

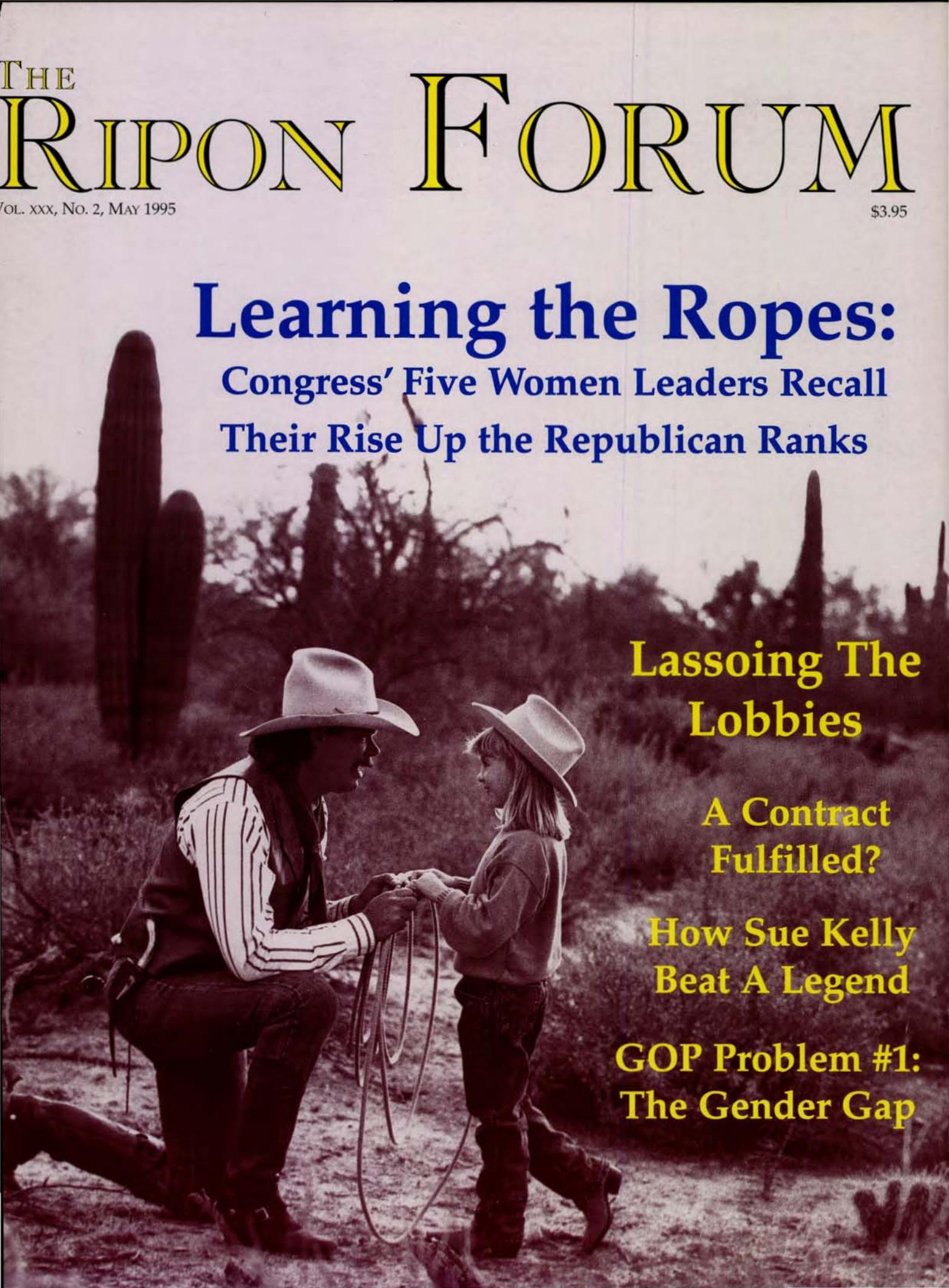
# THE RIPON FORUM

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## Learning the Ropes:

Congress' Five Women Leaders Recall  
Their Rise Up the Republican Ranks



Lassoing The  
Lobbies

A Contract  
Fulfilled?

How Sue Kelly  
Beat A Legend

GOP Problem #1:  
The Gender Gap

# The Ripon Society Announces Its 1995 Advisory Board

Governor William F. Weld (MA)  
Governor Christine Todd Whitman (NJ)  
Senator John H. Chafee (RI)  
Senator William S. Cohen (ME)  
Senator Mark O. Hatfield (OR)  
Senator James M. Jeffords (VT)  
Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum (KA)  
Senator Bob Packwood (OR)  
Senator Olympia J. Snowe (ME)  
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Senator Ted Stevens (AK)  
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Representative Steve LaTourette (OH-19th)  
Representative Rick A. Lazio (NY-2nd)  
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Representative Jerry Lewis (CA-40th)  
Representative Bill Martini (NJ-8th)  
Representative Joseph M. McDade (PA-10th)  
Representative Jan Meyers (KA-3rd)  
Representative Susan Molinari (NY-13th)  
Representative Constance A. Morella (MD-8th)  
Representative Michael G. Oxley (OH-4th)  
Representative Tom Petri (WI-6th)  
Representative Jim Ramstad (MN-3rd)  
Representative Marge Roukema (NJ-5th)  
Representative E. Clay Shaw, Jr. (FL-22nd)  
Representative Christopher Shays (CT-4th)  
Representative Peter Torkildsen (MA-6th)

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*Washington's Pluralist Politics Has Turned into a Bazaar, Where Special Interests Procure Government Power for Private Gain. The National Director of United We Stand Reports on this Pollution of Democracy and Suggests How It Can Be Remedied.*  
By Russell J. Verney



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*There Were No Women in the Majority Leadership or Committee Chairmanships of the Democrat-Controlled 103rd Congress. In the Republican 104th, Five Women Hold the Reins of Such Immense Power. Here They Recall Their Experiences with Our Political System and Tell Us Why Women and the Republican Party Need Each Other to Succeed.*



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## Ripon Continues Expansion, Adds Minnesota Chapter

The "Big Tent" is growing, in Minnesota at least. A Minnesota Chapter of the Ripon Society was recently established under the guidance of **Steve Elkins** and with the support of the Republican Organizing Committee (ROC). In the Ripon tradition, the new chapter was created to discuss public policy issues which affect Minnesotans at the state and local level and is intended to complement the political organizing activities of ROC. At their first meeting in Bloomington, MN on April 29th over 50 people gathered to discuss the future of electoral reform and changing the Minnesota caucus system. They are now compiling the opinions of those present into a Minnesota Ripon position paper that will be disseminated to the state legislature and the press. If anyone is interested in starting a local Ripon chapter or joining the Minnesota chapter or any of our other chapters in New York, Iowa, New England, or Washington, DC, please give us a call at 1-800-98RIPON and we will send you more information and pass your name along.

### Salute to GOP Women Congressional Leaders

Over 250 of the Society's closest friends gathered at the Hyatt Regency in Washington, DC to salute the historic rise of women in leadership positions in the 104th Congress and to raise over \$150,000 for the Ripon Society. The night's honorees included Senator **Nancy Landon Kassebaum**, and Representatives **Susan Molinari**, **Barbara Vucanovich**, **Nancy Johnson**,

and **Jan Meyers**. The Salute to Republican Women Leadership, which was covered on C-Span, made it clear to the media and to the American people that, for all of the rhetoric of the Democratic party, it was the Republicans who actually promoted and elected Congressional women to senior leadership positions for the first time in our nation's history. Congress went from zero women holding leadership positions in the Democrat-controlled 103rd Congress to five women with the reins of power in their hands in the Republican-controlled 104th. [See related article on page 16.]



Sen. William Cohen (ME)  
New Boarder

### New Advisory Board Members

As the influence of moderate Republicans in Washington continues to grow, so does the size of Ripon's Advisory Board. Since the last issue of the Forum, Senator **William S. Cohen** of Maine and Representatives **Steve Horn** of California, **Steve LaTourette** of Ohio, **Rick A. Lazio** of New York, **Jerry Lewis** of California, and **E. Clay Shaw, Jr.** of Florida have all joined the ranks of the CAB.

### Give Us More News

If anyone in the moderate Republican community wishes to announce their future events in an edition of the Ripon Forum, please give us a call at 1-800-98RIPON. We are always striving to improve the lines of communication for all members of the GOP.

### GOP Majority Summit

On March 31 and April 1 of this year, Ripon hosted the Republican Majority Summit and the Annual Meeting of the National Governing Board of the Society. Participants came from as far away as California to participate in spirited debates concerning such issues as Affirmative Action, Deficit Reduction, Removal of the Abortion Plank, and implementation of a Flat Tax. A presidential straw poll of those present yielded surprising results: California Governor **Pete Wilson** edged out Senate Majority Leader **Bob Dole** 58 to 42 percent in a second ballot runoff.

### New York, New York

The National Executive Committee (Ripon's Board of Director's) will be on the road for its Summer meeting. The New York Metropolitan Chapter of the Ripon Society will be hosting the NEC in New York City on June 17th. That meeting will be closed to NEC members only, but on the evening of June 16th, the local chapter will be hosting a function in the heart of midtown manhattan. For more information, please give us a call in Washington or speak directly with the President of the New York chapter, **Bill Lithgow**, at (212) 369-2295.

### Moderate Conference

The third annual Conference for a Republican Majority will be held in Washington, DC on July 14-16, 1995. Confirmed speakers for the Conference include Senators **Nancy Landon Kassebaum** and **Alan Simpson** and Representative **Jim Leach**. For more information or a copy of the schedule, please call Conference headquarters at (202) GOP-IN-96.

# St. Helena on the Horizon?

The Hundred Days are history, bringing more legislative action of significance than our interest-bound Capitol had seen in the entire 103rd Congress. But was this key window of opportunity utilized to its fullest for what should currently be the GOP leadership's prime objective: making ours the undisputed majority party of the foreseeable future?

The answer is a regrettable no, though substantial progress was made in that direction. The disaffected, moderate, middle-class oriented vote—the key to partisan hegemony—was only partially appeased. The new congressional majorities have yet to disprove the suspicions of most voters that they are captives of the well-heeled special interests and more concerned with maintaining their privilege, power and positions than serving common Americans.

On the asset side of the ledger: Congress is now accountable to its own laws; the practice of unfunded mandates—that great burden on property taxes—has been cast off; and a significant tax cut maneuvered through the House was thankfully made broad-based, after some intraparty wrangling. Additionally, it appears that some form of line item veto seems likely to be signed into law. Properly executed, such a reform will be an important instrument in controlling the runaway pork and deficit spending that threatens the freedom and living standards of future generations.

All these are fortunate developments for the republic, and they make a good start toward winning over that vital "3-M" cohort: moderate, middle-class and mad. But other messages emanating from the Hill have been much less enticing.

The welfare reform bill passed by the House is sound in its basic approach of devolving responsibility for such programs upon the states, but certain aspects of the legislation's crafting left much to be desired, particularly from a public relations standpoint. By emphasizing the down-sizing of government rather than increasing its efficiency, the GOP leadership left itself open for portrayal as an uncaring gang of henchmen for the rich.

That picture was artfully colored in by congressional Democrats and their many allies in the media, who conjured up the painful image of helpless teenage mothers without support and hungry kids going without their lunches.

But the greatest failing of the brave, new 104th has been on the telling issue of term limits, perhaps the most noted part of *The Contract* during the Fall campaign. True, the fine print was honored: a vote was taken in the House. But in the process, a profound article of faith was breached. The electorate plainly voted under the impression that a Republican majority would root elitist arrogance out of Congress, starting with the term limits measure endorsed by three-quarters of the American people. Yet, about half the Republican leadership—Majority Whip DeLay, Ways and Means Chair Archer, Judiciary Chair Hyde—actively opposed the various measures advanced in that direction, while most of the rest seemed to take a dive soon after the opening bell.

Only one proposed constitutional amendment along these lines got as much as a majority, and it was not the preferred measure of term limit activists. Lacking the two-thirds majority necessitated by the constitutional approach, a plain statute could have been forwarded. It was not, for the simple reason it might have passed in a stampede of fear—fear of the voters.

