

It is not every day that one gets to hear Senate GOP Conference Chairman Rick Santorum burst into song. But there it was. Egged on by reporters, the Pennsylvania Republican agreed to display his musical chops with a parody of the old TV Western favorite, "Rawhide."

"Stallin', stallin', stallin',

Though it's just appallin',

Democrats are fallin'

In line. . . ."

In a normal week, Santorum's vocal stylings might win the prize for the Senate's weirdest moment. But in a week that included a 39½-hour marathon debate over President Bush's stalemated judicial nominees, it was just one of many unique moments, and not necessarily the weirdest.

From middle-of-the-night press conferences to cots that no one actually used to the warning by one House Republican that Democratic filibusters of Bush's nominees might lead to "anarchy throughout the world," the judge-a-thon created an almost nonstop barrage of surreal images reinforcing how much the judicial battle had turned into an entertainment event.

"I'd like to say welcome to the United States Senate, but I have to say welcome to the new carnival in town," Iowa Democrat Tom Harkin told a packed room of Democrats Nov. 12, just after the 6 p.m. start of the debate that eventually stretched over two nights.

As much as the event was intended to look spontaneous — with outraged citizens supposedly wandering in off the streets to join the battle — it was choreographed from beginning to end, packed with young conservatives eager to bring a more confrontational style to the normally staid Senate.

Story Photo
Sen. Kay Bailey
Hutchison, R-Texas,
talks to Radio America
host Jane Silk Nov. 13.
(CQ PHOTO / SCOTT
J. FERRELL)

The star of the show was Santorum, who organized many of the events and went without sleep much of the first night. He would take the floor to speak five times before the sun rose on the morning of the second day and he departed for a 6:30 a.m. tennis match.

The talkfest was something of a coming-out party for Santorum, who was smiling and giddy for much of the night, winding his way from the floor to press events and interviews to his hideaway office in the Capitol.

He and other junior GOP conservatives, such as Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, Norm Coleman of Minnesota and John Cornyn of Texas, did most of the heavy lifting during the Senate's two overnight sessions. Indeed, it was Graham and Coleman — both freshmen who are finishing their first year in the Senate — who insisted on continuing the debate into a second night, arguing that 30 hours was not enough.

Santorum rarely let up as he stood watch the first night. At 5:24 a.m., irritated by Democrats' oft-repeated claim that the Senate had confirmed 168 judges while blocking only four, Santorum asked for unanimous consent to consider the nominations of Carolyn B. Kuhl for the 9th Circuit and Janice Rogers Brown for the District of Columbia Circuit.

He asked for 50 hours of debate on Brown and 100 hours on Kuhl. Jeff Bingaman, D-N.M., objected to both requests.

"I think we need to change the chart. It's gotta be 168-6 now," Santorum said.

Off the Floor

During the first night, Republicans kept a near-continuous news conference/rally going in the wood-paneled room near the floor where Republicans meet for their weekly policy luncheons. (The second night caught the planners by surprise, so the debate went on without the accompanying fanfare.)

Organized by Santorum's GOP Conference staff, the themed press events were packed well after 4 a.m. with activists from groups with names such as Frontiers of Freedom and Focus on the Family.

Republicans also set up "Talk Show Alley" in the Hart Senate Office Building for conservative broadcasters — which did not get going until the daylight hours Nov. 13 — and a room in the Capitol basement to broadcast on an Internet radio network.

"I consider this a historical event," said Roger Freise of Fairfax County, who described himself as an independent conservative and said he heard about the event through word of mouth.

There were also groups of bleary-eyed high school students who did their best to stay awake.

"I'm really tired of hearing all the . . . radio stories that say the people of the United States don't care about what's going on," Cassandra Whitehurst, 16, of Buena Vista, Va., said around 12:30 a.m. as she waited between press conferences.

The holdup over judicial nominees matters, she said, because "these are the people making our laws."

The rhetoric outside the chamber was often more melodramatic than the charges being hurled back and forth on the Senate floor.

"The very foundation of the republic is at stake here," said Rep. Trent Franks, R-Ariz., who spoke at a 2:30 a.m. press conference. "The liberal intelligentsia has learned that they can't sustain their liberal agenda in any venue but the courts. Hold on to the Constitution. For if it should fall, there will be anarchy throughout the world."

By 3:30 a.m., speakers at another event were accusing Democrats of hoping to hold down minorities and women to keep them voting Democratic. "They want the minority community to look up to them," said the Rev. Louis P. Sheldon, chairman of the Traditional Values Coalition. (Another scheduled speaker, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, was a no-show.)

"Irrespective of what faith you claim to be, there are those who believe in a transcendent God and universal truth, and there are those who don't, and that's pretty much how it breaks out," Santorum said at the 3:30 a.m. news event.

There were no illusions about the motives behind the debate. "For some of these senators, is this a political exercise? Sure, it helps them with their base," said Richard Lessner, executive director of the American Conservative Union after his 2:30 a.m. talk. "This resonates with our base deeply."

Even so, conceded Jim Talent, R-Mo., who was stuck with a 4:00 a.m. time slot, "I guess it'd be nice to say it when someone's listening."

The Other Side

Democrats had promised a similar presence in a "war room" near the floor. But with the exception of short visits from Minority Whip Harry Reid of Nevada and Minority Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota, it was empty until the sun rose on Nov. 13.

Instead, Democrats tried to score their hits mostly during waking hours.

Story Photo
Supporters of Senate Democrats attempt to deliver a satirical children's book to Republicans on Nov. 12. They were turned away, but allowed to

At the rally where Harkin spoke — which took place in the same room the Republicans would later inhabit — a crowd of civil-rights and abortion-rights activists waved signs reading "Justice For The Jobless" and "Recovery?!? 3 Million Jobs Lost."

leave copies at the door.
(CQ PHOTO / SCOTT
J. FERRELL)

Activists read from a picture book titled, "Republican Senators and the Terrible, Horrible, No Good, Very Bad Night" — a takeoff on Judith Viorst's children's book, "Alexander and the Terrible, Horrible, No Good, Very Bad Day." A group of about 50 tried to deliver copies of the book to the GOP's war room. They were turned away — though they were allowed to leave some on the floor outside the door.

