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ENTITLED THE CLOSURE OF CHANUTE AIR FORCE BASE

A STUDY OF CONGRESSMEN'S GOALS

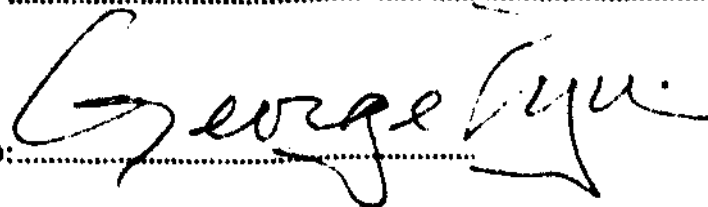
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**THE CLOSURE OF CHANUTE AIR FORCE BASE  
A STUDY OF CONGRESSMEN'S GOALS**

BY

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THESIS

FOR THE  
DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ART  
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**"CHANUTE ON BASE 'RIT' LIST"--this banner headline in the Champaign-Urbana News Gazette appeared December 29, 1988. The consequences of the headline had far reaching effects for Rantoul, Illinois, a small community located approximately 100 miles south of Chicago. On that day, the Defense Secretary's Commission on Base Realignment and Closure announced Chanute Air Force Base, located in Rantoul, along with 144 other military bases would be realigned /1/ or closed. Chanute and 85 other bases were targeted for closure. Five military bases were to be partially closed, and another 54 bases were to be realigned. The commission's report was approved by then Secretary of Defense, Frank C. Carlucci, on January 5, 1989.**

**For two decades congressmen have resisted the Pentagon's efforts to close military installations in their districts. With the recent base closure, aimed at shutting down obsolete U.S. military installations and reducing the federal defense budget, congressmen were unable to save military bases in their district, because the law was written very narrowly to avoid this problem. To circumvent efforts**

**/1/Realignment according to an Air Force official is the integration of existing programs into a smaller number of programs at a given base. For example, instead of having 13 divisions, a realigned base would have only 10 units.**

by members of Congress to protect constituent's jobs by keeping a base in business, the new bill (S 2749 - PL 100-526) authorized an independent twelve member commission to recommend by December 31, 1988 a list of bases to be closed or sharply reduced in size (CQ Almanac 1988, p.1j).

The Base Closure and Realignment Law (PL 100-526) was passed by an 82-7 vote in the Senate and 370-31 vote in the House on October 12, 1988 and later signed by then President Reagan. The recommendations of the Base Closure and Realignment Commission had to be accepted or rejected by Congress in their entirety, "in toto" (CQ Almanac 1988, p. 439). These measures prevented Congressmen from saving individual bases, as they had been able to do in the past. By law, Congress was not required to vote on the recommendation package, but failure to bring the proposal up for a vote would mean automatic passage.

As a result, for over a year, base closure has frequented local headlines. Why has this issue become so significant at a time when the public has been crying out for a reduction of the federal deficit through a decrease in the defense budget? The government made a cutback and yet has been harshly criticized for doing so by affected constituencies. In fact the base closure process was set up to eliminate local biases and prevent interference in order to do what was best for the country as a whole.

Nevertheless, representatives from a few states, those most affected, are fighting desperately to save military bases in their districts, trying to do exactly what the Base Closure and Realignment Law attempted to prevent.

Why have representatives from Illinois, California, and New Jersey become so involved with this issue? What has sparked their interest? It is not a popular position to take in Washington. Senators Paul Simon (D-Ill) and Alan J. Dixon (D-Ill) were two of only seven Senators who opposed the passage of S2749. Madigan (R-Ill) and Bruce (D-Ill) were two of a small minority of 31 in opposition. They must have personal motivations. Assuming this is so, what are their motivations? In order to determine the answers to these questions, the role of the Illinois representatives involved in the Chanute Air Force Base Closure will be examined. But first, the commission's guidelines need to be mentioned.

The commission used the following criteria of measurement to determine their recommendations for closure:

1. The current and future mission requirements and the impact on operational readiness of the military departments concerned.
2. The availability and condition of land and facilities at both the existing and potential receiving locations.
3. The potential to accommodate contingency,

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mobilization, and future force requirements at receiving locations.

4. The cost and manpower implications.

5. The extent and timing of potential cost savings, including whether the total cost savings realized from the closure or realignment of the base will, by the end of the six year period beginning with the date of completion of the closure or realignment of the base, exceed the total amount expended to close or realign the base.

6. The economic impact on the community in which the base to be closed or realigned is located.

7. The community support at receiving locations.

8. The environmental impact.

9. The implementation process involved.

(Base Closure and Realignment Commission Brochure, 1989, p.6)

In response to the commission's recommendations, House Resolution 165 was proposed by Jim Courter (R-NJ). HR165 proposed Congressmen disapprove the Commission on Base Realignment and Closure's recommendations. HR165 failed to pass by a 381 to 43 vote in the House. /2/ The resolution

/2/The resolution was not voted on in the Senate, because once it was rejected in the House, it failed.

not only had to be approved in both houses of Congress, but it also had to be signed by the president. Additionally, failure to pass the joint resolution meant that the closure law would go into effect in early May.

Among those voting for HR165, 31 of the 43 'yes' votes were from Illinois, California, and New Jersey. Savings from these states accounts for 70% or \$493 million of the projected \$694 million in annual savings from base closure (Congressional Quarterly 1989, p.918). Included in the group from Illinois were Madigan and Bruce. All but seven of the 22 member Illinois delegation voted yes. Representative Lynn Martin of the 16th district in Illinois was among those voting no. When the voting record is examined, the question arises, why did these Congressmen reject the Commission's plan and others like Martin support the plan? What was their reasoning, their motivation?

In addition to Bruce and Madigan, Senators Dixon and Simon strongly oppose the closure of Chanute Air Force Base. At the request of these four Illinois congressmen the General Accounting Office (GAO), the financial investigative arm of Congress, examined the commission's decision on Chanute (Rantoul Press July 12, 1989). The GAO's preliminary report was unpublished in late June, although some information was released (Rantoul Press June 29, 1989). According to preliminary findings by the GAO, Chanute would have scored



higher under the formula used to justify its closing if the commission had worked with current information instead of statistics from the late 1970s.