Those voters are not as tuned out as the leadership so wishfully thinks. They will remember in November. We owe our new-found positions of power to their demand for the obliteration of the visceral, systemic problem of capital arrogance. If we do not heed that demand soon—with term limits and substantial lobby and campaign finance reform—these Hundred Days will soon resemble Napoleon's: the prelude to a one-way cruise to St. Helena.

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# *Government of the People?*

*Washington's Pluralist Politics Has Turned Into a Bazaar,  
Where Special Interests Procure Government Power For Private Gain.  
The National Director of United We Stand Reports On This  
Pollution of Democracy and Suggests How It Might Be Remedied.*



**E**nemies in Washington change as frequently as our national debt rises. From one moment to another our lawmakers can't seem to stay focused on a single problem, much less a single issue. A few years ago "liberals" were the threat; today, "extremists" are the enemy. Instead of listening to America and fighting the good fight, Congress and the White House are busy telling the voters who they should aim their anger towards.

The real threat to the American people and our democratic process is the special interests and the lobbyists they employ. Thousands of lobbyists walk the halls of Congress every day manipulating our government in order to benefit the special interest groups and businesses they represent. This is a system created by the men and women elected to represent the American people, and it is fully in their control to fix the situation.

The conventional wisdom in Washington is that lobbying reform is not a major issue that will win votes in 1996. What will matter during the next election is money, which is needed to pay for 30-second and 60-second commercials that manipulate the voters and confuse the issues. Members of Congress who are running for reelection are not willing to bite the special interest hands that feed them.

Instead of working for real reform, politicians are trying to figure out how they can win over the independent-minded voters who were the key to the Republican takeover of Congress last year and, once again, will be the deciding factor in 1996. The Republicans only won a dismal 38 percent of the presidential vote in 1992, and the Democrats did slightly better with 43 percent. To win by a majority, both parties must appeal to the 19 percent of the vote Ross Perot received.

Contrary to partisan claims, this independent-minded Perot vote was not the reason Bill Clinton replaced George Bush in the White House. A New York Times poll of over 15,000 voters on election day shows that thirty-eight percent of Perot voters would have voted for George Bush had their first choice not been on the ballot. An

identical percentage said Bill Clinton was their alternate choice. Simply put, the outcome of the 1992 election would have been the same without Ross Perot on the ballot. Moreover, exit polls also indicate that while 88 percent of Bush voters went Republican in their 1994 choice for Congress, nearly the same percentage of Clinton voters went Democratic. The dramatic difference in outcomes between 1992 and 1994 was the Perot vote, which went 2:1 Republican for Congress last year. They did so in response to Republican reform rhetoric and in reaction to Clinton's push for bigger government.

Plainly the independent-minded voter is essential to the ambitions of Republican and Democratic presidential and congressional candidates in 1996. These voters are not disengaged bystanders blindly accepting partisan posturing. They want meaningful change in their government that, most important, includes reforming the current lobbying and campaign finance system. Congress should know this. The polls politicians so heavily rely on prove that lobbying reform is on top of the voters' agenda. A Harris poll taken in March 1995 shows that 63 percent of Americans believe the federal government represents the special interests and not the American people. The same poll reveals that an unbelievable 90 percent of Americans think it is important that "Congress and the White House limit the lobbying and campaign contributions of industries and advocacy groups." Unfortunately, Congress and the White House seem to fear these powerful interests more than voters.

### **Follow the Money**

Lobbying reform is frequently a popular issue with candidates promising to bring real change to Washington. Around election time lobbying reform constantly appears on the candidates' platforms. Once elected, the issue soon disappears as the job of raising money for reelection begins. The reason is obvious, but must be stated: Lobbyists are the quickest and easiest connection

to large campaign contributions.

The average incumbent in the Senate spends more than \$4 million to get reelected, which breaks down to raising \$12,800 a week for six years. In the House, the average incumbent will spend \$600,000 to get reelected, which breaks down to raising \$5,800 a week for two years. Forced to raise so much money to run a successful campaign, incumbents turn to lobbyists and the special interests. Instead of earning their reelection based on their performance, politicians try to buy their reelection. As a former California state legislator said, "The power of money drives out the power of ideas."

In 1960, there were fewer than 400 lobbyists walking the halls of Congress. No one is really sure how many there are now because today's lobbying rules are ignored, manipulated and exploited. This lack of certainty demonstrates why lobbying reform is needed and why it must include an air-tight system of registering who is influencing America's lawmaking process.

Political Scientist James Thurber of American University estimates there are 91,000 people employed in the lobbying industry in the Washington, DC area alone. That breaks down to almost 160 lobbyists and their support staffers per member of Congress. The obvious reply to this is that a House member represents over a half of a million constituents, and a Senator represents an entire state. The odds are heavily in favor of the voters, right? In a perfect world, yes. Then again, in a perfect world lobbying reform would have already been passed and special interest campaign donations would be curtailed.

Lobbyists have influence over our legislative process not because they merely represent a business or association, but because they possess the power of the purse. During the 1993-94 election cycle, congressional candidates spent a record \$725 million, a 57 percent increase over the last mid-term election. The special interest campaign contributions that make up a large portion of this money are not easily traced, but evidence suggests there are

By Russell J. Verney

heavily weighted toward the powers-that-be.

Almost 90 percent of all campaign contributions for the 1994 election from political action committees (PACs) went to incumbents, excepting races which had no incumbent running. House Democrats—then a majority in the lower chamber—collected 49 percent of their receipts from PACs. And contributions from PACs are the easiest special interest money to trace in campaigns. Add to these totals scores of millions more in direct contributions from individuals invested in special interest lobbying.

Whether a reward for past performance or an enticement for future favors, lobbyists know where to direct their campaign contributions. Investing in an incumbent is a safe bet. Even in tumultuous 1994, 91 percent of incumbents running for re-election to the House won.

Shortly after the ballots have been counted, lobbyists and the special interests they represent continue to hand out money to members of Congress, including many new members they had just contributed against. Special-interest money is still needed to help retire the more than \$70 million in campaign debt candidates accumulated during the 1994 elections. Much of that debt is in the form of candidate loans to the campaign; special interests contributions to retire such "debt" go directly into the pocket of the newly-elected member.

"My in-box is just stacked with invitations for debt retirement events," Steve Stockmeyer—executive vice president of the National Association of Business Political Action Committees (a PAC for PACs)—recently told the *New York Times*, "Some nights when Congress is in session there are three or four going on."

### Not Beneath the Top Dogs

To gauge the breadth of these practices, consider the symbiotic relationship between the titular leaders of our two political parties and one Dwayne Andreas, CEO of Archer Daniels Midland Corporation.

According to the libertarian Cato Institute, Andreas and ADM have made more than \$150,000 in contributions over the years to Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole.

Dole has championed tax breaks for producers of ethanol—a gasoline substitute made from corn. The chief



beneficiary of these breaks—worth \$500 million a year—is ADM. Dole also introduced a bill that exempted ethanol from the federal gasoline tax, a move that has thus far cost the treasury \$4.6 billion.

But while Dole's efforts in behalf of ethanol could easily be attributed to serving the interests of his corn-producing state, the favors done ADM by the administration of Bill Clinton are not so easily defended.

In the Spring of 1994, the Environmental Protection Agency was in the midst of considering a revision in its regulations that would require a 30 percent ethanol content for gasoline sold in America's most polluted cities. Understandably, ADM was lobbying furiously for the re-write. Andreas

soon surfaced as a co-sponsor of "The President's Dinner"—an event designed to raise "soft" (unregulated) money for the Democratic Party, slated for that June—and contributed \$100,000 toward it. He had already made \$270,000 in such Democratic donations over the previous two years. Two weeks later, ADM got its invaluable regulation from the EPA, though the courts would later strike it down.

Apparently, speaking for himself and not the Administration, Labor Secretary Robert Reich called such government favors for special interests "corporate welfare" in a live TV interview last year. Estimates for the annual cost of such "lobbying" range from \$86 billion by Cato to \$167 billion by Essential Information, a consumer group affiliated with Ralph Nader.

### The Revolving Door

If you were going to hire a lobbyist to work in Washington, who would you hire? An obvious choice would be someone who knows the system and has a personal relationship with the lawmakers themselves. How about former members of the legislative or executive branch? With no restrictions on who can lobby our federal lawmakers, former White House staff members and members of Congress often become lobbyists. Who can blame them when the revolving door that returns them to Washington offers better pay and accommodations?

Law firms are often the biggest culprits of this practice. Regulations, mandates, taxes, and anything else Congress and the White House place on the American people keep lawyers busy and employed. Often they are the only ones who understand complex laws and, as a result, are a logical choice to lobby the lawmakers. The line between PACs and law firms has been so blurred, many law firms now have their own PACs.

Washington's revolving door is constantly swinging. The few rules regulating the time when former public officials can go from serving the American people to serving the special interests are lax. One popular practice

is for these former officials to join law firms as "consultants" or "advisors." This allows them to use their contacts and knowledge without being called a lobbyist. One Washington based law firm has added a who's who list of political "advisors" to its payroll. Ex-Treasury secretary Lloyd Bentson and ex-Senate majority leader George Mitchell were hired recently by this firm soon after they left their government positions.

Then there is another former Senate Majority Leader, Howard Baker, who was hired to lobby Congress. His client is the Competitive Long Distance Coalition, a group of many of the nation's largest long-distance telephone carriers who are fighting a turf war in Congress with the "Baby Bell" local carriers. Despite the name, neither group seems interested in opening its respective territory to increased competition.

Another lawyer-turned-representative-turned-lobbyist recently returned to Congress representing a former American citizen who willingly gave up his U.S. citizenship. Guy Vander Jagt, who once served on the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, recently walked the halls of Congress making sure the assets of his expatriate client could not be taxed. The merits of this tax loophole aside, an individual who relinquishes his privilege as an American citizen should also lose his or her representation in the U.S. Congress.

## Listen to the World

The influence that lobbyists and the special interests exert on the federal government is not limited to America's shores. Even as the dollar loses strength around the globe, the United States remains the world's premier economic power. Our people have created the most lucrative con-

sumer market in the history of the world, and foreign companies and nations want a piece of our wealth.

From tariffs on Japanese cars to the quality of imported foods, America's trade policies dictate the rules foreign companies must follow to do business in the lucrative United States consumer market. These rules and restrictions, however, do not apply to lobbying. Foreign nations and companies hire American lobbyists to fight for their interests, which are frequently not in America's best interest.

It is even common for the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative—a government agency—to train lobbyists to work on behalf of foreign businesses or governments. Former U.S. Trade Representative Bill Brock personally became Mexico's lead advocate in the effort to pass the North American Free Trade Agreement, joined by at least 32 former high-ranking American officials to lobby Congress and the American people.

There is no reliable way to tell how prevalent or powerful foreign special interests and their lobbyists are in our government. The effectiveness of the federal government's Foreign Agent

Registration Act is limited due to its various loopholes.

One telling glimpse of the power of foreign lobbies in Washington is to listen to what the world is saying about American government:

"Influence in Washington is just like Indonesia—it's for sale."