Democrats relied on other props to help get their message across. Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont, the ranking Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, waved — but did not wear — a T-shirt proclaiming, "We confirmed 98 percent of Bush's judges, and all we got was this lousy T-shirt."

Republicans did not break out their "Justice for Judges" T-shirts, which featured a quote from Robert F. Kennedy ("Justice delayed is democracy denied"), until later in the evening.

Order, if not peace, prevailed on the Senate floor. Republicans did not offer their controversial proposal to change the filibuster rule, and Democrats refrained from forcing procedural roll call votes that would have dragged senators to the chamber. Ten cots set up in a GOP office went unused.

Democrats did try repeatedly to bring up and pass bills to raise the minimum wage and extend unemployment benefits. Republicans objected or tried instead to force judicial confirmation votes, which in turn caused Democrats to object. Mark Dayton, D-Minn., offered an unsuccessful motion the afternoon of Nov. 13 to deduct 15 hours of pay from all senators.

By the early morning hours of Nov. 13, the galleries remained packed, but much of the steam had vanished from the floor debate. Instead, senators delved into an increasingly twisted discussion of what constitutes a filibuster and how many judicial nominees had been subject to one.

Both sides continued to harp on the points that had been thoroughly explored at the start of the debate — and in the months preceding.

"Everything that's been said has been said many times," Reid said. "I keep saying the same thing. I'm waiting for someone to say something new."

"You know what you learn in politics is that you have to keep repeating," countered Jeff Sessions, R-Ala.

Even Graham, one of the Republicans who volunteered to push the Senate into a second overnight session, did not always seem to be enjoying himself. "We stay up for 30 hours, 39. We start to smell bad," said Graham. "We're just basically punishing ourselves here."

Source: **CQ Weekly**

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CQ TODAY – CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS

Oct. 29, 2003 – 8:18 p.m.

Schwarzenegger Gets Warm Capitol Hill Welcome — Even From Democrats

By Adam Graham-Silverman, CQ Staff

After a full day of meetings with Washington leaders, California's Republican governor-elect Arnold Schwarzenegger seemed as enthusiastic and satisfied as a kid on the way out of an amusement park.

"There was no most exciting part" of the day, he told a lone reporter still tracking him as he exited the last of his whirlwind meetings Wednesday. "It was exciting from beginning to end," he added, before climbing into the back of a black SUV and driving off Capitol Hill.

Schwarzenegger rattled off meetings with Cabinet secretaries, House and Senate leaders and a "great lunch" with "my uncle Teddy" — Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., who is the uncle of Schwarzenegger's wife, Maria Shriver — as the day's highlights.

Lawmakers warmly welcomed the movie star — and the sizable entourage following his every move — as he visited the Hill to establish ties with Congress.

Wednesday was the first of a two-day visit to Washington for the governor-elect, who arrived at Dulles by private jet three weeks and a day after unseating Democrat Gray Davis in a recall election.

Capitol Police officers said the hoopla around Schwarzenegger was considerable, but not on the scale of what typically greets major world leaders.

"We saw him already this morning," said one tourist dismissively who stopped to watch the crowd.

Schwarzenegger spokesman Rob Stutzman told reporters his boss got a candid and cordial reception in a meeting with House GOP leaders. "The chairman of the Budget Committee made it clear that all governors come here asking for money," he said.

Stutzman said Schwarzenegger, who will be sworn in Nov. 17, did not come with requests in hand. "We're not going to get ahead of ourselves," he said.

Pages and members stopped to shake Schwarzenegger's hand as he made his way to a potentially unfriendly environment: A meeting with California's entire congressional delegation, including many of the Democrats who campaigned harshly against him. But the reception he got belied the rough treatment he received only a month ago.

"All I could tell was that everybody wanted to have their picture taken with him," said freshman Rep. Devin Nunes, R-Calif.

Though Democrats approached Schwarzenegger with specific issues — Medicaid and water projects, affirmative action and offshore drilling — they acknowledged he could hardly be expected to absorb information on the broad range of subjects. "These are somewhat esoteric to the governor [sic] right now," said Ellen O. Tauscher, D-Calif.

Boxer Comes Prepared

California Democratic Sen. Barbara Boxer's method of sorting through the clutter lobbed at Schwarzenegger was to offer him a PowerPoint presentation during their brief one-on-one.

Her fellow senator, Democrat Dianne Feinstein — who appeared in ads against Schwarzenegger during the campaign — welcomed him.

"I think the election spoke for itself," she said. "What's past is past. One of the ways I think we have to go is to turn the page

and move on and now's the time to solve some of the problems. I will help him in every way I possibly can."

To which Schwarzenegger rejoined to a reporter: "There you have it. Now what do you have to say?"

Schwarzenegger said he had no hard feelings and then gave Feinstein a dose of good news. He promised to work with her on extending the ban on assault weapons. "Thank you, thank you," she responded.

Feinstein said her method to cope with the celebrity in front of her was to study his shoes — an eye-catching tan pair with gray laces that matched his suit. But she said later his fame would take him only so far.

"It certainly gives him an advantage, no question," she said. "Whether that continues throughout his term always remains to be seen. He commands attention and as he governs he will command respect if he does the right things."

Before heading to lunch with Kennedy and his wife at the Willard Hotel, Schwarzenegger paid a visit to Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist, R-Tenn. He and Senate Appropriations Chairman Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, sat in Frist's office shaking hands and exchanging compliments as dozens of cameras clicked and reporters watched.

Frist said they could build a relationship "on the foundation" of earlier work together on boosting after-school funding.

