membership fee. However, it also appeared that she was increasingly at loggerheads with the group's advocacy of abortion rights.[4]

Much of her legislative work focused on the needs of her district. In 1993 massive flooding in the Midwest affected many of her constituents. She joined with Members of her state delegation and Illinois lawmakers to secure emergency relief. She also helped pass a measure which allowed the Army Corps of Engineers to repair damaged levees that had not previously been under their mandate. Danner again got federal relief for Missouri farmers during 1997 floods. In the 105th Congress, from her seat on the Transportation Committee, Danner helped steer federal funding into her district for several major highway upgrades.[5] Since that committee also had some jurisdiction over aviation issues, Danner worked to help keep Trans World Airlines operating in Missouri, including its aircraft maintenance location near Kansas City and hub operation in St. Louis.

From her International Relations seat, Danner was a consistent critic of the Clinton administration's foreign policy, particularly its decision to send in U.S. troops for peacekeeping duty in the Balkans. In 1995, she took to the House Floor to oppose a troop deployment in Bosnia, noting she had "grave reservations" about placing U.S. peacekeepers in harm's way when neither side in the civil war had yet accepted the terms of a ceasefire.[6] In 1999,

when the Clinton administration inserted American troops as peacekeepers in Kosovo, Danner loudly objected, citing the "human" costs and impact on military families of extended tours of duty in Bosnia. Noting that the original commitment in Bosnia in 1995 was estimated at one year and costing $1 billion, Danner complained that the mission was into its fourth year at a price tag of more than $10 billion. "There is no reason to believe that a mission in Kosovo would not drag on indefinitely with a high possibility of American casualties," she told colleagues.[7] As with the administration's use of the military, Danner often dissented on trade and international economic policy. In 1993, she voted against the North American Free Trade Agreement and, later, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade accord. She also opposed the Clinton administration's permanent normalization of trade relations with China in 2000.

After being diagnosed with breast cancer in the fall of 1999 and receiving treatment, Danner announced in May 2000 that she would not seek re-election to a fifth term.[8] Weeks before she announced her intention to retire, Danner took to the House Floor to speak on behalf of the Breast and Cervical Cancer Prevention and Treatment Act of 2000, a bill she cosponsored with Republican Sue Myrick of North Carolina, who also had been diagnosed with breast cancer in 1999. The legislation, which eventually passed the House, expanded coverage for low-income women. Danner noted that she had been lucky to discover the disease early through checkups as an insured patient. "Unfortunately, there are many women who do not have the ability to pay for treatment after being diagnosed with breast or cervical cancer," she told colleagues. "This is a most tragic situation that this legislation seeks to address."[9] Her son, Steve, was considered an early favorite to replace her, but he did not win the Democratic primary in August 2000. Representative Danner returned to Kansas City after leaving Congress in January 2001.

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Jennifer Dunn

1941–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM WASHINGTON
1993–2005

Jennifer Dunn, a longtime Washington state GOP official, won election to the U.S. House in the so-called "Year of the Woman." A self-styled "Reagan conservative," Congresswoman Dunn became a prominent figure in the Republican Party as it gained control of the House in 1994, moving into the GOP leadership and securing a seat on the powerful Ways and Means Committee.[1] Her chief legislative work was in the field of tax policy.

Jennifer Blackburn was born in Seattle, Washington, on July 29, 1941, the daughter of Helen and John "Jack" Charles Blackburn. Her father was a cannery worker, fishing equipment salesman, and real estate broker. Her mother taught Native-American children but gave up her career to raise her children. Jennifer Blackburn grew up in Bellevue, Washington, and excelled at sports and outdoor activities. "Just about everything she did was full steam ahead," her brother recalled.[2] She attended the University of Washington from 1960 to 1962 and earned a B.A. in English literature from Stanford University in 1963. For five years she worked as a systems designer for a major computer company. She married Dennis Dunn, who later became the GOP chairman in King County, Washington. The Dunns raised two children, Bryant and Reagan, but were divorced in 1977. Jennifer Dunn worked as a public relations officer in the King County department of assessments from 1978 to 1980. One of her first major political posts was as the statewide coordinator for Ronald Reagan's 1976 presidential campaign. From 1980 to 1992, she chaired the state Republican Party and also served as vice chair of the Republican National Committee's executive board from 1988 to 1991. Dunn joined U.S. delegations to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in 1984 and in 1990.[3]

In 1992, when incumbent Washington Republican Rod Chandler left his House seat to run for the U.S. Senate, Dunn declared her candidacy. In the open primary for the district spanning many of Seattle's affluent eastern suburbs in King and Pierce counties (an area containing many of the leading technology companies), she edged out Republican state senator Pam Roach 32 to 29 percent. In the general election, she faced a Republican-turned-Democrat, businessman George Tamblyn. Dunn campaigned on a pro-abortion rights agenda that contrasted with her conservative bona fides: opposition to tax increases, support for school vouchers and the line-item veto, and a tough-on-crime platform.[4] Dunn won with 60 percent of the vote. In her subsequent five re-election bids, she equaled that margin of victory or exceeded it.[5]

When Dunn took her seat in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), she received assignments on three committees: House Administration; Public Works and Transportation; and Science, Space, and Technology. In the 104th Congress (1995–1997), when her ally Newt Gingrich of Georgia became Speaker, Dunn began a swift rise through the Republican ranks. In just her second term, she won a seat on the influential Ways and Means Committee, which required her to relinquish her prior assignments. In the 107th Congress (2001–2003), Dunn served on the Joint Economic Committee. In the 108th Congress (2003–2005), Dunn was tasked as vice chair of the newly created Select Committee on Homeland Security.

During her freshman term, Representative Dunn advocated fiscal reform, challenging House committees to make 25 percent cuts in their own budgets. She broke ranks with her GOP colleagues to support the Violence

CONGRESSIONAL PICTORIAL DIRECTORY, 105TH CONGRESS

Against Women Act, though she later voted against the Family and Medical Leave Act in 1993, which was backed by most of her women colleagues. Dunn also consistently voted to support women's reproductive rights, though she opposed federal subsidies for the procedure and funding for international family-planning programs. On most other hot-button social issues, however, Dunn was firmly in the GOP ranks, voting for gun owners' rights and a constitutional amendment to allow school prayer. "Too often we assume that women are going to be liberals," Congresswoman Dunn said. "But there are women out there who believe we can solve our problems with non-government, non-invasive solutions."[6]

Dunn focused on issues of tax legislation, high technology, and retirement security from her Ways and Means seat. Considered one of the House's top experts on tax relief, her most prominent piece of legislation was a 2000 bill to repeal estate taxes, which won convincing bipartisan support to pass the House, though not enough to override President William J. Clinton's veto.[7] She also supported the abolishment of the so-called marriage penalty, whereby married couples filing jointly were taxed at a higher rate than if they filed separately.[8]

In 1997, Congresswoman Dunn was elected Vice Chair of the House Republican Conference, the fifth-ranking position in the GOP leadership. At the time, it made her one of the highest-ranking women in the House. One of her major tasks was to overcome the rancor and partisanship of the 1990s and, as well, present the Republican Party in a more favorable light to women voters. "I have found that if you listen to the American woman and respect her advice, the answers are all right there," Dunn declared.[9] During the 1996 campaign, she pitched the GOP to women voters as being friendly to women business owners, married couples, and working families and concerned with health care and research issues. "We agree on 80 percent of the things in our party. . . . We ought to be able to help come out with really good legislation by including everybody, their energy, their passions, their work," Dunn said in a 1998 interview.[10] At the time, she was making history by becoming the first woman of either party to run for House Majority Leader. Dunn used her gender as an entering wedge, noting that she was a "fresh face" with a "softer voice," who could carry "a banner for working moms." As a woman familiar with "bumping up against the glass ceiling," she nevertheless portrayed herself as effectively "working in a man's world."[11] She eventually lost her challenge against Majority Leader Dick Armey of Texas and also gave up her seat as Vice Chair of the GOP Conference.

In the 2000 presidential election, Dunn served on George W. Bush's campaign committee and raised more than $1 million for the GOP candidate. After Bush's victory, some insiders believed Dunn would be offered a Cabinet post as Secretary of Labor or Secretary of Transportation. But the offer never came, in part, because with Congress so evenly divided, the Bush administration was reluctant to pull key congressional allies out of the House or Senate, and Dunn held a powerful post on Ways and Means.[12] In early 2004, having recently married Keith Thomson, a Hanford nuclear facility executive, Dunn surprised colleagues by announcing her decision to retire from the House. "While I never took a pledge on term limits, I do believe that our nation is better served if from time to time we senior Members step aside to allow individuals with fresh ideas to challenge the status quo in Congress," Dunn said. "It is time for me to move on."[13] Dunn retired at the end of the 108th Congress in early January 2005.

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Karan English

1949–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM ARIZONA

1993–1995

Karan English won election to the U.S. House as an environmental reformer from one of the nation's largest mining districts, an expansive area covering northeastern Arizona. Congresswoman English's single term in the House centered on her effort to balance strong mineral development interests among her constituency with her own convictions about the necessity of environmental protections.

Karan English was born in Berkeley, California, on March 23, 1949. She attended Shasta Junior College and the University of California at Santa Barbara, before earning a B.A. from the University of Arizona in 1973. She then worked as a conservation program director. In 1980 English was elected to the Coconino County board of supervisors, serving from 1981 to 1987. She also raised two children, Stacy and David, after divorcing her husband in 1984. She won election to the Arizona state legislature, serving from 1987 to 1991. By 1990, she had risen to the state senate, where she served a two-year term, chairing the environment committee and serving on the education and transportation panels. One of her legislative achievements in the state senate was to craft a bill that imposed a "cradle-to-grave" system for transporting, treating, and disposing of hazardous waste material.[1] In 1992, she married Rob Elliott, a rafting business owner and Flagstaff politician, with three children from a previous marriage.

English entered the 1992 race for a newly apportioned U.S. House district that stretched from the suburbs of Phoenix and Scottsdale in central Arizona to the sprawling counties of Apache, Gila, and Navajo in the northeastern corner of the state. She captured 44 percent of the vote, defeating two challengers in the Democratic primary, including her colleague in the state senate, minority leader Alan Stephens. In the general election, she faced Doug Wead, a minister who had been the George H.W. Bush administration's liaison with religious leaders. She ran on a platform that reflected her experience in the state legislature: environmental cleanup, more funding for AIDS research and relief, and cutting the budget deficit.[2] English secured support from two key national groups: EMILY's List and the Women's Campaign Fund. But the endorsement that propelled her in the polls came from an unlikely source. As her campaign got underway, her son, David, took an unexpected phone call at their Flagstaff home. The caller was Barry Goldwater, the conservative godfather of Arizona politics, former U.S. Senator, and one-time presidential candidate. He wanted to speak to English. When her son replied she wasn't at home, Goldwater said, "Well, tell your mother, if I lived in the Sixth District, I'd vote for her." The endorsement made its way into the media, with Goldwater stating that he was concerned with Republican candidate Doug Wead's "connection to the religious right" and with the fact that Wead, having lived in the state for just two years, was something of a political carpetbagger.[3] English became only the second woman elected to Congress from Arizona (the first was Isabella Greenway in the 1930s) by defeating Wead, 53 to 41 percent.[4]

When English took her seat in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), she was appointed to the Natural Resources and the Education and Labor committees. Following her work in the Arizona legislature, she used the Natural Resources seat to focus on environmental issues, despite the fact that her district encompassed large ranching and mining interests. In 1992, nearly half of all copper mining in the U.S. took place in English's district and the industry

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE HONORABLE KARAN ENGLISH

was the largest employer in the district, providing jobs for nearly 30,000 people, both directly and in support trades. English spoke out in favor of the Mineral Exploration and Development Act of 1993, a bill that the mining industry and environmental groups roundly criticized. It represented Congress's effort to reform the General Mining Law of 1872 by eliminating a patenting system that priced public lands for as little as $2.50 per acre, raising operations standards, and creating a federal land reclamation fund to deal with the restoration of mined lands. Placing herself in the "pro-responsible mining camp" English declared that mining must "be accompanied by a fair return to the owners of the land: the American taxpayer. . . . Clearly what is needed here—what is always needed—is balance. Let us realize that the old acrimonious debate pitting jobs versus the environment is ultimately self-defeating. Arizonans at least know that in the long-term, we must maintain a healthy partnership between extractive uses of the public lands and environmental protection."[5] Mining interests objected that the bill would prohibit any new mining on public lands. Environmentalists believed that English had given away too much to the industry. Adding to English's difficulties with district industries, ranching and farm interests chafed at her support for a tax hike on gasoline and an increase in grazing fees.

Some of English's personal experiences shaped her legislative initiatives. In the early 1990s, she had a scare with breast cancer which led her to push for the Access to Rural Health Information Act in 1994. Her bill called for the establishment of a toll-free hotline for rural residents to receive information ranging from medical services and physician referrals to where to go for domestic violence counseling. "Rural America faces a tough challenge in providing health care to its residents," English noted. "Primarily, these problems can be attributed to the lack of primary care providers, physical and economic barriers, and the fragile nature of rural health care delivery systems dependent on a sparse population base. When a rural area loses its doctor, it often loses its health care."[6]

English faced a tough re-election campaign in the fall of 1994. Many of her votes had not resonated well with her conservative-leaning constituents. In addition to the controversial mining and ranching reforms she supported, English also had voted in favor of abortion rights, the William J. Clinton administration's 1993 budget, the Brady Handgun Bill, and the 1994 ban on assault weapons. Even Goldwater retracted his support for her. She lost to Republican J.D. Hayworth, a former television sportscaster, by a 55 to 42 percent margin. After the election, she recalled, "I didn't lose to J.D. I lost to the Christian Coalition. And they didn't beat me, they beat this image that had been created over the past two years and I couldn't turn it around." She was not alone. Sixteen of the 1992 freshman class—all Democrats—were turned out of office in the 1994 "Republican Revolution," which gave control of the House to the GOP for the first time in 40 years. In a late November meeting of the Democratic Caucus, recriminations flew over the election defeat for House Democrats, with at least one lawmaker observing that some of the damage could have been mitigated if some of the freshmen Members had not voted the way they did on politically sensitive issues. English offered a sharp retort: "To suggest that we shouldn't have taken these tough votes to save our careers . . . [is] exactly what the problem is in Congress. I came here to do something, not to be somebody." The Caucus gave her a standing ovation.[7]

After Congress, English returned to Flagstaff, Arizona, where she worked with the National Democratic Institute of International Affairs as a consultant for countries developing democratic institutions. Since 1997, English has worked at Northern Arizona University, where she currently directs its ecological monitoring and assessment program.

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MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

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Tillie Kidd Fowler

1942–2005

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM FLORIDA

1993–2001

Tillie Fowler, whose roots in Florida politics ran deep, rose to become one of the highest-ranking Republican women in the House. Representative Fowler served on the influential Armed Services Committee, a key assignment since her district encompassed the Jacksonville naval facilities, before honoring a term limit pledge to retire after four terms.