— From Japan's *Economic Journal*

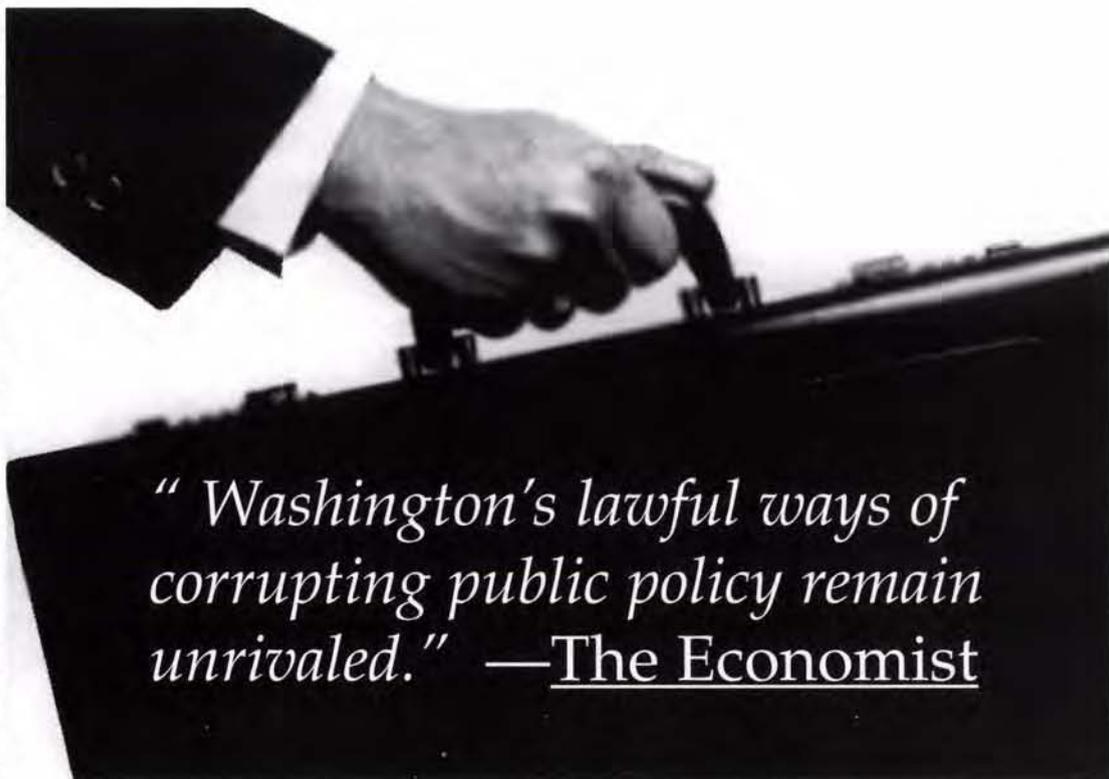
"Washington's culture of influence for hire is uniquely open to all buyers, foreign and domestic. Its lawful ways of corrupting public policy remain unrivaled."

— From Britain's *The Economist*

## What Happened?

Politics, not common sense, too often dictates the actions of America's lawmakers. Lobbying reform and campaign finance reform (it is difficult to separate one from the other) are a great addition to any political speech, but the rhetoric has yet to be enacted.

During his election night speech Bill Clinton sounded a familiar tune: "I think perhaps the most important thing that we understand here in the heartland," declared the president-



*"Washington's lawful ways of corrupting public policy remain unrivaled." —The Economist*

elect, "is the need to reform the political system, to reduce the influence of special interests and give more influence back to the people." What followed is a lesson in politics-as-usual and business-as-usual in Washington.

Clinton's words were partially turned into action with the introduction of a lobbying disclosure bill and gift ban legislation. On March 11, 1994, the Senate in an overwhelming 95-2 vote passed legislation that included a ban on all gifts from lobbyists to members of Congress and their staffs. On March 24, 1994 the House passed 310-110 a bill that was more lax than the Senate version.

A compromise bill was then formed in a conference committee. This legislation was not a panacea to Washington's problems, but it was a decent start. Some of the provisions of the compromise legislation would:

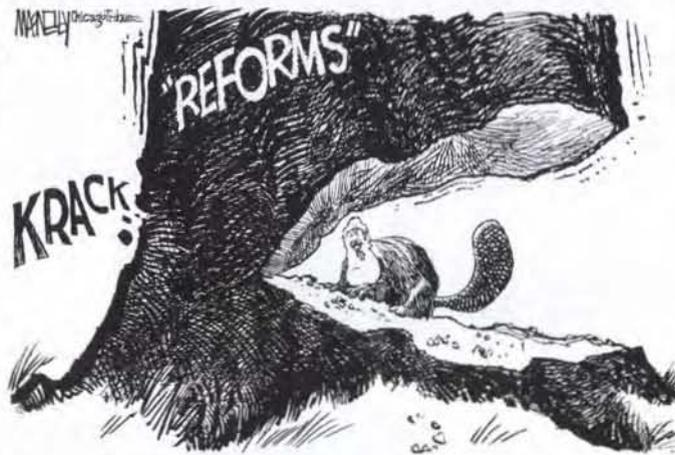
- Require lobbyists to disclose who is paying them, how much they are being paid, which agencies and committees they are lobbying, and why they are lobbying for or against a certain issue.
- Create the Office of Lobby Reform and Public Disclosure, which would oversee the new lobbying regulations and fine lobbyists up to \$200,000 for not complying.
- Prohibit any member of Congress or staff member from accepting a gift from a lobbyist.
- Require grassroots organizations to reveal their expenditures and source of financial support.

This last requirement became the main source of controversy over the bill because many grassroots organizations were led to believe that revealing their source of financial support would force them to reveal their membership.

Legislative leaders soon came out against the compromise bill allegedly because of this grassroots disclosure requirement. Cong. Newt Gingrich (R-GA) who in a letter to Speaker of the

House Tom Foley seven months before the compromise was struck supported "requiring greater categorization of expenditures by lobbyists into meals, entertainment, grassroots and other delineations," opposed this same provision in the compromise version of the bill.

In early October 1994, after the House approved the compromise bill 306-112, Republican leaders in the Senate led a filibuster against the mea-



sure. Earlier, in March, only two senators had voted against a stronger version of the lobbying reform and gift ban legislation. Now, with election day less than a month away and special interest campaign contributions becoming more important, 37 Republicans and nine Democrats killed a cloture vote that would have forced a vote on the compromise bill.

The power of the special interests and their money prevailed. Politics and the special interests were the winners; the American people were the losers. President Clinton failed to display the same dedication and aggressive tactics to pass lobbying reform that he used to pass NAFTA.

### A Strange Silence

Like President Clinton on election night, Newt Gingrich placed lobbying reform and campaign finance reform on his legislative agenda. On the opening day of the 104th Congress,—now Speaker of the House Gingrich declared, "I think over time we can—

and will this Spring—rethink campaign finance reform and lobbying reform and review all ethics including the gift rule and rethink what our role should be."

That was in January. Spring came and is now rapidly fading from memory. Congress has been deafeningly silent on lobbying reform. The longer Congress waits to enact meaningful, real lobbying reform, the more the American public will continue to

search for politicians who do what they say.

Partisan politics must be cast aside. It is the duty of our elected representatives to pass a legislation that:

- Limits lobbyists to providing only information, and nothing of monetary value such as campaign contributions, meals, trips or gifts.
- Bans foreign lobbyists and lobbyists representing foreign interests.

• Requires lobbyists to disclose who they represent and their intentions.

• Places a five-year moratorium between the time members of Congress and high-ranking executive branch and legislative branch officials leave office and can legally become lobbyists.

• Is accompanied by legislation that reduces the role played by special interests (campaign finance).

Reforming the current lobbying system will not require difficult decisions such as those needed to balance the federal budget. It will just take leadership, dedication and a firm stance against the special interests and their money. The reward will be something much more precious: the admiration, respect and the vote of the American people.

*Based in Dallas, TX, Russell J. Verney is the National Executive Director for United We Stand America. Research director for this project was Drew Moss.*



Join

**Sen. Nancy Kassebaum,  
Sen. Al Simpson and  
Rep. Jim Leach**

at

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Conference Chairman

*Developing strategies for a growing  
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# A Contract Fulfilled?

Nationwide survey of 1026 adults conducted in April by Chilton Research for ABC and the Washington Post.; margin of error +/- 3%.

	Support	Oppose	Und.
Term limits	75%	24%	1%
Stop unfunded mandates	66	28	6
Have states take over welfare	66	32	2
Line-item veto	64	32	4
Have states take over school lunch	62	36	2
No welfare to teen mothers	42	57	1

## Who do Clinton and the GOP care more about serving...

	Clinton	GOP
Poor people	20%	2%
Middle income	18	12
Upper income	16	55
All people	41	29

## Is the Republican Congress keeping most of its campaign promises?

Yes	50%
No	41
Undecided	9

## Who is more to blame for the defeat of term limits?

Democrats	42%
Republicans	38
Both equally (vol.)	9

## Grading the 104th

### The first three months of the GOP Congress has been—

A success	42%
A failure	40

### Newt Gingrich's political views are—

Too extreme	42%
In the mainstream	47

Source: A nationwide survey of 802 adults conducted in April by the Gallup Organization for CNN and USA Today; margin of error +/- 3.5%

### The Republican Congress has brought—

The right kind of change	26%
The wrong kind of change	12
Not much change	58

Source: A nationwide survey of 803 adults conducted in April by Peter Hart (D) and Robert Teeter (R) for NBC and the Wall Street Journal; margin of error +/- 3.5%.

## A Flat Tax?

Princeton Survey Research Associates for Newsweek. April 6-7, 1995.  
N=753 adults nationwide:

### "Which one of the following tax systems do you most prefer?"

- (A) The current system, with tax rates from 15-39% and all existing deductions, credits and exemptions; OR,  
 (B) A flat tax system where every person and corporation pays the same flat rate -about 20%- with only deductions for home mortgages and charitable contributions; OR,  
 (C) A flat tax system where every person and corporation pays a flat rate of 17%, with no deductions, credits or exemptions."

(A) Current system	27%
(B) Flat tax of about 20%, some deductions	32
(C) Flat tax of 17%, no deductions	29
(D) Don't know	12

## Growing Skepticism, Independence

Times Mirror: 1,800 adults surveyed by Princeton Research 4/6-9; margin of error +/- 2.5%

### GOP POLICIES/PROPOSALS

	4/95	3/95	12/94
Approve	44%	43%	52%
Disapprove	43	39	28

### Do you consider yourself a...

	4/95	3/95	11/94
Republican	30%	35%	28%
Democrat	29	28	31
Independent	37	32	35

Continued on page 14



# Bridging the Gender Gap

Although Republicans have not yet figured out how to capitalize on it, our party actually has the potential for a more progressive and forward-looking message for women in 1996 than do the Democrats. But before looking forward, let's look back for a moment to 1992 and 1994 to see what these elections can tell us about 1996 and how Republicans can woo back women voters.

In neither of the last two elections was there any obvious attempt to appeal to women voters. In 1992, President Bush was attacked on the right by Pat Buchanan and was haunted by his own retraction of the "no new taxes pledge." Strategically, the President's campaign was looking at how to patch the damage done by these two factors.

Although there was some recognition that the President had been too long silent on domestic issues, the campaign was not able to come up with a resonant message in that direction. The convention, with its culturally right-wing tones, capped the Republican's difficulties in appealing to women. Many blame the message, but it is equally important to consider the messengers and the subsequent media spin. In the post-convention media cycle, the convention seemed less about George Bush than about the "Pats" (Buchanan and Robertson). The messages and the messengers turned off millions, especially women.

However, what alarmed GOP strategists in 1992 was not so much a loss of support among women voters, but the defection of so many (traditionally Republican) men to Ross Perot. Therefore it was in the analysis of Ross Perot's supporters and messages that many of the Republican strategies for 1994 began to take shape.

Last year, Republicans emphasized themes (such as less government and

deficit reduction) that had stronger inherent appeal to men than women. Subsequently, the party was able to recapture the interest of its male defectors, although once again abdicating women voters to a certain extent.

While a 54% majority of the public wanted Congress to focus on deficit reduction in the second 100 days (NBC/Wall Street Journal poll, April, 1995), and the issue of the deficit is baggage that our children will have to carry, it would seem odd that men and women would not be equally concerned about this. But in fact, other issues that involve children—most notable education—are of preeminent concern to women, Republican women in particular.

In our message about the deficit,

should consider not only the economic legacy we leave our children, but also the environmental legacy. Being perceived as not caring about small children, animals, or air and water quality is not a position we as a party want to be in.

Clearly, Republicans have a strong advantage over Democrats in voters' minds on spending issues. Working this natural advantage in 1996, Republicans should make sure that we send a strong message to women that we are a party that is responsive to their economic interests. Working women continue to be among the most resistant to a Republican appeal.

It is likely that many women see Republicans as benefactors to (mostly white male) corporate CEOs, when, in fact, the House *Contract with America* and the actions of House Republicans also addressed the needs of small business owners. Considering that women start up their own small businesses at twice the rate of men, we need to convey that Republicans represent their interests, such as:

**Do you favor smaller government with fewer services or larger government with many services?**

	Smaller	Larger
Men	68%	23%
Women	59	30

Source: The Los Angeles Times, Jan.19-22, 1995.

Republicans sound more like macroeconomics professors than guardians of our children's future. We have great potential to appeal to women with a message about deficit reduction if it is credibly and consistently framed as an investment in our children's future...much like education. We need to lose the charts and introduce children into our discussion. Instead of being seen as "saviors of the school lunch," Democrats should be cast as those who are spending our children's inheritance and denying children the chance to experience a life as good as their parents.