By 4:30, Schwarzenegger's entourage had thinned to six as he strode into a meeting with Transportation Secretary Norman Y. Mineta holding a lit cigar.

Schwarzenegger will meet with Vice President Dick Cheney on Thursday.

Source: **CQ Today**

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CQ TODAY

Nov. 7, 2003 – 10:30 p.m.

Senate Prepares to Display Its Partisan Tensions

By Adam Graham-Silverman, CQ Staff

If you think the Senate is where the fighting stops and cooler heads prevail, tune in this week. Your view is likely to change.

On Nov. 12, less than two weeks before senators hope to adjourn for the year, all work in the Senate is expected to grind to a halt for a two-day political fight over judicial nominees.

And the holdup may not stop there. With appropriations, Medicare, energy legislation and several second-tier measures adding up to a pile of unfinished business, Republicans and Democrats are about to put all of that on hold and let a year of mounting frustrations spill into the open.

The exchanges are getting uglier. And it is not clear where it will end.

"I have never seen such amateur leadership in all the time I've been in Congress," Minority Whip Harry Reid, D-Nev., said of the Republican plans for the marathon judicial debate. "This is a rank, amateur action."

Majority Leader Bill Frist, R-Tenn., says Democrats have caused the delays by holding up the legislative agenda as well as President Bush's judicial nominees. Democrats have threatened to filibuster the conference report on energy legislation ([HR 6](#)) and possibly the Medicare overhaul bill ([HR 1](#)).

"When they slow walk and don't let things progress, it makes my job a lot harder," Frist said.

Officially, the judicial debate, which will alternate between Republicans and Democrats for each of the 30 hours of floor time, will be about Democratic filibusters of four of Bush's nominees. But judging from the back-and-forth in the Senate on Nov. 7, onlookers can also expect to hear hours of bitter exchanges over how the parties are treating each other within the halls of the Capitol.

Republicans complain that Democrats are delaying their entire legislative agenda. Democrats are angry that Republicans are using valuable time for a talkathon on judicial nominations rather than to finish urgent work such as appropriations bills.

"Now they're saying appropriations is important, but we want to take this 30-hour vacation from appropriations so we can talk about these four jobs," Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., said on Nov. 7.

There have been other sources of partisan frustration, all of which are fueling the debate over judges and could creep into the floor rhetoric.

Democrats, already steaming over being excluded from House-Senate conference committees, are now furious over a White House e-mail that seemed to suggest the administration would stop answering Democratic inquiries about its expenditures.

And the public can expect to hear much more from Republicans about a leaked Democratic staff memo that included suggestions on how to politically exploit the Intelligence Committee's inquiry into prewar intelligence on Iraq.

Frist demanded on Nov. 7 that the memo's author be identified, the memo disavowed and an apology made to Intelligence Chairman Pat Roberts, R-Kan.

Is Adjournment Slipping Away?

The looming judicial debate throws the likelihood of adjourning by Nov. 21—the day Frist says is still his goal—into question.

"It's in great jeopardy," Daschle said. "It's going to be very difficult to meet that deadline now."

Republicans say that is not the case, noting that most of the work on big-ticket items — appropriations, the Medicare prescription drug bill and energy legislation — will take place in negotiations off the floor during that time. "I'm very comfortable with the timing," said Frist.

In addition to spending bills, however, the calendar remains crowded with measures that both parties want to move to the floor — including an Internet tax bill ([S 150](#)), sanctions on Syria ([HR 1828](#)), authorization for defense programs ([HR 1588](#)) and the conference report on military construction appropriations ([HR 2559](#)).

And the partisan frustrations are leading to remarkably bitter exchanges that could easily overwhelm more substantive debates over the merits of Bush's judicial nominees or the ideas behind the Republican legislative agenda.

On Monday, the Senate will take up the Commerce-Justice-State spending bill ([HR 2799](#)), one of three fiscal 2004 appropriations measures it has not passed. The others are the District of Columbia ([HR 2765](#)) and VA-HUD ([HR 2861](#)) bills, but Frist has said any not completed before the judicial debate begins will end up in an omnibus.

That would remove the need for floor time for debate on individual appropriations bills. But by end of Tuesday, any of the other measures that have not been finished will be put on hold until the marathon judicial debate has played itself out.

Frist set up the lengthy pause last week when he formalized a plan to debate Bush's judicial nominations. Republicans have been angered by Democratic filibusters on four nominees, while Democrats note this is a fraction of the number the Senate has confirmed — far more than Republicans acted on under President Bill Clinton.

In addition, Reid complained that Democrats have cooperated on spending bills by holding back on offering controversial amendments. They felt hoodwinked, he said, when they agreed to be in session on Veterans' Day only to learn it was to make room for the judicial debate later in the week.

In the meantime, attempts to move the Internet tax measure last week bogged down over which services the bill should exempt from taxation.

And Reid sparred with Republicans for much of the day on Nov. 7, trying unsuccessfully to bring up the Syria and military construction bills. Then, when Frist tried to get a time agreement on the latter measure, Reid objected.

Despite the rhetorical battles the Senate will display for the public this week, however, all Senate work will not be disrupted. Negotiations on appropriations and Medicare will continue, GOP aides promised. One Frist aide, optimistic about completing the agenda, said the partisan voices belie real action behind the scenes.

"It's like the Wizard of Oz," the aide said. "You've got to look behind the curtain."

John Cochran contributed to this report.

Source: **CQ Today**

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CQ TODAY – POLITICS & ELECTIONS

June 11, 2003 – 9:54 p.m.

Issa Finding Little Support From Fellow Republicans in Drive to Oust Gov. Davis

By Adam Graham-Silverman, CQ Staff

To California Republican Rep. Darrell Issa, a petition to recall Democratic Gov. Gray Davis — and Issa's own campaign to replace him — makes perfect sense.