Tillie Kidd was born in Atlanta, Georgia, on December 23, 1942, daughter of Culver and Katherine Kidd. She was raised in a politically active family; her father served for more than 40 years in the Georgia state legislature. Kidd received an A.B. in political science from Emory University in 1964 and a J.D. from the Emory University School of Law in 1967; she was admitted to the bar that year. She moved to Washington, D.C., to work as a legislative assistant to Representative Robert G. Stephens, Jr., of Georgia from 1967 to 1970. In 1968, she married L. Buck Fowler, and the couple lived in Washington as Tillie Fowler accepted a position as a counsel in the Richard M. Nixon White House Office of Consumer Affairs from 1970 to 1971. The Fowlers moved to Jacksonville in 1971, where they raised two daughters, Tillie Anne and Elizabeth. After more than a decade as a mother and housewife, Tillie Fowler re-entered politics. She was elected to the Jacksonville city council and served from 1985 to 1992 as its first female and, later, as its first Republican president in 1989 to 1990. She also served as chair of the Duval County tourism development council from 1989 to 1990 and chair of the Florida Endowment for the Humanities from 1989 to 1991.[1]

In 1992, when Democrat Charles E. Bennett, a 22-term Representative, announced his retirement from the House, Fowler entered the race for the northeast Florida seat, which encompassed Jacksonville and portions of St. Johns and Duval counties. Her opponent in the general election was Mattox Hair, a prominent state legislator. With a well-financed campaign that focused on congressional reform and term limits, Fowler won with 56 percent of the vote. She ran unopposed in the succeeding three elections.[2] When she entered the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), Fowler was appointed to the Armed Services Committee and the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee.

Fowler soon earned a reputation as a moderate conservative who supported budgetary restraint but approved of federal funding of abortions in rape cases, an increase in the minimum wage, and federal funds for the National Endowment for the Humanities. Fowler advocated an overhaul of the welfare system, which she described as "anti-family" in 1993. She also championed increased federal funding for women's health care and cancer research.

Having first been elected to Congress in the "Year of the Woman," Fowler believed that women would have a unique impact on the institution but cautioned that most problems could not be solved through the lens of gender. "I think as mothers, home-workers, as people who usually had to juggle a lot of different priorities, we get pretty good at that. I think we bring a different view to issues such as child care," Fowler said at the time. "But I also don't believe that there is any one set of issues that is just women's issues because I think women's perspective is needed in defense; that's one of the reasons I wanted to be on the Armed Services Committee. I think women are all concerned with defense issues and I think our perspective is needed there."[3]

On the Armed Services Committee, Fowler became a regular critic of the William J. Clinton administration's

CONGRESSIONAL PICTORIAL DIRECTORY, 103RD CONGRESS

"I think as mothers, home-workers, as people who usually had to juggle a lot of different priorities, we get pretty good at that. I think we bring a different view to issues such as childcare," Fowler said. "But I also don't believe that there is any one set of issues that is just women's issues."

defense budgets and foreign policy during the 1990s. As defense budgets were trimmed in the post–Cold War years, Fowler maintained that the cuts were so deep that they affected the military's core capabilities. Much of her concern came as a Representative with a heavy naval presence in her district, including the Mayport Naval Station and facilities in Jacksonville. She pointed out that defense cuts occurred at a time when the military's mission had been expanded into peacekeeping and humanitarian causes. Fowler also dissented from the Clinton administration's policy in the Balkans. She twice visited American troops in the region, praising their work but criticizing the open-ended goals of Washington policymakers who, she said, were attempting an experiment in "nation-building."[4] A longtime opponent of deploying American troops to Bosnia, Fowler nonetheless did not underestimate the significance of U.S. relations with the Balkan nation. "I have supported the involvement of our sea and air forces, our intelligence and logistics assets, and our most diligent diplomatic efforts," she commented. "But I have never felt that our interests were so vital that they warranted putting our ground troops at risk."[4]

Fowler rose quickly through the ranks of the Republican Party. She served as a Deputy Whip in the 105th Congress (1997–1999). In the 106th Congress (1999–2001) she won election as Vice Chair of the GOP Conference, the fifth-ranking Republican position in the House. It made her the highest-ranking woman in the party. During that Congress she also rose to chair the Transportation Subcommittee on Investigations and Emergency Management.

Fulfilling her 1992 campaign pledge to retire after four terms, Fowler did not seek re-election to the 107th Congress (2001–2003). At the time, the move was widely praised as a highly ethical decision, in no small measure because Fowler made it despite her high profile in the Republican leadership. "I take great pride in the fact that we not only changed Congress, but we changed America," Fowler said upon announcing her retirement.[6] In 2001, Fowler joined a Washington-based law firm. In May 2004, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld appointed Fowler as one of four members of an independent panel to investigate abuse of Iraqi prisoners of war. The panel recommended a sweeping overhaul of the U.S. military's procedures for the handling of prisoners. On February 28, 2005, Fowler suffered a brain hemorrhage while in Jacksonville. She died two days later on March 2.[7]

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Elizabeth Furse

1936–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM OREGON

1993–1999

Born a colonist in the British Empire, Elizabeth Furse became an antiapartheid activist, an advocate for migrant farm workers and Native Americans, and founder of a peace institute. She claimed her first elective office in 1992, representing a U.S. House district that encompassed suburban Portland, Oregon. Through a series of legislative initiatives, Representative Furse sought to turn the national dialogue away from its old Cold War focus to domestic reforms.

Elizabeth Furse was born a British subject in Nairobi, Kenya, on October 13, 1936. Her grandmother, Dame Katherine Furse, established the Women's Royal Naval Service (the "Wrens") during World War I. Her father was a naval lieutenant who later settled in the then-British colony of Kenya as a coffee planter. The family moved to South Africa, where Furse's mother established an anti-apartheid women's group, "Black Sash." Elizabeth Furse marched with the group at the age of 15. In 1955, she left South Africa to live in London, where she met and married an American doctor. They moved to Los Angeles, and Furse became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1972. The couple raised two children, Amanda and John, though they eventually divorced. Furse later married John Platt. In 1974, Furse earned a B.A. at Evergreen State College, in Olympia, Washington. In California, Furse had been active in the United Farm Workers movement led by Cesar Chavez. When she relocated to Oregon in 1978, she worked as the director of the Oregon Legal Services Restoration Program for Native American tribes from 1980 to 1986. In 1985, Furse founded the Oregon Peace Institute for nonviolent conflict resolution. With her husband, she also became the owner and operator of a vineyard.

In 1992, when suburban Portland's Democratic Representative Les AuCoin left the House to run for one of Oregon's U.S. Senate seats, Furse entered the race for his seat as a long-shot candidate. The district stretched from the city westward along the Columbia River to the Pacific coast and took in Washington and Yamhill counties. Furse defeated Gary Conkling, a former AuCoin aide, in the primary 60 to 40 percent, largely with support from women voters and groups, including EMILY's List. In the general election, she faced a well-known state politician, Oregon treasurer Tony Meeker. Furse made her pro-choice position on abortion a prominent feature of her campaign, which contrasted sharply with Meeker's pro-life policy. She also used gender as a campaign theme, capitalizing on the outrage over the Clarence Thomas Senate confirmation hearings. She echoed Democratic presidential candidate William J. Clinton's promises of job creation and political change in Washington and eventually went on to edged out Meeker 52 to 48 percent.[1]

When Furse took her seat in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), she received assignments on three committees: Armed Services; Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs; and Merchant Marine and Fisheries. In the 104th Congress (1995–1997) she resigned from her initial assignments to join the Commerce Committee. In 1995, Furse quit the Women's Caucus to protest a Republican Member's politicking on behalf of her 1994 election opponent who was running as an anti-abortion candidate; she expressed special contempt because her GOP colleague shared her own abortion rights position.[2]

Furse supported the Clinton budget in 1993 and the 1994 crime bill but opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement, citing its danger to small businesses

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE HONORABLE ELIZABETH FURSE

in her district. She also secured funding for Portland's Westside Light Rail Project. During her first term, Furse introduced an amendment requiring European allies to pay for a large portion of the bill for American troops stationed on the continent.[3] She also supported one of Bill Clinton's lightning rod campaign issues: the recognition and further incorporation of gays and lesbians into the military.

From her seat on the Armed Services Committee, Furse spoke out about the problem of nuclear proliferation. She brought attention to the longtime American-British collaboration on weapons development, noting the existence of more than 40 joint working groups that had carried over into the post–Cold War era. She accused U.K. Prime Minister John Major's government of undercutting American nuclear nonproliferation efforts. "We feed the British nuclear weapons complex, and right now they are biting the hand that feeds them," Furse declared. "It's a tragic irony that I, as a Member of Congress and the Armed Services Committee, can be better informed on U.K. defense matters than a British Citizen or MP."[4] After the House voted on a nuclear test ban bill in 1992 to take effect in 1996, the Pentagon pushed to lift the moratorium to allow tests of nuclear weapons under one kiloton yield. Furse, in opposing that allowance, cited the nearly half-billion yearly price tag for nuclear tests and paraphrased a line from George Orwell's book *1984*: "War is peace, freedom is slavery, ignorance is strength, a small nuclear test is not a nuclear test."[5] In 1993, she joined forces with House colleague John Spratt of South Carolina in cosponsoring an amendment to ban research and development of low-yield nuclear warheads; the measure became part of the 1994 defense authorization bill. "I introduced an amendment last year that killed an entire generation of nuclear weapons," Furse recalled. "If I do nothing else, it makes going [to Washington, D.C.] worthwhile."[6]

In 1994, Furse won a razor-thin re-election campaign against Republican Bill Witt, beating him by 301 votes out of more than a quarter-million votes cast. She raised $1.1 million in campaign funds—more than twice Witt's total—but nearly succumbed to Witt's strong organizational base and an electorate that widely supported the Republican "Contract with America." In 1996, she again faced Witt but won by a more comfortable margin of 52 to 45 percent.[7] She surprised political observers in 1995 by entering the Democratic primary for the seat of resigned Oregon Senator Bob Packwood, of whom Furse had been highly critical after charges of sexual harassment were made public by some of his former aides. The nomination eventually went to U.S. Representative Ron Wyden.

Throughout her three-term House tenure, Furse was an advocate for women's issues as well as what she called their unique perspective on the meaning of "security"—both national and domestic. "The whole matter of security . . . men see it in terms of national defense. But what about domestic violence?" Furse said. "A woman who is living in a home where she is battered is living where there is a real war going on. We have to decide whether we're going to continue spending too much on the Pentagon and too little on domestic security—things like safer streets and shelters for victims of domestic violence."[8] She also supported the 1993 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act after a spate of violence outside abortion clinics. "While the decision is difficult, once it is made, women should not be prevented from or harassed while exercising their rights, and physicians must be allowed to practice medicine without fear for their lives," Furse said on the House Floor.[9] In 1997, Furse cosponsored the Children's National Security Act, an omnibus bill that included initiatives ranging from health insurance for children to health care research and education, assistance for caregivers, firearm child safety lock requirements, school construction, and economic security for families. The bill would be funded with cuts from the Pentagon budget. "I believe it's time to change the focus of our priorities, to reflect that national security means providing children a quality education, access to health care, and a safe place to live and learn," Furse told colleagues. "We cannot continue to invest in outdated Cold War weapons systems while we neglect our children."[10]

Furse became a major proponent for affordable health care coverage and greater research into women's health

issues. As early as 1993, she supported government-funded health care, speaking out in support of the American Health Security Act.[11] In 1997, she again pushed for expanded health care coverage for the then-estimated 10 million uninsured American children. Furse proposed adoption of an Oregon state program that insured children in low-income families for as little as $35 per month. Again, she cast her argument in appropriated military language: "I think what we are dealing with is a national security issue. If we do not have healthy children, we do not have healthy adults, we do not have people who can be the best and the brightest that they could be."[12] In 1996, she introduced the Women's Health Environmental Factors Research Act, which proposed greater funding for research into synthetic compounds in the environment and their effect specifically on women. Furse also pushed for greater research and funding for diabetes, a disease which afflicted her daughter, Amanda.[13]

Furse, who supported term limits, announced during her third term that she would not seek re-election in 1998. After she retired from the House in January 1999, she worked as the director of tribal programs at the Institute for Tribal Government in Portland. Furse resides in Hillsboro, Oregon, where she manages a winery with her husband.

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Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky

1942–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM PENNSYLVANIA

1993–1995

A longtime television journalist, Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky won election to the U.S. House in 1992. Her brief congressional career turned, quite literally, on a single vote when the Pennsylvania Congresswoman abruptly backed the William J. Clinton administration's budget after being an outspoken critic of the legislation.

Marjorie Margolies was born on June 21, 1942, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, daughter of Herbert and Mildred Margolies. "Margie always kept me busy," her mother said, recalling a schedule that involved multiple ballet lessons each week, sports, cheerleading, honor roll academics, and finishing junior high two years early.[1] After graduating from Baltimore's Forest Park High School in 1959, Margolies earned a B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1963. She worked as a television reporter for a Philadelphia NBC affiliate in 1967 and, from 1969 to 1970, she was a CBS News Foundation Fellow at Columbia University.

In 1970, at age 28, she covered a story on Korean orphans and was so moved by the experience that she became the first single woman in the United States to adopt a foreign child, a Korean girl. Several years later she adopted a Vietnamese girl. Covering another story on adopted children, Margolies met then-Iowa Representative Edward Mezvinsky, and they married in 1975. Together the couple raised 11 children: Margolies's two children, Mezvinsky's four children from a previous marriage, two sons born to them, and three Vietnamese boys whom they adopted together. Figuring in the number of refugee families that they sponsored over the years, Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky estimated that her household had provided for 25 children. In 1976, she testified before Congress and was credited with helping change legislation on adoption and immigration practices incorporated into the 1976 Immigration and Nationalities Act.[2] When Edward Mezvinsky lost his re-election bid in 1976, the couple settled in Philadelphia. Margolies-Mezvinsky commuted weekly to Washington, D.C., where she worked as a correspondent for 12 years for the local NBC television affiliate, focusing on congressional issues. She also worked for a Philadelphia television station and for NBC's *Today Show* in New York City. During her career, she won five Emmy Awards. She also published three books, including *They Came to Stay* (1976), relating her experiences as an adoptive parent and a supporter of immigrant families.