According to the final report, which was released in December, the government will not save as much money as originally estimated by closing or realigning fifteen of the bases, including Chanute. The results show savings will be about \$453 million per year instead of the projected \$622 million estimated by the commission. Closing Chanute will save \$55.1 million a year rather than the projected \$68.7 million. The report also confirmed that the commission erred in ranking Chanute last in military value among the five Air Force technical training centers. The GAO said Chanute should have been ranked second or at worst third (News Gazette December 12, 1989).

The savings estimate was wrong because projected personnel cuts will not occur. Many employees' jobs will not be cut, instead they will be relocated in other federal jobs (News Gazette November 30, 1989). Additionally, it will cost more to clean up environmental problems than originally planned. The estimate increased from \$5 million to \$36 million. Twenty-one million dollars will be spent to clean up seven inactive landfills and fuel dump sites. Another \$15 million will be needed to remove asbestos from base buildings, 70 unused underground fuel storage tanks, and 500

electrical transformers containing toxic PCBs (New Gazette November 14, 1989). Finally, the GAO did not examine the cost of buying homes of civilian and military personnel. Since 1966, the government has assisted homeowners affected by realignments and closures in minimizing financial difficulty. It is estimated that one-third of the homes in Rantoul are owned by military personnel alone, not including civilians or personnel who own homes in other communities (News Gazette December 12, 1989).

Despite these factors and errors noted by the GAO, the report concluded the recommendations were sound and logical because the closure will ultimately serve the purpose of base closure - saving money (Rantoul Press December 12, 1989). The numerous oversights in the decisions of both the closure commission and the GAO have opened the door for intense scrutiny by congressmen whose districts are affected. The question is why has this issue become so politically significant for these congressmen? The answer lies in examining the political motivations held by congressmen; such an examination follows.

#### POLITICAL GOALS - REELECTION

According to Richard F. Fenno, Jr. in Congressmen in Committees (1973, p.1), "members of the House are congressmen

first and committee members second. Individual congressmen hold certain political goals, and each member wants committee service to bring them some benefit in terms of goals they hold as individual congressmen. Of all these goals espoused by members of the House, three are basic: reelection, power, and public policy." From the premise of these goals, Illinois congressmen involved will be discussed based on their response to the Chanute closure decision.

But first, the goals themselves need to be discussed. Looking at the first goal - reelection, it can be seen that failure to serve the constituency can be detrimental to reelection. Congressmen are engaged in constituency service because it helps them achieve their fundamental goal of reelection. Allocation or cutbacks of federal expenditures to a congressman's district can affect his reelection prospects in at least three ways (Arnold 1979, p.28).

First, if a congressman can convince a program's direct beneficiaries he was in some way responsible, they may have an incentive to support him in subsequent campaigns (Arnold 1979, p.29). In contrast they may punish him if he is irresponsible. With the Chanute situation, a program is being taken away not added, however, the same principle can be applied. If the congressmen do not work to prevent the closure, they could be punished, and conversely rewarded for helping to prevent closure. However, they may be punished in

future elections because of their inability to prevent closure. Additionally, if congressmen work towards finding possible reuses, they will be rewarded by their constituents.

Second, allocation of funds to a congressman's district allow him to generate favorable publicity for himself (Arnold 1979, p.29). Congressmen believe a well-known, well-respected incumbent is more difficult to defeat than an unknown incumbent. One way in which publicity can be generated is to become associated with an event considered newsworthy by local journalists. Coverage of an event then carries with it free publicity for a congressman (Arnold 1979, p.29). Congressmen often make announcements of federal money themselves so they can get a message to their constituents. The most important part of such a message is the mention of the congressman's name (Arnold 1979, p.30). The second part of the message that is important is the announcement that the congressman has done something for the district (Arnold 1979, p.30).

The vast amount of coverage the Chanute closing has received shows Illinois journalists consider it to be an extremely newsworthy event. A loss of funds can generate publicity in the same way that an allocation of funds can. In both cases, Congressmen need to use the publicity to help themselves. In this case, the publicity needs to mention the congressmen's names and tell what they have done to prevent

closure and tell what they are doing to aid recovery. The publicity has issued both of these messages, thereby helping the congressmen work towards reelection. As with any situation, if the publicity is negative, it will have the reverse effect.

Finally the allocation of federal expenditures can affect the prosperity of local economies and the prosperity of a district's economy can influence a congressman's prospects for reelection. Large expenditures such as those for military installations can make the difference between a prosperous and a depressed economy (Arnold 1979, p.30). If the performance of the local economy can be traced to a large decline in federal expenditures, resulting in the closure of a military installation, the incumbents may be blamed for the economic decline (Arnold 1979, p.31). There are individual cases in which local economic decline is thought to have contributed to a congressman's defeat (Arnold 1979, p.31).

E.S. Johnny Walker (D-N.M.), a member of the armed services committee lost in seat in 1968, in part a result of the closure of Walker Air Force Base, an installation in his district with nearly 6,000 personnel. In 1960, the city of Roswell, where Walker was located, was the state's second largest city with 39,000 residents. The Johnson Administration shut down the nearby base in 1967 and within the year, the population dropped to 32,000 people and many of

those left were unemployed (Barone 1972, p.506). In 1966, Walker won the second district and won statewide by 54%. In 1968, his percentage dropped to 49% and Walker lost Chaves County, which contains Roswell (Barone 1972 p.506).

Even if voters do not make a connection between their economic well-being and a congressman's activities, congressmen think they may be blamed and this fear impels them to protect as best as they can the flow of expenditures to their district (Arnold 1979, p.31). This fear provides additional motivation for congressmen to protect military installations. If a representative tries to prevent closure, the voters of the district will blame Congress for their predicament, rather than their representative, because he did not side with the majority and is currently working to help recovery.

