

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Health Care Task Force

Series/Staff Member: Steven Edelstein

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 3670

FolderID:

Folder Title:

Barcia, James (D-MI)

Stack:

S

Row:

52

Section:

3

Shelf:

4

Position:

3

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: U.S. House of Representatives Offices
FR: Task Force on National Health Care Reform
DT: February 23, 1993
RE: Health Care Overview

Pop - Garcia

As we proceed with the 103rd Congress, it would be extremely helpful to us if you could provide our office with some background information.

Please provide us with the names, work phone, home phone and fax numbers of the following:

1. D.C. Chief of Staff:

None at this time

2. Legislative Director:

Paul DeGiusti, 225-8171

FAX 225-2168

(E)

3. Health Care Legislative Assistant:

Heather MacMillan

4. Press Secretary:

Paul DeGiusti

Also, please share any particular concerns of your Representative and your home district as they relate to health care and health care reform.

Please return this form, along with any comments, via facsimile to 456-6241 or through the mail to the attention of the Task Force on National Health Care Reform, Old Executive Office Building, Room 287, Washington, DC 20500.

Thank you for your attention and cooperation.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 2, 1993

TO: All House Offices
FROM: Office of Legislative Affairs, White House
RE: Phone numbers

To help facilitate emergency communication between our offices, we would find it very helpful if you could fill out the information below and fax it back to us as soon as possible. We want to avoid the difficulty of trying to contact a member with an urgent message after office hours and not being able to find him or her.

If you have any questions, please call us at (202) 456-6620. Our fax number is (202) 456-6221. Thank you for your assistance.

MEMBERS FULL NAME: James A. Barcia

STATE: Michigan **DISTRICT:** 5th

MEMBER'S DISTRICT HOME PHONE NUMBER: (517) 686-0766

MEMBER'S D.C. AREA HOME PHONE NUMBER: (202) 547-3085

KEY D.C. OFFICE STAFF CONTACT NAME: Thomas M. Pazzi,
Administrative Assistant

STAFF CONTACT HOME PHONE NUMBER: (301) 540-1474

Call Barcia
tomorrow
for
#

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-2205

March 10, 1993

Call :

Ms. Margorie Parmcy
Health Policy Task Force
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

(2)

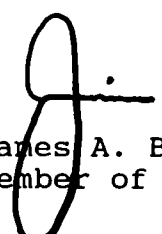
Dear Ms. Parmcy:

As you select candidates to serve on your Health Policy Task Force, I would like to strongly recommend Mr. Dan Sain, from Michigan. I have personally known Mr. Sain for a number of years, and I feel he is not only an exceptionally well qualified candidate, but on a personal level, an outstanding individual at home and in the community.

Mr. Sain's exceptional experience includes: serving since 1972 as President of the Greater Flint Political and Community Action Council; serving as Chairman of the Health and Safety Committee at Buick Motor Division; actively participating in the Genesee County Human Services Planning Council; and being elected to serve on the Board of Directors of HealthPlus, a non-profit HMO. While Chairman at Buick Motors he received special recognition for efforts in the area of health care. I have included a summary of Mr. Sain's activities, and special recognitions.

Among his numerous qualifications, he has been a long standing, as well as active member of the Democratic party. Mr. Sain has a unique ability to see issues objectively, and is a hard working, diligent person, who is highly esteemed by his colleagues. I know, without a doubt, that Mr. Dan Sain would be a tremendous asset to your Health Care Task Force. Thank you for your consideration, and please do not hesitate to contact me if you need further information.

Sincerely,


James A. Barcia
Member of Congress

CURRENT BOARDS and COMMITTEES

I presently serve on:

- * Michigan UAW-CAP General Board
- * Michigan UAW-CAP Executive Committee
- * Michigan AFL-CIO General Board
- * Genesee County Planning Commission (Chairman)
- * Advisory Committee of Michigan School for the Deaf (MSD)
- * Bishop Airport Authority, Secretary
- * Genesee County Citizens for Better Health Committee
- * Genesee County Human Services Network Coordinating Committee
- * Community Coalition Against Domestic Violence
- * Steering Committee for "World of Difference"
- * Executive Board of Genesee County Democratic Party
- * Chairman of the Board of HealthPlus of Michigan
- * Board Member of the Genesee County Parks and Recreation Committee
- * Board Member of New Paths (a diversionary program for the courts)
- * Board Member for Hospice for Communities

RECOGNITION AWARDS

- * *Liberty Bell Award*
By the Genesee County Bar Association
- * *Big Brothers/Big Sisters Award*
Genesee County Association of Big Brothers/Big Sisters
- * *A. Philip Randolph Institute Award*
Flint Chapter of APRI
- * *Flint Mayoral Task Force Award*
For the Neighborhood Rehabilitation Association
- * *William Randolph Hurst Jr. Award*
For work on the Presidential Committee for
Traffic Safety (John Kennedy)
- * *Commendation from Michigan State University*
For conducting an extensive program on
Parliamentary Procedure on their behalf
- * *Commendation for the Michigan Association for the Deaf*
of America
- * *A dozen awards from the Genesee County United Way*
of America Organization
- * *Special Award for supporting Special Olympics Programs*
- * *Commendation from the Private Industrial Council*
Jobs Training Partnership Act
- * *Congressional Certificate of Merit*
Presented by Congressman Dale Kildee
- * *Special Genesee County Sheriff's Award*

Mr. Sain -

This is a
copy of your
recommendation to
serve on the
health care task
force.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-2205

March 10, 1993

Ms. Margorie Parmcy
Health Policy Task Force
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

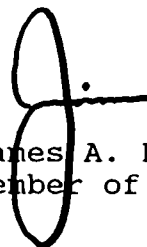
Dear Ms. Parmcy:

As you select candidates to serve on your Health Policy Task Force, I would like to strongly recommend Mr. Dan Sain, from Michigan. I have personally known Mr. Sain for a number of years, and I feel he is not only an exceptionally well qualified candidate, but on a personal level, an outstanding individual at home and in the community.

Mr. Sain's exceptional experience includes: serving since 1972 as President of the Greater Flint Political and Community Action Council; serving as Chairman of the Health and Safety Committee at Buick Motor Division; actively participating in the Genesee County Human Services Planning Council; and being elected to serve on the Board of Directors of HealthPlus, a non-profit HMO. While Chairman at Buick Motors he received special recognition for efforts in the area of health care. I have included a summary of Mr. Sain's activities, and special recognitions.

Among his numerous qualifications, he has been a long standing, as well as active member of the Democratic party. Mr. Sain has a unique ability to see issues objectively, and is a hard working, diligent person, who is highly esteemed by his colleagues. I know, without a doubt, that Mr. Dan Sain would be a tremendous asset to your Health Care Task Force. Thank you for your consideration, and please do not hesitate to contact me if you need further information.

Sincerely,



James A. Barcia
Member of Congress

1988 Presidential Vote

(%) Bush (R)	135,597	(58%)
(%) Dukakis (D)	98,197	(42%)

1990; b. July 9, 1953, Midland; home, Midland; Albin
1975, U. of San Diego Law Schl., J.D. 1978; Catholic

Practicing atty., 1978-90; MI Special Asst. Atty. Gen.
A.A., U.S. Rep. Bill Schuette, 1984-87; MI House of
8-90.

137 CHOB 20515, 202-225-3561. Also 135 Ashman St.
48640, 517-631-2552; 308 W. Main St., Owosso 48867
759; and 3508 W. Houghton Lake Dr., Houghton Lake
7-366-4922.

es: *Ways and Means* (14th of 14 R): Human Resources
venue Measures.

FA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CE
27	13	84	75	100	75	72
39	15	80	—	—	100	68

DNS	1992 LIB — 1992 CONS	
	0%	91%
	15%	85%
	44%	50%

un Wait/7-Day AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	FO
as Mil. Abortion AGN	10. US Mil. Abroad \$ Cut	FO
Art NEA \$ Ban FOR	11. Limit SDI Funds	AG
Pen. from Jury FOR	12. Cuba Trade Embargo	AG

Reduction	AGN	3. Stimulus Plan	AG
.....	157,337	(63%)	(\$518,1
.....	87,573	(35%)	(\$15,6
.....	6,620	(3%)	
osed	99,952	(65%)	(\$657,2
.....	50,923	(33%)	
.....	2,841	(2%)	

FIFTH DISTRICT

For a brief moment in the 1870s, the greatest flow of lumber in the United States came through the otherwise obscure waters of Saginaw Bay, the inlet of Lake Huron that separates Michigan's Thumb (which indeed is often called that) and the mitten of its Lower Peninsula. There were 36 sawmills in Bay City then and logs were piled high along both banks of the Saginaw River for miles. Bay City and Saginaw, 15 miles upstream, handled logs from the wide area on both sides of Saginaw Bay drained by the Saginaw River and its tributaries. Neither city has since enjoyed such rapid growth. The automobile industry has also long been an important employer here; a General Motors plant in Saginaw is the world's largest manufacturer of power steering mechanisms. And the flat broad fields around Saginaw Bay which once held so many trees are now the nation's leading producer of navy beans, the raw material of Senate bean soup.