When Representative Lawrence Coughlin announced his retirement from the House, two members of Pennsylvania's Montgomery County Democratic Committee approached Margolies-Mezvinsky to run for the nomination. Producing reports for four network television programs, she nevertheless felt she needed to heed her own admonition to her children: "You've got to be prepared to lose before you can win. You've got to get out of the stands and onto the playing field."[3] From the moment Margolies-Mezvinsky declared her candidacy for the open seat that encompassed most of the Montgomery County suburbs northwest of Philadelphia, it was an uphill battle, since the district was two-to-one in favor of registered Republicans and had not elected a Democrat since 1916. Her campaign focused on job creation, health care, and education and the necessity of each of these for good family life. She addressed the 1992 Democratic National Convention and later recalled as she stood on the podium: "I thought about what Barbara

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Jordan had said the night before, invoking Thomas Jefferson and talking about women being in the halls and councils of power. And I thought about how important it was that we get in in numbers that can make a difference, to change the face and the body of [Congress]. And I thought, here I am, standing here, part of all this. Me. Herbert and Mildred's daughter."[4] In the general election she faced Republican Montgomery County Commissioner Jon D. Fox. During the campaign, Margolies-Mezvinsky portrayed herself as a nontraditional Democrat who sought to reduce the cost of social programs and avoid hiking taxes.[5] She won in an exceedingly close race with a margin of 1,373 votes out of more than a quarter million cast, 50.27 percent to 49.73 percent.[6]

When Margolies-Mezvinsky took her seat in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), she received assignments on the influential Energy and Commerce Committee, as well as the Government Operations and Small Business committees. She focused on issues affecting women, from abortion to health care. Her first vote on major legislation was for the Family and Medical Leave Act. She also opposed the "Hyde Amendment," which prohibited federal funding of abortions. In 1993, Margolies-Mezvinsky joined women colleagues in the House who effectively pushed for more funding and research for breast and cervical cancer and making preventive tools available to more women. "The best mammogram means precious little to the woman who cannot afford it," she said. "The opportunity for women to save ourselves rests upon the commitment of this Congress to put the money on the line for our sisters, our daughters, and our wives."[7] She also proposed legislation to better educate doctors about diseases prevalent among women and to encourage leadership training for women in the medical field.[8]

Along with women's issues, Margolies-Mezvinsky supported much of the Democratic Party's legislative agenda. She voted for the Brady Handgun Bill, which passed the House in late 1993. It required a background check and waiting period for gun buyers. "Waiting periods work. Waiting periods save lives," Margolies-Mezvinsky noted at the time.[9] She also introduced bills that raised the minimum retirement age to 70 by the year 2012 and set cost-of-living adjustments for Social Security recipients at a flat rate.[10]

The turning point for Margolies-Mezvinsky came when she made a last-minute switch to support the 1993 Clinton budget after months of publicly voicing her opposition to the bill because it did not contain enough spending cuts. During her campaign, she had promised not to raise taxes, and the budget proposed a hike in federal taxes, including a gasoline tax. On the day of the vote, she appeared on television and told her constituents that she was against the budget. Minutes before the vote, however, on August 5, 1993, President Clinton called to ask Margolies-Mezvinsky to support the measure. She told him that only if it was the deciding vote—in this case, the 218th yea—would she support the measure. "I wasn't going to do it at 217. I wasn't going to do it at 219. Only at 218, or I was voting against it," she recalled.[11] She also extracted a promise from Clinton that if she did have to vote for the budget package, that he would attend a conference in her district dedicated to reducing the budget deficit. He agreed (and later fulfilled the pledge). Nevertheless, Margolies-Mezvinsky told Clinton "I think I'm falling on a political sword on this one." When she finally walked onto the House Floor to cast the decisive vote, passing the measure 218 to 216, Democrats cheered while Republicans jeered, "Goodbye, Marjorie!"[12] She later recalled that "I knew at the time that changing my vote at the 11th hour may have been tantamount to political suicide. . . . [but] the vote would resolve itself into one simple question: Was my political future more important than the agenda the President had laid out for America?"[13]

Margolies-Mezvinsky's vote, coming as it did after her specific promises, created wide resentment among her district constituents. "I ran into a wall of anger," she recalled when she returned to her district throughout the fall of 1993.[14] In 1994, the Republican National Committee targeted her and 14 other vulnerable House Democrats (many of them first-term women) who had voted for the Clinton budget. That fall Margolies-Mezvinsky again

faced off against Jon Fox, who attacked her relentlessly for her vote. He won by a slim margin of 8,000 votes, with 49 percent to her 45 percent in a four-way race.[15]

After Congress, Margolies-Mezvinsky chaired the National Women's Business Council and served as the Director and Deputy Chair of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. She served as executive director of the Women's Campaign Fund, a group that supported pro-choice women candidates. In 1998, she left that post to run unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania. In 1999, Margolies-Mezvinsky initiated a challenge against incumbent U.S. Senator Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania but soon withdrew when her husband's finances came under investigation. Although Edward Mezvinsky was convicted on federal fraud charges in 2002, investigators cleared Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky of wrongdoing.[16]

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Carrie P. Meek

1926–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM FLORIDA

1993–2003

Carrie P. Meek won election to the House in 1992 as one of the first African-American lawmakers to represent Florida in Congress since Reconstruction. Focusing on the economic and immigration issues of her district, Meek secured a coveted seat on the House Appropriations Committee as a freshman Representative. While able to work with Republicans on health issues, she was a sharp critic of welfare reform efforts during the mid-1990s.

Carrie Pittman, daughter of Willie and Carrie Pittman, was born on April 29, 1926, in Tallahassee, Florida. Her grandmother was born and raised in Georgia as a slave. Carrie Pittman's parents began their married life as sharecroppers, though her father went on to become a caretaker and her mother a laundress and the owner of a boardinghouse. She was the youngest of 12 children, a tomboy whom her siblings nicknamed "Tot." She lived near the old Florida capitol in a neighborhood called the "Bottom." Pittman was a track and field star while earning a B.S. in biology and physical education at Florida A&M University in 1946. She enrolled at the University of Michigan graduate school because blacks were banned from Florida graduate schools, though the state government would pay out-of-state tuition, "if we agreed to get out of Dodge," she later recalled.[1] She graduated in 1948 with an M.S. degree in public health and physical education. Afterward, Pittman taught at Bethune Cookman, a historically black college in Daytona Beach, where she coached basketball and taught biological sciences and physical education. She later taught at Florida A&M in Tallahassee. In 1961, as a divorced mother of two young children, Carrie Pittman Meek moved to Miami-Dade Community College, where she spent the next three decades teaching and administrating, eventually serving as special assistant to the vice president of the college. In 1978, she won election to the Florida state house of representatives, defeating a field of 12 candidates. She served from 1979 to 1983, during which time she chaired the education appropriations subcommittee. From 1983 to 1993, Meek served in the Florida senate. She was the first African-American woman elected to that body and the first black to serve there since Reconstruction. She earned a reputation as a particularly effective legislator, passing a minority business enterprise law and other legislation to promote literacy and reduce the school dropout rate.[2]

In 1992, when incumbent Congressman Bill Lehman (a veteran 10-term Democrat) decided to retire, Meek captured the Democratic nomination for his newly reapportioned district that ran through northern Miami suburbs in Dade County. She ran unopposed in the general election. Since Meek essentially clinched the seat by winning the September primary in the heavily Democratic district, she later claimed to be the first African American elected to represent Florida in Congress since Reconstruction. Democrats Corrine Brown and Alcee L. Hastings, who prevailed over opponents in the November general election in two other Florida districts, were sworn in with Meek on January 3, 1993.

Meek entered Congress at age 66 and immediately launched into an ambitious agenda belied by her soft southern accent and grandmotherly demeanor. "Don't let her fool you. She is not a little old lady from the ghetto," a Florida political observer noted at the time of her election. "Carrie Meek is a player."[3] Meek intensively—and successfully—lobbied for a seat on the Appropriations Committee, a virtually unheard of assignment for a fresh-

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man legislator. When the Republicans took control of the House in 1994, Meek was bumped off Appropriations and reassigned to the Budget Committee and the Government Reform and Oversight Committee. In 1996, she returned to the Appropriations Committee and eventually served on two of its subcommittees: Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government and VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies.

Meek focused on the needs of her district, which included issues arising from unemployment, immigration, and even natural disaster. Shortly after arriving on Capitol Hill, Meek sought federal aid for her district, which encompassed Homestead, Florida, the town that bore the brunt of Hurricane Andrew's devastation in August 1992. She used her Appropriations seat, however, principally to try to expand federal programs to create jobs and provide initiatives for blacks to open their own businesses. Meek also authored a measure to modify Social Security laws to cover household workers. On behalf of the Haitian community in her district, Meek sought to extend the period of stay in the country for immigrants and refugees excluded from two 1997 bills addressing Central American immigration. In 1999, she worked to get a more accurate census count in her district by providing a measure whereby welfare recipients familiar with their poor, traditionally undercounted neighborhoods could temporarily work as census employees without losing their benefits.[4]

On issues of national scope, Meek developed a cooperative and congenial style punctuated with partisan episodes. For instance, she was able to work with Republicans to change cigarette label warnings, to reflect the fact that a higher number of African Americans suffer from several smoking-related diseases. She also worked with Republican Anne Northup of Kentucky to increase funding for lupus disease research and to provide federal grants for college students with poor reading skills due to learning disabilities.[5] But, in early 1995, amid the controversy surrounding Speaker Newt Gingrich's $4.5 million book advance, Meek denounced him on the House Floor. "If anything, now, how much the Speaker earns has grown much more dependent upon how hard his publishing house hawks his book," Meek said. "Which leads me to the question of exactly who does this Speaker really work for. . . . Is it the American people or his New York publishing house?" Republicans shouted Meek down and struck her remarks from the *Congressional Record*.[6] She also charged that Republicans were balancing the budget on the backs of America's working poor, elderly, and infirm by gutting the welfare system. "The spending cuts that the House approved today fall mainly on the weakest members of our society, on the sick and on the elderly," she said in June 1997. "Tomorrow we will be voting on tax cuts that mainly favor the wealthy. . . . Today, the House voted to rob from the poor so that tomorrow the majority can help the rich."[7]

In 2002, citing her age, Meek declined to seek certain re-election to a sixth term. "I wish I could say I was tired of Congress," Meek told the *Miami Herald*. "I love it still. But at age 76, understandably, some of my abilities have diminished. I don't have the same vigor that I had at age 65. I have the fire, but I don't have the physical ability. So it's time."[8] Her youngest child, 35-year-old Kendrick Meek, who served in the Florida senate, announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination in her district. When Kendrick Meek won the November 2002 general election, he became just the second child to directly succeed his mother in Congress.[9] It also marked just the fifth time that the child of a woman Member served in Congress.[10]

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Carol Moseley-Braun

1947–

UNITED STATES SENATOR ★ DEMOCRAT FROM ILLINOIS

1993–1999

As the first African-American woman to serve in the U.S. Senate, Carol Moseley-Braun[1] also held the distinction of being only the second black Senator since the Reconstruction Era. "I cannot escape the fact that I come to the Senate as a symbol of hope and change," Moseley-Braun said, shortly after being sworn into office in 1993. "Nor would I want to, because my presence in and of itself will change the U.S. Senate."[2] During her single term in office, Senator Moseley-Braun was an advocate for civil rights issues and for legislation dealing with crime, education, and families.

Carol Moseley was born in Chicago, Illinois, on August 16, 1947. Her parents, Joseph Moseley, a policeman, and her mother, Edna (Davie) Moseley, a medical technician, divorced in 1963. The oldest of the four Moseley children in a middle-class family, Carol graduated from Parker High School in Chicago and earned a B.A. in political science from the University of Illinois in 1969.[3] Possessing early an interest in politics, she worked on the campaigns of Harold Washington, an Illinois state representative, U.S. Representative, and the first African-American mayor of Chicago, and of Illinois State Senator Richard Newhouse.[4] In 1972, Carol Moseley graduated from the University of Chicago School of Law. There she met and later married Michael Braun; she hyphenated her maiden and married names. The couple raised one son, Matthew, but the marriage ended in divorce in 1986. Moseley-Braun worked as a prosecutor in the office of the U.S. Attorney in Chicago from 1973 until 1977. In 1978, she won election to the Illinois state house of representatives, a position she held for a decade. After an unsuccessful bid for Illinois lieutenant governor in 1986, she was elected the Cook County, Illinois, recorder of deeds in 1988, becoming the first African American elected to an executive position in Cook County.[5]

Not satisfied with her position as recorder of deeds, and believing that politicians remained out of touch with average Americans, Moseley-Braun contemplated running for Congress. Her resolve to seek national office strengthened after witnessing the questions directed at Anita Hill by Senators during the controversial confirmation hearing of Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court in 1991. "The Senate absolutely needed a healthy dose of democracy," she observed later, adding, "It wasn't enough to have millionaire white males over the age of 50 representing all the people in the country."[6] Officially entering the race for the Senate in November 1991, her Democratic primary campaign against the two-term incumbent Alan Dixon focused on his support of the Clarence Thomas appointment and the need for diversity in the Senate. Despite campaign organizational problems and paltry fundraising, Moseley-Braun stunned experts by defeating her two opponents, Dixon and Alfred Hofeld, an affluent Chicago lawyer, when she captured 38 percent of the primary vote.[7] Shortly after her surprise victory, Moseley-Braun remarked, "This democracy is alive and well, and ordinary people can have a voice with no money."[8] In the general election, she faced Republican candidate Richard Williamson, a lawyer and former official in the Ronald W. Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations.[9] Focusing on a message of change and diversity encapsulated by slogans such as, "We don't need another arrogant rich guy in the Senate," Moseley-Braun ultimately defeated Williamson with 53 percent of the vote.[10] In the "Year of the Woman," Carol Moseley-Braun became a national symbol of change, reform, and equality. Soon after her

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE U.S. SENATE HISTORICAL OFFICE

election to the Senate she commented that "my job is emphatically not to be a celebrity or a full time symbol. Symbols will not create jobs and economic growth. They do not do the hard work of solving the health care crisis. They will not save the children of our cities from drugs and guns and murder."[11]

In the Senate, Moseley-Braun became the first woman to serve on the powerful Finance Committee when a top-ranking Democrat, Tom Daschle of South Dakota, gave up his seat to create a spot for her. Moseley-Braun and Senator Dianne Feinstein of California also became just the second and third women to serve on the prestigious Senate Judiciary Committee. In addition, Moseley-Braun served on the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee and the Small Business Committee. In 1993, the Illinois Senator made headlines when she convinced the Senate Judiciary Committee not to renew a design patent for the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) because it contained the Confederate flag; the UDC patent had been routinely renewed by the Senate for nearly a century. Despite the Judiciary Committee's disapproval, the Senate was poised to pass a resolution sponsored by Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina which included a provision to authorize continuation of the federal patent. Moseley-Braun threatened to filibuster the legislation "until this room freezes over." She also made an impassioned and eloquent plea to her colleagues about the symbolism of the Confederate flag, declaring that "it has no place in our modern times, place in this body, place in our society."[12] Swayed by Moseley-Braun's convincing argument, the Senate rejected the UDC patent renewal.[13]

Moseley-Braun sparred with Senator Helms once again when managing her first bill on the Senate Floor. As one of the cosponsors of a measure for federal funding for the Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday Commission —an organization established in 1984 to promote national recognition of the holiday—Moseley-Braun helped thwart a Helms amendment to the legislation that would replace government money with private donations. The Illinois Senator evoked personal memories of her participation in a civil rights march with King in the 1960s in an attempt to win support for the legislation.[14] The Senate eventually approved the bill. Among her other social legislation triumphs, Moseley-Braun played a prominent role in the passage of the Child Support Orders Act, the 1994 William J. Clinton administration crime bill, the Multiethnic Placement Act, and the Improving America's School Act.[15]