Illinois congressmen are in this situation. Area voters blame the Department of Defense or Congress as a whole but they do not appear to hold their representatives responsible. November's election will prove whether or not this is actually the case.

Some political scientists will contend that all congressmen are solely and primarily motivated by the reelection goal, as David R. Mayhew contends in Congress: The Electoral Connection (1976, p.49). However, we can demonstrate that other motivations exist besides protecting

one's seat in Congress by examining individual congressmen.

### POLITICAL GOALS = POWER

If all congressmen are only motivated by reelection, and only are engaged in activities which facilitate reelection, then how is the power of Congress as an

institution maintained? Clearly, some congressmen must focus their attentions on maintaining this power. Power is essential to accomplishing anything worthwhile. The power of Congress is maintained through the responsibilities of committees like House Ways and Means, Senate Finance, House Rules, and Appropriations. Members of these committees strive to achieve committee goals over personal goals. Through their service on these committees, representatives help the House and Senate to function properly and maintain its power among the three branches of the federal government.

Often these committee assignments are considered prestigious. For example, Lynn Martin (R-IL) obtained a position on the House Rules committee recently, which was considered a very respectable assignment for a non-senior representative. Through such a committee assignment, a congressman can gain personal power and prestige, for either the purpose of becoming more powerful within one of the

houses or for the purpose of pursuing an even more powerful political position such as the presidency. Additionally, serving as a party leader within either house can help one to obtain power. Finally, reelection can help one gain power is within in Congress. As congressmen serves more terms, their colleagues become confident they will be reelected. Such a congressmen is considered stable and is able to acquire power almost naturally. Power is desired because it is instrumental to achieving the "ultimate aim" of formulating good public policy.

#### POLITICAL GOALS = PUBLIC POLICY

Ideally, every congressmen should focus on the goal of good public policy. In reality that is simply not possible. Many people are motivated to run for office so they will be able to formulate policies which are beneficial for the country as a whole. However, holding office is not the only key to setting policy. It is much more complicated. In fact government was designed to prevent decisions from being made too easily and frivolously. A system of checks and balances was set up by the framers of the constitution to prevent a radical minority from controlling government. The separate branches share power and through this process, power is checked and balanced. Therefore anytime one attempts to



formulate policy, a long and complicated process must take place before policy will be formulated and then implemented.

For this reason, holding power within Congress, helps facilitate the policy formation. Power gives individual congressmen influence, which gives them the legitimacy necessary to convince their colleagues to support a given bill or provision. In conclusion, many congressmen may desire to establish good public policy, but they are simply hindered by a complex system unless some other essential factors are present.

Now that the primary goals of congressmen have been discussed, Illinois congressmen will be examined in light of their individual responses to the Chanute closure to determine if their responses will aid these congressmen in the achievement of their personal goals. We will try to determine which goals motivate which congressmen.

#### EDWARD R. MADIGAN - REELECTION GOAL

Now that the goals have been explained, the individual congressmen will be discussed, beginning with Madigan. Madigan, a Republican, holds a so-called "safe" seat. He was first elected in 1972. The voters of the 15th district, with their long Republican tradition, have faithfully reelected Madigan every two years. This area, which was demarcated as

the 21st district when Representative Madigan was first elected, has elected a Republican to the House every year since 1938. Table 1 details Madigan's general election history.

Madigan seems to excel at the advantages of incumbency (Barone 1980, p.273). In 1978 he won reelection by nearly a four to one margin, one of the best showings for any Republican in the nation. In his early 40s, Madigan seems destined for a long career (Barone 1980, p.273). Madigan's first race for a House seat was his closest race ever and no other opponent has every challenged him as closely. In the primary that year, Madigan replaced eleven term incumbent William L. Springer.

Additionally, Madigan has only been challenged in two primaries for the Republican nomination. In 1972 with 69% of the vote, Madigan defeated Elbert S. Smith (28%) and O. George Ryan (3%). In 1982, James J. O'Connell was defeated by an 85%-15% margin.

For congressmen like Madigan, reelection is almost assured. Even when such an incumbent is challenged, (they often are not, as Madigan was unopposed in the 1986 general election and in all but two primaries) the opponent will probably be a weak contender, as reflected in Madigan's experience of only having one close election, in his first race for the office. A shrewd politician will not want to

run against an incumbent who has the election all sewn up, even before they go to the polls. Because incumbents have so many available resources, they are traditionally difficult to challenge. However, a congressman who holds a "safe" seat as Madigan does, is even tougher to defeat.

TABLE 1 MADIGAN'S ELECTION HISTORY

| Election year | Opponent                | Margin of Victory |
|---------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1988          | Thomas J. Curt (D)      | 72% to 28%        |
| 1986          | unopposed               | 100%              |
| 1984          | John M. Hoffman (D)     | 73% to 27%        |
| 1982          | Tim L. Hall (D)         | 66% to 34%        |
| 1980          | Penny L. Severns (D)    | 68% to 32%        |
| 1978          | Kenneth E. Baughman (D) | 78% to 22%        |
| 1976          | Anna Wall Scott (D)     | 74% to 26%        |
| 1974          | Richard N. Small (D)    | 66% to 34%        |
| 1972          | Lawrence E. Johnson (D) | 55% to 45%        |

Source: Almanac of American Politics 1974-1990.

The base closure situation provides a good case through which to examine a congressman such as Madigan. Madigan represents the district in which Chanute is located. Madigan voted against the Base Closure and Realignment Law and was one of the 43 'yes' votes on HR165. According to the Congressional Quarterly of April 22, 1989, "The rhetoric (in opposition to the Base Closure Commission's recommendations) will play better in the member's home district than on Capitol Hill, where most lawmakers are unaffected by the closures." This means it is very important for representatives of districts containing closures to oppose the commission's decision. In fact, according to one of Madigan's congressional aides, the village of Rantoul asked Madigan to speak out against the closure in Washington, because of his influence with other congressmen. In the end, others did not listen, but Madigan was able to say he vehemently opposed closure and that does look good to the voters back home.