"The governor abused his power and misled the people of California before an election," Issa said of Davis, who the congressman said hid the extent of the state budget crisis from voters. "I have the best understanding of what's going to motivate businesses to return to California," he said, in explaining his desire to replace Davis, who was elected to a second term last fall.

But the recall effort Issa leads has divided an already fractured state Republican Party and split his House colleagues. Furthermore, it has left Issa in a precarious position, opening him to personal attacks and potentially alienating national Republicans, who worry that a divisive recall fight could energize Democrats in the same year President Bush runs for re-election.

Still, true to form, the second-term Issa is undaunted.

"I find that people worth \$120 million tend to do what they damn well please," said Allen Hoffenblum, a California Republican strategist.

That certainly has been true of Issa, who made millions in the car-alarm business before cutting his political teeth in 1996 by leading a campaign to overturn racial and gender preferences in state contracting and college admissions. Two years later, he spent \$11 million on a failed bid for the GOP nomination to challenge Democratic Sen. Barbara Boxer.

Issa's Latest Move

Efforts to recall Davis have long existed. While overseeing a state budget deficit that has soared to \$38 billion and an energy crisis that subjected the state to rolling blackouts, Davis' poll numbers have plunged. An April 15 Field Poll put his job approval rating at 24 percent.

A recall was little more than talk until Issa injected some momentum behind the drive by contributing \$645,000 to the effort. Organizers need to gather 900,000 signatures by Sept. 2 to initiate a recall vote.

The vote, a winner-take-all ballot for Davis' replacement on which Issa plans to appear, could be held in March 2004, concurrent with the state's primary elections, or possibly sooner.

But Republicans are far from united behind Issa, while Democrats are salivating at the chance to attack.

Issa has encouraged his California GOP House colleagues to follow his lead and contribute to the recall effort. The results so far: zero.

"This is not so much about a positive step forward for the state of California as it is a step forward for a politician," said Rep. Mary Bono, R-Calif., who opposes the recall. "I don't know that he's carefully thought this through. We need somebody who's got a plan in place" to help get the state back on sound financial footing.

Mark Johnson, who was finance chairman of former Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan's 2002 gubernatorial campaign and head of the New Majority, a state political action committee aimed at electing moderate Republicans, characterized the effort as "The unknowing leading the unwilling to do the unnecessary for the ungrateful.

"This is a continuation of what I call bad behavior on the part of extremist, short-sighted zealot Republicans in California

who don't have any ability to look strategically at what's best for the party long-term," Johnson said.

Freshman Rep. Devin Nunes, a conservative from California's Central Valley, presents a different view.

"I don't think Congressman Issa is doing this because he wants to be governor," Nunes said. "[The recall] is reinvigorating the base of the Republican party."

Though Issa describes himself as a "moderate, pro-business" Republican, his opposition to abortion rights, an assault weapons ban and a ban on oil drilling off the coast put him to the right of most California voters. Several women's groups staged protests against Issa June 10, and Davis supporters filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission over his donations to the recall effort.

"Darrell's got plenty of money, but his problem is that he's got a rap sheet like a post office flier," said state Democratic spokesman Bob Mulholland. "He's a godsend for us Democrats. He's going to regret the day he got involved in this recall. We are going to ruin his life."

Other Contenders

Several GOP candidates with higher profiles — and less controversial resumes — could enter the race, Riordan and actor Arnold Schwarzenegger among them.

"Others will jump on once the heavy lifting is done," predicted Bono.

Issa, meanwhile, said he would accept Republicans coalescing around one candidate, even if it is not him.

"I would respect that process. I've been a proponent of that process," he said. "This is not about Darrell getting to be governor."

Talk of a GOP superstar, however, has fueled similar gossip on the Democratic side, where attention has focused on Sen. Dianne Feinstein, who has not ruled it out.

And several analysts said the recall's success could make all 2004 GOP campaigns difficult in the Golden State, where no Republican holds statewide office.

"If the recall succeeds, that means Gray Davis, one of their best straw persons, is gone," said Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a professor at the University of Southern California. "And if the recall succeeds, and a far more popular Democrat gets elected governor, that's bad news for the White House, too."

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Sept. 6, 2003

Page 2143

Always Considered an Awkward Fit, Janklow's Future in Washington Remains Up in the Air

By Adam Graham-Silverman, CQ Staff

Rugged, stoic, pragmatic, earnest, independent and fiercely loyal to his state: These are the words colleagues and longtime observers of South Dakota Rep. Bill Janklow use to describe the freshman Republican. And they are the traits that made him an icon at home after having served 16 years as governor in the 1980s and 1990s.

But the characteristics that catapulted him to the top of the heap in South Dakota politics have not translated well to Congress, where Janklow has not seemed completely comfortable since arriving eight months ago.

Now that he faces a personal and political crisis — Janklow was charged with second-degree manslaughter and three other charges Aug. 29 after speeding through a rural intersection two weeks earlier, colliding with and killing a motorcyclist — his independent ways are only fueling speculation that his first term in Congress will be his only.

"He never seemed to me like a Washington kind of person," said Alan Clem, who has written several political histories of South Dakota. "He was not known as a conciliator but rather as a driver and a leader and an aggressive kind of political figure. That's why some people were a little surprised that he ran for Congress."

One House GOP leadership aide went so far as to characterize Janklow as "not a leadership kind of guy." It is not surprising that he has chosen not to contact leaders to advise them of his political plans or even when he will return to Washington, the aide said.

Indeed, the only contact between Janklow and House leaders since the accident was a phone call made by Majority Whip Roy Blunt, R-Mo., several days after the accident. Blunt said the two of them talked about Janklow's health — he injured his hand and head in the collision — but not about his political future.

Janklow decided to run for South Dakota's sole House seat last year only after the entry of a longtime political nemesis, former Republican Sen. Larry Pressler (1979-97). He defeated Pressler in the primary — the seat was being vacated by Republican John Thune (1997-2003), who unsuccessfully challenged Democratic Sen. Tim Johnson. In the general election, Janklow held off an aggressive challenge from Democratic lawyer Stephanie Herseth, winning with 54 percent of the vote.