During her one term in the Senate, Moseley-Braun addressed an array of issues affecting women and African Americans. She helped create legislation to assist divorced and widowed women, because according to the Illinois Senator, "Pension laws were never written for women . . . no wonder the vast majority of the elderly poor are women."[16] She also sponsored the creation of the Sacagawea coin to recognize "women of color" and a National Park Service initiative to fund historic preservation of the Underground Railroad.[17] A consistent supporter of equal opportunity and affirmative action, Moseley-Braun also spoke out against sexual harassment —as was evidenced by her decision to join five of her women colleagues in the Senate in 1995 to call for public hearings concerning the sexual misconduct allegations against Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon.[18]

Despite the high expectations following Moseley-Braun's upset victory in 1992, controversy marked her term in the Senate. Moseley-Braun drew criticism for alleged campaign finance violations which eventually led to a Federal Election Commission investigation.[19] In 1996, the Congressional Black Caucus and human rights organizations chastised Moseley-Braun for traveling to Nigeria to attend the funeral of the son of dictator, General Sani Abacha , a private trip made despite the objections of the State Department. Previously an outspoken critic of human rights violations in the African nation, Moseley-Braun reversed her position and defended the Nigerian government.[20]

Under great scrutiny, Moseley-Braun faced a difficult challenge in her bid for re-election to the Senate in 1998, against Republican Peter Fitzgerald, an Illinois state senator.[21] She lost, capturing just 47 percent of the vote

against her Republican opponent, who spent nearly $12 million of his own money.[22] President Clinton appointed Moseley-Braun as the United States Ambassador to New Zealand, where she served from 1999 until 2001. Moseley-Braun unsuccessfully attempted to revive her political career when she entered the race for the Democratic nomination for President in 2000. The campaign marked the second time an African-American woman sought the nomination. Since 2001, Moseley-Braun has taught political science at Morris Brown College (Atlanta) and DePaul University (Chicago) and managed a business consulting company in Chicago.[23] In 2004, Moseley-Braun again made an unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

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NOTES

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Lynn Schenk

1945–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM CALIFORNIA

1993–1995

The daughter of working-class immigrants, Democrat Lynn Schenk won a hotly contested election in a majority Republican district to become the first woman to represent San Diego, California, in the U.S. House of Representatives. During her brief service, Schenk attempted to balance a policy of environmental protection, which she forged as a local politician with the business interests and booming biotechnical industry in her district. The Congresswoman eventually succumbed to the GOP resurgence in the 1994 election.

Lynn Schenk was born in the Bronx, New York, on January 5, 1945, to Hungarian immigrants. Her parents, Sidney and Elsa Schenk, survived the Nazi Holocaust and fled to the United States before 1945. She and her one brother, Fred, were raised in a working-class household; Sidney Schenk worked as a tailor, and Elsa Schenk was a manicurist. Lynn Schenk attended the Beth Jacobs School for Girls of the East Bronx. When she was 14, her family moved to California. In 1962, she graduated from Hamilton High School, in Los Angeles. Schenk earned a B.A. from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1967. Three years later, she received her J.D. from the University of San Diego Law School. Schenk confronted a male-dominated institution and, with the support of fellow female students, pressed the law school into building female restroom facilities in convenient locations. In 1970, she pursued postgraduate studies in international law at the London School of Economics. In 1972, Lynn Schenk married a University of San Diego law professor, C. Hugh Friedman, becoming the stepmother to his three children. Schenk became the deputy attorney general in the criminal division of the California attorney general's office. From 1972 to 1976, she worked as an attorney for the San Diego Gas and Electric Company. She cofounded the Lawyers Club of San Diego, which supported female attorneys in 1972. Schenk also founded the first California bank owned and operated by women in 1973.

Schenk dove into politics when she received a prestigious position as a White House Fellow in 1976. She subsequently worked as a special assistant to Vice Presidents Nelson A. Rockefeller and Walter F. Mondale. The White House experience landed her a place in California Governor Jerry Brown's cabinet. She held the position of deputy secretary for the California department of business, transportation, and housing from 1977 until 1980. In 1980, Lynn Schenk became the first woman secretary of that department, serving for three years. After an unsuccessful campaign for San Diego County supervisor in 1984, she returned to private law practice. Schenk worked as the California co-chair for the presidential campaign of Michael Dukakis in 1988. From 1990 to 1993, she served as a commissioner and vice chair of the San Diego unified port district. In her role as commissioner she was responsible for overseeing San Diego Bay, where she spearheaded environmental protection programs.

Following California reapportionment in 1992, Schenk ran for a newly created U.S. House seat. The new district, which stretched along the coast from La Jolla to the Mexican border and encompassed downtown San Diego, retained some of retiring six-term Republican Representative Bill Lowery's constituency which had elected him for 12 years. Though the new district maintained its Republican majority, the new boundaries brought in more independent voters.[1] Schenk swept through the five-way Democratic primary with 53 percent

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of the vote. She was one of 18 women among a record-breaking 35 female candidates to win a U.S. House primary in California.[2] She faced another woman in the general election: political novice and San Diego nurse Judy Jarvis. Despite her inexperience, Jarvis gained momentum with her upset victory in a crowded Republican primary; she took a 21 percent plurality against nine opponents.[3] Schenk was inspired by the sheer number of female candidates, "There's no question that, finally, being a woman [is] a positive rather than a negative in politics," she told the *Los Angeles Times*. "For decades, women had to be better just to get up to the starting line. But this year, the presumptions of confidence and effectiveness shifted to women."[4] The race between Jarvis and Schenk moved quickly into the spotlight as the two candidates battled to be the first woman to represent San Diego in Congress. Jarvis emphasized her role as a political outsider who was free from bureaucratic entanglements, arguing that Schenk saw Congress as "a position . . . for her resume."[5] Schenk pointed to her long record of public service, challenging her opponent to demonstrate a comparable record of commitment to the community. "[Jarvis] is trying to turn standing on the sidelines into a virtue," Schenk charged.[6] In her own defense, Schenk further emphasized her success as a women's rights activist as well as in her environmental pursuits as port commissioner. Schenk came out on top of the tight race with 51 percent to Jarvis's 43 percent. Two third-party candidates took an additional six percent.[7]

Upon her entrance in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), Schenk's background in environmental protection won her seats on the Energy and Commerce and the Merchant Marine and Fisheries committees. Congresswoman Schenk focused much of her congressional career on balancing her interest in protecting the environment with tending to the business interests of her constituents. She supported strong enforcement of the Clean Air Act, pushed for greater pollution control, and supported establishing wildlife refuges in her district. However, she also supported business interests by encouraging development through tax incentives. She voted against the North American Free Trade Agreement in an effort to maintain San Diego area jobs. In addition, she helped block part of President William J. Clinton's health care plan, which proposed creating an advisory council to regulate drug pricing and limit "price gouging" on prescription drugs. Many voters in Schenk's district, which boasted a growing biotechnical industry, opposed this policy.

In her bid for re-election, Schenk found herself among many nationwide incumbents in a close race to retain her seat. Most damaging to the Congresswoman's campaign was her vote in favor of President Clinton's five-year budget plan, which sought to lower the federal deficit by cutting spending and raising taxes for wealthy Americans. Schenk defended her vote as an act of solidarity with the Democratic President; however, many San Diego area residents were among those who saw increased taxes. The Clinton budget cost them an estimated $500 million dollars. Schenk's Republican opponent, former Imperial Beach mayor and San Diego County supervisor Brian Bilbray, capitalized on Schenk's unpopular position by running television ads highlighting her vote. "She came in on the Clinton tide and will go out with the Clinton tide," noted the challenger, using a metaphor familiar to oceanside San Diego residents.[8] Schenk spent much of the campaign on the defensive, attempting to distance herself from the President, pointing to her legislative achievements, and fighting a GOP tide that eventually produced a Republican majority for the first time in 40 years. Bilbray's similar strong stance on environmental issues diluted the incumbent's message. Schenk lost a close race by three percentage points, 49 to 46, with third party candidates splitting the remainder.[9]

Upon her departure from Washington, Lynn Schenk did not stray from the political arena. She eventually became the chief of staff to California Governor Gray Davis. In 1998, she made an unsuccessful bid for attorney general of California. After the campaign, she served as an educational advisor and on the board of directors for a California biotechnical company.

FOR FURTHER READING

Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, "Lynn Schenk," http://bioguide.congress.gov

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University of Oklahoma (Norman, OK), The Julian P. Kanter Commercial Archive, Department of Communication. *Video reels:* four video reels. Includes four commercials used during Schenk's campaign for the 1984 county supervisor election in California, Democratic Party.

University of Southern California (Los Angeles, CA), Special Collections, Regional History Collection. *Papers:* ca. 1993–1999, 15 boxes. The papers of Lynn Schenk are currently unprocessed and may have restricted access.

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Karen Shepherd

1940–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM UTAH

1993–1995

A successful businesswoman and Utah state legislator, Karen Shepherd won election to the U.S. House in 1992, the "Year of the Woman." Representing a competitive district with conservative leanings, Congresswoman Shepherd in her brief congressional career highlighted the promises and pitfalls of a period when power in the House was shifting from one political party to another.

Karen Shepherd was born in Silver City, New Mexico, on July 5, 1940. She grew up in several small towns in Utah before her family settled in Provo, where she attended high school. She graduated from the University of Utah with a B.A. in English in 1962 and, a year later, earned an M.A. in British literature from Brigham Young University (BYU). She also served as a staff assistant to Senator Frank E. Moss of Utah. From 1963 to 1975 she taught high school and collegiate English. She married Vincent Shepherd, and the couple lived in Cairo, Egypt, where she taught English and he wrote textbooks. After resettling in Utah, the couple raised two children, Heather and Dylan. Shepherd also managed a family-owned oil business. She served as the Salt Lake County director of social services and, in 1978, founded *Network Magazine*, which addressed women's issues. In 1988, she sold the magazine business and became director of development and community relations for the University of Utah's business school.

Karen Shepherd first ran for elective office in the fall of 1990, when she won a seat in the Utah state senate, where she served two years. When U.S. Representative Wayne Owens, a Democrat, announced he would not seek reelection to his Salt Lake City district, Shepherd won the party nomination to succeed the four-term incumbent. Her platform supported abortion rights and a balanced budget amendment. She also envisioned an expanded role for the federal government in the areas of health care, education, and the environment. Shepherd developed a 10-point plan for improving children's lives that included measures to track down delinquent child support payers and to provide for full funding for Head Start programs.[1] In the general election, Shepherd faced Republican Enid Greene, an aide to Utah Governor Norman Bangerter. Greene was a fiscal and social conservative who opposed all of Shepherd's policy initiatives. The general election marked the first time in Utah history that the major parties pitted women candidates against one another. Shepherd narrowly edged out Greene with 50 percent of the vote to 47 percent, becoming only the second woman to represent the state in Congress.[2] It was a noteworthy win in a district that gave less than one-third of its vote to Democratic presidential candidate William J. Clinton (he received 25 percent statewide). From the outset, Shepherd's seat was politically vulnerable.

When Shepherd was sworn into Congress in January 1995, she received seats on the Natural Resources and the Public Works and Transportation committees. She voted for President Clinton's 1994 Crime Bill, the Brady Handgun Bill, requiring background checks and waiting periods for gun buyers, and the Clinton administration's 1993 budget package, which cut the budget and raised taxes. "It seems to me it's not perfect," Shepherd said of the proposed budget. "But the worst of all of the alternatives is not to pass it, and not move forward to health care, free trade and all of these other things we need to do."[3] The budget measure was especially unpopular in her district. With only a narrow margin of passage on the budget

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bill, Shepherd's vote was especially important to Democratic House leaders, who chose her to help round up votes for the administration's anticipated health care plan. But she was barraged by phone calls and letters from unhappy constituents who opposed the 1.2 percent federal income tax increase and a hike in the federal gas tax contained in the budget. "Members feel isolated," she said at the time, summing up her situation and those of about a dozen other Democratic freshmen who were elected by slim majorities. "You have this sense when we go back to the districts of going to get beat up."[4]

Though a solid liberal vote, Shepherd also established herself as independent from the party leadership, becoming the first House Democrat to suggest that the President's and First Lady's Whitewater land deal be investigated by an independent prosecutor. "The public's concern with the President's business dealings has damaged his credibility and hampered his effectiveness," she wrote the U.S. Attorney General. She opposed congressional hearings, however.[5] Shepherd also co-chaired a panel of House freshmen for reform which suggested that gifts from lobbyists to lawmakers be banned and that Members be barred from chairing more than one committee. The House did not implement the majority of the recommendations, though her work as a reformer was hailed by one prominent political commentator as being in the tradition of progressive western politicians.[6]

In the 1994 general election, Shepherd again faced Enid Greene, who since had married and changed her surname to Waldholtz. In a campaign that centered on the federal tax increase and gun control, Shepherd promised to continue pushing for health care and welfare reform, as well as congressional reform. In one debate, she explained her support for gun control measures by noting, "We're awash in guns. I've talked to hundreds and hundreds of people and the people believe that if there are more and more guns out there, there is a better chance that someone out there holding a gun will shoot them."[7] But from the start—and based largely on her support for the 1993 Clinton budget and the 1994 assault weapons ban—Shepherd was on the defensive. Running on the Republican "Contract With America," Waldholtz won handily in a three-way race with 46 percent of the vote to Shepherd's 36 percent; independent candidate Merrill Cook won 18 percent.[8]

After Congress, Shepherd was a Fellow at the Institute of Politics at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. In 1996, she was named executive director of the European Bank for Reconstruction Development, which steered loans to newly emergent democratic governments in Eastern Europe. Two years later, she chaired the East West Trade and Investment Forum of the American Chamber of Commerce. In 2000, Shepherd helped to found the Utah Women's Political Caucus, and she served as a member of the international delegation to monitor elections in the West Bank and Gaza.

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University of Utah (Salt Lake City, UT), Special Collections Department, J. Willard Marriott Library. *Papers:* 1992–1994, 10 linear feet. Congressional papers and correspondence, reflecting Shepherd's interests in congressional reform (five feet) and relating to the North American Free Trade Agreement, crime, welfare, theater missile defense, rocket motor programs, and some Utah issues, especially crime, welfare, and community development. Finding aid in repository and online. Restricted.

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Karen L. Thurman

1951–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM FLORIDA
1993–2003

Karen L. Thurman, former teacher and Florida legislator, won election to Congress in 1992 and quickly came to focus on issues affecting seniors and military retirees in her northern Florida district. Reapportionment bookended her House career, providing her an opportunity to move into the national legislature but also making her vulnerable in an increasingly conservative district.

Karen Loveland was born on January 12, 1951, in Rapid City, South Dakota, daughter of Lee Searle Loveland and Donna Altfillisch Loveland. She received her A.A. degree from Santa Fe Community College in Stark, Florida, in 1970. In 1973, she earned a B.A. degree from the University of Florida in Gainesville, Florida. After graduation, she worked as a middle school math teacher. In 1973 Karen Loveland married John Patrick Thurman; the Thurmans raised two daughters, McLin and Liberty.