The closure will have an enormous impact on the local economy. This impact means voters have been and will closely monitor the actions of the representatives to see what they are doing about the situation. A wrong vote can mean lost votes in the next election. Even representatives beyond the 15th district see the significance of the vote. Individual votes on legislation are far more critical for

representatives than for senators because representatives face reelection every two years. An important vote during one's term can significantly influence the next election.

Obviously this resolution was very important to Madigan. He served as a delegate with this issue, voting as his constituents would have him vote. Additionally, constituents expect their representative to act in certain ways. With Madigan, the Village of Rantoul requested that he focus on fighting closure, and he has. Madigan's fight to prevent the closure of Chanute (according to an aide) actually began ten years ago when he was able to get appropriations from Defense Military Construction for Chanute. At that time, another closure list has been announced. Madigan fought to keep Chanute off of that list. Madigan had a film produced at Chanute showing improvements that had been made at the facility. As a result of Madigan's efforts, Chanute was taken off of that closure list.

This time, Madigan lobbied other congressmen based on the previous experience with closure. To the regret of his constituents, Madigan was unsuccessful in his more recent efforts. Madigan was quoted in the January 3, 1990 issue of the Rantoul Press as saying, "he realized attempts to save Chanute appear to many to be 'beating a dead horse', but explained that he felt obligated to exhaust every possible means of saving the base." Additionally he stated that

efforts to save the base should continue 'until the last truck leaves', noting that Chanute isn't scheduled to be completely closed until 1993. He closed by saying that 'we need to keep turning over rocks'. Even though, Madigan was unsuccessful and reelection is almost assured for him, Madigan's efforts will not go unnoticed by the voters, which will help to further ensure reelection.

There are two types of representatives as originally defined by Edmond Burke, a British philosopher. A delegate is a representative who votes as the people want him to vote. The other type of a representative is known as a trustee and they use their best judgment when they vote. Most representatives are a combination of the two types of representation or they may be both at once. They vote as the people want on crucial issues for the district, such as the Chanute Base closure. Sometimes the wishes of the people coincide with the representatives judgment and that's when a representative is both a delegate and a trustee. A representative is more likely to vote against his constituency on less crucial issues, acting as a trustee.

Madigan, according to an aide, did not agree with the commission's proposal because of suspected errors made during the decision process with the figures used to evaluate Chanute Air Force Base. The figures used were from the late 1970s when bases were evaluated for possible closure. This

meant the figures were not up-to-date, causing critics of closure to say Chanute was incorrectly placed on the closure list. Inadequacies cited by the commission include the training, medical, housing, and recreational facilities (Rantoul Press 6-28-89).

This information contradicts the fact that \$4.6 million was spent to build a new bachelor's quarters at Chanute, which was just completed last fall. At the time of the decision, the third floor of the base hospital wasn't even being used, because it was not needed at the time. Finally a \$6.7 million weather school was completed last spring. This is a unique facility that will have to be rebuilt elsewhere (News Gazette 4-27-89). Nevertheless, the commission cites two of these facilities as being inadequate. These errors demonstrate outdated information was used, giving Madigan justification for opposing the closure list. However, it must be noted that figures from the 1970s were used for all of the bases evaluated (New Gazette 12-29-89). Therefore, Chanute was not disadvantaged any more than any other base.

In summary although reelection for Madigan is almost assured, his responses to the Chanute closure demonstrate he wants to insure his reelection through constituency service

EDWARD R. MADIGAN - POWER

The goal of power will be examined in context of the Chanute Air Force Base closure as it applies to Madigan. It can be seen that he has influence among his fellow representatives, although it is difficult to be considered powerful within the House because of their large numbers. At this time, he does not hold a formal position of power. Previously Madigan served as chairman of the Republican Research Committee and from 1987 until recently has served as chief deputy whip. Both are positions of power and typically are only held by representatives who have served for a considerable length of time and who are respected by the members of the House.

More recently, Madigan pursued the post of Republican whip in the House. In the closely contested defeat, Representative Newt Gingrich (GA) won the position by an 87-85 vote. The defeat was certainly a set-back for Madigan but not one that cannot be overcome. Madigan has been in the House since 1972 and he is not too old yet to be considered for the highly coveted formal positions of power. His name is one that may be brought up in future discussions about who should serve in those posts.

In addition to Madigan's committee positions, through which he can exercise some power because of seniority,



Madigan holds a vast amount of informal power. In fact, the root of power in the House is longevity of service. Informal power is difficult to define. It is somewhat analogous to the influence the president has over congressmen. When an important bill is going to be voted on, the president often calls representatives to lobby them for their votes, especially when the president knows the vote will be close. Congressmen are not as influential as the president, however in the same way as the president, congressmen like Madigan, who hold informal power, can lobby other members for their support.

For example, in February of 1989, Madigan along with Representative Terry Bruce testified before the the House subcommittee on Facilities and Installations, protesting the commission's report (Base Closure Fact Report published by East Central Communications Inc. 1989). In early April, Bruce and Madigan testified before the House subcommittee on Military Construction, a branch of House appropriations, asking the subcommittee to look closely at a report by the commission before approving the \$500 million for implementation of the recommendations (Rantoul Press April 11, 1989). Later that month, Madigan, Bruce, and Representative Lane Evans (D-Rock Island, IL) took to the House floor in a final attempt to prevent approval of the commission's report. Finally, Bruce and Madigan scheduled

meetings with members of the entire House Appropriations committee (News Gazette April 21, 1989). In part, Madigan was able to obtain these forums to express his stance because of his informal power.

Madigan's positions of power on the committees allow him to impact public policy in a way less powerful congressmen are unable to do. However, it must be noted that Madigan does not serve on a committee that is traditionally considered to be a committee congressmen serve on who have the goal of power. Madigan is on the Agriculture and Energy and Commerce committees, which are generally considered to be committees through which public policy goals can be achieved.

It has been established that Madigan has some influence within the House, but do his aspirations for power extend beyond the office he currently holds? Apparently not, according to an aide. Madigan enjoys working in the House and wants to continue to serve there, where he feels he can have the greatest amount of influence.