The 5th Congressional District of Michigan includes Saginaw and Bay City and lands on both sides of Saginaw Bay. To the north it goes up past Tawas City and East Tawas to Greenbush on Lake Huron. To the east it includes most of the Thumb. To the south it goes up to the city limits of Flint, including both black and white working-class townships just north of the city. Bay City, with its large Polish population, has long been Democratic; and since the auto industry woes of the 1980s, so are Saginaw and the Flint suburbs. The Thumb historically was among the most Republican parts of Michigan, but that is being eroded by the outward movement of Democrats from Saginaw and Bay City.

In close statewide races, the 5th District is narrowly Democratic, and the area has been represented by Democrats in Congress since April 1974, when Democrat Bob Traxler won a special election to replace Gerald Ford. It was a nationally significant triumph, one of several Democratic victories in districts long held by Republicans (the boundaries and number were different then) that persuaded politicians of both parties that Richard Nixon, reeling from Watergate charges, had no real backing from the voters. Traxler got a seat on Appropriations and rose in 1989 to chair the VA-HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee, where his first priority seemed to be getting all manner of projects into his district. Traxler surprised everyone in April 1992 when he announced he was retiring; he probably could have won despite 201 overdrafts on the House bank. A month later, he was robbed and beaten on a Washington street—not a happy good-bye.

It was widely thought that Traxler delayed his announcement until a month before the filing deadline in order to help his district chief of staff Don Hare win the seat. If so, he failed. Two state Senators filed against Hare in the primary and, although he carried Saginaw County with 50%, he finished third. State Senator John Cherry, with strong backing from organized labor, might have won this district, with its still large UAW membership, but although he won 72% in the suburbs around Flint, he did poorly elsewhere, and finished second with 29%. The winner with 46% was state legislator James Barcia. He won an impressive 72% in Bay County and carried the Thumb and northern counties solidly. In the general election, Barcia beat Republican real estate developer Keith Muxlow 60%-38%, running ahead of party lines and carrying two Thumb counties.

Barcia was known in the legislature for his whistleblower protection law, and was not an automatic vote for unions or management. He bucked organized labor by voting a measure to cut the cost of workmen's compensation and bucked feminists by voting pro-life on abortion. In the House he serves on the Public Works and Science Committees, but he will have a hard time funneling as much federal money into the district as Traxler did.

The People: Pop. 1990: 580,981; 51% rural; 13% age 65+; 87% White; 8% Black; 1% Amer. Indian; 2% Other; 3% Hispanic origin. Voting age pop.: 418,692; 7% Black; 3% Hispanic origin. Households: 60% married couple families; 28% married couple fams. w. children; 36% college educ.; median household income: \$26,312; per capita income: \$11,891; median gross rent: \$366; median house value: \$47,100.

1992 Presidential Vote

Clinton (D) 119,086 (45%)
 Bush (R) 85,603 (32%)
 Perot (I) 61,544 (23%)

1988 Presidential Vote

Dukakis (D) 120,804 (51%)
 Bush (R) 118,247 (49%)

Rep. James A. Barcia (D)



Elected 1992; b. Feb. 25, 1952, Bay City; home, Bay City; Saginaw Valley St. Col., B.A. 1974; Catholic; married (Vicki).

Career: Staff Asst., U.S. Sen. Philip Hart, 1971; Commun. Svc. Coord., MI Commun. Blood Ctr., 1974-75; A.A., MI Rep. Donald Albosta, 1975-76; MI House of Reps., 1976-82, Majority Whip, 1979-82; MI Senate, 1982-92.

Offices: 1717 LHOB 20515, 202-225-8171. Also 3741 E. Wilder Rd., Bay City 48706, 517-667-0003; 5409 Pierson Rd., Flushing 48433, 313-732-7501; and 301 E. Genessee St., #502, Saginaw 48607, 517-754-6075.

Committees: *Public Works and Transportation* (34th of 39 D); *Economic Development; Investigations and Oversight; Water Resources and Environment. Science, Space and Technology* (18th of 33 D); *Science; Space.*

Group Ratings and 102d Congress Votes: Newly Elected

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave FOR 2. Deficit Reduction FOR 3. Stimulus Plan FOR

Election Results

1992 general	James A. Barcia (D)	147,618	(60%)	(\$288,755)
	Keith Muxlow (R)	93,098	(38%)	(\$93,557)
	Others	4,276	(2%)	
1992 primary	James A. Barcia (D)	27,138	(46%)	
	John Cherry, Jr. (D)	16,890	(29%)	
	Don Hare (D)	14,761	(25%)	
1990 general	Bob Traxler (D)	98,903	(69%)	(\$176,815)
(MI 8)	James White (R)	45,259	(31%)	(\$433)

SIXTH DISTRICT

The southwest corner of Michigan lies at the western end of the overland trail from Detroit, where the state's two southern tiers of counties were settled by New England Yankees and Upstate New Yorkers in the 1830s and 1840s. There they built small towns with schools and churches and colleges, supported temperance and opposed capital punishment, and were original backers of the Republican Party. There are towns in southwest Michigan which still recall proudly their past as termini of the Underground Railroad, and black families who trace their ancestry to slaves who made their way north to freedom. Later, big industries transformed some of the small towns to large cities: Kalamazoo, started by Dutch-Americans who introduced celery to this country, became the home of Upjohn pharmaceuticals; Benton Harbor and St. Joseph, twin towns on Lake Michigan, originally known for cherry and peach orchards, became the home of Whirlpool appliances. But this southwest corner is also where the influence of Michigan recedes: people watch Chicago television and root for the Cubs or White Sox rather than the Tigers.

The 6th Congressional District of Michigan occupies this southwest corner of the state, with

5 James A. Barcia (D)

Of Bay City — Elected 1992; 1st Term

Born: Feb. 25, 1952, Bay City, Mich.

Education: Saginaw Valley State College, B.A. 1974.

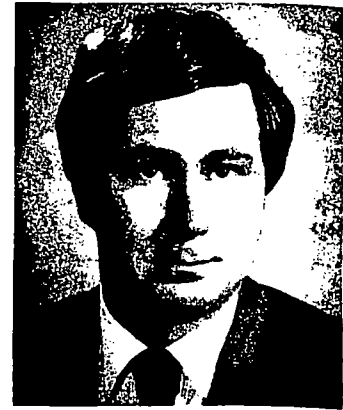
Occupation: Congressional aide.

Family: Wife, Vicki Bartlett.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Mich. House, 1977-83, majority whip, 1979-83; Mich. Senate, 1983-93.

Capitol Office: 1717 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-8171.



The Path to Washington: For Barcia, the magic number is three. Elected to the Michigan House of Representatives at the tender age of 24, he served three terms before jumping over to the state Senate. He won three terms there, then ran for Congress.

He finished first in a three-way race with about 60 percent of the vote. Now Barcia is looking forward to a maximum of three terms in the U.S. House, if Michigan's new term-limits law is upheld. He questioned the wisdom of those limits during the campaign but is not likely to challenge them.

Barcia inherits most of his district from Democratic Rep. Bob Traxler, a nine-term veteran who announced in 1991 that he felt too frustrated and helpless in Congress to run for re-election.

Traxler had used his post as chairman of the VA-HUD Appropriations Subcommittee to steer two major federal projects to his district. Now it will be Barcia's job to keep the money flowing to those projects — a NASA earth sciences center and an Environmental Protection Agency Great Lakes research and conference facility.

That job will be complicated by the fact that Barcia will not follow Traxler onto the Appropriations Committee. Instead, he will serve on the Public Works and the Science, Space and Technology committees, which handle the authorizing legislation for those projects.

Barcia gained a reputation in the Legislature as a middle-of-the-road Democrat, one who did not toe the line for unions or management. Barcia won the business community's support by often being a voice for compromise on environmental issues. He also sided with the business community on a measure to cut the cost of workers' compensation, breaking a deadlock in the state Senate.