In the mid-1970s, Karen Thurman had her first experience with government and politics when she organized her students to protest the Dunnellon city council's proposal to close a public beach on the Withlacoochee River. After successfully opposing the closure, Thurman's students convinced her to run for the city council. She won her first election by five votes.[1] From 1974 to 1982 Karen Thurman served on the city council and, from 1979 to 1981, as mayor of Dunnellon. "I loved it from the beginning," she recalled. "It was wonderful getting to solve problems for people."[2] Her focus revolved around water usage and conservation. In 1982, Thurman was elected to the Florida state senate. Six years later, she became the first woman to chair the senate agriculture committee. She eventually chaired the committee on congressional reapportionment.

In 1992, following reapportionment of congressional seats, Thurman chose to run for Congress in a newly created U.S. House district that included the city of Gainesville and several counties on Florida's northern west coast. Thurman drew from her state senate seat constituency, which overlapped with a large portion of the new congressional district. In the Democratic primary, she rolled up 76 percent of the vote against Mario F. Rivera. In the three-way general election, she faced Republican Tom Hogan, a local prosecutor, whom she had defeated just two years earlier in a re-election campaign to the Florida senate, and independent candidate Cindy Munkittrick. Hogan ran on a platform that supported term limits, school vouchers, health maintenance organizations (HMOs), and tort reform to limit litigation for malpractice claims. Thurman highlighted her experience as a legislator and identified her central interest as health care reform. She also supported shrinking welfare entitlement programs, encouraging employers to offer flextime and parental leave to attend to family responsibilities, and women's reproductive rights. She energetically opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which she described as a threat to large agricultural areas of her district. "I think you stop promoting jobs going to other countries," Thurman said, when asked how she would revive a flagging national economy. NAFTA is "a devastating issue to Florida."[3] Thurman prevailed with 49 percent of the vote against Hogan's 43 percent; Munkittrick claimed seven percent of the vote.[4]

When she was sworn into the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), Representative Thurman had hoped to receive a seat on the powerful Ways and Means Committee but instead won assignments to the Agriculture Committee and the Government Operations

Committee (later named Government Reform and Oversight). In the 105th Congress (1997–1999), Thurman received a Ways and Means seat, which required that she relinquish her other committee posts.

Congresswoman Thurman was one of the important swing votes on the 1993 William J. Clinton administration budget, among a few dozen Democratic freshmen, moderates and others who had been in tight races, who were undecided when Congress began debating the bill. At one point, Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois sidled up to Thurman to ask how she would vote on the measure. "This is not about you. This is not about the President. This is about the 600,000 people I represent," she replied. After requests and pleas from House leaders, fellow freshmen, and President Clinton, Thurman promised to support the plan. She explained to constituents that while it raised taxes, it also sought to reduce the deficit and encourage environmentally friendly energy sources and was better than a rival plan which would have hit seniors in her district with deep cuts in Medicare.[5]

Thurman also followed through on her promise to oppose NAFTA, organizing a Capitol Hill rally and working with fellow Democrats, including Majority Whip David Bonior of Michigan. She argued that the trade agreement would put local farmers, particularly the citrus and peanut growers who populated her district, at an extreme disadvantage against Mexican farmers. NAFTA passed the House in November 1993 by a margin of 234 to 200. "I don't know how many issues are out there that would bring people together at this kind of level," Thurman said. "It was an opportunity to . . . learn and to participate."[6] Thurman later voted against the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade accord.

Thurman's middle-of-the-road vote reflected the composition of her district which, while majority Democratic, had conservative leanings. Thurman sided with the National Rifle Association in opposing two gun control bills put forward by the Clinton administration in her first term: the Brady Handgun Bill and the assault weapons ban (as well as the larger Clinton Crime Bill). She also voted against lifting the ban on homosexuals in the military. Thurman joined with Florida freshman Republican John Mica to block a bill that would have given the Environmental Protection Agency Cabinet-level status. Though she ran as a pro-choice candidate and cosponsored the Freedom of Choice Act, Thurman also voted against a 1993 measure to provide federal funds for abortions, noting that she didn't "think government ought to get involved in the area of reproduction, and that includes financing." That position angered women's groups, though Thurman continued to walk a middle course on the issue, supporting a 1994 appeal from a group of lawmakers urging House leaders to include abortion and contraception coverage in a comprehensive health care bill.[7]

Nevertheless, in 1994, Thurman was one of 16 House freshmen targeted by the GOP in blistering radio advertisements for her vote in support of the 1993 Clinton budget. She faced Republican candidate "Big Daddy" Don Garlits, a former drag racer and a legend within the racing community but a campaigner who stumbled from one gaffe to the next. Garlits advocated "more medieval-style" prisons, declared the American Civil Liberties Union to be a "traitorous organization," suggested sending foreign refugees to Ellis Island to await transfer to Montana pending job openings, and advocated unfettered access to automatic weapons.[8] In a year when many Democrats succumbed to the GOP "Contract with America"—including many freshmen women Members—Thurman prevailed with 57 percent of the vote to Garlits's 43 percent. In her subsequent three re-election bids, she was not seriously challenged, winning more than 60 percent of the vote in each.[9]

Once re-elected to office, Thurman focused her efforts on meeting the needs of her district's large population of retirees and senior citizens: ensuring Social Security solvency and developing a comprehensive prescription drug program. Thurman voted to support reimportation of drugs from foreign countries to make them more affordable. She also supported legislation in the 106th Congress (1999–2001) that required pharmaceutical companies to provide seniors the same discount they awarded to sell

their products to HMOs and other large customers, a measure which could have saved 40 percent of the cost.[10] Veterans' issues received her attention, and she helped steer more than $350 million in funds into her state in the late 1990s, much of which benefited veterans by creating primary care clinics in areas where no Veterans' Administration hospital existed.[11] Her mission, she repeatedly told voters, was to curb deficit spending while protecting senior benefits. "I took that to heart," Thurman said. "I took some tough votes . . . and I am proud to have done it."[12] Thurman also supported most of the Clinton administration's lead on educational issues, backing nationalized testing standards and opposing private school vouchers. The House also passed a version of her bill to provide water-strapped Florida communities with $75 million to develop alternative water sources, including desalinized seawater.[13]

Over time, Thurman's district became increasingly conservative. In 2002, she faced a major redistricting challenge that carved out a heavily Democratic section of her district that included the University of Florida, and added more conservative areas with large retiree populations. Thurman also had to contend with a challenger who had name recognition: president *pro tempore* of the Florida senate Virginia "Ginny" Brown-Waite. With control of the House at a narrow six-seat GOP lead, the race was one of the more closely watched in the country. National GOP leaders made multiple campaign appearances with Brown-Waite; Thurman raised more than three times the money she had ever before poured into a race—$1.5 million to Brown-Waite's $800,000.[14] The heated campaign focused on federal aid and programs for seniors: Social Security, prescription drugs and Medicare, taxes, and veterans' services. Thurman touted her record on pushing issues important to seniors as a member of the influential Ways and Means Committee.[15] Brown-Waite prevailed, however, with a slim 3,500-vote margin, 48 percent to Thurman's 46 percent, with two other independent candidates splitting five percent of the vote. When Thurman's term expired in January 2003, she returned to Dunnellon.[16] Thurman later was elected chair of the Florida Democratic Party.

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Helen P. Chenoweth

1938–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM IDAHO

1995–2001

Elected during the "Republican Revolution" of 1994, Idaho Representative Helen P. Chenoweth[1] cast herself as a conservative populist and states' rights advocate by challenging everything from enhanced environmental regulations to affirmative action. Outspoken and, at times, controversial, "Congressman" Chenoweth, as she preferred to be called, focused on natural resource policy in western states.

Helen Palmer was born in Topeka, Kansas, on January 27, 1938, daughter of Dwight and Ardelle Palmer. After graduating from Grants Pass High School in Grants Pass, Oregon, she attended Whitworth College in Spokane, Washington, from 1955 until 1958. At Whitworth, Helen Palmer met and married Nick Chenoweth, and they raised two children, Margaret and Michael. The Chenoweths later divorced; Helen Chenoweth eventually married Wayne Hage. Several years after leaving college, Helen Chenoweth became self-employed as a medical and legal management consultant from 1964 to 1975. She managed a local medical center. She later entered politics, focusing on public affairs and policy. Her work as a lecturer at the University of Idaho School of Law and consultation experience landed her a position as the state executive director of the Idaho Republican Party, where she served from 1975 until 1977. From 1977 to 1978 she served as the chief of staff to Idaho Congressman Steve Symms. In 1978, Chenoweth and a business partner founded a lobbying group which handled issues related to natural resources, energy policy, environmental policy, government contracts, and political management.

In 1994 Chenoweth challenged two-term incumbent Democrat Larry LaRocco in an Idaho district that encompassed 19 counties along the state's western border, including its northern panhandle. She campaigned with the promise that the state economy came above and before state wildlife and recreation. She vowed to fight the "War on the West"—the name she gave to federal policies in the 1990s which raised fees on commercial mining, logging, and grazing on federal property.[2] Her positions on sensitive environmental issues rankled activists. Chenoweth suggested that a state recreational area be used for metal mining, and later, in order to solve overpopulation of elk, proposed that a hunting season be opened in Yellowstone National Park.[3] During a radio debate, Chenoweth claimed that her anti-abortion position should not be a pivotal election issue since she viewed it as a matter to be decided in the individual states, not Congress. It "is a non-issue because *Roe vs. Wade* must be overturned in whole or part and the state must respond to the Supreme Court decision by altering the state code," Chenoweth said. "In Idaho, a woman has the legal right to have an abortion. That is already on the books. An alteration to that will come at the state, not the federal level." She also pledged herself to a three-term limit in Congress, a promise which she later fulfilled. LaRocco charged her with being a "stealth candidate" and evasive on critical issues because her positions were "extreme."[4] Nevertheless, Chenoweth prevailed by a 55-to-45 percent margin. She narrowly won re-election in 1996, surviving a challenge from Democrat Dan Williams with a 50-to-48 percent win, in which a third-party candidate contended. In her final re-election bid in 1998, Chenoweth again dispatched Williams with 55 percent of the vote.[5]

Once in Congress, it became apparent that Chenoweth was a radical even among her GOP freshman class of 73 revolutionaries. She insisted on being called "Congressman

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Chenoweth," declared to the *New York Times* that affirmative action programs made white Anglo-Saxon men "an endangered species," and, after the federal government shutdown in late 1995, was one of just 15 Republicans who voted against reopening its operations (despite an appeal to vote for reopening from Speaker Newt Gingrich).[6] She was assigned to two committees as a freshman: Agriculture and Resources. In the 105th Congress (1997–1999), she added an assignment on Veterans' Affairs and, in the 106th Congress (1999–2001), also got a seat on Government Reform. In the 105th and 106th Congresses, Chenoweth chaired the Resources' Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health.

True to her campaign promise, Chenoweth used her position on the Resources Committee to battle federal regulations over land use in Idaho. As a noted private property rights proponent, she took aim at the Endangered Species Act which, she argued, prevented property owners from fully utilizing their land. To curtail government interference in private life, she also advocated the dissolution of the Environmental Protection Agency and the Department of Energy (as well as the Education, Commerce, and Housing departments). "We want things to be the way they used to be," she told one interviewer.[7] In 1998, Chenoweth argued that national forest policy tilted too far in favor of conservation and, thus, jeopardized local economies like that in Idaho. "It baffles me why it is so trendy to oppose cutting trees," she added, vowing to fight a William J. Clinton administration plan to ban new logging access roads on federal land, "until hell freezes over, and then I will fight on the ice."[8]

Not surprisingly, Chenoweth became a lightening rod for environmentalists, holding events such as an "endangered salmon bake" in her district. At a 2000 conference at the University of Montana on western wildfires, a protester pelted Chenoweth in the head with a rotting salmon shouting "you are the greatest threat to the forest." Unruffled, Chenoweth brushed herself off, took to the podium, and quipped, "I would like to say that I find it amusing that they used a salmon. I guess salmon must not be endangered anymore."[9]

Chenoweth consistently remained popular with her core constituents in Idaho—conservatives, states' rights advocates, and many of the states' citizen militia enclaves. An outspoken opponent of gun control, Chenoweth sought to rein in the power of law enforcement. Following the April 1995 bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, which killed 168 men, women, and children, Chenoweth condemned the bombers but not the militia groups to which they were linked. "While we can never condone this," she said, "we still must begin to look at the public policies that may be pushing people too far."[10] Inspired by a 1992 siege in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in which Federal Bureau of Investigation agents shot and killed the wife and son of a federal fugitive, Chenoweth also introduced legislation in the House requiring federal authorities to secure state and local permission to conduct law enforcement operations in municipalities. Additionally, Representative Chenoweth called for the dissolution of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms.

Helen Chenoweth honored the term limits pledge she made in her first House campaign by not seeking re-election in 2000. After she left Congress in January 2001, she returned to Boise and continued her work at her consulting firm.

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Karen McCarthy

1947–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM MISSOURI
1995–2005

An English teacher turned politician, Karen McCarthy became an influential Kansas state legislator before winning election as a U.S. Representative. Espousing a moderate political ideology, Congresswoman McCarthy focused on energy issues and the environment during her decade of service in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Karen McCarthy was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, on March 18, 1947. As a teenager McCarthy moved to Kansas with her family. She graduated with a bachelor of science in English and biology from the University of Kansas in 1969. McCarthy became politically active in college after listening to Robert F. Kennedy make a speech on campus in 1968. "This was a man who spoke of peace and prosperity and empowerment for everyone," she recalled years later. "And that spoke to my heart. So I knew from that day forward I would work for him, and thus would be a Democrat."[1] In September 1969 she married civil rights attorney Arthur A. Benson II; they divorced in 1984. McCarthy taught English in public and private schools until 1976. She attended the University of Birmingham, England, in 1974 and received an M.A. in English from the University of Missouri, Kansas City, in 1976. In the fall of 1976, McCarthy won election to the Missouri house of representatives, a position she held until 1994. As a state representative, she chaired the ways and means committee for more than a decade. In 1984 McCarthy joined the Democratic platform committee and, in 1992, served as a delegate to the Democratic presidential convention. In 1994, she became the first woman president of the National Conference of State Legislators. During her tenure in the state house, she also worked as a financial analyst and consultant, earning an M.B.A. from the University of Kansas in 1986.