Maverick Attitude

From the beginning, Janklow made clear he was running the campaign on his own terms, and at one point demanded that the National Republican Campaign Committee (NRCC) pull TV ads critical of Herseth that he thought would backfire.

His House service has been marked by the same maverick attitude. In June, he grouched to the Associated Press that Congress could get more done if it was in session more often.

"A lot of good people don't work very hard," Janklow said of his colleagues, noting that very few votes are scheduled on Mondays or Fridays.

As governor, Janklow was known for working long hours and for a hands-on, take-charge approach. When a tornado decimated the town of Spencer, he drove there, set up shop and took control. When looking for spots to trim the state's budget, he closed down a teacher's college and sold off the state-run cement plant. Such moves earned him admiration in some quarters and spite in others, as well as the nickname "Wild Bill."

"Many are not in love with his style but they respect his independence, and he has always been an independent politician," said Elizabeth Smith, a University of South Dakota political science professor. "His style is to roll the sleeves up and get

involved."

Analysts say Janklow's actions since the accident are out of character. He has not spoken publicly and appeared weak at a Sept. 2 court appearance that set a Sept. 25 preliminary hearing in his case. Clem and Smith both said they did not expect Janklow to seek re-election in 2004. Janklow declined to comment.

NRCC Chairman Thomas M. Reynolds of New York said his first concern was for Janklow's health. As for a decision on resigning or retiring: "That's up to him and the state of South Dakota."

Source: **CQ Weekly**

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Sen. Norm Coleman (R–Minn.)

Junior Senator from [Minnesota](#)



Hometown: St. Paul

Born: August 17, 1949; Brooklyn, N.Y.

Religion: Jewish

Family: Wife, Laurie Coleman; four children (two deceased)

Education: Hofstra U., B.A. 1971 (political science); Brooklyn Law School, attended 1972-74; U. of Iowa, J.D. 1976

Military Service: None

Career: Lawyer; state prosecutor and solicitor general; city welfare aide

Elected: 2002 (1st term); Defeated Walter F. Mondale, D, to succeed Paul Wellstone, D, who died

Political Highlights: Sought Democratic nomination for mayor of St. Paul, 1989; mayor of St. Paul, 1994-02 (served as a Democrat 1994-96); Republican nominee for governor, 1998

Committees:

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- Foreign Relations (African Affairs; International Economic Policy, Export & Trade Promotion; Near Eastern & South Asian Affairs; Western Hemisphere, Peace Corps & Narcotics Affairs - chairman)
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CQ Politics in America Profile

(Updated: April 2003)

Coleman is a Brooklyn native whose accent betrays his roots: He was a high school classmate of New York Democratic Sen. Charles E. Schumer. But the distance he traveled en route to a Senate seat in Minnesota is just a small part of Coleman's unusual political trajectory.

Coleman was a bona fide 1960s liberal who attended Woodstock, led barefoot student protests against the Vietnam War and served as a roadie for the long-forgotten rock group Ten Years After. He eventually earned a law degree and became a state prosecutor and solicitor general in Minnesota before being elected mayor of St. Paul — as a Democrat.

Yet Coleman switched to the Republican Party in December 1996, was re-elected mayor in 1997 and was the party's unsuccessful nominee in the 1998 election for governor won by independent Jesse Ventura.

By 2002, he had become President Bush's handpicked challenger to Democrat Paul Wellstone, a staunch liberal with whom Coleman once was allied. And steadfast White House support helped Coleman to victory

despite the sympathy engendered by Wellstone's death when his campaign plane crashed just 11 days before he was to stand for a third term in the Senate. The Democrats replaced Wellstone on the ballot with an icon of Minnesota politics, Walter F. Mondale, who was a Minnesota senator for more than a decade, vice president under Jimmy Carter and the 1984 Democratic presidential nominee.

Coleman's victory by 2 percentage points — less than 50,000 votes — which helped the GOP clinch control of the Senate for the 108th Congress, completed his transformation into a Baby Boomer fiscal and social conservative. Still, he is seeking to position himself as a moderate voice in the Republican Party — something he may have to achieve to obtain electoral security in politically volatile Minnesota.

His ideological shift came about gradually. Coleman points to the deaths of two of his children as infants as inspiring him to oppose abortion and support “pro-family” issues. As mayor of St. Paul during the economic boom of the 1990s, he developed increasingly pro-business sentiments while working to revitalize a city where Democratic voters predominate. His party switch spurred catcalls from Democrats who accused him of political opportunism, but it earned him the warm GOP embrace that lingered long enough to help send him to the Senate.

Coleman lines up with Bush on most defense, trade and tax issues, including support for fast-track trade negotiating authority and reduced regulations on businesses. In 2002 and after, Coleman supported the White House proposals for creating a federal prescription drug benefit, establishing the Homeland Security Department, waging a war against Iraq and permitting workers to invest some of their Social Security set-asides in personal accounts. He also supports making permanent the 2001 Bush tax cut. Yet Coleman said the second wave of tax cuts the president proposed in 2003 were too costly and would not stimulate the economy quickly enough. He joined 10 moderate senators to draft an alternative plan.

In two other breaks with the president, Coleman opposes oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and would lift the trade embargo of Cuba, in part to bolster export of Minnesota farm goods.

From his first days in the Senate, Coleman indicated that his would be a pragmatic approach. After voting for a narrowly focused drought aid plan, Coleman said he supported it because it had a better chance of enactment than more comprehensive — and expensive — legislation. “When I was running for the United States Senate I promised to get something done for disaster relief for Minnesota farmers,” Coleman said in his first Senate speech. “I didn't promise to vote for something everyone knows is going nowhere and then shrug my shoulders and say, ‘Gee whiz, I tried.’ ”

Coleman changed tacks on farm aid in the campaign, at first supporting Bush's position of restraint, then backing a push for new relief. The switch underscores the efforts Coleman has had to make to attract rural voters: With his New York accent, blow-dried hair and gleaming smile, his big-city image was difficult to shake on the campaign trail.