However, if Republicans want to appear consistent in our belief that it is better to consider future interests as opposed to the "here and now," we

- reducing regulations that make it impossible for women to start businesses and succeed;
- increasing lending to women-owned businesses so that they will have the necessary capital to put behind their ideas;
- health insurance "portability" that will allow people to bring health insurance with them from their previous jobs, and for increasing health care deductions for the self-employed so that women (and men) who start small businesses are not overwhelmed by health care costs;
- expanding options for IRAs to allow people to save for retirement, a first

house, or their children's college education without being taxed;

- eliminating the tax that penalizes married working couples by making them pay more taxes than if they were single.

Also under the topic of work place issues: the Democrats will likely use the GOP's interest in discontinuing affirmative action to demonstrate that Republicans have little interest in the advancement of women and minorities. While a March *Newsweek* survey found a 49%-41% plurality of women believed affirmative action should be continued (compared with a slim plurality of men for discontinuance), few women are likely to believe that they owe their own job to affirmative action practices. And a plurality of both women (35%) and men (39%) say they agree more with the Republicans than the Democrats on the issue of affirmative action.

Republicans have a distinct advantage in 1996 in presenting a forward-

### Which of the following is a higher priority?

	Cutting Taxes	Deficit Reduction
Men	33%	61%
Women	42	50
	Maintaining Soc. Security	Deficit Reduction
Men	62%	33%
Women	77	16

Source: Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press, Feb. 1995.

looking vision to women that focuses on issues that a majority of them are concerned with, such as: their (or their families') economic viability; correcting the slide in the quality of education; their personal safety and that of their children.

The Democrats and their coalition allies, as in many other areas, have not updated their notions about so-called "women's issues" and continue to focus on areas of reproductive rights to the near exclusion of other issues. While certainly reproductive issues are of much greater significance to women than men, most women outside of Washington tend not to define themselves primarily by their beliefs in that area. To the extent that Republicans

can sensitively address issues that women encounter on a daily basis (jobs, kids, crime, taxes), our party will indeed have the opportunity to redress our failure to target these key voters with messages that are truly progressive.

We must recognize, however, that, as in most other areas, the media will not be our allies. Their version is this: Democrats care about women. The only

real women candidates are Democrats, the rest are "female impostors". While Republican women in Congress have ascended to leadership positions previously unknown among the greater ranks of Democrat women, the media is intent on pursuing the angle that somehow these GOP women, especially the newly elected members, are not representative of American women. Within this context, the Democrats have effectively used the media in capturing the "moral highground" in areas that involve matters of empathy and compassion. We cannot surrender on these points if we want to communicate to a broad audience of women voters.

## THE PULSE-STIR (Continued from page 12)

Source: 1,000 registered voters surveyed nationwide by Lake Research (D) and the Tarrance Group (R) 4/2-4; +/- 3.1% (release, 4/12).

### Your opinion of ...

Favorable/Unfavorable

Clinton	51/43%
Dole	53/29
Gingrich	36/43
Gramm	28/24
Perot	33/51

### Which worries you more?

Dem. ties to liberal special interests, like labor unions	32%
GOP ties to conservative special interests, like the wealthy and big business	47

### GENERIC CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION (WITH LEANERS)

Vote for GOP candidate	43%
Vote for Dem. Candidate	38

## Third Man Threat?

CNN/USA Today: 1,007 adults surveyed 4/17-19; margin of error +/- 3% (release, 4/25).

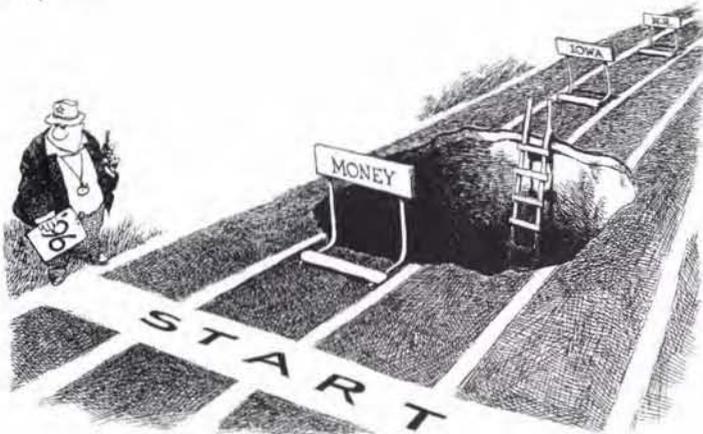
### GENERAL ELECTION (W/LEANERS)

Clinton	33%	Clinton	40%
Dole	29%	Dole	35%
Powell	28%	Perot	20%

# CaPiTOL COMIX

BY JEFF MACNELLY

MACNELLY Chicago Tribune



MACNELLY Chicago Tribune



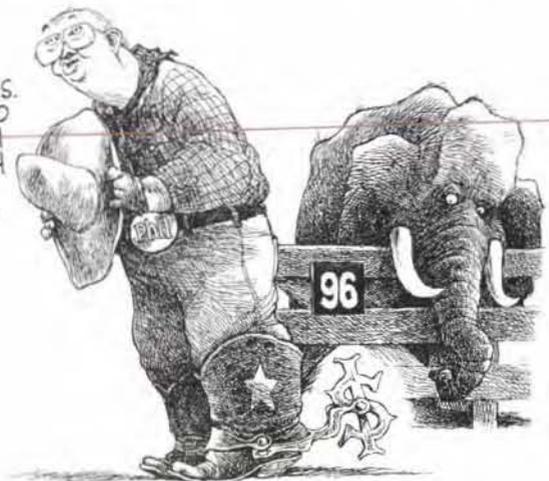
MACNELLY Chicago Tribune

New Wallpaper in the Cabinet Room



MACNELLY Chicago Tribune

SHUCKS... AH'M NEW TO THIS. AH JUS' HOPE TO STAY UP ON 'IM LAWIN' ENOUGH TO GIT HIS ATTENTION...



MACNELLY Chicago Tribune



MACNELLY Chicago Tribune





*Sen. Nancy Kassebaum  
Chair, Labor and Human  
Resources Committee*



*Rep. Susan Molinari  
Vice Chair, House  
Republican Conference*



*Rep. Barbara Vucanovich  
Secretary, House Republican  
Conference*



*Rep. Nancy Johnson  
Chair, Standards of Official  
Conduct Committee*



*Rep. Jan Meyers  
Chair, Small Business  
Committee*



*No Woman Held a Full Committee Chair or Elected Leadership Position in the Democrat-Controlled 103rd Congress. In the Republican 104th, Five Women Hold the Reins of Such Immense Power. Here They Recall Their Experiences with Our Political System and Tell Us Why Women and the Republican Party Need Each Other to Succeed.*

## An Introduction By Speaker Newt Gingrich

[The following remarks by Speaker Gingrich were made on the occasion of Ripon's May 17th dinner honoring Congress' five women leaders.]

Let me thank the Ripon Society for really honoring five very important women leaders in Congress. In Nancy Kassebaum, you have picked a Senator who plays a major role in chairing a committee, has been outspoken and fights for what she believes in. I admire her across that long hallway between the House and Senate. But I know much better the four House women leaders you have chosen.

We are very proud of the key role women are playing this year in the U.S. House of Representatives. Under Republican leadership—and for the first time ever—two of the officers of the House are now women. That has never before happened; there has never been a woman officer of the House in the entire history of the country. But as soon as we took over, half of the officers were women: Robin Carl—now Clerk of the House—used to work at the Republican National Committee and does a tremendous job. Cheryl Lau—the former Secretary

of State in Nevada and a fine lawyer—has done a superb job as the General Counsel for the House. And they are providing leadership that proves women can play a major role inside the institution of the House.

And of course, you have tonight's honorees. This is the first time in the history in either party that there have been two elected women in leadership, and I want to assure you that Barbara Vucanovich and Susan Molinari make quite a team. When we have our leadership meetings, they are both outspoken and aggressive; and they don't just represent women members or women's views: they fight for the things they believe in, they represent every member of the conference, and then they go out on television and on the floor, working the issues and providing leadership.

In addition, this is the first time in the history of the House that two of the committees have been chaired by women: Nancy Johnson, who chairs the Ethics Committee, and is also the Chairwoman of the Oversight Sub committee of the very powerful Ways and Means committee; and Jan Meyers, who chairs the Small Business Committee. And what an appropriate committee to have a woman chair, as



sixty percent of all today's new business starts are by women. Women entrepreneurs are breaking the glass ceiling because they own the ceiling: they are the president, they are the founder. And in the very near future, we are going to have a Bill Gates who is a woman—a Beverly Gates or a Barbara Gates—and they are going to be billionaires. Suddenly people are going to realize that the world really has changed, that women really are providing leadership everywhere.

So I want to thank the Ripon Society: you picked five great leaders to recognize. And what an appropriate thing to do at a time when the Republican Party in Congress is breaking new ground for women in leadership.

**RIPON:** In your opinion, where is the Republican Party going? Where does it need to go?

**VUCANOVICH:** It can't go anywhere but up. It's the party of opportunity; it provides a chance for all of us to succeed. The way our party is going—with its determined leadership, its ability to bite the bullet and do the things that have to be done for the future, for our kids—it can only go up.

**MEYERS:** We are moving this country in very positive directions, particularly on fiscal matters. We are headed on a road toward a balanced budget. If we can get our interest payments down just ten percent, we would have another \$20-30 billion annually.... Republicans have the character to get

us there, and the American people will respond. They clearly sent a message at the polls last year that they wanted sanity restored to federal spending.

**JOHNSON:** Our party is wide-open and always has been. That is amply demonstrated by the fact we have two women who have been elected to leadership positions within the House Republican organization. Over all the decades they had the power of the majority, the Democrats never had a single woman elected to a leadership position....It is a great statement about our party that when we became a majority, the women who had been candidates for leadership positions when we thought we were going to be a minority, were still candidates, and were elected. That is a telling episode

about how Republicans view women in power versus how Democrats view it.

**MOLINARI:** We have to be inclusive....In 1992, we lost the suburban women's vote by 25 points while we lost the general public by only five points. It was that large in part because of the dogmatic stance we took at the convention. The majority of the American people will accept the fact that we disagree on [some social] issues. They understand that we have a right to disagree, that we are not somehow immoral in disagreeing. That's what people reacted to at the convention, the idea that if women didn't stay at home with the kids they were somehow aberrations of the family....I believe that political platforms

are for flags and bunting and for perjorative statements about the opposing party. Something as personal and sensitive and emotional and—for most people—as religious as abortion should not be used as a political tool.

**KASSEBAUM:** Even though television has come to so dominate politics today, the real strength is at the local level. That precinct work is still important; as Republicans, we shouldn't forget that. And as we have kept that faith [with the grassroots] and that strength and need to keep it, I think that we are in an effective position to speak to what people feel today. They want to be able to have some input and control over their own lives.

**RIPON:** *Since history was made with last year's elections, what has it meant to you to be in a leadership position?*

**KASSEBAUM:** It presents a great challenge and opportunity for the Republican Party. I think we're poised to provide the nation's leadership into the next century, and be able to reverse trends that have grown to be oppressive, draining off initiative, energy and talent. The 104th Congress has already shown a vision for this new direction, particularly in the House, with its historic new majority. Our new initiatives with them bode extraordinarily well for success in the Republican Party's future.

**VUCANOVICH:** It gives me the opportunity to set the agenda and speak out for women in the party and to set an example, [showing] women can succeed in the party.

**JOHNSON:** It's far more challenging and exciting now. I have a great deal more opportunity to influence policy, to actually shape the laws that are going to govern us in the future.

**MEYERS:** It's been fun. I've been here for ten years, and over that time we have not been able to win many issues. Republicans still played an important role, influencing legislation when it

could have been enacted in a much worse form. But now we can at least bring many issues of great importance to the American people to the floor—issues that have never been to the floor before.

**RIPON:** *What do you consider to be your greatest accomplishment in the Congress?*

**VUCANOVICH:** Just getting here. At just past 60 years old—after raising five children and being in business—I



*"I was fortunate in having a Dad who... had given me a keen interest in politics and appreciation for politics."  
—Kassebaum*

ran for Congress, opening a whole new life. After being here for 12 years, I was elected to the leadership. It's an exciting opportunity to make a difference.