Therefore Madigan is not using the Chanute situation to help him achieve the goal of power. He already holds some power so he does not need to use issues like Chanute to help him achieve this goal. Additionally, Chanute is not really an issue that can be used to achieve power because support of his constituency is a minority position in the House.

EDWARD R. MADIGAN - PUBLIC POLICY

Next the goal of public policy will be examined in relation to Madigan and his response to the Chanute situation. As previously stated, Madigan has a "safe" seat in the House, primarily because of his longevity in the House and also because of the strong Republican tradition of his district. Therefore he is not concerned with reelection as much as many Congressmen are. Additionally, Madigan has a degree of influence in the House, so power is not a personal goal for Madigan either. That leaves public policy. Is Madigan motivated by public policy goals? It seems clear that he is. Madigan serves on committees which allow him to work on policy.

With Chanute, closure was a policy considered beneficial, however Madigan has opposed it. One reason for his opposition has been the inaccuracy of the commission's report. The National Federation of Federal Employees union (NFFE) lawsuit charges that the committee's report was "capricious and arbitrary" and challenges the constitutionality of the federal commission. NFFE represents civilian employees of the government at Chanute and other bases. According to a Madigan aide, the report was unbelievably inaccurate. The individual who wrote the law even said Chanute did not fit the established criteria for

closure. The information obtained from the Air Force about Chanute was outdated and incorrect. The statistics used were from the late 1970s when another base evaluation was made. The Commission, because of time constraints and pressures, did not obtain more current information for any of the bases.

Therefore, Madigan has worked to prevent the implementation of the recommendations, which based on inaccurate information. However because of the narrowness of the law Madigan and his staff have been unable to find any loopholes in the law that would allow for reconsideration of the Chanute closure.

Additionally, according to the Politics in America (1990, p.45), Madigan's greatest marks are in the legislative area. This means Madigan has a reputation for working to develop sound public policy. Specifically as a senior Republican on Agriculture (he is the ranking Republican member of this committee) and the Energy and Commerce committees, Madigan has had as much impact on public policy over the last decade as all but a few senior Democrats in a Democratic dominated House.

#### TERRY L. BRUCE = REELECTION

However, what is at stake for a Democratic representative like Terry L. Bruce from the 19th district in

Illinois, who does not hold a "safe" seat? The 19th district is located directly south of Chanhute Air Force Base and is as likely as Madigan's district to be strongly affected by the base closure. Baur may not have a firm hold on his seat, despite incumbency. The "incumbency advantage", in general, gives Congressmen a degree of immunity from their opponents. Recently, incumbents are winning by larger and larger margins over challengers. If everything else was equal, the incumbency advantage would be about 7% over ones opponents. In the 1960s the incumbency advantage was only 2-3% over opponents. So it can be seen that the incumbency advantage is increasing.

The basis for the incumbency advantage follows. First redistricting favors incumbents and it occurs every ten years, continually providing an edge for elected officials. Second, incumbents have more election experience. They know what to do to win; whereas their less-experienced challengers will be more likely to make campaign mistakes. Third, incumbents are more well-known and their names are more easily recognized by the public. Challengers have to work to get voters to recognize their names, in addition to getting people to like them. Last, incumbents have abundant resources because of the office they hold. These resources include experience, seniority, power in Congress, the franking privilege, free trips to the district, congressional

staff members, and mass media coverage of congressional activities.

Seniority is especially significant when incumbents can say they chair a committee. If challengers win, the challengers will not become committee chairmen in their freshman term and therefore cannot possibly wield the power that incumbents will hold if reelected.

Terry Bruce represents an unstable and volatile district, which fluctuates between the two main parties. In 1988, Bruce defeated Republican Robert F. Kerans 64%-36% in the general election. In 1986, Bruce won by defeating Republican Al Salvi by 32% (66%-34%), a wide margin for a generally close race. Bruce has shown his mastery of the political game by winning reelection twice by overwhelming margins in political borderland (Congressional Quarterly 1989, p.423). In 1984, he defeated incumbent Daniel B. Crane 52%-48%. Crane had captured the seat by the same margin in 1982.

Therefore, when a 4% margin determines the winner of an election, the incumbency advantage of 7% is barely enough to win. Every vote a congressman casts becomes more important to his constituents. An issue with an enormous local impact, such as base closure, can become very significant in the next election. Bruce has used resources he has as a congressman to help with the Chanute situation. Bruce traveled to

Pantcol four times in February, April and May of 1989. In early May, Bruce and Madigan spoke at Chanute on the closure (News Gazette May 11, 1989). In late May, they addressed the Chamber of Commerce, outlining plans to study turning Chanute into a scaled down facility (New Gazette, May 27, 1989). It will certainly affect Bruce in the next election and his valiant efforts to prevent closure will win him votes in the upcoming election or prevent him from losing votes, thereby aiding his reelection goal. It must be pointed out though, that because Chanute is not in Bruce's district, its impact on his reelection chances will be limited, which suggests Bruce has other goals.

This is an issue that received nation wide media coverage. This means that a representative's constituents will be bombarded by information from all sides on television and radio, in newspapers and magazines. When an issue is extensively covered by the media, a representative is forced into voting and responding as his constituency would have him. This is delegate representation in practice.

With the Chanute closure, Bruce responded as the residents of his district asked him to respond. He fought the closure emphasizing to his colleagues that he did not agree with how the situation was handled. Bruce, according to an aide, disapproved of delegating closure power to an

outside source : thereby losing congressional oversight./3/  
In the past, such a commission was not needed or used for  
base closure to occur. The Defense Secretary has the power  
to recommend closure without an independent commission.  
Therefore, Bruce served as his constituents requested in  
order to help ensure reelection.