His appointment to the Agriculture Committee may help. Coleman wants to expand farm loans and create a grant program for rural small businesses. And he has spoken in support of alternative energy sources, particularly ethanol and biodiesel made from Minnesota corn and soybeans.

Coleman scored an early coup as a freshman when he was named chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, one of the more powerful forums in Congress for inquiries into government, business and political malfeasance.

His Senate victory did not climax an unbroken record of electoral success. Coleman lost his first race for mayor in 1989; nine years later, he came in 3 points behind Ventura, with a rather unimpressive 34 percent of the vote. Yet the statewide name identification he developed in that race — and his potential to cut into the

Democratic vote in St. Paul and other cities — convinced GOP strategists that he was their pick to take on Wellstone. It took some lobbying: Coleman had his sights set on another run for governor, while Republican state legislative leader Tim Pawlenty planned to run for the Senate. But Vice President Dick Cheney called Pawlenty and persuaded him to instead enter the governor's race (which he won) pushing Coleman toward the Senate contest instead.

An eight-year record as mayor was at the heart of Coleman's campaign. The city experienced job growth, new downtown investment and the return of pro hockey to Minnesota for the first time since the North Stars left for Dallas in 1993 — all without raising property taxes. Coleman contended that he had a bipartisan approach that would make him more effective than Wellstone, who was always better known for standing by his principles than for racking up legislative accomplishment.

In reply, Wellstone was able to point to the hearty endorsement his own 1996 re-election has received from Coleman at a state Democratic convention just months before the mayor's party switch. Paradoxically, Coleman's speech at that convention was used in a television advertisement to suggest that his word could not be trusted.

The contest was seemingly deadlocked when Wellstone, his wife, daughter, three aides and two pilots died in the crash of their small chartered plane in northern Minnesota.

Shocked and grieving Democrats turned to Mondale, who would have been the seventh former vice president to later become a senator; the most recent was Hubert H. Humphrey, who after serving under President Johnson was a senator for seven years until his death in 1978.

Many Democrats expected that the Minnesota situation would be something of a replay of what had happened in Missouri's Senate race in 2000, when Democrat Mel Carnahan also died in a campaign plane crash but was elected posthumously. But the tide turned when a televised memorial for Wellstone turned overtly partisan and began a backlash against Mondale. Angered by the service's tone, after the general election Ventura appointed fellow independent Dean Barkley to fill out the rest of Wellstone's term in the 107th Congress.

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CQ Politics in America: State Description

(Updated: April 2003)

STATE LEGISLATURE

Legislature: Meets January-May in odd-numbered years;
February-April in even-numbered years

House: 134 members, 2-year terms
2003 breakdown: 82R, 52D; 102 men, 32 women
Salary: \$31,140
Phone: (651) 296-2146

Senate: 67 members, 4-year terms
2003 breakdown: 31R, 35D, 1I; 44 men, 23 women
Salary: \$31,140
Phone: (651) 296-0504

STATE TERM LIMITS

Governor: No
Senate: No
House: No

CAMPAIGN FUND FIGURES CONFIRM CONDIT'S ELECTION DIFFICULTIES

By Adam Graham-Silverman, CQ Staff Writer

Feb. 1, 2002 - It was only in early December that California state Rep. Dennis Cardoza officially began his challenge to Democratic Rep. Gary A. Condit in the March 5 primary.

Yet Cardoza, a former Condit aide, raised more money than Condit in the second half of 2001 and had a bit more campaign cash on hand than the embattled incumbent at the end of the year.

These figures are a barometer of Condit's uphill fight for re-election, as most incumbents have little trouble raising large amounts of campaign money.

[Link to PDF](#)
[House race fundraising](#)

The candidates' filings with the Federal Election Commission show that Cardoza attracted support from local farmers and friends in California's 18th District.

Condit's support base dwindled to a few die-hards who have been willing to overlook the damaging publicity over his alleged affair with Washington intern Chandra Levy, who disappeared last May.

"I do not think Condit's viable at this point," said Thomas Kaljian of C.T. Kaljian Ranches in Los Banos, Calif. Kaljian has given to Condit's campaigns in the past, but gave \$250 to Cardoza in December. "Because of his problems, I think the public has discounted him."

Since Cardoza opened his campaign account in early November, 134 individuals gave contributions of \$200 or more. Most of them hailed from the 18th, a largely rural and agricultural district in California's Central Valley that includes Modesto and part of Stockton.

Cardoza raised \$144,000 and had \$77,000 cash on hand by the end of the year.

Condit, meanwhile, raised \$37,000 between July and December 2001 — a sharp dropoff from the \$195,000 the long-popular incumbent raised during the first half of the year. He received 25 donations over \$200 from individuals in the second half of the year, including only three between July 12 and Dec. 19, compared with 145 donors in the first half.

Meanwhile, Condit spent \$310,000 in the second half of 2001, much of it on legal and public relations fees as he sought to defend himself against allegations about his involvement with Levy. Authorities say Condit is not suspected of any legal wrongdoing in the Levy case.

Condit — who surprised most observers when he opted to seek a seventh full term and met the Dec. 7 candidate filing deadline — ended the year with \$76,000 in the bank, slightly less than Cardoza.

Four donors asked for refunds, amounting to a total of \$2,750, from the Condit campaign during the second half of the year. The Philip Morris company's political action committee gave Condit's campaign \$500 in September, but stopped payment on the check.

Not All Negative

Cardoza spokesman Doug White said that Cardoza's campaign had doubled its fundraising since Jan. 1, a claim that could not be independently confirmed.