In 1994, when incumbent Democratic Congressman Alan Wheat ran for the U.S. Senate, McCarthy entered the race for an open Kansas City-area House seat. In an 11-candidate Democratic primary, she won 41 percent of the vote. McCarthy faced a formidable opponent in the general election: Ron Freeman, an African-American Christian minister and former professional football player who ran on a platform that criticized unresponsive big government. McCarthy countered her opponent, arguing that "government does have a responsibility to see that each individual has opportunity. And sometimes people need boots in order to pull themselves up by those bootstraps. I see government's role as getting out of the way once that's accomplished."[2] While she supported a balanced budget amendment and a capital gains tax cut, McCarthy also advocated liberal social issues, favoring gun control and supporting abortion rights. In contrast to the GOP's "Contract with America," McCarthy offered her own "Contract with Jackson County Voters," a key constituency in her district. Her platform aimed at protecting Social Security and Medicare by opposing Republican initiatives for a flat tax rate. McCarthy defeated Freeman with 57 percent of the vote, despite a nationwide GOP surge, which put the Republican Party in the majority in the House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years. On her ability to overcome the rising GOP tide, McCarthy noted, "I think all politics is local and our message was . . . very clear about the value of my experience, my ability to get things done."[3] In her next four successful re-election campaigns, she was never seriously challenged, winning each with nearly 70 percent.[4]

After taking her seat in the 104th Congress

CONGRESSIONAL PICTORIAL DIRECTORY, 104TH CONGRESS

(1995–1997), McCarthy was assigned to three committees: Science, Small Business, and Transportation and Infrastructure. In the 105th Congress (1997–1999) she received a seat on the influential Commerce Committee (later renamed Energy and Commerce), which required her to give up her initial committee assignments. She served on Energy and Commerce for the remainder of her career. In the 108th Congress (2003–2005), she received an assignment to the newly created Select Committee on Homeland Security.

Throughout her House service, McCarthy identified herself as a "New Democrat," a moderate who supported some fiscally conservative policies such as the balanced budget, while opposing so-called unfunded mandates, which forced states to pay for federal regulations from their own budgets. Yet, she was a regular vote for such Democratic issues as a hike in the minimum wage, a patients' bill of rights, pro-choice initiatives, and gun control. "You can't make progress—if you are serious about making the world a better place—unless you can work at compromise and consensus building," McCarthy said. "You can't be an extreme anything and be successful. You must find that comfort zone in the middle."[5] One of her political role models was President Harry S. Truman, whose hometown, Independence, was in her district. She identified with the 33rd President because he "stood up for his beliefs and the idea that the buck stops here." She further noted, "I am a problem solver and I enjoy helping people solve problems."[6] True to her centrist ideology and pragmatic streak, McCarthy relished behind-the-scenes legislative work rather than appearing on the House Floor to join in sometimes sharp ideological debates.

McCarthy gained the legislative spotlight for her work on the environment, introduced from her Energy and Commerce Committee seat. Most notably, she attended the world summit on global warming in Kyoto, Japan, in 1997. The Kyoto Protocol, drafted by summit delegates, required nations to reduce carbon dioxide emissions to pre-1990 levels. McCarthy supported it, noting that the soy beans used to produce cleaner fuels were a major agricultural product in Missouri.[7] McCarthy promoted the use of these clean "biodiesel" fuels when she played an instrumental role in passing the Energy Conservation Reauthorization Act in 1998. She also played a major part in engineering a tax credit system in 1997 that was at the center of the "brown field" initiative, providing incentives for businesses which cleaned up polluted sites.

Kansas City's culture and history remained a priority for McCarthy throughout her five terms in the U.S. House. In her first term, she successfully teamed with local Kansas City politicians to create a bi-state cultural district that crossed the Kansas–Missouri border. The district levied a modest retail sales tax to support cultural events and to restore and maintain local historical landmarks. She led a call to renew the compact in 2000, also seeking federal grants to add to the tax revenue. In 2001, when major league baseball threatened to cut teams from the league to assuage their financial woes, McCarthy offered a resolution to share revenues between money-making teams and those losing revenue in smaller cities as an effort to save the Kansas City Royals franchise which was, at the time, unprofitable.[8]

McCarthy declined to run for re-election to the House for a sixth term, making her announcement in December 2003 following the revelation of alleged ethics violations and health issues. "I want to focus on balance in my life," she explained.[9]

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Lynn Nancy Rivers
1956–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM MICHIGAN
1995–2003

Lynn Nancy Rivers, entered politics as a "mom who got mad at the system."[1] As one of a handful of Democratic freshmen elected during the 1994 "Republican Revolution," Rivers championed the interests of her Michigan district, as well as lobbying regulations in Congress.

Lynn Rivers was born in Au Gres, Michigan, on December 19, 1956. Her father was a mailman, and her mother was a small business owner. The day after she graduated from Au Gres-Sims High School in 1975, she married Joe Rivers, who soon found work as a member of the United Autoworkers Union. The couple had two daughters, Brigitte and Jeanne; the Rivers later divorced. While working a series of low-paying jobs, Lynn Rivers put herself through college, graduating with a B.A. from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1987. In 1992, she earned her J.D. from Wayne State University in Detroit. While attending law school, Rivers served as a trustee of the Ann Arbor board of education, where she served from 1984 to 1992. In 1993, she was elected and served one term as a member of the Michigan state house of representatives.

When Ann Arbor Congressman William Ford, a Democrat, retired after the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), Lynn Rivers breezed through the Democratic primary in her bid to succeed the 15-term veteran and former chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Education and Labor Committee. In the general election she faced Republican John Schall, whose Harvard education and long service in the Ronald W. Reagan administration contrasted with Rivers's humble background.[2] Rivers ran on a platform identifying with Ann Arbor working-class voters as a former teenage mother with an autoworker husband. "We went without health insurance when jobs didn't provide it. We were in the job market with not very salable skills. We had to get our education as adults and struggle through that," she noted, adding, "I think my experience has provided me with some real life understanding of the problems that are facing people."[3] Schall tried to paint Rivers as "a classic ultra-liberal," while emphasizing his more moderate political stance and goal to build business and high-tech jobs in the district.[4] In the late stages of the campaign, Rivers made a controversial disclosure, admitting her 20-year battle with bipolar depression. Though most politicians avoided discussing mental health problems for fear of drops in the polls, Rivers, who was on medication to control the disorder, accepted the risk. "It's very easy for Members of Congress to be advocates for mental-health treatment," she later admitted. "It's hard for Members of Congress to admit being consumers of mental-health treatment."[5] Voters were unfazed by Rivers's health problems. Despite a Republican sweep across the nation as well as GOP gains in traditionally Democratic Michigan, Rivers defeated Schall with 52 percent of the vote.[6] Congresswoman Rivers was re-elected to three succeeding Congresses, garnering between 57 and 64 percent of the vote.[7]

Rivers served as a freshman House Member in the 104th Congress (1995–1997), the first Congress in 40 years with a Republican majority. The change in party control was reflected in the fact that Rivers was one of just 13 Democrats in a new class of 73 Members. Her Democratic colleagues elected her as president of their class. Though she opposed partial-birth abortion, Rivers made it clear that the right to have an abortion was a

personal issue with her. "I look back at the difficulties we went through," she recalled of her years as a young mother. "I could never force that on somebody else."[8] The issue highlighted Rivers's toughness as a legislator and commanded the respect of her colleagues. In a 1995 debate on whether federal employees should have abortion coverage in their health plans, opponent Representative Henry Hyde of Illinois asked her to yield the floor. She quipped back, "I yield the gentleman the amount of time the gentleman yielded to me, which I think was about eight seconds."[9] Despite the tense debate, Hyde later observed, "She is smart and un-intimidated. [The debate] was spirited, but not mean-spirited."[10]

A member of the Science Committee for her entire career, Congresswoman Rivers also made her mark as a committed environmentalist. Among her more innovative pieces of legislation was a bill which required certain beverage bottles to carry a refund value of 10 cents. It further allowed states to cash in unclaimed refunds in order to fund pollution prevention and recycling programs.[11]

Rivers used her first term to highlight her adamant stance against accepting perks, gifts, and contributions from lobbyists. Rivers reasoned that "there's a familiarity that comes with a gift that makes people uncomfortable, a relationship between the lobbyist and the Member that Mr. and Mrs. Smith from the district would not have."[12] She suggested a "no-check zone" on the House Floor, preventing lobbyists from handing campaign checks to Members, as part of a Democratic campaign reform package in 1996.[13] She also came out against automatic pay raises for Members of Congress. Rivers sent her own pay raise back to the Treasury Department in April 1997. She also returned $600,000 from her office budget saved over her first three terms.[14] Rivers alluded to Edgar Allan Poe's "The Tell-Tale Heart," when discussing the controversial issue of campaign finance reform. No matter how hard the opposition fights it, "the heart of reform will keep on beating."[15]

Rivers was appointed to a prestigious position on the Budget Committee in her first term. She served on the committee's bipartisan Social Security Task Force in the 106th Congress (1999–2001) but soon concluded that the parties differed too widely to come to a consensus, charging that many of her colleagues on the task force were present merely to score points with voters.[16] She gave up the Budget Committee in the 107th Congress (2001–2003) in order to take a position on the Education and Workforce panel; the committee's jurisdiction covered two of Rivers's areas of personal interest. Citing her own experience of putting herself through school, she opposed a measure calling for interest on student loans to accrue at matriculation instead of at graduation. She chastised the bill's supporters, who had benefited from student loan assistance. "What hypocrisy," she declared, "I guess it is easy to pull up the ladder of success once you and your children are safely at the top."[17] Rivers also was a passionate protector of labor. Many of her constituents were autoworkers.[18] Rivers led several other Members from manufacturing districts in demanding investigations of the effect of the North American Free Trade Agreement, which opened domestic manufacturing trade restrictions between the United States and its North American neighbors. Rivers also fought a GOP proposal to allow companies to compensate employees who work overtime with extra time off rather than with extra pay. She cited employer pressure and discrimination against those who would choose pay over time off.

Well-respected in her party, Lynn Rivers was considered among the closest advisers to Minority Leader Richard Gephardt by the time she was elected to the 107th Congress (2001–2003).[19] Her favor with the leadership was not enough to carry her through a tough 2002 campaign, however, which pitted her against the dean of the House, Congressman John Dingell, Jr., when Michigan lost a congressional seat after the 2000 Census. Rivers declined to run in a newly reapportioned district, and instead chose to wage a Democratic primary battle against the 23-term incumbent, whose family had held a Michigan seat in Congress since 1933. Rivers began a fierce campaign, claiming that her opponent was too unfamiliar with the needs of her Ann Arbor constituents.[20] "Clout is a lovely thing, if you are using it for good," Representative

Rivers said.[21] She emphasized her humble roots and her frugal lifestyle, also noting that she could be counted on to represent her traditionally Democratic district with a solid liberal voting record. Dingell's favorable record on women's rights, including health care, equal pay, and other equity issues, appealed to women's groups and partly deprived Rivers of the support of one of her most powerful constituencies.[22] Michigan women and congressional colleagues were torn between the two candidates.[23] Dingell defeated Rivers with 59 percent of the vote. Afterwards Congresswoman Rivers returned to her Ann Arbor home. "I'm just going to have to wait and see what life serves up to me," she told supporters. "I've said repeatedly that you cannot have lived a life like mine without having an innate optimism and a belief that there are always second chances."[24]

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Andrea Seastrand

1941–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM CALIFORNIA

1995–1997

A former state assemblywoman and GOP party member, Andrea Seastrand won election to Congress by riding the momentum of the Republican "Contract with America" in 1994. During her brief tenure, Representative Seastrand participated in the enactment of that agenda before losing re-election in a campaign that became a referendum on the Republican-controlled Congress.

Andrea Seastrand was born in Chicago, Illinois, on August 5, 1941. She graduated from DePaul University with a bachelor's degree in education in 1963. After college she moved to Salinas, California, and became an elementary school teacher. In 1965, she married Eric Seastrand, a stockbroker, and they raised two children: Kurt and Heidi. She left her teaching career to raise the children at home. Her husband, meanwhile, entered Republican politics and lost a 1978 bid for a U.S. House seat that encompassed portions of Los Angeles County and the cities of Burbank and Pasadena. In 1982 he was elected to the California assembly. During her husband's political career, Andrea Seastrand joined the California Federation of Republican Women and eventually served as its president. She also worked on the presidential campaigns of Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. When Eric Seastrand died after a prolonged bout with cancer, Andrea Seastrand won election to the California assembly with 65 percent of the vote. As a member of the state legislature from 1990 to 1994, she served on the education committee and pushed for the creation of a commercial space port authority in California. Seastrand also served as one of three assistant Republican leaders, holding an organizational and managerial position with oversight of policy development.

In 1994, when California Republican Michael Huffington decided to forgo re-election to the House in order to run against incumbent U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, Seastrand entered the Republican primary to fill the vacant seat. The district, newly apportioned in the early 1990s, encompassed the cities of Santa Barbara, Santa Maria, and San Luis Obispo north of Los Angeles. In the GOP primary, Seastrand defeated Santa Barbara Supervisor Mike Stoker, 59 to 36 percent, running on the GOP "Contract with America." During the campaign, Seastrand declared, "I oppose higher taxes, period. Our national budget problems do not exist because we taxpayers send too little money to Washington, D.C. The problem is that politicians and special interest groups never run out of ways to spend our money."[1] As an advocate for smaller government and welfare reform, she maintained, "I believe our problems are generated in the federal government; it's a full-grown monster and we keep feeding it."[2] In the general election, Seastrand faced Walter Capps, a theology professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara and a political newcomer. Seastrand ran on a platform that opposed abortion, gun control, the provision of government aid and services to illegal immigrants, and extending certain rights and benefits, enjoyed by married couples, to homosexuals and domestic partners. In contrast, Capps supported these initiatives and he opposed the controversial Proposition 187 initiative, which would have banned education and welfare benefits to California's large illegal-immigrant community.[3] Seastrand carried the evenly divided district to defeat Capps, with a narrow 1,563-vote margin, 49.2 percent to 48.5 percent.

When Seastrand took her seat in the 104th Congress (1995–1997), she received assignments on the Science and the Transportation and Infrastructure committees. One of

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her first actions in Congress was to cosponsor the Senior Citizens' Equity Act, an outgrowth of the "Contract with America," which proposed raising the Social Security earnings limit to $30,000, repealing a 1993 tax increase on retirees, and offering tax breaks to promote the purchase of private long-term care insurance. She described Democratic charges that GOP policies were detrimental to seniors as "absurd scare tactics."[4] During her term, Seastrand voted with the Republican majority on legislation to balance the budget, cut taxes, and dismantle the welfare system. In a symbolic move, Seastrand and other House freshmen ended the perk of daily free ice delivery to Members' offices, an expense-saving action which she portrayed as indicative of the GOP's commitment to shrink the size of the federal government.[5]

In her 1996 rematch against Capps, Seastrand embraced the notion that the campaign was a referendum on the accomplishments of the GOP Congress and the "Contract with America." Constituents were being asked to determine whether they were "to continue the philosophies of the 104th Congress, a new attitude of tightening the belt of Congress . . . or if we're going to go back to the 40 years of looking to the federal government as the source of all solutions."[6] Capps countered that "Seastrand got tricked. She went to Washington and listened to [Speaker Newt] Gingrich. She can't think independently. She does what he tells her to do. . . . I think she's a tragic figure." Seastrand bristled in reply, "to think that some 'man' in Washington was going to control my vote, that somehow I need a 'man' to give me marching orders" was insulting.[7] Capps benefited from discontent with the GOP agenda and incumbent President William J. Clinton's long coattails in the general election; Clinton carried California by 51 to 38 percent. Capps defeated Seastrand with a 10,000-vote margin, 48 percent to 44 percent.[8] When Capps died unexpectedly later that year, Seastrand ruled out running as the GOP candidate in the special election.