TERRY L. BRUCE - DOWEF

Unlike Madigan, Representative Bruce does not hold  
seniority in the House. Bruce is just completing his third  
term in the House, compared to Madigan who will complete his  
ninth term at the end of this year. Bruce does not hold any  
formal positions of power as Madigan does, nor has he  
achieved the credibility and respectability necessary to  
exercise informal power as Madigan has. In fact, Bruce's  
position is somewhat tenuous because he represents a  
district which has a reputation of switching party support  
from one election to the next. This means other congressmen  
may not have as much confidence in him as they have for  
congressmen whose reelection is guaranteed and therefore may  
be unwilling to give him positions of power.

/3/Congressional oversight is Congress' ability to monitor  
how a policy is being implemented by the bureaucracy.



Often the representatives who hold power in Congress and who are responsible for committee assignments through the Committee on committees, are hesitant to give good committee assignments to congressmen who may not be able to hold onto their seats in future elections. This may be a problem for Bruce until he establishes himself as a guaranteed winner for the party. Bruce is currently 24th out of 26 Democrats serving on the Energy and Commerce committee and 16th out of 30 on the Science, Space, and Technology committee, so it will be some time before he can gain power on either committee.

Bruce probably does not have higher political offices as a goal at this point in his career. Before he can strive for that he needs to establish some more power within the House and given his district, Bruce may need time to pass before that can occur and he can dream bigger. Supporting his constituents through the Chanutte crisis will help Bruce to gain support in the upcoming November election and reelection will help Bruce to realize a goal of wielding influence in the House.

However, opposing closure was a minority opinion and that factor might somewhat negate the good effects of supporting closure because it was a minority opinion. Nevertheless, a single situation is at issue here and its importance must not be overrated in the big picture.

TEPPY L. BRUCE - PUBLIC POLICY

Is good public policy a personal goal for Bruce? The Chanute situation shows that it is. Although Bruce's district will be affected by the closure of Chanute, because of its proximity to Chanute's district, Chanute is not located in Bruce's district. Therefore the effect on Bruce's district will be somewhat limited by this fact.

Consequently, Bruce must have other goals in mind than just reelection with the Chanute situation. Bruce's efforts have been far too extensive to serve only this goal.

Bruce has been aiding recovery since closure became inevitable. In January, according to an aide, Bruce encouraged Kraft Inc., located in Champaign, to give \$160,000 in the form of a grant to the Village of Rantoul to donate to the Urban Land Use Institute for the purpose of studying alternative uses for Chanute Air Force Base. Along with other Illinois congressmen, Bruce is working with Governor Thompson's office encouraging United Air Lines to purchase the Chanute facility for use as a vehicle maintenance center. Finally, Bruce is a member of the Fire Services Caucus of the House and is working through that group, checking on the feasibility of using Chanute as a National Training Center for firefighters. This would be extremely practical, as Chanute is already used as a firefighters training facility

for the Air Force.

Bruce strongly felt the process through which Chanute came to be on the closure list was a faulty one. He felt the Base Closure and Realignment Law passed in October of 1988 was unnecessary, because the means of bringing about closure already existed, but were ignored and sidestepped. Bruce's efforts have been aimed at preventing the implementation of poorly formulated policy

It is difficult to determine if one is motivated by a policy goal or not because the policy goal is often used to aid the goal of reelection. In fact, all of the goals frequently coincide, making it difficult to determine which goals a congressman is motivated by. Therefore, Bruce's actions may not be policy oriented at all. He may be using policy to aid his reelection goal.

#### ALAN J. DIXON -REELECTION

Considering Alan J. Dixon, a senator who represents Illinois, the question may be asked, what kind of effect will the Chanute closure have on Dixon's next reelection bid? Dixon will be up for reelection in November 1992. He was first elected by a 56-42% margin over David C. O'Neal (R) in the 1980 general election.

Dixon was reelected in 1986 over weak opponent Judy

Koehler (R), winning by a 65% -34% margin in the general election. Dixon defeated Sheila Jones in the primary by the overwhelming margin 85% to 15%. His weak opponent in the 1986 election may indicate that the Republicans believe he has a firm hold on the seat and it is not wise to run a stronger candidate against him. In fact according to the 1990 Almanac of American Politics, Dixon's good name deters Republicans from raising the vast sums of money needed to run statewide television ads in Illinois, which are necessary if Dixon is to be defeated. Dixon's security must not be overemphasized, because he is not a senior senator by any means. Additionally, almost all incumbents are challenged with strong opponents, because of the prestige of office. Therefore, Dixon is not unbeatable. These factors make issues such as Chanute important to Dixon.

However, because Senators serve for six years, many issues come into consideration at election time and single issues rarely have a huge impact on reelection, unlike the situation with representatives where one issue can kill a reelection bid. Additionally, Dixon did not have to vote on the resolution. Therefore the base closure issue may be forgotten by 1992, when Chanute will be well on its way to closure, as it is to be closed by July of 1993.

Nevertheless Dixon may use the Chanute issue to help gain support through numerous opportunities for constituency

service, which exist even now. In late May, Dixon along with Bruce and Madigan met with Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, who promised to examine possible multiple uses of Chaute by other federal agencies. Under the joint use plan, federal agencies such as the Department of Veteran's Affairs (VA), Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), and the Labor Department would have the opportunity to use the vacated base for various programs, as opposed to a private sector take-over of a defunct facility. For example, the VA could use some facilities for medical care or Labor could establish a job corps center or the FAA could use the fire training facility all at the same time. The multi-purpose use plan must translate into savings for the military when their facilities are moved to other locations and at the same time provide a necessary cost-effective service for the other federal agencies (Pantoul Press May 31, 1999).

Dixon is known in Washington as one of the more informal and accessible senators. He spends much of his time in Washington D.C. meeting with a steady stream of Illinois visitors. Dixon is known as a senator who acts with abandon every time an issue involving Illinois is discussed (Politics in America 1990, p.411). This suggests Dixon is very concerned with reelection and will go to great lengths to help his constituents, in order to secure reelection.