**JOHNSON:** My greatest accomplishment was recognizing early on that our health care policy was inadequate, that a nation as great as ours had to be able to guarantee access to affordable care to all its people. That enabled me to put in place the original legislation that contained a key component of the solution. Since that time, we've all learned a lot more about this issue, a lot of good ideas have been developed. But when we finally enact the changes in our system that are needed...I will

take enormous personal pride and pleasure in seeing it happen.

**MEYERS:** Our greatest accomplishments are just ahead. As chairman of the Small Business Committee, I am acutely aware that smaller businesses are much more burdened by regulations and taxes than big business is. Under my leadership—Republican leadership—the committee will be able to lessen that burden. My welfare reform bill of two years ago—concerned primarily with AFDC—was incorporated into the Contract With America's welfare reform bill and finally passed. That is perhaps the most important issue in America today—not just because of the enormous amount of money involved...but because our present welfare system has increased dependence and illegitimacy. It has torn the fabric of society. That will change under the Contract's welfare provisions.

**RIPON:** *What memorable experiences have you had as a woman political leader?*

**JOHNSON:** A number of years ago, the women in Congress decided that we needed our own gym; we too needed to exercise. We toured the existing facilities with the chairman of the appropriate committee for the issue. His obvious frustration with our demands for equal access and equipment was really comical. He finally turned to me and said: "I don't know why you want this equipment; it only builds muscles!"

**MOLINARI:** On my first day on the New York City Council—right after Ed Koch had gotten sworn in for his third term as Mayor, after Andrew Stein had been elected President of the Council, after we had elected the Majority Leader—I had to get up—as the only Republican on the Council—and nominate myself for Minority Leader, accept the nomination, vote for myself. *The Daily News Magazine* put me on their cover with the title: "Minority of One."

**VUCANOVICH:** When I first came here [in 1983] we had very few women; now we have a large number, including 17 Republicans. When I was running for the secretary of the conference, [Cong.] Henry Hyde [R-IL] nominated me, declaring "Barbara Vucanovich is a flamingo in the barnyard of politics." Now all of our women are flamingos, standing out as they reach their political maturity.

**KASSEBAUM:** After 17 years of service, I find some people still can't relate very much to my looking like a Senator. You still have to hope the doormen don't ask you what you are doing coming through that door. You have to say, "Well, I belong here." As a woman, I'm also surprised at how many calls come into the office after I've been on C-Span commenting about my hair. It's just one of those things that remind you that—as a woman involved in the legislative process—you have to be sensitive to certain perceptions. Are you going to be tough enough? Will you look too aggressive? How will you handle yourself? In the midst of constant analysis about clothes and hair and how you handle yourself, I've always believed you have to be yourself in public life; you can't create something that isn't there. You don't have to be aggressive to be tough. Toughness comes from knowing what you believe in is important, and a willingness to work toward its success. Some times you don't succeed, but at least you've had a goal.

**MEYERS:** It's been interesting to watch—over the years—how things have changed. I've been an elected official for 22 years. When I first started running for office, people would say to me, "I can't figure out why you'd want to do that, Jan," as if women weren't involved with what happens in this country. The most traditional woman who stays at home with her children probably has the most at stake with government, because of the safety of her children,

the safety of food—all the things you can think of associated with the family involve government....Now people say to me they are pleased that there are so many women getting into office, that they have important perspectives and experience that men cannot provide.

**RIPON:** *Why are you a Republican?*

**MEYERS:** I believe in the basic Republican principles: the best government is that closest to home; fiscal



*"I had to get up—as the only Republican on the [N. Y. City] Council—and nominate myself for Minority Leader..."*  
—Molinari

conservatism—spending as little as you can to accomplish the goals that are necessary.

**VUCANOVICH:** It's the party of opportunity—for woman, for minorities, for everyone.

**MOLINARI:** When I turned 18, I didn't think twice about registering Republican, since my dad [Staten Island Borough Pres./former Cong. Guy Molinari] was running in Republican primaries and I wanted to be able to vote for him. Later—when I went away to college—I had to do a bit of soul-searching. There, life is ideal, and Republican/conservative philosophies don't make much sense because

real-world problems don't impact you. When I moved back to New York City, there was such a strong dichotomy between what a Democrat represented and what I believed. I think most Democrats in the country would do whatever they could to distance themselves from the sort of governing the Democrats pursued in New York. In that context, I felt very comfortable being a Republican. Now that I am involved in national politics, I sometimes have a divergence of opinion with the party line, but by and large I'm comfortable being a Republican.

**JOHNSON:** I became a Republican because I believe they are right about individual responsibility, and the importance of local government and small business and entrepreneurship. And compassion. I know it sounds strange to say it, but Republicans really are enormously compassionate. Look who is behind most of the non-profit foundations in this country....We are a do-it-yourself, yet caring community.

**RIPON:** *Who were your political role models or hands-up-the-ladder?*

**KASSEBAUM:** When I made the decision to run for the U.S. Senate, it was seen as quite extraordinary by many people, as my only political office had been on the local school board. I was fortunate in having a dad [1936 GOP presidential nominee Alf Landon]—who was still living at that time—who hadn't wanted me to run, but had given me a keen interest in politics and appreciation for politics. He believed that being a politician was an honorable calling.

**VUCANOVICH:** If I had to pick a woman, it would be Margaret Thatcher; she was wonderful. But the person who helped me most in getting along in politics was [former Gov./U.S. Sen.] Paul Laxalt [R-NV]. I worked to get him elected and ran his north Nevada office for seven years. He's my role model. He served our



***“People have to know that we have women who are credible, who are not just tokens.”***  
**—Vucanovich**

state very well; I hope to do the same.

**MEYERS:** Bob Dole. He has exhibited enormous character, so far as a political role model is concerned. Over the years, he has maintained a posture of absolute straightforwardness and consistency.

**JOHNSON:** When I was considering running for Congress, I came down to see my friend [Fmr. Cong.] Larry DeNardis [R-CT], with whom I had served in the state Senate. He made it possible for me to sit down and talk

with [congresswomen] Olympia Snowe [R-ME], Marge Roukema [R-NJ] and Claudine Schneider [R-RI]. It was helpful to hear how other women handled this job, how I could combine it with my responsibilities to my family and my community. Women’s lives and responsibilities are shaped somewhat differently than those of men.

**RIPON:** *How can the GOP attract more women to the party?*

**MEYERS:** We need to be as inclusive as we possibly can, while remaining true to our Republican principles.... There is a link between small businesspeople and the Republican Party. Small businesspeople are independent

and hard-working. They don’t appreciate a heavy hand from Washington. That is also the Republican view. Most new business startups are by women; they now own nearly a third of all small businesses. The principles of less taxes and less regulation will be especially helpful to women.

**MOLINARI:** There’s a lot of room in this Republican Party for women who believe in fiscal conservatism and want government to slim down. That’s a message that appeals to women; we just haven’t been to successful getting

it out through the media.

**VUCANOVICH:** Republican women holding office need to have the opportunity to be seen. People have to know that we have women who are credible, who are not just tokens. We represent the key part of the electorate and need more visibility.

**JOHNSON:** We have to be far more aggressive in making women see two things: First, we are the allies of small business; women are founding more small businesses than are men. They need to understand that government policy can either help them make their businesses more successful or make it impossible for them to expand and grow. We understand that; women need to understand that. Second, women need to know why we are the party of true compassion. They know far better than men that giving you something is a form of oppression. They need to know how we are trying to create a partnership with women on welfare assistance. We’re not willing to continue the old policy of “you need help, honey? We’ll give it to you ‘til you get married and some nice man takes care of you.” We say, “this is an equal opportunity society. You need help? We’ll get you on your feet. We’re a team; this nation is a partnership.” Women will come to realize that we’re the party that respects women’s abilities and creates opportunity for women.



## A Tribute By Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole

*[The following remarks by Majority Leader Dole were made on the occasion of Ripon’s May 17th dinner honoring Congress’ five women leaders.]*

**M**y thoughts are with all of you as you gather tonight to salute the five outstanding women who help comprise our Republican leadership in the House and Senate. I am proud to call each of these women my friend and prouder

still that two hail from Kansas. Nancy and Jan know that Kansas’ state motto is “To the stars through difficulties.” For too many years, women who sought careers in politics had to persevere through many difficulties before reaching the stars. Thankfully, due to the contribution of many women, including the five you honor tonight, all that is changing. Today more women are running and winning than ever before and more women are also realizing that through all the talk of the Democrats, it is the Republican Party that promotes women to senior

leadership positions.

Let me close by saying that there is nothing I would rather see than having my Kansas colleague for the last seventeen years become the senior senator from Kansas. If that is to happen, I’ll have to find another job and Nancy has to decide to run for another term. Nancy, I promise to do my part to make that happen, if you promise to do yours.

Elizabeth joins me in sending our congratulations to you and your fellow honorees Susan, Barbara, Nancy, and Jan.

# Mrs. Smith Rose in Washington

The Republican Party has been responsible for many advancements of women in politics: The six states that allowed women to vote prior to the 19th Amendment were all Republican-controlled. The first woman to serve as a member of Congress (Jeanette Rankin), major party convention keynoter (Clare Booth Luce), and ambassador to a major power (Luce again): Republicans all. But the proudest GOP contribution to women in politics was an unprepossessing widow from Maine, Margaret Chase Smith.

Mrs. Smith held her own place in the record books as the first woman to serve in both houses of Congress, and the first to have her name placed in nomination for president at a major party convention. But it was her willingness to stand first among her male colleagues on points of honor and conscience that endear her most to history.

In 1950, she became the first mem-

ber of the Senate to denounce the smear tactics of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy at the onset of his reign of terror over American civil liberties. In a floor speech entitled "Declaration of Conscience," Smith warned her fellow lawmakers of grave consequences if they did not move against McCarthy's "character assassination behind the cloak of congressional immunity." Running for president in 1964, she remained a voice of quiet reason in a bitter, vitriolic campaign that gave the Republican Party its worse split in half a century. A fixture in Congress for a generation, she never wavered in her championship of human rights.

Margaret Chase Smith passed on this Memorial Day at her Skowhegan home, the victim of a massive stroke at age 97. Although she passed from the public eye a generation ago, the memory of her example continues to be a source of inspiration, for men and women alike.



**Margaret Chase Smith**  
*The Conscience of Congress*

## In Memorium

# Daniel Swillinger, Former Ripon Political Director, R.I.P.

BY WILLIAM MCKENZIE

When Dan Swillinger hired me to work for John Anderson's 1980 presidential campaign, his characteristic, charitable humor surfaced immediately. It put this lowly, shy volunteer at ease with him, the important campaign manager.

"Go tell your parents not to worry anymore," chortled Dan upon offering me employment in January 1980. "You now have a paying job."

That scene always stayed with me. It was my first thought when I learned of Daniel's death in May. It epitomized Dan Swillinger: always a gentle man, possessed with a wonderfully observant wit.

Those characteristics later shone through at the Ripon Society, where I went to work after the Anderson campaign. Dan joined us throughout the 1980s to publish the *Forum*, our little

journal of opinion. A loyal editorial board member, Daniel would show up at the Ripon offices, sandwich in hand, outfitted in bow tie and suspenders, ready to offer information and insight about any any issue we editorialists felt the *Forum* should comment about in the next edition.

Because Dan had a long history with Ripon—dating back to the early 1970s, when he served as the Society's political director—he wisely provided perspective on previous Ripon positions as well as the players involved. That was valuable to us newcomers.

Daniel also loved baseball, which gave us another subject for animated discussion. "Look," I'd yell at the loyal Ohioan, "your Cincinnati Reds are just boring. You still don't get it! In politics, in baseball, power has shifted westward, to the American League West where my Texas Rangers play." Laugh, we would, then go on to the next topic.

Of course, "little" moments like those cannot be overlooked in a person's life. They comprise what Martin Luther King, Jr. termed the "content of our character."

In Daniel's case, the content was plentiful. He didn't just put humble volunteers at ease, or share his love of life's ordinary things with friends. He also stood up for his beliefs. And he led by example. Among other social actions, Dan served Washington's homeless population, worked for a broad Republican Party, fought for honest election laws. Riponites especially will value his legacy. Being kinder and gentler was never just a political slogan to him. It was a way of life.