Many donors said their support of Cardoza meant no ill will toward Condit, stating that they knew Cardoza personally through his work as a state assemblyman and in his previous career.

"It doesn't have anything to do with current controversy," said Merced attorney Kenneth Robbins, who gave to both Condit and Cardoza in 2001. "I'm going to listen to what everybody has to say, and make up my mind at a later date."

While party leaders tend to reflexively support incumbents, Cardoza has received the endorsements of several California Democratic members of Congress, including Sens. Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer.

The only donation from a sitting member of Congress by year's end, however, came from Democratic Rep. Zoe Lofgren, whose campaign committee gave him \$1,000.

Cardoza received \$44,000 from political action committees, including \$5,000 each from the organized labor PACs of AFSCME, IBEW, SEIU and the International Association of Firefighters. Citigroup, a major banking interest, gave him \$10,000.

Condit's PAC support did not totally abandon him, however. He got a total of \$18,500 from PACs during the period, including two \$5,000 donations from the Blue Dogs PAC, which supports moderate and conservative Democratic candidates. He also received support from the Realtors PAC, Sun Maid Growers of California, the National Cattlemen's Beef Association, Bank of America, Sunkist and Blue Cross/Blue Shield.

Many of Condit's campaign expenses were related to the controversy that surrounded him. He paid about \$102,000 to his attorney Abbe Lowell's Los Angeles law firm. He also paid more than \$16,000 to Ein Communications for the services of spokeswoman Marina Ein.

Among other consultant and fundraising fees, he paid \$4,256 to his daughter Cadee, \$3,000 of which was earmarked for fundraising consulting.

In part because Condit's troubles put his seat at risk, the Democratic-dominated legislature's redistricting plan adapted his 18th District to include more Democratic voters.

Republicans plan to contest the seat. The two top GOP primary candidates — state Rep. Dick Monteith and Modesto City Councilman Bill Conrad — raised more money in the second half of 2001 than Condit.

But neither ended up with as much in the bank as Condit, nor could they touch Cardoza's numbers. Monteith raised \$68,000 and had \$44,000 cash on hand, while raised \$56,000 and had \$4,000 in the bank.

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Many PACs on Incumbent Face-offs: If You Choose, You May Lose

By Adam Graham-Silverman, CQ Staff Writer

April 18, 2002 - There will be at least nine House races this year in which incumbents will have to run against each other because of redistricting.

The biggest impact in these races obviously falls on the colleagues-turned-competitors. But incumbent matchups also can cause heartburn for donors to political campaigns, particularly political action committees (PACs), which often have tough decisions to make when a remap pairs two members they have previously supported.

PACs that have backed both candidates in the past are faced with a difficult choice: Pick sides (and risk backing the losing candidate and antagonizing the winner); stay out of a race (which also will not score points with the eventual winner); or contribute to both candidates (ambiguous, but it at least assures being on the winning side).

A look at the campaign finance reports for the first quarter of the year shows that many PACs, hoping to preserve their influence, chose the latter course for races in which incumbents are paired.

In Connecticut's 5th District, where Republican Nancy L. Johnson is facing Democrat Jim Maloney, Johnson received \$23,000 in 2002 from PACs that also gave to Maloney. Maloney received \$18,000 this year from PACs that also gave to Johnson.

Of the 10 PACs that gave to both sides in the race — ranked by CQ as No Clear Favorite — four contributed identical amounts in 2002.

In some cases, the candidates received donations from separate PACs associated with a single company. For example, Johnson got money from the United Technologies PAC, while Maloney has donations from that company's employees' PAC.

Most of the overlap, though, comes from PACs representing financial and insurance groups that occupy the district.

“Both of them have gotten [our] contributions for many years, and the reason both have received contributions is that Johnson is on Ways and Means ... and Maloney is on Financial Services,” said John Collins, a spokesman for the Investment Company Institute, whose PAC gave each candidate \$1,000 this year. “It would be both unfair and inconsistent to choose between the two.”

Both sides in four of the incumbent matchup races received donations from one PAC, the Great Lakes Sugar Beet Growers.

Those races were Democrat Ronnie Shows vs. Republican Charles W. “Chip” Pickering Jr. in Mississippi's 3rd District, and the following Democratic primary matchups: John D. Dingell vs. Lynn Rivers in Michigan's 15th District, Frank R. Mascara vs. John P. Murtha in Pennsylvania's 12th District and James A. Barcia vs. Dale E. Kildee in Michigan's 5th District.

There is some speculation that Barcia will retire rather than take on Kildee.

Many PACs that have given to both sides were careful to equalize their contributions so as not to appear to favor one member over another.

In the intraparty Aug. 6 Republican primary matchup in Georgia's 7th District between incumbents Bob Barr and John Linder, for example, the three PACs that contributed to both this year gave the same amounts — including \$500 to each from BOBS PAC, which is affiliated with former Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert L. Livingston, R-La. (1977-99).

Only two incumbent pairings — Democrat David Phelps versus Republican John M. Shimkus in Illinois' 19th District and Republicans Steve Buyer and Brian Kerns in Indiana's 4th District — had no overlapping PAC donations.

But some PACs are signaling in other races that they may have to choose sides between two allies — even in some cases in which a PAC already has donated to both.

Republican George W. Gekas and Democrat Tim Holden are paired in Pennsylvania's 17th District, and the PAC for telecommunications giant Verizon has given money to both members' campaigns. Yet a Verizon PAC official said the more recent donation, \$2,500 to Gekas on March 28, indicates the PAC's support for his election.

Likewise, an official of the National Association of Realtors' PAC, which gave \$4,000 to both Gekas and Holden this year, said the PAC will pick sides once the state's remap — the subject of legal action because of a population differential between districts — becomes final.

Many House members have their own political action committees, and some have risked cloakroom comity to take sides in matchups between two of their own party's incumbents.