After Congress, Seastrand returned to California. In 1997, she became the founder and executive director of the California Space and Technology Alliance (CSTA). In April 2001, the CSTA became the California Space Authority, a group again headed by Seastrand that promoted the state's participation in commercial, civil, and national security space ventures.[9] Seastrand resides in Grover Beach, California.

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MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

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Linda Smith

1950–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM WASHINGTON

1995–1999

Casting herself as a populist politician, Linda Smith won election to two terms in Congress where she voted conservatively on social issues and repeatedly clashed with Republican leaders in her attempt to push gift bans, lobbying restrictions, and an overhaul of the campaign finance system. In 1998, Representative Smith chose to leave her House seat to challenge Senator Patty Murray for a seat in the U.S. Senate.

Linda Ann Simpson was born in LaJunta, Colorado, on July 16, 1950. She grew up in modest circumstances, and her biological father abandoned her and her mother, Delma Simpson. Her mother and stepfather eventually moved to Clark County in Washington state, where Linda was raised with four younger stepsiblings. Her stepfather worked as a mechanic and fruit picker to support the family. After her mother died, Linda often was left to run the household and worked part-time in an orchard and retirement home to make ends meet. "I felt like by 17, I had had more lives than most people," she recalled.[1] She graduated from Fort Vancouver High School in 1968 and married Vern Smith, a locomotive engineer, a few weeks shy of her 18th birthday. The couple raised two children, Sherri and Robert. Linda Smith worked as a district manager for seven tax preparation offices.

Smith considered herself a liberal Democrat until a large business tax hurt her enterprise. She then converted to conservative Republicanism. In 1983, she entered elective politics by defeating an appointed Democratic incumbent in a special election for a seat in the Washington state house of representatives. "I didn't have a clue what it would be like," Smith said. "All I knew was I wanted change. I didn't like what was happening. I certainly didn't understand the political system."[2] In 1986, Smith beat another appointed Democrat to win election to the state senate—and swing it to GOP control. In the upper chamber, she successfully opposed the Children's Initiative, a tax hike earmarked for welfare programs and schools. She also carved out a reputation as a religious conservative who opposed gay rights and gay adoption laws. Unable to move campaign finance reform and tax relief through legislation, Smith sponsored two major ballot measures. In 1992, Initiative 134, which slashed campaign spending and amounts from big contributors, passed the Washington legislature. A year later, Initiative 601 passed, requiring voter approval for all tax increases. Smith considered the latter her greatest triumph.[3]

In September 1994, Smith made her first campaign for Congress, entering the race in early September for a southeastern Washington district that included the state capital, Olympia, and counties along the Pacific Ocean and, to the south, the Columbia River border with Oregon. Republican businessman Timothy Moyer initially challenged incumbent Democrat Jolene Unsoeld, but he dropped out in late August. Smith managed a write-in campaign with less than three weeks to go before the all-party primary—phoning 50,000 voters and mailing information to another 150,000 in an impressive grass-roots movement. She carried 29 percent of the vote (well ahead of the other GOP contenders), second behind the incumbent, Unsoeld, who carried just 40 percent. Smith became Washington's first candidate ever to win a congressional nomination as a write-in. In the general election Smith ran on her record as a ballot initiative specialist, and as an anti-abortion, tax reform, and campaign finance reform candidate. She had strong support from a network of followers drawn from the ranks of anti-environmentalists and the Christian right. In Unsoeld, she faced a leading Democratic feminist and

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environmentalist. Unsoeld, a three-term incumbent, ran in opposition to gun control and to the North American Free Trade Agreement while trying to paint Smith as an extremist. But Smith's base, referred to sometimes as "Linda's Army," encompassed a variety of conservative-populists: anti-tax groups, government reformers, gun owners, and property rights advocates.[4] Unsoeld had been a GOP target for six years, since she had won the district narrowly in 1988. Against Smith, she was hurt by a third-party candidate, Caitlin Carlson, who siphoned off part of the gun-control vote. Smith prevailed with 52 percent to Unsoeld's 45 percent.[5]

When Smith took her seat in the 104th Congress (1995–1997), she received assignments on the Resources Committee and the Small Business Committee. She served in both capacities through the 105th Congress (1997–1999). During the 104th Congress she also chaired the Tax and Finance Subcommittee of the Small Business panel.

Upon arriving in Washington, D.C., Smith immediately set the tone for her tenure, telling a reporter, "This city is so awful. I can't wait to get back home."[6] She voted to support much of the "Contract with America" in an attempt to overhaul the scope and function of government. She was consistently rated one of the most conservative House Members in the 104th and 105th Congresses, voting against gun control and environmental legislation, perceiving the latter as a threat to property rights. She viewed homosexuality as a morally unfit "inclination" and also opposed using Medicaid to fund abortions for victims of rape and incest—telling *The New Republic* that "We don't kill children because the father is a jerk."[7]

But it was Smith's commitment to campaign finance reform which brought her national attention as a "rebel" among the GOP "revolutionaries" of 1994. It also brought her into open conflict with party leaders, whom she chastised for not carrying reforms far enough. During her first year in Congress, she insisted that House leaders had to overhaul the gifts-lobbying-campaign system to enact true reform. In a fall 1995 editorial piece in the *Washington Post,* she questioned how Congress could reform government without producing new laws to regulate itself: "You can't perform surgery in a dirty operating room and with a team that hasn't scrubbed." Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia rebuked Smith for making her dissent public, eliciting a private letter from Smith to Gingrich (which also made its way into the public). "This institution, under your leadership, is truly on trial," she wrote.[8] After submitting her own plan for banning gifts and overhauling campaigns, she eventually backed the Shays–Meehan Campaign Finance Reform Bill. In an attempt to support that measure, Smith organized an unusual coalition of reform groups: the League of Women Voters, Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, and Common Cause. She also allied herself with Ross Perot, founder of United We Stand, and stressed her populist bona fides as she took on her party's leadership. "I am not Republican-hard core," she insisted. "I was not written in to come here and be part of this mess."[9] She seemed more comfortable with the reform mold. "I've always been a crusader," Smith said. "That's just been my nature from the time I was a little kid. I was going to change the world."[10] Appearing before the House Committee on Oversight, she declared, "A PAC ban is essential to stop the checkbook lobbying that goes on here."[11] As a result of her work, the 105th Congress adopted more stringent limits on gifts from lobbyists in November 1995.

In 1996, Smith faced Democrat Brian Baird, head of the department of psychology at Pacific Lutheran University, in the general election. Baird charged that Smith approved of slashing the Medicare budget and highlighted her support for the GOP "Contract with America." The Congresswoman stressed her independence: "Linda Smith is owned only by the people from the district."[12] On election night, Baird had racked up a 2,400-vote lead and was widely presumed to be the winner; however, a count of 40,000 absentee ballots gave Smith the election by 887 votes (50.2 percent to 49.8 percent).[13]

The razor-thin victory did little to deter Smith's attack on the institution and on GOP leaders. In January 1997, she voted against Gingrich as Speaker in favor of former Congressman Robert Walker of Pennsylvania. As a result, the leadership deprived her of her subcommittee chairmanship.

She also was the only Republican to vote against an IRS reform bill in 1998, arguing that she could not support legislation which also slashed veterans' benefits by $10 billion. In addition, Smith rejected "most favored nation" trade relations with China because of that country's human rights violations, again parting company with the majority in her party.[14] Every year she was in office, from 1995 to 1998, Smith offered amendments to end tobacco subsidies, each time failing by a slender margin.

Several months into the 105th Congress Smith declared her intention to forgo a re-election bid to the House in favor of joining the 1998 Senate race against Democrat Patty Murray, then considered a vulnerable incumbent. Smith won the GOP nomination after an expensive contest against Seattle multimillionaire Chris Bayley, setting up just the third woman-versus-woman Senate race in U.S. history. Gender provided only a background issue, since both candidates were so distinctly split with Smith opposing nearly every issue that Murray embraced: affirmative action, tighter environmental restrictions, abortion rights, trade with China, and increased funding for the National Endowment for the Arts.[15] Combined, Murray and Smith spent more than $7 million, with Smith at a considerable disadvantage in the general election after emptying her coffers in the primary. Murray purchased large blocks of television time. She agreed to debate with Smith only once in a carefully choreographed campaign, leading to Smith's criticism that Democrats "hid" Murray from public view and the "people never got a campaign."[16] Murray won by the most lopsided margin of victory in a Washington Senate race since the days of Henry "Scoop" Jackson, taking 59 percent to Smith's 41 percent.

After Congress, Smith returned to Vancouver, Washington, where she started a nonprofit called Shared Hope International. Smith's group sought to buy women and children out of sex-slave status and end all forms of human trafficking. By early 2002, the organization operated 19 homes in India, Nepal, and Jamaica, accommodating up to 300 people.[17]

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Enid Greene Waldholtz

1958–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ REPUBLICAN FROM UTAH

1995–1997

Enid Greene Waldholtz,[1] a rising star in the Utah Republican Party, made her mark quickly in the U.S. House, earning a seat on the prestigious Rules Committee as a freshman and becoming only the second Member of Congress to become a mother while serving.

Enid Greene was born in San Rafael, California, on June 5, 1958, the middle child in a family of five siblings. Her father, Forrest Greene, was a San Francisco stockbroker who held a seat on the Pacific Stock Exchange for four decades. The family moved to Salt Lake City, Utah, and lived in an affluent neighborhood known as "the avenues." Enid Greene graduated *cum laude* from the University of Utah in 1980 and earned a J.D. from Brigham Young University in 1983. After school she worked as a litigator for a law firm. From 1990 to 1992, she served as deputy chief of staff to Utah Governor Norman Bangerter, leaving that position to make a competitive but unsuccessful run for a congressional district that encompassed Salt Lake City and its suburbs against Democrat Karen Shepherd. Greene lost by 51 to 47 percent. Greene then became a corporate counsel for a major high-technology company based in Provo, Utah. In August 1993, she married Republican consultant Joe Waldholtz in a ceremony presided over by Utah Governor Michael O. Leavitt. Meanwhile, Waldholtz, whom the Salt Lake media had dubbed the "Mormon Maggie Thatcher," was preparing to run again for the Salt Lake City seat in the U. S. House.[2]

In 1994, Waldholtz challenged the incumbent Karen Shepherd in the general election. She ran on a platform that mirrored much of the Republican "Contract with America": stressing her conservative and family values, supporting anti-abortion measures, and calling for welfare reform and budget reductions. Joe Waldholtz joined the campaign as its treasurer. Enid Waldholtz trailed for much of the race, which also included an independent challenger, Merrill Cook. A late infusion of more than $1.5 million, which she claimed as personal and family money, helped her erase a polling deficit through huge direct-mailing efforts and large blocks of television advertising. On election day, in the most expensive House race in the nation, Enid Waldholtz handily defeated Shepherd by 46 to 34 percent of the vote; Cook finished with 18 percent.[3]

When Waldholtz took her seat in the 104th Congress (1995–1997), her notoriety in Utah and political contacts in the House (most notably Speaker Newt Gingrich) helped her gain a seat on the powerful Rules Committee, a virtually unheard of assignment for a freshman Member. By one estimate, she was the first Republican freshman since the 1920s to land an assignment on the committee which controlled the flow of legislation to the House Floor. She also made history in March 1995 after announcing that she was pregnant. Republicans threw her a surprise baby shower in the Speaker's office. In late August 1995, Waldholtz gave birth to a daughter named Elizabeth, becoming the first Republican Congresswoman to become a mother while serving in Congress; Democrat Yvonne Brathwaite Burke gave birth to a daughter, Autumn, in November 1973.[4]

True to her campaign platform, Waldholtz supported the "Contract with America." She took to the House Floor to oppose an amendment to an appropriations bill which would have prevented states from refusing to allocate Medicaid funding for abortions in cases of rape and incest. While she did not believe that women should

CONGRESSIONAL PICTORIAL DIRECTORY, 104TH CONGRESS

Enid Waldholtz made history in March 1995 after announcing that she was pregnant. Republicans threw her a surprise baby shower in the Speaker's office. In late August 1995, she gave birth to a daughter named Elizabeth.

"be forced to base their decision on their ability to pay," Waldholtz believed that the "use of state funds should be left to the state governments."[5] She defended a constitutional amendment to prevent flag desecration; an outcome that she said had "no alternative" since the Supreme Court had overturned flag protection statutes as infringements of free speech.[6]

Just 10 months into her term, Congresswoman Waldholtz faced a political firestorm. In November 1995, Joe Waldholtz, under federal investigation for improperly filed campaign reports, disappeared for more than a week. Officials soon apprehended him, charging that he had embezzled millions from his father-in-law, Forrest Greene, about $2 million of which was funneled into Enid Waldholtz's 1994 campaign in the form of hundreds of faked donations.[7] Congresswoman Waldholtz held a five-hour press conference, apologizing to constituents and detailing how her husband had constructed the elaborate scheme without her knowledge.[8] The negative publicity, however, convinced her to forgo a re-election bid. She told the press that she had "made some terrible mistakes of misplaced trust, for which I take responsibility" but, she maintained, that she was "absolutely innocent of any intentional wrongdoing."[9] Representative Waldholtz filed for divorce and changed her name back to Greene. In June 1996, Joe Waldholtz pleaded guilty to bank fraud and falsifying campaign spending reports and was sentenced to two years in jail. The Justice Department cleared Enid Greene of any wrongdoing. Greene returned with her daughter to Salt Lake City where, in 1998, she joined a local law firm.

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Sheila Frahm

1945–

UNITED STATES SENATOR ★ REPUBLICAN FROM KANSAS
1996

An accomplished Kansas legislator, Sheila Frahm was appointed to the U.S. Senate to fill the vacancy created when Majority Leader Robert Dole resigned his seat to run for the presidency in 1996. Frahm, who had worked her way up from local politics to the Kansas lieutenant governorship, served just five months after failing to win renomination to fill the remaining two years of the unexpired term.

She was born Sheila Sloan in Colby, Kansas, on March 22, 1945. She received a B.S. degree from Fort Hays State University in 1967 and also attended the University of Texas at Austin. Sheila Sloan married Kenneth Frahm, and the couple had three daughters. Sheila Frahm embarked on a long career in public service with an emphasis on education. She chaired the Colby (Kansas) public schools board of education and the northwest Kansas educational service center board of education. In 1985, Frahm was appointed to the Kansas board of education. Re-elected in 1986, she became vice chair in 1987. She was elected to the Kansas state senate in 1988, serving from 1989 to 1994, and becoming the first woman to achieve the rank of Kansas senate majority leader. Frahm was elected the first woman lieutenant governor of Kansas in 1994 and was appointed the Kansas secretary of administration in 1995.[1]

On May 24, 1996, Kansas Governor Bill Graves appointed Frahm to the U.S. Senate as a Republican to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Robert Dole, who had secured the GOP nomination for President during the spring primaries. Graves praised Frahm's "years of community and legislative experience." Frahm pledged "my heart and soul to the people of my beloved Kansas."[2] Senator Frahm was sworn in on June 1, 1996, and was assigned to the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs. The appointment made Kansas the second state to have two women serving simultaneously as U.S. Senators, as Frahm joined longtime Senator Nancy Kassebaum.