As a reflection of the business community's support, the local, state and national chambers of commerce endorsed Barcia over Republican Keith Muxlow, a real estate developer and former dairy farmer from Brown City. The labor unions backed Barcia, too, but not until

two liberal Democrats lost in the primary.

The general-election campaign was relatively friendly, with the candidates taking similar positions. Unlike Barcia's opponents in the Democratic primary, Muxlow could hardly criticize Barcia for being a career politician. Muxlow had spent the previous 12 years in the state Legislature and was mayor of Brown City for eight years before that.

The issue for Barcia and Muxlow, as it was for candidates throughout Michigan, was jobs. To spur employment, Barcia supported an investment tax credit, reduced regulation and a milder capital-gains tax, while opposing the North American Free Trade Agreement. He also pledged to be an advocate for the faltering domestic automobile industry.

Barcia started the campaign with an advantage over Muxlow, having represented a far larger portion of the district as a state senator than Muxlow had as a state representative. Muxlow did not have the money to close the gap — he ran no TV ads and did only a limited amount of radio advertising and direct mail. In the final tally, Barcia collected almost 150,000 votes, Muxlow a little more than 93,000, and Lloyd Clarke of the Workers World Party had about 4,300.

On several fronts, Barcia has carved out positions closer to the GOP leadership in Congress than to the Democratic leadership. He opposes abortion rights, calls for less burdensome environmental regulation and favors health-care reform based on the current system of private insurers.

Barcia also established himself early in the 103rd Congress as a supporter of a strong line-item veto. In addition to supporting a Democratic version the House passed in April 1993, Barcia was one of only 33 Democrats to support the more potent GOP substitute.

In addition, he was one of only 28 Democrats in the House to oppose legislation codifying President Clinton's overturning of the so-called gag rule, which prohibited staff at federally funded family planning clinics from discussing abortion.



nts lost in the primary. ection campaign was rela- the candidates taking simi- e Barcia's opponents in the . Muxlow could hardly crit- being a career politician- he previous 12 years in the d was mayor of Brown City re that.

arcia and Muxlow, as it was oughout Michigan, was jobe- at, Barcia supported an in- . reduced regulation and a s tax, while opposing the ree Trade Agreement. He n advocate for the faltering e industry.

the campaign with an ad- w, having represented a far e district as a state senator as a state representative. ve the money to close the dads and did only a limited ertising and direct mail. In ia collected almost 150,000 ttle more than 93,000, and - Workers World Party had

nts, Barcia has carved out he GOP leadership in Con- Democratic leadership. He ghts, calls for less burden- al regulation and favors ased on the current system

ablished himself early in the t supporter of a strong line- ion to supporting a Demo- ouse passed in April 1993, ly 33 Democrats to support OP substitute.

e was one of only 28 Demo- to oppose legislation codify- on's overturning of the so- which prohibited staff at mily planning clinics from

Michigan 5

The 5th covers more than 200 miles of Lake Huron shoreline, but population is centered along the Bay City-Saginaw corridor. There, the heavy Democratic vote is usually enough to offset the Republican-voting areas that outline the district.

Saginaw, the largest city in the 5th, has a manufacturing sector that includes a heavy General Motors presence. Accordingly, the United Auto Workers (UAW) union carries a big stick.

Outside the city, Saginaw County's rich agricultural land produces sugar beets, dry beans, corn and soybeans. The importance of such commodities — along with the auto industry's presence — make the North American Free Trade Agreement of great interest. Many sugar beet growers, for example, fear cheap sugar imports from Mexico.

UAW strength and a significant blue-collar base make the city a Democratic stronghold. Democrat Michael S. Dukakis carried Saginaw County by 3,215 votes in 1988, and Bill Clinton had a much easier time winning it in 1992.

The second-largest city in the 5th is Bay City (Bay County). Once situated in the midst of a vast pine forest, Bay City was weaned on the lumber industry. Inhabitants used to refer to their home as the "Lumber Capital of the World," in deference to the more than 50 mills that once operated here.

The economy now, like Saginaw's, is more reliant on heavy manufacturing. Its blue-collar workers make boats, auto parts, jet engine components and tubing. The city is also one of the Great Lakes' top-ranked ports in terms of waterborne tonnage.

Bay County voters are even more reli-

ably Democratic than their neighbors in Saginaw County. In the 1992 open seat House race, Barcia won 75 percent of the county vote.

Forested Arenac County, north of Bay County, is a popular vacation spot and home to retired autoworkers. Their UAW loyalties are reflected at the ballot box, where Democrats usually prevail. In 1990, all four Democrats running for statewide office won in Arenac. Clinton and Barcia captured the county in 1992.

North of Arenac, Alcona and Iosco counties are preferred weekend destinations for Detroit suburbanites. Military retirees from Wurtsmith Air Force Base help keep Iosco County competitive for the GOP, but in 1992, voters expressed their dissatisfaction over the scheduled shutdown of Wurtsmith by voting for Bill Clinton. Alcona County backed George Bush in 1992, along with Republican Keith Muxlow in the House race.

The other source of GOP votes is in Michigan's Thumb. Once heavily forested, the vast flat reaches of the region produce sugar beets, dry beans, corn, wheat and dairy products; Sanilac and Huron are top dairy counties. Just as Saginaw and Bay City experienced population losses in the 1980s, the counties of the Thumb declined also, though not as dramatically. Along the Lake Huron coastline, small fishing villages and lakeside resorts dot the landscape.

1990 Population: 580,956. White 516,255 (89%), Black 48,758 (8%), Other 15,943 (3%). Hispanic origin 19,611 (3%). 18 and over 418,962 (72%), 62 and over 91,368 (16%). Median age: 33.

East — Saginaw; Bay City

Committees

Public Works & Transportation (35th of 39 Democrats)
Economic Development; Investigations & Oversight; Water Resources & the Environment

Science, Space & Technology (18th of 33 Democrats)
Science; Space

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1992			
Barcia (D)	\$289,443	\$138,251 (48%)	\$288,755
Muxlow (R)	\$93,876	\$14,906 (16%)	\$93,557

Key Votes

1993		
Require parental notification of minors' abortions	Y	
Require unpaid family and medical leave	Y	
Approve national "motor voter" registration bill	Y	
Approve budget increasing taxes and reducing deficit	Y	
Approve economic stimulus plan	Y	

Elections

1992 General		
James A. Barcia (D)	147,618	(60%)
Keith Muxlow (R)	93,098	(38%)
Lloyd Clarke (WW)	4,270	(2%)

1992 Primary		
James A. Barcia (D)	27,138	(46%)
John D. Cherry Jr. (D)	16,890	(29%)
Don Hare (D)	14,761	(25%)

District Vote for President

1992	
D	118,699 (45%)
R	84,525 (32%)
I	60,990 (23%)

Election Results

1992 general	Gerry E. Studds (D)	189,342	(61%)	(\$1,440,376)
	Daniel W. Daly (R)	75,887	(24%)	(\$238,739)
	Jon L. Bryan (I)	39,265	(13%)	(\$230,617)
	Others	7,156	(2%)	
1992 primary	Gerry E. Studds (D)	576,640	(61%)	
	Paul D. Harold (D)	34,280	(36%)	
	Others	3,320	(3%)	
1990 general	Gerry E. Studds (D)	137,805	(53%)	(\$620,387)
	Jon L. Bryan (R)	120,217	(47%)	(\$271,902)

MICHIGAN

Michigan has become a kind of laboratory of reform, a place for testing ways to move from an industrial to a post-industrial economy, from domination by big units—big business, big labor, big government—to learning that growth increasingly comes from small units—small businesses, individual workers, flexible government. It is a laboratory all the more meaningful because Michigan, once a solidly Republican state and then strongly Democratic, has become a political bellwether, voting within 0.8% of the national average in the last three presidential elections. But Michigan did not volunteer for this laboratory role; it was thrust on the state by an economic cataclysm the likes of which few states have suffered. As recently as 15 years ago, this was the Motor State: home of the Big Three auto companies, which had emerged as such in the mid-1920s; headquarters of the United Auto Workers, the bargaining agent for most auto workers and a progressive force in politics since 1937. Only marginal changes—and seemingly never-ending growth—characterized this industry. There had been no major technological changes in American autos from 1940, when the automatic transmission was introduced, until the 1970s, when the companies were forced to invent new technology to meet government anti-pollution standards. And as Americans grew more affluent, as one-car households became two-car households, as consumers had more disposable income and could afford cars that gave them more than basic transportation, the U.S. auto industry prospered, and Michigan along with it. Michigan was the fastest growing state in the Midwest from 1940 to 1965. Michigan incomes grew even faster, and except for Illinois, with its big Chicago white-collar job base, Michigan had the highest incomes in the Midwest. With the Great Lakes and north woods not far away on the freeways, Michigan had developed a comfortable way of life—for many low-skill workers, perhaps as affluent and pleasant a life as any in history.