Closure seems inevitable, so Dixon has begun to

investigate opportunities to help recovery following closure. Dixon, according to an aide in his Washington office, is looking at the law to discover ways of obtaining economic assistance. Additionally he is working with Governor Thompson's office to encourage United Airline to locate a national aviation maintenance and technology center there. This maintenance facility would employ between 5,000 and 7,000 workers on an annual payroll of \$200 million (Rantoul Press 3-7-90). Finally, Dixon and his aides have been contacting private defense contractors and suggesting they purchase Chamute.

ALAN J. DIXON - POWER

Dixon serves on three committees in the Senate: 1) Armed Services; 2) Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs; and 3) Small Business. At least one of those, Armed Services is considered an important and powerful committee in the house and the competition for seats on that committee is fierce. Therefore holding a seat on Armed Services gives Dixon a certain degree of influence within the Senate.

Other than his committee assignments, Dixon does not hold any formal positions of power within the Senate, probably because of his junior status as a senator. Because Dixon plans on staying in the Senate for a while and will not

attempt to obtain a higher office in government, Dixon will be able to gain power in the Senate, assuming Illinois voters continue to reelect him. However, it must be noted that seniority is not necessary to gain power in the Senate. Senators can become powerful overnight. Lyndon B. Johnson was only in the Senate sixteen years and served as majority leader for ten of those years. Because their numbers are smaller than the number of representatives, there is less competition for power in the Senate and all Senators have a greater quotient of power than Representatives do.

Therefore, Dixon may view the Chanute situation as an opportunity to help reinforce his chances of winning reelection through which he can achieve the goal of obtaining power within the House. As is often the case, the goals are very interrelated and can often be achieved simultaneously or the achievement of one goal facilitates the achievement of the other goals congressmen want to reach. However, opposing base closure was an unpopular minority position in the Senate, so Dixon's opposition to the issue could have had a negative effect, although it was probably slight because the commission's recommendations were not voted on in the Senate.

ALAN J. DIXON - PUBLIC POLICY

Based on his activities concerning Chanutte, it can be said that Dixon seems to very policy oriented. Dixon, according to an aide, led opposition to the passage of the Base Realignment and Closure law in the Senate and asked specific changes be made in the law because he did not like the policy it established. Additionally, Dixon felt that the commission was an unnecessary bureaucratic wheel. Dixon felt an evaluation of the military base structure was needed, but the manner in which the evaluation was made was a poor policy decision. The commission had an inadequate amount of time in which to make their decision and the staff that worked on the report was unable to make objective decisions.

In response Dixon wrote the amendment allowing Congress to reject the recommendations of the base closing commission and the amendment included a provisions to expand the number of members on the commission. The purpose of the expansion was to reflect a "reasonable" geographic balance. As stated by Dixon as he quipped, "I am against killing a gnat with a bat. We are taking away all congressional power, giving up our involvement in the process, ceding it to the secretary of defense." Dixon further complained the Senate committee had gone too far in taking politics out of the closing process (CG Almanac 1988, p. 440). Dixon vote "no" against Senate



bill 2749, which established the commission. An additional reason for his opposition was his claim that overseas facilities should be closed before stateside ones.

Dixon's actions may indicate an interest in establishing good public policy. However, as stated earlier, it is difficult to determine if a congressman is motivated by a policy goal or if they are using policy to achieve another goal, primarily reelection. The fact Dixon's opposition to the policy helps his constituents as well, means Dixon can accomplish two goals simultaneously. He looks out for Illinois voters interests when policy is being established in Washington. In fact when the 101st Congress opened, the mayor of Pantoul, Katy Podagrosi looked on as Dixon in a hearing, called the town's loss of a base and the loss of jobs nothing less than 'An American Tragedy.' Further testifying to the fact, that Dixon considered the base closing procedure a bad policy decision.

#### PAUL SIMON - REFLECTION

Through examining a senator involved with the Chanute issue, the impact of the issue on his reelection chances can be determined. In 1990 Senator Paul Simon (D-Ill) is up for reelection. His announced opponent is Representative Lynn Martin (R-Ill). Simon is a freshman Senator, first elected

in 1984 when he defeated incumbent Senate Foreign Relations Chair, Charles Percy (R) 50%-48%, 2% of the vote was unaccounted for (Barone 1990, p.210). Because Simon is a freshman Senator, he will be very concerned with reelection, probably more so than the other congressmen mentioned here. Simon is less able to focus on the other goals mentioned because of this status. He needs to be reelected before the other goals can become priorities.

The Simon/Martin race is already heating up. Every issue could be critical. However, because the resolution failed in the House, the Senate did not have to vote on HR165. Martin, representing the 16th district in Illinois, voted against the measure, siding with the majority. Simon, on the other hand, did not have to vote, so the actual vote on this issue cannot be used either to help or hurt his campaign for reelection. Martin, unlike most Illinois representatives, supported base closure. Martin's district, which is located in the far northwestern corner of Illinois will not be influenced by either the closure of Chanute or the closure of Ft. Sheridan in the Chicago area. However, she is not seeking reelection for her seat; she is seeking a new seat in the Senate, which carried a much larger constituency including Chanute and its voters.

Therefore her "no" vote may mean a slight loss of votes she possibly could have garnered in the Rantoul area. Martin

appears to be more interested in formulating good public policy in this case than in helping her election chances in the November 1990 Senate race. In fact, Martin was quoted in the News Gazette, October 10, 1989, as saying she supported closure because an evaluation of military base structures was needed and overdue. However, Martin also has said she supported a review of the commission reports to determine if the date used was inaccurate. This position seems to indicate a change in stance, possibly signifying that she seeks to gain support in the Rantoul area.

Simon is very popular in the southern part of the state and his name is nationally recognized because of his bid for the 1988 Democratic presidential nomination. His opposition to the commission's recommendation, although not recorded by a vote will help him in the Champaign County area, where Chanute is situated, especially since Martin voted against HR165. One cannot overemphasize the impact of the Chanute Base Closure on Simon's reelection chances, because as previously explained, single issues may not significantly hurt a Senator's chances. However, the timing of the legislation which sought to close the bases, may mean that voters will remember this issue much more than they will remember an issue that occurred in 1985. In that respect, the Chanute closure could have an impact on Simon's bid for reelection.