For example, in the Aug. 6 Democratic primary matchup in Michigan's 15th District, 23-term Rep. Dingell received \$1,000 from a committee associated with West Virginia Democrat Nick J. Rahall II. Four-term Rep. Rivers got a total of \$3,000 from the committees of California Democrats Nancy Pelosi and George Miller.

Source: **CQ Monitor News**

Round-the-clock coverage of news from Capitol Hill.

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Riordan Campaign Manager Has War Chest of His Own

By Adam Graham-Silverman, CQ Staff Writer

Feb. 27, 2002 - It is little wonder that former Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan tapped California Republican Mark Chapin Johnson as finance chairman for his gubernatorial campaign this year.

Johnson has one of the nation's most richly funded House campaign committees, with nearly \$1 million in the bank. Which is not bad for a guy who isn't even running for office.

Johnson, who owns a medical supply company, hoped for a time last year that he would be a member of Congress by now. He set up the committee and gave it \$1 million in April in the form of an interest-free loan from his own accounts.

Since then, though, the money has been earning interest, as Johnson's political hopes were derailed by circumstances beyond his control.

Johnson had planned to bid for the 47th District seat of California Republican Rep. Christopher Cox — if Cox was nominated by President Bush, as had been expected, to be a judge on the 9th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals. Johnson, a longtime Cox supporter, lives in Southern California's Orange County, much of which is represented by the seven-term lawmaker.

But Cox's nomination, and Johnson's House ambitions, were halted after Vermont Sen. James M. Jeffords switched from Republican to independent last June.

That put Democrats in control of the Senate — and the process of confirming Bush's judgeship nominees. And Johnson quickly realized that his dreams of running for the House would be deferred: He said liberal California Democratic Sen. Barbara Boxer would “die on the Hill” before allowing the conservative Cox to be confirmed.

Staying Involved

Cox withdrew his name from consideration after the switch and is running for re-election this year. A popular figure who has won 65 percent of the vote or more in each of his general elections, Cox almost certainly will hold his seat for as long as he wants to.

But Johnson is keeping busy, building a political base as he waits for a new opportunity to run for office.

He is a co-founder of the New Majority, a state political action committee (PAC) with a goal of electing Republicans with moderate social views.

WISH List, a PAC representing Republican women in Congress, is among the New Majority's contributors.

New Majority members raised more than \$2 million for Bush's campaign for president in 2000 and have been active in several state legislative races this year.

Johnson said California's Republican Party, which has been in a slump for nearly a decade, is on its way from “irrelevant to extinct” unless it adopts a more inclusive platform, including support for abortion rights.

That is an argument made strongly by GOP moderate Riordan in his March 5 primary contest for governor with two more conservative Republicans, businessman Bill Simon and California Secretary of State Bill Jones. Johnson is directing New Majority money toward Riordan's campaign and said he has personally given in the "substantial six figures" to Riordan.

As for his dormant congressional campaign committee, Johnson will leave the money there for the time being, just in case.

"Should something happen," he said. "Right now, it's in limbo."

Source: **CQ Monitor News**

Round-the-clock coverage of news from Capitol Hill.

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CQ TODAY – APPROPRIATIONS: FISCAL '04 SUPPLEMENTAL

Sept. 25, 2003 – Updated 12:02 p.m.

Senate Democrats Back Away From Opposing Action on Iraq Bill Next Week

By Adam Graham-Silverman, CQ Staff

Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist, R-Tenn., has laid the groundwork to take up President Bush's \$87 billion Iraq supplemental spending request next week.

Despite floor protests from Democrats that bookended the Senate's business Thursday, Frist appeared ready to push on to the measure.

"My objective is to bring it to the floor," he said. "Why? Because we're in a war, a war against terrorism."

By the end of the day, both parties agreed to allow an Appropriations Committee markup of the measure Sept. 29, according to aides from both parties. And a Republican aide said the GOP does not expect Democrats to object to moving the measure to the floor later in the week.

Democrats, however, said they remained concerned that the measure was moving too fast and that they would be unable to offer amendments.

Early in the day, Democratic leaders warned that they might delay the bill's consideration.

"I don't know that I can recall ever having witnessed the depth of anger and deep-seated frustration expressed by all of our membership as a result of the scheduling decisions made with regard to the supplemental next week," said Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D.

Daschle said if Republicans proceed, "it will be very, very difficult to reach some degree of procedural accommodation."

But as the day went on and Daschle negotiated the schedule, he sounded less confrontational.

Democrats sought to delay the markup to at least Sept. 30 but abandoned that strategy when Republicans insisted they would then take the bill to the floor Oct. 1.

Notably angered by the schedule was Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., who aired the dispute on the floor Thursday evening.

"I see this bill as being ramrodded through the Senate when there's no necessity," said Byrd, the ranking Democrat on the Appropriations Committee.

Frist promised an "adequate" debate on the floor, saying it must be acted on before the Senate takes a weeklong recess Oct. 6.

"I think that people deserve that debate on the floor of this body, free debate, free amendment, starting as soon as we can," Frist said.

He noted that seven hearings had been held on the president's request, in addition to briefings to both parties' caucuses.

Byrd said he refused to agree to a GOP offer to move the markup to Sept. 30 in exchange for Democratic agreement to schedule floor consideration the next day. Frist disputed Byrd's characterization of that offer.

Byrd suggested continuing discussions on the bill but was interrupted as Don Nickles, R-Okla., called for a vote on a pending judicial nomination. That was the last piece of business for the week, and sent senators home and thus out of range for discussion.

House appropriators say they will not be rushed into marking up the president's request. Members of the Appropriations Defense Subcommittee are traveling to Baghdad this weekend to take a first-hand look at the situation.

Appropriators will then decide if they need more hearings on the request, committee spokesman John Scofield said.

First posted Sept. 25, 2003 11:01 a.m.

Source: **CQ Today**

Round-the-clock coverage of news from Capitol Hill.

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