Then, quite abruptly with the 1979 oil shock, this big-unit economy went bust. It became startlingly clear that the Big Three and the UAW did not have a captive market, that Americans did not *have* to buy a new full-sized, American-made car every two or three years, that foreign competitors were producing better and cheaper cars more responsive to changes in consumer preference. The business and labor big units, so well-adapted for growth in the quarter century after World War II started, proved poorly adapted for the quarter century that followed. Auto employment in Michigan fell from 437,000 in October 1978 to 289,000 in October 1982. Chrysler nearly went bankrupt, Ford was in financial difficulty, General Motors had its first losses in years. Workers came to the end of their 65 weeks of unemployment benefits; housing prices in factory areas plummeted; hundreds of thousands left. As the recession passed, auto employment settled at 280,000, and wages and fringe benefits declined.

Once upon a time, it would have been easy to predict the political effect of such an economic

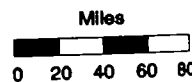
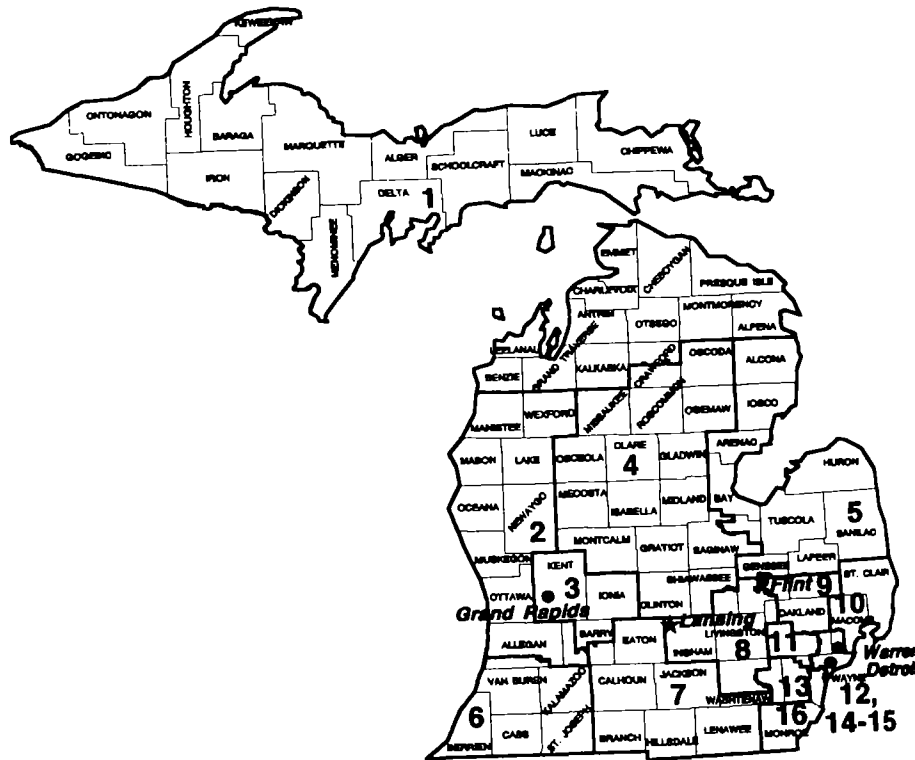
catastrophe: a surge of votes for Michigan's liberal Democrats. For that was the rule of thumb in Michigan's big unit years, from a political history determined by the clashes of two rushes of immigration. The first started in the 1830s with the settlement of what had been a peninsula overgrown with trees (lumber was the first industry on which Michigan over-relied); the second started around 1910 with the growth of the auto industry. The first settlers cut down trees and built farms; Michigan was the prime lumber producing state in the late 19th Century, and Muskegon the "lumber queen of the world"; forests were clear-cut or swept by blazes like the 1881 fire that burned out half the Thumb (look at the map; it's obvious). The farmers, mostly from Upstate New York and New England, proved a taming force: this was part of the vast westward migration of believers in learning and founders of colleges, reformers who hated slavery, manned the underground railroad, and promoted temperance—civilizing influences that in the 1850s made Michigan the first state to ban capital punishment. Michigan was one of the birthplaces of the Republican Party, founded in Jackson in 1854, which swept the state in the elections later that year. Up through the 1920s, Michigan was one of the most Republican states in the nation.

The auto industry drew labor from outstate Michigan and southern Ontario and from the farms of Ohio and Indiana; it brought whites from the Kentucky and Tennessee mountains and (mostly after 1940) blacks from Alabama and Mississippi. But during the three decades when Detroit was a boom town—the nation's fastest growing big city after Los Angeles (the three-county metro area grew from 426,000 to 2.2 million from 1900 to 1930)—it was also a leading immigrant destination. Michigan was mostly a native stock state before 1900, leavened by a Dutch colony (the nation's largest) around Grand Rapids and Holland, and Finns in the mining towns of the Upper Peninsula. But Detroit attracted Poles and Italians, Hungarians and Belgians, Greeks and Jews.

This sudden influx of a polyglot proletariat changed Michigan's politics. The catalyst was the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the impetus came from company managers' desire to use machines efficiently and subsequent treatment of employees mechanically and with great distrust. The result was the 1937 sit-down strikes organized by the new United Auto Workers; management and labor fought, sometimes literally, for shares of what both sides thought was a static-sized pie. The UAW won, and organized most of the companies after Democratic Governor Frank Murphy refused to send in troops to break the illegal strikes. In the years that followed, auto workers became a heavily Democratic voting block.

Michigan politics, during its big-unit years, was a species of class warfare, conducted with a bitterness that split families and neighbors. The union won, but many grew to resent its tactics and success: Murphy's Democrats lost the 1938 elections, not only statewide but in Flint, and Republicans won most contests for nearly 20 years after. But demographics benefited the Democrats: auto workers and post-1900 immigrants produced more children than did outstate Yankees or management. After Walter Reuther's election as UAW president in 1947, voters elected young, liberal G. Mennen Williams governor in 1948; by 1954 the Democrats, closely tied to the UAW, seemed to have become the natural majority in the state. And as growth continued, economic issues became less bitter; by the early 1960s, the class-warfare atmosphere had dissipated. Republican and former auto executive George Romney was narrowly elected governor in 1962, while Henry Ford II joined Walter Reuther in backing Lyndon Johnson in 1964. Romney and his successor, William Milliken, accepted the welfare state policies endorsed by the UAW leadership and the Democrats. The state government was one of the nation's most generous, and not just to the poor and the unemployed: it supported one of the nation's most distinguished and extensive higher education systems, built state parks and recreation areas, and pioneered efforts to end racial discrimination.

The collapse of the big unit economy after 1979 changed all that, and forced the state to change. The first to try to adapt was Governor James Blanchard, a Democrat elected in 1982 with a record of supporting big units: his major achievement in eight years in Congress was managing the Chrysler bailout in the House. Blanchard was elected in a familiar pattern: his



51% statewide came from 58% in tri-county metro Detroit and 46% in Outstate Michigan regional differences going back to the era of class-conscious politics, when the UAW Democratic allies registered tens of thousands of working-class voters in the Detroit area carried what was otherwise a Republican state. But cultural differences eroded those patterns in presidential voting in the 1980s, as did Blanchard's experimentation. Blanchard did raise in 1983, but only once, and was chastised by losing the state Senate. But Blanchard worked to build a small unit economy; he was proud of his efforts to stimulate high-skill, capital-intensive flexible manufacturing, and used \$750 million of state pension funds as venture capital for manufacturers of items from tape drives for microcomputers to fiberglass coffins. Dodge traditional labor allies, Blanchard made it clear that Michigan must learn how to nurture growth and that workers, instead of seeking more vacations and earlier retirements, would have to work harder than ever before. Yet another approach came from John Engler, the Senate majority leader who beat Blanchard in 1990. Engler believes in less government and industrial policy; he has cut or held the line on every state program but education and believes in school choice. In early 1993, he advanced a plan to cut property taxes by raising sales tax, but his basic strategy is to lower taxes and trust markets to produce growth. This did not prove persuasive to Michigan voters in the 1992 presidential race, when they voted for Bill Clinton, and the tax proposal was defeated in June 1993. But voters also defeated Democratic House Speaker Lew Dodak and deadlocked the once overwhelmingly Democratic House 55-55.