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**William McKenzie**, now a Dallas Morning News editorial writer and columnist, served as editor of the Ripon *Forum* from 1981-1991.

# THE FISHER QUEEN

## How Pro-Choice GOPer Sue Kelly Defied Traditions and Won a Seat in Congress

By DAVID BEILER

The Lower Hudson Valley of New York State holds one of the grandest heritages in American politics. It was home to two presidents: Kinderhook's Martin Van Buren, the country's first political boss and organizer of the first modern political party; and Hyde Park's Franklin Roosevelt, founder of the American welfare state and architect of a 60-year era of Democratic majority. But the longest, proudest tradition found there has been carried on for 150 years by several generations of men with a single name: Hamilton Fish.

Last year, that tradition came to a crashing finale wrought by Sue Kelly, an innovative businesswoman who had once devoted her career to upholding it. In this work of iconoclastic demolition, she was vitally assisted by the latest Fish heir, who first defied his pedigree, then affected it in the most shameless ways imaginable.

### Fish Story

The dynasty began in the mid-1800s, as the first Hamilton Fish won election to the governorship and the U.S.

Senate, capping his career with a post in the cabinet of Ulysses S. Grant. His son and namesake followed him to Congress, as did his grandson, the best-known Hamilton Fish of all.

This first 20th century Fish graduated from Harvard in 1910, the same class that produced John Reed, the communist leader whose account of the Bolshevik Revolution (*Ten Days that Shook the World*) was later memorialized in the epic Warren Beatty film *Reds*. The polar opposite of Reed, Fish (later to be known as Hamilton Fish, Sr.) became the congressional leader of the anti-New Deal hard core during the 1930s, his notoriety accentuated by the fact he was officially Roosevelt's Representative. With the onset of American involvement in World War II, Fish Senior's isolationist credo and rabid criticisms of the President soon became too much for even his blue-blooded constituency to bear, and he was turned out in the elections of 1944 after nine terms.

His son—Hamilton Fish, Jr.—came to represent much the same territory in



Congresswoman Sue Kelly (R)  
NY-19th District

Congress in the 1960s, but was considerably more moderate in his ideological outlook. That leftward generational drift continued with Hamilton Fish III, who was not only a Democrat, but publisher of the leftist magazine *The Nation* to boot.

Despite the fact his thinking was 180 degrees from that of his famous grandfather, Ham III very much wanted to carry on the family tradition of elective office. He ran for Congress in 1988, seeking to take on ultra-conservative incumbent Joe DioGuardi (R) in the district sprawled across the northern suburbs of New York City, just south of his father's. His quest was mightily hampered by the grand old man himself, who—at the age of 99—energetically traversed the district for DioGuardi, denouncing his grandson as a communist. The youngest Fish lost his primary to state official Nita Lowey, who in turn ousted DioGuardi in November.

### GOP Jumble

When ill health forced Hamilton Fish, Jr. to announce his retirement in the Spring of 1994, there seemed little doubt that he would eventually back his son for his 19th District seat—despite their partisan and ideological differences, and the contrary precedent set by Ham, Sr.

### PROFILE: The 19th District of New York

**Voter Registration:** Republican 38%, Democrat 30%, other/unaffiliated 32%.

**'92 presidential vote:** Bush 42%, Clinton 40%, Perot 17%.

**Racial composition:** White 84%, Black 7%, Hispanic 5%, Other 4%.

**Occupation:** White Collar 69%, Blue Collar 18%, Service 12%, Farm 1%.

**Income:** Median Family—\$57,415; Families in Poverty—3%.

**Ancestry:** Italian 24%, Irish 24%, German 19%, English 11%, Polish 6%

**Residential Patterns:** Owner-occupied 71%, Renter 29%; Urban 70%, Rural 30%.

**Biggest Employers:** IBM 27,000; Sing-Sing Correctional Facility 15,000.

The vacuum left on the Republican side of the ballot in the GOP-leaning enclave was soon filled by four serious contenders:

- DioGuardi—trying desperately to return to Congress after twice losing bids to regain his old seat to the south; backed by Religious Rightists and the Conservative Party, staked the ground on the right flank of the field, touting its only pure pro-life position on abortion; well-connected and well-to-do, would invest \$50,000 of his own money in the effort.
- Paul Bucha—graduate of West Point (which lies within the district) and winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism in Vietnam; subsequently a wealthy real estate developer, with projects all over the Greater New York City area; would sink \$500,000 into his primary candidacy.
- Glenn Warren—influential 12-year veteran of the state Assembly; also a veteran, having been decorated 11 times while serving as a Marine Corps helicopter pilot in Vietnam.
- Guy Parisi—former judge now serving as the attorney for the Westchester County Republican Party—a powerful organization whose chair was in Parisi's corner, as was the Westchester County Executive.

Westchester County backing was particularly important, as the district's southernmost county would cast about half the primary vote. In addition to Parisi, two other major candidates claimed Westchester ties: DioGuardi had represented its southern portion in Congress, and Bucha owned a condo there. But in fact, none of the Big Four even lived in the 19th. The homes of DioGuardi and Parisi were in Westchester, but below the district line; Warren represented Dutchess County at the 20th's

northern reach, but resided above the boundary. And while Bucha's condo was in the district all right, it turned out his ex-wife had been living there without him for two years; meanwhile, the war hero had been making his bivouac in New Jersey.

There seemed to be a void in the field, for a clear-cut social moderate and a woman, as well as a bonafide resident. Those niches were finally filled by a single candidacy launched just before the May filing deadline.

### Mighty Morphin Mom

Sue Kelly has built the kind of life June Cleaver might of had, if she had only come along a generation later. While raising four kids with her husband Edward, Kelly managed simultaneous careers as a substitute teacher and real estate rehabber, all the while bringing a flower shop along toward success. After redistricting brought Ham Fish, Jr.'s bailiwick into northern Westchester in 1972, she served as the Congressman's campaign guide through his new territory, and wound up briefly directing his constituent services operation. By 1994, she owned property in each of the 19th District's four counties and had built a modest fortune as an astute investor and businesswoman.

Appalled by the GOP field's lack of a clear pro-choice voice or viable district resident, Kelly finally decided to make the race in May. She committed \$100,000 in personal funds to a cam-

paign loan and hired on local generalist Jay Townsend. Although carefully targeted from the first, the campaign never counted on a "divide conquer" strategy of pitching for women and social moderates while the mob of six male opponents butchered themselves in a crowded scramble for conservatives.

"All of the [GOP] candidates started with low name recognition," recalls Townsend, "but there was an assumption among those following the race early that Sue was the moderate in the field, because she was a pro-choice woman. DioGuardi tried to paint her as a liberal because of it. We made sure she got to the right of the others on economic issues to establish her conservative credentials, in spite of her social tolerance."

That was largely accomplished by advocating the complete repeal of the capital gains tax, rather than the healthy cuts pushed by the others in the race. Kelly also made an issue of property taxes, a tactic that earned her some derision from the rest of the field, who suggested her lack of government experience was showing. Property taxes, they sneered, were the province of local government as out-

IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS, 6 OF THE 7 REPUBLICANS RUNNING FOR CONGRESS USED ONE OF THESE TO

Inside: Important information on the only Republican who didn't move to run.

Linkage to the community was a keystone of the Kelly primary message, driven home by the fact that all six of her GOP opponents had only recently moved to the district and none had lately prospered in business there. (Bucha having suffered recent reversals.)

IF IT'S IMPORTANT THAT YOUR NEXT CONGRESSMAN BE A SUCCESSFUL BUSINESSMAN...

FOR CONGRESS

**SUE KELLY**

YOU'LL HAVE TO VOTE FOR A BUSINESSWOMAN.

lined by the states, not a federal matter at all.

"Sue knew the voters felt otherwise," Townsend explains. "She pointed out that unfunded mandates imposed on the states by the federal government were responsible for much of the pressure on property taxes. She was the only candidate calling for the repeal of those mandates."

On abortion—the most salient of social issues in this heavily Catholic enclave—Kelly was clearly pro-choice while Dio Guardi was adamantly pro-life; the other three majors favored continued legality with considerably heavier restrictions.

### Carving the Biggest Niche

Campaigns driven by broadcast media are out of the question in the 19th: Although there is one small commercial TV station at its north end, the stupendously expensive New York City market is almost completely dominant. Cable's penetration is still far from universal; its numbers are unreliable, its buying structure imprecise. WHUD-radio covers the district evenly and is a valuable source of local communication, but it is fairly dwarfed by competition from The Big Apple. This is a constituency that—for all than practical purposes—must be approached by mail.

Even that is not an easy and economical task: there is no voting history provided on registration lists in this part of New York, making targeting difficult, particularly in a primary. "Turnout is usually only 20-25 percent in these elections—a very selective audience," explains Townsend. "And

we didn't want to raise interest among certain segments of voters."

Using a benchmark survey as a guide, the Kelly campaign made a comparative analysis of district voters based on geography and demographics. Among their discoveries: voters under 35 were largely disengaged from the primary campaign and very unlikely to vote; a registered Republican who lived with another registered Republican was much more likely to vote than one who did not. Further research revealed Kelly had particular appeal among younger voters, women and the socially tolerant.

Repeatedly massaging the voter file with such information eventually produced a subset of nearly 13,000 households that could be expected to vote for Kelly if properly persuaded. The great bulk of the primary budget was devoted to hitting this audience with a piece of direct mail every day during the week between Labor Day and the primary.

"New York primary voters do not begin to reach conclusions until they come home from their summer vacations, typically after Labor Day," Townsend declares. "Things can change very rapidly in that following week. Bucha, in particular, spent freely on mail and advertising in August, which was largely a waste."

Also pushing Kelly along down the stretch was the "good-government" lobby, which seems to have been favorably impressed by her blend of innovative, pragmatic fiscal conservatism and social libertarianism. While the district's GOP politicians were dividing their prestige (such as it was) and resources among the four major

male candidates, groups such as the League of Conservation Voters and New York Choice PAC were mobilizing their voters for Kelly. Most district newspapers fell into line behind her as Election Day approached.

Although DioGuardi had led Kelly by several points in August polling, the primary results reached a different conclusion: Kelly seized the nomination in a tight four-way race, taking only 23 percent of the vote, to DioGuardi's 20 percent. Followed by Warren (19 percent), Bucha (18 percent) and Parisi (14 percent).

### Inherent Weakness

The battle for the Democratic nomination had been a strange exercise in *deja vu* for many voters. For one thing, their primary ballots offered attorney Neil McCarthy and Hamilton Fish, Jr. as choices for Congress, much as their general election ballots had two years before. No, the Congressman had not become a Democrat, and yes, he was indeed retiring, though these facts must have gone down hard: the veteran lawmaker had been all over the media in recent days urging Democratic voters to pull the lever by his name....Or was it?

The confusion was apparently intended, for a month before the May filing deadline, the Hamilton Fish previously enumerated "the Third" had legally dumped his roman numeral for the suffix his dad had carried through 26 straight successful elections: "Junior." The title had become mobile (according to rules of etiquette if not the New York Code) in 1991, when 103 year-old Ham Fish, Sr. had finally shuffled off to save other worlds from Bolshevism. That meant his son—the current congressman—no longer needed to endure being a septuagenarian called "Junior." But the ever respectful Cong. Fish continued bearing the secondary designation; that is until his son—the eternal

#### THE TOTEBOARD The Horses, Handlers, Wagers and Payoffs

	<u>Sue Kelly (R)</u>	<u>Ham Fish III (D)</u>	<u>Joe DioGuardi (C/RTL)</u>
Manager	Maureen Huff	S/K Strategies	Andy Moss
Media/Mail	Townsend Group	Austin-Scheinkopf	GHA Media Group
Polling	Tarrance Group	Martilla & Kiley	Kieran Mahoney
Spending	\$570,821	\$591,601	\$278,490
Votes	96,239 (53%)	66,330 (37%)	19,023 (10%)
\$/vote	\$5.93	\$8.92	\$14.64

congressional wanna be—saw utility in taking it from him.