PAUL SIMON - POWER

Finally, examining Simon will be yet another example of a congressman using an issue to help one obtain power within their house. Simon is a freshman senator; his defeat of an incumbent who held power has gained Simon some respect in the Senate. Simon holds a position of power in the Senate despite his freshman status. From 1985-86 Simon served on the Democratic panel responsible for scrutinizing Reagan's judicial nominees. To this day Simon is the only non-lawyer to serve on that panel (Barone 1988, p.337).

Simon currently has four committee assignments: Budget, Judiciary, Foreign Relations, and Labor and Human Services. Simon does not have seniority among Democrats on any of these committees (7 of 13 Budget, 7 of 8 Judiciary, 7 of 10 Foreign Relations, 6 of 9 Labor and Human Services), but because Budget and Foreign Relations are very powerful committees Simon has been able to earn some power through service on these influential committees.

At this point, however, Simon is not very influential and issues like Chanute can be important to use for the purpose of convincing more voters to support him in his reelection bid. Once he is reelected, he can work towards achieving the goal of obtaining power in the Senate. Simon knew Chanute was going to be a significant issue for his

constituents, so in part he supported their position in order to help reelection, which would further his goal of gaining power.

Opposing base closure was a minority position, and Simon's opposition could have slightly hurt his power status within the Senate but probably not much since he never had to vote on the closure recommendation. However, Simon did vote with the minority against the Base Closure and Realignment Law. Taking the issue in context however, it seems unreasonable to believe that one issue would hinder a senator's chances of obtaining power.

Finally what about Simon's aspirations for higher office. In 1988, Simon sought the Democratic nomination for President of the United States but did not win it. It is conceivable that he might work towards this goal sometime in the future. The campaign certainly made Simon much more well-known and probably helped Simon to gain influence in the Senate. It has been said, in contradiction to that statement, that if Simon defeats Martin and is reelected, he will focus on remaining in the Senate for a while and will not seek higher office.

PAUL SIMON - PUBLIC POLICY

Compared to the other Illinois congressmen, Simon has not been as vocal in speaking out against the closure as a bad policy decision. In fact, he was the last Illinois congressman to speak out against the decision. Additionally, he is not mentioned as frequently in local newspaper reports. It almost seemed like he just spoke out because of pressure to do so because of the responses of his colleagues and he knew it would be personally detrimental not to do so. In fact, he may have only joined the opposition in order to aid his reelection goal, as opposed to personally feeling that the policy was not a good one.

The 1990 edition of the Congressional Quarterly's Politics in America further supports this point. An entire paragraph is devoted to detailing Dixon's activities and the only mention in Simon's section of base closure was the following quote, "Simon was attending to impending military base closings in Illinois and chronicling it all in the weekly columns he produces for local newspapers" (p.414). This suggests, Simon's main concern was to have publicity showing he opposed base closure, rather than actually opposing the policy decision.

Simon, probably personally supports the decision to close military installations in order to help decrease the

defense budget, an issue Simon feels strongly about. Simon has a reputation for being concerned about the overall picture, rather than porkbarrel legislation, as Dixon is. Simon's responses to the Chanute Air Force Base closure are based on other goals besides that of establishing sound and has a reputation for being concerned about the overall picture, rather than porkbarrel legislation, as Dixon is. Simon's responses to the Chanute Air Force Base closure are based on other goals besides that of establishing sound and beneficial public policy for the country.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

The preeminence of this issue in local news stories for the past 18 months demonstrated that the public considers this issue to be important. In fact in a poll by the Champaign-Urbana News Gazette, readers ranked the Chanute Air Force Base Closure story the number one local news story of the year. Because the local area was uniquely affected by closure, the public vehemently protested closure, despite the fact that most people personally, probably feel the federal deficit needs to be reduced through reductions in the defense budget. The public's concern about this situation, forced congressmen to respond. Again the questions are raised, why did the base closure issue become so significant for certain

congressmen and what was their motivation?

Clearly, the reelection goal above all others was the motivating factor behind the involvement of the congressmen with Chanute. Based on the Chanute example, it may be concluded that most of the time, congressmen's actions are motivated by the reelection goal. Madigan has been more extensively discussed in this paper because there is more information available on his responses to the Chanute closure. This suggests he has more at stake than all of the other congressmen do. Chanute is not in Bruce's district and it is only a small part of the state that Simon and Dixon represent. Therefore, as far as reelection is concerned, Chanute is a much more significant issue for Madigan because he is more directly affected.

If other congressmen (besides those from Illinois) whose districts are affected, such as some from California and New Jersey, were examined, similar conclusions would probably be reached. Congressmen on the whole supported closure because their constituents were unaffected, meaning support would not affect reelection. Additionally closure is a good public policy for the nation as a whole. Some bases were simply unnecessary and draining funds from an already depleted budget. However as the Chanute example illustrates, congressmen are not solely motivated by the reelection goal.

It is often difficult to examine a congressman's actions



and determine exactly what their motivation is. It would seem that all congressmen to a certain degree, are motivated by all of the goals - reelection, power, and public policy.

Because the goals are extremely interrelated, it is difficult to determine which goals are the motivation for any given response. Additionally, it is another matter all together to determine if a goal is successfully obtained by a given response. Congressmen need to achieve the goal of reelection in order to facilitate the other goals. Perhaps that is why Mayhew contends congressmen are only motivated by reelection. I cannot agree with this premise; it is a goal, but it is used to achieve the other goals, which are considered higher goals. The achievement of one goal helps the achievement of another. In the House, power comes in part through longevity of service, which comes through reelection. Through obtaining power in either house, one can obtain a position on a committee such as Agriculture, where ones has the ability to work on public policy.

Therefore any action a congressmen takes may have several motivations. That is certainly the case with the Illinois congressmen involved with the closure of Chanute. Their responses to prevent closure and aid recovery will aid all three goals in some way, although because of their different circumstances, their efforts will not achieve the same goals.

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