In choosing between these two strategies for small-unit growth, Michigan has not been divided on the old class divisions or metro-Outstate split. In 1988 George Bush carried not only Outstate (56%-43%) but also the Detroit area (50%-49%); in 1992 Bill Clinton carried not only the Detroit area (49%-35%) but Outstate (40%-37%). Engler's defeat of Blanchard did split the regions, but Engler's 53% Outstate was only a few points higher than his metro Detroit 45%. New divisions have been created. In the Detroit area, the economically growing region voting Republican—almost all of Oakland County, about half of Macomb County (no longer blue-collar as its reputation), and some of western Wayne County; Macomb, once considered key to Michigan, went for George Bush in 1992 as it did in 1988 and for John Engler in 1990. Bush lost the state anyway. Only central city Detroit, 70% black and rapidly losing population because of horrifying crime rates, and a few close-in working class suburbs are still Democratic. Outstate, there are Democratic belts: old auto factory concentrations (the Saginaw-Bay City corridor) with sluggish growth; the university town of Ann Arbor; the city of university town of Lansing—all those state paychecks. More heavily Republican than ever in the western half of the state, especially Grand Rapids and the resort area around Traverse City and Petoskey, which never were all that dependent on autos and have been growing robustly over the last dozen years.

In partisan terms, this means Michigan is neither a Democratic nor a Republican state, but a state experimenting. On the bunsen burners right now are a Democratic president and Congress and a Republican governor and legislature. Both could win Michigan's votes again, if their experiments go well; both could be voted out with a switch of not too many votes, if their work turns out to be a botch. This lab bears watching.

Governor. John Engler may be the prototype of a successful Republican politician: not Ivy League or Ivy League background like Michigan's recent Republican governors, but from a small Outstate town and a graduate of Michigan State. He was first elected to the legislature in 1970, at 22, while still a college senior; he has been in politics literally all his adult life. Yet he is an admirer of government's ability to get things done. In his first two years in office he relentlessly kept his 1990 campaign promises. He cut the state arts budget, especially the Detroit Institute of Arts. He eliminated General Assistance, a welfare program for able-bodied adults maintained in Michigan and a few other states. He amended welfare to allow recipients to keep more earnings, and was given an election-year waiver of federal regulations by President Bush. He privatized many public services, much to the chagrin of Michigan's

persistence and opposition to taxes which have helped Republicans advance in Michigan since he became chairman a decade ago. Peter Secchia, former ambassador to Italy, brings a political mind even sharper than the political tongue that sometimes gets him in to trouble; his admirers include George Bush and liberal columnist (and Italophile) Mary McGrory. Republican Jim Elsman, a Birmingham attorney, has announced, and so might black minister and Detroit City Republican Councilman Keith Butler; former congressman and 1990 nominee Bill Schuette could be another. Other possibilities include western Michigan Congressman Fred Upton, state Senator Vern Ehlers, and Ronna Romney, a talk show host and former daughter-in-law of past-Governor George Romney. No Republican can count on an automatic victory. The same qualities that got Riegle involved in the Keating Five—hard work, a willingness to help Michigan businesses, a fierce desire to win—should also work for him in 1994. (Though perhaps against: *The Wall Street Journal* charged in December 1992 that Riegle may be skirting his post-Keating Five promise not to accept campaign contributions from financial establishments regulated by his committee, by targeting for support the lawyers and lobbyists associated with these industries.) There can be no doubt, after a quarter-century in politics, that Riegle will work hard to win. So look for a tough race, no matter what the odds.

Senator Carl Levin is a politician for whom character has been as great a political asset as he stands on issues. He won his seat in 1978 by beating an incumbent who announced his retirement and then changed his mind, held it narrowly in 1984 against a challenger who had given a public testimonial for his Japanese car, and won a third term in 1990 despite an ad showing him about a battleship he had voted not to commission. Levin is ruffled, unfashionable, speaks articulately but without apparent political artifice and takes unpopular stands on issues he cares about, without much regard for the political consequences: for these virtues, Michigan voters are willing to forgive him a few sins. One passionate issue is capital punishment: Levin began his public career as head of Detroit's public defender office, and has not only opposed capital punishment, but many times has led the fight against it in the Senate. This is in line with Michigan tradition—the state constitution has outlawed the death penalty since 1855—but he has become a minority stand as Detroit's murder rate has skyrocketed; but no Republican, certainly not 1990 Senate nominee Bill Schuette, has been able to take many votes away from Levin on this issue. Similarly, Levin's identification with the city of Detroit—he was elected to the Council in 1969 and 1973, one of the few candidates with biracial support—and the unpopularity of Mayor Young have not rubbed off on Levin at all. He can support urban spending programs unpopular in the suburbs with impunity; voters know he has convictions on these issues.

Levin has worked hard on political process. He was chief sponsor of the lobbying regulation bill which passed the Senate early in 1993, stipulating that lobbyists disclose the identities of their clients and their income from them and requiring stringent detailing of government officials that are contacted and issues discussed; it broadens the definition of lobbyist to cover those lobbying the Executive Branch as well as Congress. Levin is also the Senate's chief sponsor of the independent counsel law, which Bill Clinton promised to support but may feel less friendly to now that his administration would be the target. On other domestic issues, Levin maintains positions well within the Michigan consensus. He seeks to use trade sanction provision Super 10 on any nation accounting for more than 15% of the US trade deficit, i.e., Japan—a popular stand in a state obsessed with Japan's success in the auto industry, and he is adamantly opposed to NAFTA. He is surely sympathetic to the Clinton Administration, but in its early months questioned some of its policies.

Levin was one of the first Vietnam doves on the Armed Services Committee where he ranks third behind Chairman Sam Nunn and James Exon. He characterizes his approach as supportive of basic, reliable weapons systems and conventional forces and skeptical of strategic weapons systems, and he is proud of a 1992 law cutting \$3 billion in spending on wasteful Defense Department inventory and purchasing practices.

In 1990, two Republicans came forward to oppose Levin: lawyer Clark Durant, former head

of the Legal Services Corporation under Reagan, who had privatized and turned a profit on a government-owned Michigan railroad, ran, but without party establishment or Bush Administration support; and Bill Schuette, three-term congressman from Midland and step-son of the former head of Dow Chemical. Schuette lost metro Detroit to Durant but won 60%-40% in the primary, and launched an attack on Levin which misfired: one of his first post-primary ads showed himself, looking much younger than his 37 years, trying to tie Levin to Donald Riegle's involvement in the S&L scandal. This overstretch cost Schuette credibility later when Levin gave him an opening by running an ad showing Levin in the Persian Gulf on the battleship *Missouri*. Schuette accurately pointed out that Levin had voted against the ship's recommissioning in 1985, and noted Levin's vote against the Maverick anti-tank missile also being used successfully in the Gulf. Levin responded by pointing out his support of many technologically more simple weapons, notably the M-1 tank produced in Chrysler's plant in Warren, just north of Detroit, and ran an ad showing a retired Reagan Administration Pentagon official saluting Levin for critically assaying defense spending requests. Levin won a comparatively easy 57%-43% victory, carrying outstate Michigan for the first time; his only weak area was the economically vibrant western Michigan region around Grand Rapids.

Presidential politics. Michigan, a bellwether state now for three presidential elections in a row, with 18 electoral votes which, if declining, is still the eighth largest state, and an obvious target for candidates of both parties. Bill Clinton visited Michigan 18 times in 1992 and came back in February 1993 for his much-heralded first television call-in show; its host, Bill Bonds, who over the last 25 years has been the number one anchor in the Detroit media market, is one of the nation's key political journalists. In the campaign, Republicans claimed Al Gore's positions in *Let's In the Balance* would cost thousands of auto jobs (though Bush had pushed the Clean Air Act). Democrats argued that George Bush's NAFTA would hurt Michigan (though Bill Clinton came out for it in September 1992). Campaigns cut special spots, and Macomb County—with frequent campaign appearances and with Detroit television airing every national ad—may have been the best single location from which to witness the campaign.