That may be too harsh. Perhaps Fish the Youngest thought being numbered like a king conveyed an aura of elitism that conflicted with his egalitarian philosophy. Or perhaps he was seeking to posthumously tweak his grandfather for earlier frustrating his political ambitions. Whatever his reasons, the effect on his public image was not beneficial.

"It was a very stupid move," claims Townsend. "The voters thought he was trying to deceive them, and not showing much respect for their intelligence while doing it. We had a lot of fun with it, as had Mehiel."

The third name on the Democrat primary ballot, Dennis Mehiel was a political novice, but a wealthy businessman with plenty of willingness to mix it up over the airwaves. Primarily utilizing cable and radio, he invested more than \$250,000 of his own money toward a campaign that condemned Fish as an anti-Semite of the radical left who had sympathized with Jesse Jackson and the PLO. With a sizable Jewish contingent in the electorate of this moderate-to-conservative district, these slashing attacks sent Fish's negatives skyward.

The incumbent responded by crossing party lines to endorse his son, and working his contacts as best he could toward the Fish cause. The legacy (combined with a war chest that matched Mehiel dollar-for-dollar) proved sufficient, even among Democrats. Fish carried 48 percent of them, leaving Mehiel (28 percent) and McCarthy (24 percent) far behind.

### Ham for Breakfast

Despite the impressive win, the Fall loomed ominously for Fish. Mehiel

had inflicted severe damage that would not have the chance to heal over the brief eight-week general election campaign, whether Kelly took the high road or not. And the name change was beginning to become a laughingstock, with Republicans explaining that to

move rightward to forestall DioGuardi's raid on the Republican base, Kelly returned to her strategy of identifying and converting persuadable voters, this time concentrating on moderate independents and Democrats.

Her mail materials contrasted her moderation with the liberalism of Fish with a "puzzle" series. "Which two fit, which one doesn't," the mailers ask, the first one featuring pictures of Ham, Hammy and Kelly, with Hammy serving as the misfit. The next puzzle depicts Bill Clinton, Hammy and Kelly, with the Republican as the odd one out. In each case, the political sim-



A clever "puzzle" series linked Kelly in the public mind with Cong. Fish, while his son was lumped in with Bill Clinton and Mario Cuomo.

distinguish the two Hamilton Fish Juniors, you had to call the Congressman "Ham" and his son "Hammy."

But fortunately for the Democrats, Joe DioGuardi was in a bad mood, his third attempt at a congressional comeback having tumbled to the turf as it pranced toward the winner's circle. To make sure the November ballot represented real Republican principles, he declared he would stay in the race—as the nominee of the Conservative and Right to Life parties. Townsend saw a less ironic reason:

"His campaign manager told me the day before the [November] election that while Joe was going to lose, he would deflect enough votes to elect Fish...That was Joe's strategy all along: get Hammy elected, then come back in '96 as the Republican nominee and beat him."

It seemed like a plausible scenario, but Kelly's campaign did not react predictably to the threat. Rather than

ilarities and contrasts cited were carefully chosen to suggest an affinity between the targeted voter and Kelly, accompanied by a revulsion for Hammy.

With the voters constantly reminded why Hamilton Fish, Sr. had termed his grandson a communist and DioGuardi's hard-right campaign regularly denouncing Kelly as a liberal, it was relatively easy to establish the Republican in the public mind as the mainstream alternative. Aided by a national GOP tailwind and the presence of unpopular Gov. Mario Cuomo at the top of the Democratic line, Kelly cleared a majority of the vote, outpacing Fish by 16 points.

After five generations, one of the most enduring legacies in American politics had come to an end. And somewhere in the hereafter, its central link was cheering.

*This article was adapted from one which previously appeared in Campaigns and Elections.*

# IN MARKETS WE TRUST

*The 'Public Choice' School of Economics Has Captured the Imaginations of GOP Policymakers. Is it a Panacea or a Pipe Dream?*

BY DAVID BEILER

The current Republican glimpse at majority status was brought about by a curious political phenomenon: the angry acceptance by populists of the idea that big government works for the powerful few at the expense of the unorganized many. That runs counter to the classic concept of populism that visualizes government as a great equalizer, reining in marauding robber barons and redistributing wealth through "progressive" tax and labor policies.

Liberals have maintained the new perception is the result of a con job; they insist that lackeys for the rich have succeeded in playing the race card, hoodwinking the middle class into believing their real enemy is the poor. But now libertarian academicians William Mitchell (University of Oregon) and Randy Simmons (Utah State) have come up with *Beyond Politics*, a usually logical and well-documented treatise that persuasively contends the new right-wing populists are seeing quite clearly, thank you. If they only knew when to stop.

Forgive the authors if they themselves see everything in terms of markets and dollar signs; they are—at heart—economists, only masquerading as political scientists. They expound an economic theory known as "public choice" that has been germinating for at least three decades, but only recently gained entry to the higher salons of political power. The concept has become a driving force in the thinking of Speaker Newt Gingrich and many other GOP leaders, not only in terms of economic issues, but basic political philosophy as well.

## Martians on Earth

Briefly: the "public choicers" hold the marketplace to be a nearly perfect vehicle for the advancement of the human condition. Competition for

consumers is the only efficient means of delivering goods and services, say these theorists, and ought to proceed unfettered. Some functions (most notably public safety) may offer no escape from the anti-competitive influence of government, but even these should be privatized as much as possible. So devoted are these beliefs to the benevolence of the marts, we may term their adherents "martians."

As economists are almost obliged to do, the authors operate in a perfect vacuum, a pristine isle of fantastic predictability, where people are first and foremost consumers who will reliably go for the best buy in their pursuit of happiness. Martians deplore federal authority (or state authority, for that matter) because it limits the choices of consumers (i.e. citizens). By the authors' logic, people should be able to choose whether they want confiscatory taxes with comprehensive government care, or free-of-charge anarchy, or anything in between.

They overlook the fundamental meaning of community. People don't run down to the bookstore every January, scoop up the latest edition of *Places Rated* and figure out where in the world to move to this year. They live where they live for a variety of basic reasons, many of them heartfelt: the proximity of relatives, their career (if not their job), the friends they have made, the trees they have planted, the emotional roots of their being. If they are upset by conditions in their community, they organize to change them. The foundation of the American Way is to hold your ground, not cut and run.

## A Hoover Vacuum

Not surprisingly, *Beyond Politics* also chants the trickle-down mantra that no special obligations be put on the rich, as their overflowing wealth can only be channeled into job-creating

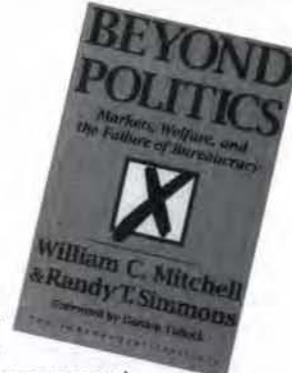
investments.

By Martian thinking, government management of the economy is particularly poisonous if it aims to redistribute wealth. There is no shortage or graphs or study citations to bolster these points; there is only a complete disregard of history.

There have been two great eras of American prosperity since the close of the frontier, that plentiful font of economic opportunity. The first—in the 1920s—sprouted from the progressive reforms of the previous 15 years: consumer protection, the graduated income tax, the Federal Reserve and the belated enforcement of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The second—in the two decades following World War II—was spawned by the activism of the New Deal: agencies such as the SEC and the FDIC put a leash on the economy that finally reined in the ruinous cyclical panics that had choked the nation nearly every decade since its founding. When the economy has been left largely to its own devices—as in the 1890s, the late 20s and early 30s, and the last two decades—economic stagnation or decline has ensued for most people.

As this issue's policy story on lobby reform will attest, Mitchell and Simmons are on solid ground with their contention that the wealthy and powerful have disproportionate influence on public policy, which inevitably makes them more wealthy and powerful at the expense of others and warps the free enterprise system. But such was not always the case: The Great Unwashed called the tune during the reigns of Andrew Jackson and Franklin Roosevelt. How was that possible if the pluralistic system is inevitably controlled by the inside elite?

True, today's special interests are capable of frustrating the popular will in the pursuit of their self-serving



agendas, but their rise to such power can be traced to the Federal Election Campaign Act—enacted and fine-tuned during the 1970s—which forced them to become well-organized and helped them become well-connected. Apparently, the ebb and flow of special interest influence is all in the rules: regulations helped create our present ruling elite; revised regulations could dismantle it—if such designs ever make it through the currently stacked system.

## Predators in Paradise

Absolutist Martianomics can get particularly fuzzy, as when the authors claim “Without the coercive power of government, monopolies could not survive.” Obviously these libertarian folk have become a little too comfortable in the benevolent shadow of Big Brother. They apparently don’t have the historical or international background to know monopolies can flourish

via their own coerciveness, unless government is there to stop them.

Read Ida Tarbell’s *History of the Standard Oil Company* to discover it has happened here; then look at Bill Gates’ virtual stranglehold on the software market to realize it would happen here again, had the judicial system not squashed Mr. Bill’s Intuit “merger” flat this Spring. Coercion doesn’t need government; it just needs it to look the other way.

# The Comprehensive File on the American Voter

*America at the Polls, 1994*  
Everett Carll Ladd, Editor  
Roper Center For Public Opinion  
Research, Starrs, CT: 1995

This invaluable 160-page research tool is a first for Roper: a collection of election returns, spending figures, historically indexed opinion surveys and—most importantly—exit polls. The extensively reported ‘94 exit figures—drawn from more than 11,000 interviews and made available by Mitofsky International—are an absolute requirement for anyone attempting to understand the political sea change that gave Republicans their biggest congressional vote in 48 years.

Among the fascinating findings:

- Republican U.S. House candidates polled 88 percent of the ‘92 Bush vote, 16 percent of Clinton voters, and a crucial 64 percent of Perotistas.
- The youngest cohort (18-24 year-olds) were only 45 percent Republican, the lowest of any age group and a stark reversal from the Reagan years.
- Compared with the last mid-term election (1990), Republicans picked up 18 marginal points among men, but gained only one among women.
- Since 1990, GOP congressional candidates picked up 19 marginal points among whites, 16 with Asians, and 24 among Hispanics. They dropped 26 points in the black community, however, while rising 29 marginal points among southern whites.

- The GOP bagged 42 federal and gubernatorial incumbents, the Democrats zero.

- Since 1980, the number of women in Congress has tripled to 48.

- Republicans running for Congress outspent their Democratic counterparts for the first time since 1986—at which point they still had control of the Senate.

- Democrat House members out-raised their Republican challengers in PAC contributions by a 30:1 ratio.

- Montana voters rejected a proposal to replace their graduated state income tax with a flat tax—by a thumping 3:1 margin.

- Conservative Wyoming voted 61-39 percent to reject a bid to prohibit abortion except in cases of rape, incest, or endangering the life of the mother.

- A proposal to replace the state income, property and fuel taxes with a two percent sales tax was routed in South Dakota, 76-24 percent.

- Women with post-graduate degrees went for incumbent Ann Richards (D) in the Texas governor’s race by a 32-point margin, while their male counterparts backed challenger George W. Bush (R) by 30—a 62-point gender gap.

In addition, there is great material here for massaging into even more illuminating data. For example, the voters of Washington State’s Fifth CD were asked which two issues mattered most in deciding how they voted in the con-

gressional race between then-Speaker Tom Foley (D) and challenger George Nethercutt (R). These figures are reported in conjunction with the Nethercutt vote among those citing each issue. Indexing the net Nethercutt figure with the issue importance figure gives us what we call a “salience quotient,” i.e., the theoretical points of margin picked up or lost by Nethercutt as a result of that issue (see Table 1).

These figures are more relative than absolute, as factors other than issues are involved in a voter’s decision. Also—the term limits issue may have had particular salience here because Foley sued to overturn the limits approved by Washington voters in 1992. But polls indicate the Fifth District evenly reflects the nation in partisanship and attitudes, and the table may be a helpful guide toward scoring points with the voters.

## What Beat Tom Foley

Issue	Pro-Nethercutt Salience Quotient
Term Limits	+15.5%
Role of Government	+ 9.9
Taxes	+ 9.3
Campaign Finance Reform	- 0.1
Health Care	- 2.2
Gun Control	- 4.8
Crime	- 6.5
Education	- 8.4
Economy/Jobs	- 10.1
<b>Total Net</b>	<b>+ 2.6%</b>

(Nethercutt won by 1.8 percent.)