Frahm worked on a variety of legislation during her brief tenure, helping pass bills on workplace, health care, and immigration reforms. During her inaugural speech in the Senate, Frahm voiced her support for election finance reform but rejected a proposal to create a program to finance campaigns with federal funds. "Bad reform is not better than no reform," Frahm said on the Senate Floor. "I oppose federal financing of our elections, which would in effect turn our politicians into a new class of welfare dependents. I came here to reform welfare, not to expand it. I question why the Congress should seek to pass a bill that is almost certainly unconstitutional in many of its key reforms, and puts an unreasonable mandate of high costs on private business."[3] Shortly before the end of her term, Frahm managed to steer through the Senate a bill to designate national historic site status to Nicodemus, Kansas. Nicodemus, which was located in Frahm's former Kansas Senate district, was a settlement founded by African Americans in the 1870s as they moved west in pursuit of better livelihoods. By adding her bill to a larger omnibus parks bill, Frahm ensured historic status for the site, a move which historic preservationists believed would help them raise enough money to save it.[4] Frahm also embraced a pro-choice position on the abortion issue, which was a polarizing one within the Kansas Republican Party.

In the August 6 GOP primary, Frahm faced freshman Representative Sam Brownback, an anti-abortion conservative with a large network of pro-life supporters.

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE U.S. SENATE HISTORICAL OFFICE

Frahm supported campaign finance reform but opposed federal financing of campaigns. "Bad reform is not better than no reform," Frahm said on the Senate Floor. "I oppose federal financing of our elections, which would in effect turn our politicians into a new class of welfare dependents."

Though she received the backing of Governor Graves and Senator Kassebaum, Frahm lost to Brownback by a wide margin.[5] Her term of service ended in the Senate on November 5, 1996. Frahm returned to Colby, Kansas, where she and her husband managed corn and wheat production in several nearby counties. In 2002, Frahm served as the executive director for the Kansas Association of Community College Trustees, which represented all 19 state community colleges.

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Jean Carnahan

1933–

UNITED STATES SENATOR ★ DEMOCRAT FROM MISSOURI

2001–2002

Jean Carnahan, the former first lady of Missouri, was appointed to the United States Senate to fill the vacant seat from Missouri caused by the death of her husband of 46 years, Governor Mel E. Carnahan. Elected to Congress three weeks after his death in a plane crash, Mel Carnahan became the first U.S. Senator elected posthumously. Despite having never held public office, Jean Carnahan earned the distinction of being the first woman Senator from Missouri.

Jean Carpenter was born on December 20, 1933, in Washington D.C. The daughter of Reginald Carpenter, a plumber, and Alvina Carpenter, a hairdresser, Jean was just 15 when she met her future husband, Mel Carnahan, the son of Missouri Congressman Albert Carnahan. Both Mel and Jean attended Anacostia High School in Washington, D.C., where they sat next to each other in class.[1] In 1951, Jean became the first in her family to graduate from high school. Two years later, Mel and Jean married upon Mel's graduation from college. Jean soon followed suit, earning a B.A. in business and public administration from George Washington University in 1955. The couple went on to have four children: Roger, Russ, Robin, and Tom. In addition to her responsibilities as a homemaker and mother, Jean Carnahan was a public speaker and an author. She also played an active role in her husband's numerous political campaigns for state office, writing speeches and creating an extensive card-catalogued database of potential supporters and donors.[2] When Mel Carnahan became governor of Missouri in 1993, his wife flourished in her role as first lady. Interested in addressing the needs of children, Jean Carnahan helped to implement mandatory child immunization, organized projects to promote children's increased exposure to culture and art, and cofounded Children in the Workplace to create childcare for working parents at their place of employment.[3]

During his second term as Missouri governor, Mel Carnahan decided to challenge Republican incumbent John Ashcroft for his seat in the U.S. Senate. On October 16, 2000, Carnahan, his son Roger, and a legislative aide perished when their private plane crashed en route to a campaign rally in New Madrid, a town about 150 miles south of St. Louis.[4] Despite the governor's death, his name remained on the ballot due to Missouri state law that prohibited any changes within a month of the election date.[5] Out of respect for his former opponent and his family, Ashcroft ceased his campaign efforts for 10 days after the tragedy. Political observers assumed Ashcroft would win by default; however, momentum shifted to the Democratic candidate in the days preceding the general election. "Don't let the fire go out," became the rallying cry for Missouri voters, who grew even more enthused about Carnahan's candidacy once his widow Jean made it known that she would accept an appointment to take his place in the Senate.[6] Still reeling from the death of her husband and son, Jean Carnahan recalled her reaction when Missouri's new governor, Roger Wilson, approached her with the prospect of serving in Congress. "I almost felt as if my world had come to an end," she said. "But I didn't want all the things that Mel stood for, that we had worked together for, I didn't want those things to die. I didn't want to feel like I was letting myself down or him down. And the people of Missouri wanted something to survive the plane crash, as well."[7]

In the November election Mel Carnahan posthumously defeated incumbent Senator John Ashcroft by 48,960

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE U.S. SENATE HISTORICAL OFFICE

votes out of a total of about 2.4 million cast. Elated with the victory, Jean Carnahan vowed that "we will never let the fire go out"—a tribute to her late husband's political legacy.[8] Appointed for two years to the U.S. Senate to fill the vacancy, Jean Carnahan was sworn in on January 3, 2001, taking the Senate seat once held by Harry S. Truman.

In the Senate, Carnahan served on several committees: Armed Services; Small Business and Entrepreneurship; Governmental Affairs; Commerce, Science, and Transportation; and the Special Committee on Aging. Admitting that her jump to the Senate was overwhelming at times, Carnahan observed, "I've learned a lot. I'm not so lost anymore. But there's a lot I've still got to learn. Some issues I can't talk to you about yet because I don't know them yet. But I'm learning. I'm learning. And I'm enjoying myself."[9] During her first few months in Congress, Carnahan, viewed as a courageous widow, attracted attention from strangers and colleagues alike. She recollected that on one occasion, Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts gave her a copy of John F. Kennedy's book *Profiles in Courage* with the inscription, "To Jean Carnahan, who has written some profiles in courage herself."[10]

Building on her experience as first lady of Missouri, Carnahan sought to continue the legislative interests she shared with her late husband, most especially with respect to furthering opportunities for children. The first legislation she introduced in the Senate was a measure to increase funding in public schools to help reduce class sizes, hire additional teachers, and build or renovate classrooms. In a speech on the Senate Floor, Carnahan called the education of children, "an issue that is close to my heart and one that is essential to our nation's future." She also explained that her desire to improve American schools derived in part from her husband's dedication to the issue and their shared belief that local schools should be given more flexibility on how to spend federal money to improve education.[11] In May 2001, Carnahan achieved an early legislative victory when her bill passed the Senate as an amendment to an education reform measure.[12] During her short tenure in the Senate, Carnahan also worked to provide federal workers with greater access to child care services, another carryover from her time as Missouri's first lady.

As a Senator, Carnahan emphasized her moderate stance on the issues and desire to work with colleagues on both sides of the aisle. In 2001, she was one of 12 Democratic Senators to back President George W. Bush's tax cut. Although she voted in favor of the program, she later commented, "The bill passed by the Senate is far from ideal, however. In particular, I would have liked to have seen a greater portion of its benefits go to middle-income working class families."[13] Carnahan also worked to find common ground with fellow Missouri Senator Republican Christopher (Kit) Bond. Both supported a bill to provide assistance for farmers, and the two Senators worked to protect the jobs of more than 10,000 Trans World Airlines (TWA) employees in Missouri when the airline merged with American Airlines; on the latter issue, however, Carnahan received criticism from Republicans and some TWA officials for taking too much credit.[14]

A year after her appointment to the Senate, Carnahan announced her decision to run in the November 2002 special election to complete the six-year term. During her first year on the Hill, GOP leaders from Missouri avoided overt criticism of Carnahan, even when angered by actions such as her vote against John Ashcroft's appointment for U.S. Attorney General, a decision Carnahan classified "a vote of conscience."[15] Still wary of a potential backlash resulting from the perception of attacking a grieving widow, Republicans focused on Carnahan's lack of experience when she entered the senatorial election. The closely contested race between Carnahan and her Republican opponent, former U.S. Representative Jim Talent, attracted national attention from both parties. During the campaign, Carnahan attempted to distance herself from her husband's accident and instead highlighted her accomplishments in the Senate.[16] Ultimately defeated in a close race in which she earned 48 percent of the vote, Carnahan told her supporters after conceding to Talent, "Ours is a cause that has not been lessened by

defeat. Others will come to pick up the fallen torch."[17]

Since leaving Congress, Carnahan has remained active in Democratic politics, in particular promoting the candidacy of women. She also has devoted herself to her children's political futures. In 2004 her son Russ won election to the U.S. House of Representatives from a Missouri district.

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Denise Majette

1955–

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE ★ DEMOCRAT FROM GEORGIA
2003–2005

After scoring an upset against a veteran incumbent in the Democratic primary for a congressional seat from Georgia, Denise Majette coasted to victory in the general election to earn a spot in the U.S. House of Representatives in the 108th Congress (2003–2005). As one of five new African-American Members elected in 2002, Majette described herself as "pro-choice, anti-death penalty, for protecting rights of workers and making sure that everyone has access on a level playing field."[1]

Denise L. Majette was born on May 18, 1955, in Brooklyn, New York, the daughter of Voyd Lee and Olivia Carolyn (Foster) Majette. She resided in New York until 1972, where one of her role models was Shirley Chisholm, the first black woman to serve in Congress. Majette attended Yale University, graduating with a B.A. in 1976. Majette's decision to attend law school after college resulted from her anguish over President John F. Kennedy's assassination in 1963. She later recalled, "I wanted to be able to use the law to effect social change and make things better for people who otherwise didn't have those opportunities."[2] After earning a J.D. in 1979 from Duke Law School, Majette began her professional career as a staff attorney at the Legal Aid Society in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and later served as a clinical adjunct law professor at Wake Forest University. In 1983, Majette moved to Stone Mountain, Georgia, with her husband Rogers J. Mitchell, Jr., and their two sons, each from a former marriage, to accept a position as law clerk for Judge R. Keegan Federal at the superior court of DeKalb County. Over the next two decades, Majette served as law assistant to Judge Robert Benham of the Georgia court of appeals, special assistant attorney general for the state of Georgia, and partner in an Atlanta law firm. In 1992, Majette became an administrative law judge for the Atlanta office of the Georgia state board of workers' compensation. On June 8, 1993, Georgia Governor Zell Miller appointed Majette as a judge on the state court of DeKalb County. During her nearly 10 years as a judge, she presided over a variety of court proceedings, including criminal trials, civil cases, and hearings.[3]

On February 5, 2002, Majette resigned from the bench, announcing her candidacy as a Democrat in the Georgia congressional district encompassing the suburban area east of Atlanta. Although she lacked the high public profile of the Democratic incumbent, five-term Representative Cynthia McKinney, Majette said that she decided to run for public office because she felt McKinney had become disconnected from the issues affecting DeKalb County. The race garnered national attention after McKinney implied that President George W. Bush deliberately ignored pre–September 11 intelligence reports suggesting an imminent terrorist attack and that the President's big business supporters profited in the wake of the attacks. Majette capitalized on the controversy which surrounded her opponent's remarks. She also received a strong endorsement from Zell Miller, by this point one of Georgia's two U.S. Senators. Middle-class voters flocked to Majette in the August 20, 2002, primary, joined by Republicans who took advantage of Georgia state law allowing voters to switch parties during primaries. Majette captured 58 percent of the vote. In the general election she easily defeated her Republican opponent, Cynthia Van Auken, gaining 77 percent of the vote.[4]

Upon being sworn in to the U.S. House of Representatives in January 2003, Majette reflected on the enormity of her upcoming responsibilities, observing, "I was just

looking around the room and appreciating the kind of work the Congress will have to do and how that will impact the nation and the world."[5] Majette received assignments on the Budget, Education and Workforce, and Small Business committees and chaired the Task Force on Jobs and the Economy. She also assumed a leadership role in her brief tenure in Congress, as an Assistant Democratic Whip and as president of the freshman class of the House Democrats.

During her first year in Congress, Majette sponsored legislation to designate Arabia Mountain in southeast DeKalb County as a national heritage area, a classification that would increase tourism and make the metro Atlanta region eligible for millions of dollars of federal funding. Testifying before the House Resources Subcommittee on National Parks, Recreation, and Public Lands, Majette called the locale "a living history lesson," and she urged the preservation of the "area's unique heritage for future generations."[6] As a member of the Small Business Committee, she criticized President Bush's proposed fiscal year 2005 budget, citing concerns that the many female- and minority-owned small businesses in her district would suffer.

Majette fought to protect a variety of federally funded programs during her one term in the House. She believed that the Bush administration had failed to adequately fund education initiatives and was an outspoken critic of the President's record concerning domestic violence against women. On the latter, she declared that "it saddens me to think that millions of women continue to be abused each year, while this administration sits idly by, taking no initiative and, in some cases, decreasing resources available to battered women."[7] She also voted against overhauling Medicare, labeling the Republican-sponsored Medicare Prescription Drug and Modernization Act of 2003 as a "sham" that failed to include "adequate prescription drug coverage that our mothers and grandmothers absolutely deserve."[8] In 2003, she joined two of her Democratic colleagues, Chris Van Hollen of Maryland and John Tierney of Massachusetts, in proposing an amendment to increase spending for Head Start. Majette argued for the additional funding because "the program doesn't just teach children to read." She went on to say, "It provides nutritional support, it makes sure that children are properly vaccinated at the appropriate time, that parents are also being supported and supportive of the efforts, that children are given the overall support they need. It's not just about teaching them their colors."[9]

On March 29, 2004, Majette surprised her House colleagues, and even some of her staff, when she announced her candidacy for the Georgia Senate seat being vacated by the retiring Zell Miller. Not wanting to miss out on the opportunity of running for an open Senate seat, Majette entered the race despite the absence of a statewide fundraising network and little name recognition outside the Atlanta area.[10] Forced into a runoff because she did not gain a majority in the Democratic primary, Majette utilized an effective grass-roots campaign to defeat millionaire businessman Cliff Oxford. Despite becoming the first African American to earn a nomination for the U.S. Senate from the state of Georgia, Majette lost in the general election when she received only 40 percent of the vote against three-term Republican Congressman Johnny Isakson.[11]

Majette expressed no regrets after her loss but instead reflected that "it was a leap of faith for me, another step in my spiritual journey."[12] In 2005, Majette began work as a judge in DeKalb County. A year later Majette sought the Democratic nomination for Georgia superintendent of schools, an elected position with oversight of the daily operations of the state's department of education.[13]

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