Having stumbled and tripped and fallen trying different ways of choosing its presidential delegates, Michigan finally opted in 1992 for having both parties run straight primaries, and scheduled them for March 17, the same day as Illinois and a week after Super Tuesday. This was a fact the day both parties' nominations were decided and, if Illinois was more crucial, Michigan was still part of the mix. That was a lot better than 1988, when Michigan was an irrelevant farce: the Republican state convention was controlled by precinct delegates elected in 1986, and the main question was whether Bush strategists could wheedle enough Kemp delegates away from their alliance with Pat Robertson (they could). Democrats held a "warehouse primary," in just few dozen polling places, in which blacks cast some 45% of the votes, many arriving by the dozen in church buses, and Jesse Jackson won a victory misinterpreted by the press as an alliance of white blue-collar workers and blacks.

The Michigan 1992 primary contest was seized upon by underdogs of both parties who found chances too daunting. Jerry Brown came to Willow Run, where General Motors had announced the closure of an assembly plant after losing a much publicized contest with another in Irvington, Texas, and donned a UAW jacket, which he wore every time he appeared in Michigan afterwards, hoping to gain some of the union organizers who had earlier backed Tom Martin. Paul Tsongas came in briefly, hoping to carry the affluent suburbs here. But Bill Clinton was far stronger, and won 51% of the vote to Brown's 26% and Tsongas's 17%; the latter two did not in the Ann Arbor area, home of the University of Michigan, where Brown finished first and Tsongas tied for second.

On the Republican side, Pat Buchanan got it into his head that Michigan's rebellious auto workers were ready to come over to his side. The Sunday before the primary he motorcaded from Bay City to Saginaw to Flint, a hopelessly Democratic area, and then made the mistake of appearing outside UAW Local 599 in Flint, where he was roundly jeered; memories of the auto strikes of 1937 are still fresh in these precincts, and there is no place in America more

partisanly anti-Republican. Buchanan lost to George Bush 67%-25%.

Congressional districting. Michigan lost one House seat after the 1980 Census and two after the 1990 Census; it is now down to 16, the same as after the 1930 Census. Since control of the legislature was divided, there was a race to the courthouse, and the case was assigned to a federal court panel 2-1 Republican-appointed. Both parties submitted plans, even though for the Democrats that meant resolving the game of musical chairs against some of their own. The court rejected both plans as "excessively partisan" and drew one of its own, with regular-shaped districts and two black-majority seats (which took some doing, because Detroit lost so much population). It was not very polite to incumbents, however, and not just because it renumbered the districts so that only John Dingell had the same number as before (no one messes with John Dingell). Democrat Howard Wolpe, redistricted into the hopelessly Republican 7th District, decided to retire; so did Carl Pursell, who would have had some chance against Democratic incumbent William Ford in the new 13th, but opted out. Democrats Sander Levin and Dennis Hertel were knocked into the same Oakland-Macomb district, as they were in both parties' plans; Hertel decided to retire at 44. Upper Peninsula Republican Bob Davis, with 878 overdrafts on the House bank, decided to retire and Lower Peninsula Republican Guy Vander Jagt, who gamely defended him, was beaten in the 2d District primary. William Broomfield, one of the two most senior Republicans in the House, and Bob Traxler, an Appropriations subcommittee chairman, both decided to retire. And six Democrats won in November with less than 55%. The result is that today five of the 16-member delegation are freshmen, and several veterans are under warning to pay close heed to their districts. Michigan still has some clout, however, with Whip David Bonior and three House Committee chairmen: John Dingell of Energy and Commerce, William Ford of Education and Labor and John Conyers of Government Operations.

The People: Est. Pop. 1992: 9,437,000; Pop. 1990: 9,295,297, up 1.5% 1990-1992. 3.7% of U.S. total, 8th largest; 29% rural. Median age: 32.6 years. 11.9% 65 years and over. 83.4% White, 13.9% Black, 1.1% Asian, 2.2% Other. Households: 55.1% married couple families; 26% married couple fams. w. children; 44% college educ.; median household income: \$31,020; per capita income: \$14,154; 71.0% owner occupied housing; median house value: \$60,600; median monthly rent: \$343. 8.8% Unemployment. Voting age pop. (1990): 6,836,532. Registered voters (1992): 4,341,909; no party registration.

Political Lineup: Governor, John M. Engler (R); Lt. Gov., Connie Binsfeld (R); Secy. of State, Richard H. Austin (D); Atty. Gen., Frank J. Kelley (D); Treasurer, Douglas B. Roberts (R). State Senate, 38 (22 R and 16 D); State House of Representatives, 110 (55 D and 55 R). Senators, Donald W. Riegle, Jr. (D) and Carl Levin (D). Representatives, 16 (10 D and 6 R).

1992 Presidential Vote

Clinton (D)	1,871,182	(44%)
Bush (R)	1,554,940	(36%)
Perot (I)	824,813	(19%)

1992 Democratic Presidential Primary

Clinton.....	297,280	(51%)
Brown	151,400	(26%)
Tsongas	97,017	(17%)
Uncommitted	27,836	(5%)

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	1,965,485	(54%)
Dukakis (D)	1,675,783	(46%)

1992 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	301,948	(67%)
Buchanan.....	112,122	(25%)
Uncommitted	23,809	(5%)

6)

James A. Barcia, D-Mich. (5)

Election: Defeated Keith Muxlow, R
Born: Feb. 25, 1952; Bay City, Mich.
Home: Bay City
Occupation: Public official
Family: Single
Religion: Roman Catholic
Highest Degree: B.A., Saginaw Valley State Univ.
Last Elected Office: Mich. Senate, 1983-present



Mav-
nted
fusil
sign-

ules
rges.
on's
tax
ndi-
tion

eral
the
sted
om-

Barcia's move to the U.S. House is the latest in a long line of political jobs. At the age of 24, he was elected to the Michigan House and then later to the state Senate.

Barcia is considered a moderate Democrat and gained the early support of the local Chamber of Commerce. A state senator to a large number of the district's voters, he also benefited from name recognition.

Barcia plans to focus on agricultural and environmental issues important to the 5th District's producers of dry beans, sugar beets, corn and wheat. He also plans to push for a decrease in the federal tax rate for individuals and a rollback of certain government regulations that he says hinder business development.

Several of Barcia's positions are associated more with the Republican Party. He opposes abortion, supports national term limits for Congress, and favors a presidential line-item veto and a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. He said he would like to gain a seat on the Appropriations Committee.

the state Senate and six years before that in the state House, his interest in politics goes back to his stint as a staff assistant to Democratic Sen. Phil Hart (the uncle of unsuccessful 11th district House candidate Walter Briggs) in 1970.

In fact, Barcia, 40, is close to the quintessential career politician. It took only two years after his graduation from Saginaw Valley State University in 1974 (with a degree in public administration) to win his first term in the state House, and he's been a state legislator ever since.

Sponsor of the first "whistleblower" protection act in the country (to protect employees who report violations by their employers), Barcia is the ranking Democrat on the state Senate's natural resources and environmental affairs committee and the

technology and energy committee.

A pro-life Democrat who was the most conservative of the three contenders in the August Democratic primary, Barcia, who still lives in the Bay City neighborhood where he grew up, is single but not for long — he's engaged and plans to be married in January.

James Barcia (D)

5th District

Occupation: state Senator

Although Barcia has served a decade in

MELANNE VERVEER MEETING NOTES 2/19 WISCONSIN TRIP - please file for Barca but don't need to put in Kleczka and Barrett individual files.

Rep. Kleczka - positive about W&M subcommittee - thought we could live with whatever is the outcome.

Rep. Barrett: Reiterated his support

Rep. Barca - doesn't want to take a position now because of the uncertainty of all the plans, but will be there in the end.

Screenings in any Health Reform Package

Official Title (caption):

Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the inclusion in any comprehensive benefits package under health care reform of mammography screenings for women under the age of 50.

Introduced on Wednesday, February 23, 1994

-----No. 113 of 181-----

Bill, Sponsor and Short Title:

H.RES.372 by BROWN, SHERROD (D-OH) -- Resolution Concerning Worksite Health Promotion Programs

Official Title (caption):

Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives concerning providing as part of health care reform financial incentives to promote worksite health promotion programs.

Introduced on Tuesday, March 1, 1994

-----No. 114 of 181-----

Bill, Sponsor and Short Title:

H.C.R.173 by BARCIA (D-MI) -- Osteopathic Medicine Awareness and Appreciation Act

Official Title (caption):

Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the unique and vital health care services provided by osteopathic physicians must be included in any health care benefits package developed as part of health care system reform.