# Still Liberal, After All These Years

## *The Democratic Bias of the News Media Continues*

If anyone thought the New Political Order—ushered in by last Fall's GOP landslide and the ensuing fulfillment of the Contract With America—would seep into the skulls of the media elite, let them now be disabused. An exhaustive study of March, 1995 news media stories by the Center for Media and Public Affairs reveals a continuing media bias toward liberal Democratic dogma—at least inside the most influential outlets.

Editorial assessments of Republican congressional initiatives ran at a ratio of 2:1 negative in the *Washington Post*, 3:1 in *USA Today*, and nearly 7:1 in the *New York Times*. Of the five major newspapers surveyed, only the *Washington Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* approached even-handedness in their op-ed policy. The leftward sway was also evident in network newscasts on television: while CBS was about equally critical in its portrayals of President Clinton and Speaker Gingrich, NBC and ABC showed a significant preference for the Democrat leader. (Perhaps the effort by social conservatives to take over CBS a few years back maintains some lingering impact.)

Media preference among issues also took a liberal bent. The only Republican legislative offensive to gain marked approval from the Forth Estate was in the field of devolving authority on the states with federally-funded block grants. The scribes were neutral on the line item veto (perhaps because a Democrat now resides in the White House), but came down hard on all other GOP action, particularly against abortion. True to their elitist pinstripes, big-time journalists trashed term limits with a 2:1 frequency.

### Print Media Coverage: Favorability Toward "The Contract"

Favorable newspaper stories on planks of the GOP Contract, based on a study by the Center for Media & Public Affairs of 748 news stories during March 1995.

	NEWS	EDITORIAL	TOTAL
All Policies	41%	35%	39%
Abortion	15	#	15
Children	20	#	19
School Lunches	26	8	22
Term Limits	34	33	34
BBA	39	17	38
Taxes	45	23	39
Line Item Veto	49	54	51
Devolution/Block Grants	70	70	70

### Newspaper Editorial Assessments of GOP Initiatives

	Pos.	Neg.
New York Times	13%	87%
USA Today	24	76
Washington Post	33	67
Washington Times	41	59
Wall Street Journal	48	52

### TV Coverage of Clinton & Gingrich

Percentage of Favorable Stories, January Through March, 1995

Net	Clinton	Gingrich
ABC	42%	36%
NBC	36	36
CBS	27	45

## Gramm Leads Money Chase, But Dole Revving Up

As of March 31—the close of first reporting period of the current election cycle—U.S. Sen. Phil Gramm (TX) held a commanding \$13 million to \$7 million lead in the first GOP presidential primary: the raising of campaign funds. Posting a surprising second place was ex-Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander.

It should be noted that Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole raised \$3.5 million in early April most of it with a single fundraising swing through New York. Dole is expected to outraise Gramm by year's end. Moreover, Gramm's spending was proceeding at a record pace and he has already begun to lay-off campaign workers.

### '96 GOP Prez Fundraising: FEC Reports As of 3/31

Candidate	\$ Raised	\$ Spent	Debt	Cash-on-Hand
Alexander	\$5.26 million	\$2.2 million	\$80,521	\$3.06 million
Buchanan	\$986,437	\$669,060	\$126,396	\$317,377
Dole	\$4.439 million	\$1.94 million	\$452,563	\$2.49 million
Dornan	\$33,719	\$28,480	\$77,083	\$5,240
Gramm	\$8.7 million	\$4.63 million	\$464,209	\$8.46 million
Lugar	\$510,094	\$304,662	n.a.	\$205,432
Specter	\$1.05 million	\$440,808	n.a.	\$611,499

## ARIZONA

In a major embarrassment that appears to have set off a chain of setbacks across the country, presidential hopeful **Phil Gramm** found himself severely trounced by commentator **Pat Buchanan** in a straw poll taken at the Arizona Republican Assembly convention in late April. Buchanan clobbered the mega-bucked Texas Senator 76-5 percent, despite the fact that both candidates had addressed the delegates before the balloting. **Bob Dole**—with two percent support—was not present.

## ARKANSAS

GOP congressmen **Tim Hutchinson** and **Jay Dickey** have announced they will not seek the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by **David Pryor** (D) next year. That would appear to clear the way to the nomination for Lt. Gov. **Mike Huckabee** (R), a former Religious Right preacher; he may yet be challenged by state GOP chair **Asa Hutchinson**—'86 U.S. Senate nominee, ex-U.S. Attorney and brother to the congressman.

## CALIFORNIA

With top Golden State GOP fundraiser **Sam Bamieh** at his side, **Lamar Alexander** recently announced he will challenge Gov. **Pete Wilson's** presidential ambitions on his turf. Wilson's entry into the race is thought to have been most damaging to Alexander, who had appeared to be the only financially viable moderate alternative. By entering the now-early California primary, Alexander will have a chance to dramatically slam Wilson for quickly reversing a pledge not to run for national office, and perhaps cause the not-so-favored son a major embarrassment....Wilson meanwhile has strengthened his ties to the GOP mainstream by adding old Reagan hands **Stu Spencer**, **Jim Lake** and **Ken Kachigian** to his campaign staff. Longtime Bush aide **Craig Fuller** is chairman.

# Beyond the Beltway

(Pop. 250 million)



**Buchanan:**  
*Gramm Cracker*

## DELAWARE

The "First State" has moved its GOP presidential primary to within four days of New Hampshire's traditional lead-off position, and Granite State Gov. **Steve Merrill** (R)

is plenty steamed about it, claiming his state has a right to hold its tally a week before anyone else's. After Merrill urged a candidate boycott of the Delaware State Convention in May, Delaware Republican Chair **Basil Battaglia** denounced the yankee governor for "blackmail" and "political distortion." Nevertheless, Alexander and Buchanan pulled out of the event, while the campaigns of Dole and Specter claimed their men had never intended to go. Phil Gramm refused to back out, claiming he had a long-standing commitment. Speculation then arose that Gramm had been behind the new primary date all along, much as he had appeared to be a driving force behind an earlier abandoned effort by Arizona to steal New Hampshire's thunder.

## LOUISIANA

Conservative Cong. **Billy Tauzin** (D) recently declared he will reach a decision by December whether to switch parties and run for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by **Bennett Johnston** (D). Tauzin is expected to make the race, but under what label remains a mystery. He can afford a late holdout because the Pelican State holds a single, bi-partisan primary; runoffs are held between

the top two finishers (regardless of party) if none receives a majority.

## MARYLAND

GOP State Sen. **Jack Cade's** big fundraiser in late May is expected to add \$150K to his coffers, but for what purpose? Cade was rumored to be angling for any one of a slew of statewide offices last year, but he never entered the gates. Now it appears he will invest toward an anticipated '98 return: either a challenge to Gov. **Parris Glendening** (D), a run for the seat of the likely-to-be retiring state Comptroller **Louie Goldstein** (D), or generous contributions to GOP State Senate candidates, in hopes of becoming majority leader.



**Tauzin:**  
*Mystery Man*

## MINNESOTA

State GOP Chair **Chris Georgacas** has announced the state party is in such dire financial straits, he will have to cut its staff from 18 to six in order to balance the budget.

## NORTH CAROLINA

An ugly split last year from his long-time political organization is hampering U.S. Sen. **Jesse Helms** in his '96 election bid. Congressional Club head **Carter Wrenn** is refusing to hand over contribution records from previous Helms campaigns and the arch-conservative leader is strapped for funds. The situation is also putting him in hot water with the FEC.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

More woes for the Gramm presidential campaign: six state legislators here who had previously signed on to his campaign have now defected to Dole. Reports cite the influence of popular ex-Gov. **Carroll Campbell** (R) as behind the moves; Campbell is thought to have brighter prospects for the VP slot if Dole is the nominee.



**Campbell:**  
*Dole Veep?*

## The GOP's New Deal

The recent conversion of Cong. **Nathan Deal** (GA) to the GOP came as a jolt to his Democratic colleagues, who had united behind his welfare proposal only three weeks before. As co-Chair of "The Coalition"—a 24-member caucus of conservative Democrats—he had begun to wield influence with the party's congressional leadership and the White House.

But with an electorate that is 95 percent white, Deal's district had gone to **George Bush** in 1992 by 14 points. It is yet another example of how racial gerrymandering inspired by 1983 amendments to the Voting Rights Act have helped make Republicans the majority party in the South, at least at the federal level. In 1992, Georgia had eight white Democratic congressmen. Three years later, the delegation has none, despite the addition of two districts.

It is instructive to note that the latest congressional converts to Republicanism—Deal and Native American Sen. **Ben Nighthorse Campbell** (R-CO)—are mainstream centrists, not right-wingers. Campbell has voted for shifting the tax burden toward the rich, for family leave, and against GATT. Deal also opposed GATT, backed across-the-board cuts in entitlements and supported Clinton's stimulus package. Both Republican recruits are pro-choice. They represent another indication that the party is expanding via a shift by middle-class oriented moderates.

## Alexander the Not-So-Great

Ex-TN Gov. **Lamar Alexander's** formal entry into the presidential race, was not warmly received by social critics and political pundits. The multi-millionaire investor/lawyer looked affected in his flannel checkboard shirt, and his anti-Washington

rhetoric appeared disingenuous for someone who had served in **Richard Nixon's** White House and **George Bush's** cabinet. The Tennessean sustained further hits with revelations he had made quick and spectacular profits in a series of business deals while serving as governor.

Finally, the *Boston Globe* reported in mid-May that Alexander was blamed by a federal court for creating a prison climate that led to riots and early release of prisoners. The situation developed in the early 1980s after Alexander eliminated education and job training for inmates, declaring "We can't afford the rehabilitation of prisoners." The former Education secretary remains unapologetic for his actions and blames the courts, which he claims "hounded" him over prison conditions. Alexander went on to promise that he would follow the same course with federal prisoners, if elected president.

## Senator Moonbeam

Rabid Rightists still have not forgiven **Pete Wilson** for not backing fellow Californian **Ronald Reagan** for president in 1976; then mayor of San Diego, Wilson instead endorsed incumbent GOP president **Jerry Ford**. But wingnuts may not have as thoroughly researched where their current standardbearer—U.S. Sen **Phil Gramm** (R-TX)—stood when it came to choosing up sides that year. In fact, then-Democrat Gramm told Texas reporters that "If **George Wallace** wins the nomination, I would support him. [But] **Jerry Brown** would be my first choice."

Gramm's other first choice in California was to produce a naughty spoof of beauty pageants called "Beauty Queens." But after admittedly investing \$7,500, all Gramm had to show on his Hollywood resume was

an anti-Nixon flick called "White House Madness."

## Dole Signs Stevens



Stevens:  
Dole Role

The top echelon of **Bob Dole's** presidential campaign has been completed with the appointment of **Stuart Stevens** as media consultant.

Mississippi born-and-bred, Stevens has previously crafted media campaigns for such GOP clients as governors **Bill Weld** (MA), and **Tom Ridge** (PA), and U.S. Senators **Jon Kyl** (AZ) and **Chuck Grassley** (IA).

A product of UCLA's film school, he has scripted such critically acclaimed network TV series as *Northern Exposure* and *I'll Fly Away*. Stevens is the author of hip travelogues and a recently published thriller about a political consultant.

The addition of Stevens—whose work is perhaps the most stylistically dramatic in politics—indicates the Dole campaign will be anything but the staid affair many were expecting from the 35-year lawmaker and far-in-front-runner.

## An American DeGaulle Or Another Cuomo?

The memoirs of Gen. **Colin Powell** (ret.) are now slated for publication in the Fall, renewing speculation that the black former chair of the Joint Chiefs may have ambitions for national office. Traversing the country for a series of well-received speeches, he has pointedly refused to squelch such rumors.

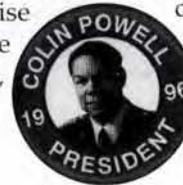
When the Dole presidential campaign put out the word Powell was advising their man, the General insisted such as assertion was overblown, that his periodic conversations with the Senate Majority leader were of a variety he would willingly conduct with other candidates and government officials. And when *USA Today* reported he had decided against a '96 candidacy, Powell personally called anchor CNN **Bernard Shaw** to deny it.



Deal:  
Mod Recruit



Gramm:  
Space Cadet



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