Introduced on Thursday, November 4, 1993

-----No. 115 of 181-----

Bill, Sponsor and Short Title:

H.C.R.174 by CALVERT (R-CA) -- Certain Activities of Newly Established Health Care Reform Entities, Prohibition

Official Title (caption):

Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that entities established under health care reform proposals should not be permitted to form political action committees or make contributions to Federal candidates.

Introduced on Thursday, November 4, 1993

-----No. 116 of 181-----

Bill, Sponsor and Short Title:

H.C.R.188 by SHARP (D-IN) -- Resolution Concerning Energy Research, Development, Demonstration and Commercialization Funding Priorities

Official Title (caption):

Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that a dramatic new direction in Federal Government energy research, development, demonstration, and commercialization funding priorities should be adopted to improve environmental protection, create new jobs, enhance U.S. competitiveness, and reduce the trade deficit.

Introduced on Monday, November 22, 1993

Spring Recess Gauges Depths of Whitewater

Constituents Say Issue Is Overblown

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

AI

RACINE, Wis.—Rep. Peter Barca (D-Wis.) had just finished speaking to a government class at Racine Horelick High School and was heading toward his next appointment when teacher Gary Suo pulled him aside to send a message.

"I think Bill Clinton is doing one helluva job and he deserves our support," said Suo. "He's taking on the tough issues and I definitely think he's getting a bum rap [on Whitewater]. I think the press . . . is doing a terrible job of covering it."

As Barca listened, Suo complained that the focus of the country is "off kilter" and that Whitewater is getting in the way of more important issues.

"It's not like Congress had come to a grinding halt because of Whitewater," Barca protested, ticking off a list of legislation already passed or moving through the system.

But that's not the message getting through to the country. Whatever else may be happening in Washington these days, the public believes the capital is consumed with Whitewater—and they resent it.

Americans may be skeptical of Clinton's health care plan, anxious about violent crime, divided over the Clinton presidency and alternately worried and hopeful about the economy. And not all are as bullish about Clinton's performance as Gary Suo. But in interviews with Washington Post reporters, they appear united on Whitewater: To most, it seems to be either small potatoes or ancient history—or both.

The attention Whitewater has received and the sense of endless, partisan bickering over that and other issues in Washington have left Americans feeling dejected about Washington and fearful that government gridlock could once again paralyze the country.

"It's like we're coming down the road and coming to a 'Y' and going down the wrong fork," said Tom Terry, who runs a small refrigeration company in Burlington, Wis.

As a mall security officer in Newburgh, N.Y., put it, the situ-

era believe the country is off track. And when asked whether the Clinton administration has begun to break the gridlock in Washington, 54 percent said no.

The Post-ABC poll found that while 76 percent of those surveyed say Clinton "has a vision for the future of the country," only 54 percent believe he is getting things done. That gap may reflect the pessimism people feel about how things are working in Washington.

Post reporters spent part of last week trailing four House Democrats—some in politically marginal districts—in Wisconsin, New York, North Carolina and California and talking to their constituents during the spring recess.

★ The public's agenda is dominated by health care, and the House members spent part of their time fielding questions about it at town meetings or touring senior citizen centers.

On Tuesday night, freshman Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey (D-N.Y.) held a town meeting in Newburgh and 90 to 100 people turned out. Most of them had questions about health care, and after two hours Hinchey had to cut off the questioning.

Hinchey, an advocate of a single-payer system, like Canada has, found no consensus in the room. Many of those who spoke told personal stories and asked Hinchey to explain how Clinton's plan would affect them.

At one point he tried to describe the details of the administration proposal, and when he got to the issue of health alliances—the regional co-operatives that would serve as insurance marketplaces for the public—eyes in the audience began to glaze over.

After the meeting, Jonathan Jacobson, a local law judge on the state workers compensation board, said the evident confusion "shows how badly Clinton has done in presenting his plan and how easy it is to attack any number of points in a complicated plan. Even though everyone wants reform, right now it is on the defensive."

The White House is well aware of that problem and this week Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will spend most of their time outside of Washington trying to pump up support for what they have proposed.

Eronomy Smith Muhammad, who helps small businesses get established and grow, attended a health care forum in Fayetteville, N.C., on Wednesday night to criticize the administration plan as too complex. "I'm saying to you the simplest way is the best way," Muhammad told Rep. Eva Clayton (D-N.C.), a first-term legislator.

But others defended Clinton's plan. Al Pierce, a Fayetteville businessman, said people are afraid to get sick because of the cost of care. "If his plan is going to help the masses, I'm for it," he said.

Mark Bullock, an insurance agent whose wife suffers from Alzheimer's disease, said he wants the plan passed. "Everybody [is] making a fool out of this health care plan," Bullock said. "God bless health care and Bill Clinton, and I hope their plan goes through."

But in Racine, Keith Knudtson, a mechanical engineer, said he opposes giving government as big a role as Clinton has proposed. "I can't see anything the government's ever got their hand in that didn't cost us twice as much money, take twice as long, take twice as much red tape as any other thing," he said.

After hearing again from their constituents last week, the House members concluded the burden rests on Congress to fashion a compromise from all the competing plans and ideas. "They're confused, but I think they want something done," Hinchey said. "And I think we will be judged by whether we do the job or not."

In a week in which Wall Street was rocked by a 139-point plunge in the Dow-Jones index of industrial stock prices while the Labor Department reported that the economy had produced 450,000 new jobs in February, the picture of the recovery was similarly uneven in different congressional districts.

The Wisconsin economy remains one of the strongest in the country, and Barca's district, parts of which were hard hit a few years ago, has begun to bounce back after a deep recession. Jeanne Hefty, the mayor of Burlington, Wis., said four companies are considering moving operations to her small town.

But Hinchey said his upstate New York district has lost about 60,000 jobs in the last three years, including sizable layoffs by IBM and cuts in defense-related companies.

Michael Hannigan, a security director at a hospital in Newburgh, N.Y., said, "IBM layoffs are starting to affect the retail stores and even real estate. I have friends who worked 20 years at IBM and now they're without jobs."

"Jobs are rough, especially jobs that pay decent money," said Renato Johnson Jr., who moved up from New York City but is thinking about going south "where I hear things are better."

The uneven pattern of the recovery may be one reason Barca and Hinchey face significantly different reelection contests this year. Barca won his seat in a special election a year ago by less than 700 votes. He currently has no Republican opponent. Hinchey is in a rematch against Republican Bob Moppert.

"I find myself in a very uncomfortable position after 15 months in office," Hinchey said. "If [people] are hurting, they're going to blame someone. And they can't blame the people they voted for 10 years ago. They're gone."

Although the economy is not as powerful a political issue as it was two years ago, anger with Congress has not abated. "Sixty percent of them are crooks and they make it impossible for the other 40 percent to get their jobs done," said John Moal, a state corrections department employee from Yankee Lakes, N.Y.

To counteract these impressions, Rep. Anthony C. Beilenson (D-Calif.) tried to tell his constituents last week that the system—finally—is working.

"I'm feeling relatively kindly toward Congress these days, which is something I usually don't do," said the nine-term Democrat, whose district is distinctly less solid than it used to be.

Speaking to Pacific Bell employees, he ticked off a list of accomplishments over the past year—the huge earthquake aid package, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the deficit-reduction package, family leave, national service and the pending crime bill.

Bob Greenwood, a Republican who voted for Ross Perot in 1992, was taken aback by Beilenson's description of the record Clinton and Congress had established. "I'm kind of surprised what he accomplished in a short period," he said. "You don't hear a lot about it."

Many voters still aren't convinced, fearing that the disappearance of Perot as a political force will take the heat off Congress and that House members will continue to take care of themselves before the needs of the country.

Leo Schuh was eating the "garbage plate"—an omelet with everything in it—at Frank's Diner in Kenosha, Wis., Wednesday morning. "Perot started out rattling their cages," he said. "Then it slacked off. What happened? That grass-roots effort can be effective. It can keep government in touch with people, other than at election time."

But many people fear that Whitewater now clouds the agenda and they resent it. "I think they've blown this out of proportion," said May Holland, a Medicare patient at a Fayetteville clinic, who nonetheless said she thinks Clinton may have done something wrong.

When Sameer Mohammed, a Republican, tried to ask Beilenson a long list of written questions about Whitewater during the Pacific Bell meeting, fellow employees gave him enough good-humored razzing that he could not ask them all.

A few, however, believe it is a serious issue that deserves a thorough investigation. Ron Dalton, a Racine civil engineer, said he thinks Clinton "is skirting right on the line" legally and has committed ethical violations. "I think if there was a Republican president in office, Democrats would be jumping all over it the same way Republicans are," he said.

Barca acknowledged that many of his colleagues fear that Whitewater could restore gridlock in Congress and showed the nervousness many House Democrats feel about the potential political impact of the issue when asked by a student whether Clinton did something wrong.

"I don't know for sure, obviously," he said. "I hope he didn't. I'm optimistic that he did not."

Clinton remains a polarizing figure, but many people recognize he is promoting an ambitious domestic agenda and give him credit for trying.

"Clinton is a lot better than I thought," said John Rhoades of Plattekill, N.Y. "I didn't think much of him when he was running, but he's trying."

Michael Wells, president of a wire-working machinery company in Kenosha, didn't vote for Clinton. But he said, "I didn't know if he was truly genuine—and I still don't. He has to prove it to me. But he's making a real effort. He's trying to deliver on his campaign promises."

Balz reported from Wisconsin. Staff writers David S. Broder in New York, Kenneth J. Cooper in North Carolina and William Hamilton in California contributed to this report.

Video, Computer Game Industries Split on Ratings

By Elizabeth Corcoran
Washington Post Staff Writer

Early this year, makers of video games and computer games pledged to Congress that by Christmas their products would carry universal labels describing levels of violence, sex and profanity.

Today, representatives from the industry's two wings again will visit Capitol Hill, but this time they will propose different rating systems.

The system introduced by video gamemakers is winning praise from Congress; the software industry's version is not. "More than 80 percent

of the interactive entertainment industry has made a good faith effort to address our concerns," said Sen. Herbert Kohl (D-Wis.). "And the Software Publishers Association is going the other way."

Kohl supports a system devised by the Interactive Digital Software Association (IDSA), a group of a dozen large companies that make video games played on units that plug into televisions. The association proposes to classify games according to five age groups: early childhood, age 3 and older; kids to adults, age 6 and

See GAMES, B2, Col. 1

Video, Computer Game Firms Differ on Ratings

GAMES, From B1

older; teen, age 13 and older; mature, age 17 and older; and adults only.

The games also would carry statements that describe what level of motor and reading skills children need to play the games, and how much gore and sex are paraded through the games designed for older users.

To receive a rating, a video game-maker would have to submit a 30-minute videotape that includes the most graphic or extreme scenes in the game to the recently created Entertainment Software Rating Board, based in New York.

Teams of three reviewers, trained by the board, would review tapes and assign ratings. The reviews would take about a week to complete and cost about \$500 a game. The association may offer to review the products of small companies for less.

Submitting material for review will be voluntary, but Congress hopes that pressure from parents and retailers will persuade gamemakers to ask for the ratings. A half-dozen retail chains, including Wal-Mart Stores Inc. and Toys R Us Inc., have pledged to support the ratings program.

A lot of money is at stake: About \$6 billion in video games and equipment are sold each year, while sales of computer games are about \$500 million.

"I'm particularly pleased by the proposal," said Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.). "I think the system that they're proposing will be the most comprehensive rating system in existence for any entertainment."

That contrasted with congressional criticism of the software industry, which makes games played on computers. The Software Publishers Association is proposing to rate the levels of violence, nudity and sex, and profanity on a scale of one to four.

Software that contains none of these elements would carry a label saying the game is suitable for all audiences.

None of the SPA-backed ratings are associated with ages. Ken Wasch, executive director of the SPA, said parents and retailers will have to decide what levels are appropriate for certain ages.

To receive a rating for a game, a software maker would fill out a computer-based questionnaire from the still-forming Recreational Software Advisory Council. The developer would answer several questions, including: "Does title contain any of the following in reference to any object, sentient (nonhuman) being, or human being: aggressive violence; damage; destruction; death; rape; blood and/or gore; audio distress of any kind?"

After the developer answers the questions, the computer system would calculate a set of ratings. Software company officials will be asked to attest that they answered the questionnaire truthfully. The completed forms will be submitted to the advisory council. The SPA said, however, that as much as 95 percent of the software industry's games would not trigger a rating.

The software industry chose to create its own ratings because it was worried that the video game industry was driving the IDSA's rating proposals and ignoring concerns of small software companies, Wasch said.

"We don't feel that one portion of the industry should control the ratings for the rest," he said. "Our independence is the sticking point."

But Congress may try to herd the software makers over to the other side. "I hope that the SBA will join with IDSA," Lieberman said, "and I'll do everything I can to make that happen."

Undecided Lawmakers Are Pressed by All Sides

By David S. Broder
and Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writers

A few weeks ago, Sen. Kent Conrad (D-N.D.) found himself the target of three simultaneous advertising campaigns in his home state, all admonishing viewers and listeners to "call Kent Conrad" about health care legislation.

Conrad, a moderate who has been targeted by lobbyists as someone to talk to about the many contentious elements of the health care debate, said he found dealing with an issue as important as health care "very sobering."

Those "who are in the middle, who are moderate in the ideological spectrum of the Senate, wind up with disproportionate influence," he said. "It's the most significant national legislation in 30 years. . . . It affects your constituents; it affects your own family."

Like a rapidly approaching storm, the pressures of health care reform are being heard and felt by uncommitted members of the House and Senate.

Rep. Bart Stupak (D), a freshman from a vast district in northern Michigan, received his first sign that life was going to be more complicated when the National Federation of Independent Business and the Michigan Manufacturers' Association requested appointments last week. "These are groups that have always been opposed to me," Stupak said, "but since I haven't signed on to any bill, I guess they've targeted me."

They have, indeed, and so have dozens of other organizations with agendas for changing, passing or defeating the health care bills expected to come to the floor of the House and Senate in 10 days or so.

The groups all have their eyes on 50 or 60 representatives and half that many senators who have avoided any commitment or have signaled that they might be persuadable on the health care issue. Most of the targets are Democrats, generally from the moderate wing of the party and often, as in Stupak's case, representing districts with substantial conservative and Republican strength.

Two such senators—Richard H. Bryan of Nevada and Conrad—were checked out by President Clinton at one-on-one White House sessions two weeks ago. But the expected administration blitz has not yet begun, largely because the Democratic leaders of the House and Senate are still trying to put the final touches on the bills they will take to the floor.

On the other hand, there has been plenty of internal persuasion, member to member. Rep. Peter Barca (D-Wis.) said, "It comes up in every caucus I attend—the budget caucus, the mainstream caucus, the freshman caucus."

Without exception, uncommitted members said the health care bill has generated more mail over the past year than any other.

Another member on many target lists, Rep. Scotty Baesler (D-Ky.), said his mail is 10 to 1 against Clinton-like bills. Baesler already voted against one such bill in the House Education and Labor Committee and, true to the interests of his tobacco growing and producing district, has vowed to oppose any measure raising cigarette taxes. Still, the mail and telephone calls continue to pour in, imploring him to stand fast or switch.

Often, there is a none-too-subtle implication that votes will be given or withheld. Earlier this week, for example, one delivery contained a letter saying, "As a voter and registered Democrat in the 6th District, I wish to ask you to be against any and all health care bills. . . . I am at the low end of middle class. I save my money and do without some things to have a first-class insurance program. Others can do the same thing."

But the same mail brought this: "As one of your supporters in Berea, I want to strongly urge you to support a health care reform bill which provides universal coverage employer mandate. A plan modeled after the Canadian health care system would be entirely acceptable to me. This must be done immediately; incremental reform is simply unacceptable."

Faced with such contradictory directives, uncommitted legislators have become artists of equivocation in the letters they send back home.

Bryan is using three different letters to respond to three major categories of letter-writers. Senior citizens who urge inclusion of long-term care and prescription drug benefits are given two paragraphs of information on the provisions of the Clinton plan promising such coverage, followed by a statement that, "I will work to try to ensure a plan that provides more flexibility, greater long-term care choices and expanded prescription drug coverage."

Those who oppose the employer mandate are told, "I have not endorsed the administration's proposal" and "I have reservations about requiring employers to shoulder the major costs of financing a new health system."

Those who are skeptical, but not outright opposed, are told that "while there is no doubt we need to make changes, the problem lies in conflicting views on how best that can be accomplished and how to finance changes that cost money. . . . As Congress continues its deliberations and compromises are made on various issues, I will keep your views in mind."