



**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1994**

**Page 5**

9:45 am- ATTEND/SPEAK Fundraising Breakfast for Rene Davison

10:15 am            Location:     Banquet Hall  
                    Attendance: 800 - 1,000 @ \$150 per person  
                    Event runs: 9:30 - 10:15 am  
                    Press:        Open  
                    Facility:     Riser, Podium and mic, headtable  
                    Format:      9:50 am Bill Paxon introduces Senator Dole  
   9:55 am Senator Dole gives remarks  
                    Contact:     Kerry Locke  
   716/546-8040  
   716/546-8519 fax

NOTE: There may be press who will stop and ask questions as you depart event. I have built in 10 minutes if this should take place.

10:25 am DEPART hotel for airport

                    Driver:        Gerry DiMarco, Jr.  
                    Drive time: 20 minutes

10:45 am ARRIVE airport and proceed to departing aircraft

                    FBO:          Wilair Jet East Terminal  
   716/328-2720

10:50 am DEPART Rochester for Cincinnati, OH/Lunken Field

                    FBO:          Stevens Aviation  
                    Aircraft:     Falcon 50     (AFLAC)  
                    Tail number: N500AF  
                    Flight time: 1 hour 15 minutes  
                    Pilots:        Ed Garvin  
   Ken Bradley  
                    Scats:        10  
                    Meal:        Lunch  
                    Manifest:     Senator Dole  
   Nelson Rockefeller  
   Gary Allen VP, Government Relations,  
   AFLAC

12:20 pm ARRIVE Cincinnati, OH/Lunken Field

                    FBO:          Stevens Aviation  
   513/871-8600

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1994**

**Page 6**

12:25 pm DEPART airport for Fundraising Brunch for Mike DeWine

Driver: Buck Neihoff  
Drive time: 10 minutes  
Location: 1243 West Rookwood Drive

12:35 pm ARRIVE Home of Vicia Taylor

513/871-4036  
Met by: Karl Gallant  
Attendance: 100 @ \$500 per person  
Event runs: 12:00 - 2:00 pm  
Press: Closed  
Facility: No podium and mic  
Format: Gene Ruehman, County Chairman, introduces Mike  
DeWine  
Mike Dewine gives remarks and introduces Senator  
Dole  
Senator Dole gives remarks  
Contact: Barbara Briggs  
614/224-3880  
614/224-3339 fax

1:30 pm- Press Avail with Mike DeWine

1:45 pm Location: Driveway of home

1:45 pm DEPART for the airport

Driver: Buck Neihoff  
Drive time: 10 minutes

1:55 pm ARRIVE airport

FBO: Stevens Aviation  
513/871-8600

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1994**

**Page 7**

2:00 pm DEPART Cincinnati for Washington/National

FBO: Signature  
Aircraft: Falcon 50 (AFLAC)  
Tail number: N500AF  
Flight time: 1 hour  
Pilots: Ed Garvin  
Ken Bradley  
Seats: 10  
Meal: Snack  
Manifest: Senator Dole  
Nelson Rockefeller  
Gary Allen, Asist. VP, Government Relations,  
AFLAC

3:00 pm ARRIVE Washington/National

FBO: Signature  
703/419-8440

3:05 pm DEPART airport for Watergate

Driver: Wilbert

3:20 pm ARRIVE Watergate

BIOS



## **OHIO**

### **Robert T. Bennett Chairman**



#### **Present**

Chairman, Republican State Central and Executive Committee,  
elected - February 16, 1988  
Member, Ohio Republican Party, 1974 -  
Certified Public Accountant, 1963 -  
Attorney at Law, 1967 -

#### **Previous**

Executive Vice Chairman, Cuyahoga County Republican Party,  
1974 - 1988  
Chairman, Republican Judicial Campaign for State Supreme  
Court, 1984  
Co-Chairman, Fair and Impartial Redistricting Campaign, 1980  
Campaign Manager, Ralph Perk for U.S. Senate, 1974  
Campaign Manager, Ralph Perk for Cleveland Mayor, 1965,  
1969, 1971, 1973  
Campaign Director, Robert Taft for U.S. Senate, 1970  
Partner, Bennett and Harbarger, 1978 - 1989

#### **RNC Activity**

Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1976, 1984, 1988,  
1992  
Chairman, RNC Midwestern State Chairmen's Association,  
1991 -  
Member, RNC Executive Council, 1991 -  
Member, RNC Rules Committee, 1989 -

#### **Personal**

Spouse: Ruth Ann  
Children: Two

(cont.)

## **OHIO**

### **Martha C. Moore National Committeewoman**



#### **Present**

National Committeewoman, Ohio, elected - August 7, 1968  
Member, White House Commission on Presidential Scholars,  
1982 -  
Professor, Muskingum College

#### **Previous**

Member, Committee to Study Election Reform, 1981  
American Association of University Women, Outstanding  
Women Award

#### **RNC Activity**

Alternate Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1964,  
1972, 1988  
Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1976, 1984  
Chairman, Committee on Call, Republican National Convention,  
1972  
Member, RNC Committee on Contests, 1976  
Member, RNC Rules Committee, 1980  
Member, Committee on Arrangements, Republican National  
Convention, 1984, 1988, 1992  
Chairman, Committee on Arrangements Subcommittee for  
Tickets and Badges, 1992  
Vice Chairman, RNC Midwestern Region, 1984 -  
Member, RNC Executive Council, 1984 -

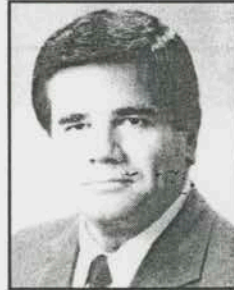
#### **Personal**

Education: B.A. Muskingum College;  
M.A., Ohio State University

(cont.)

## **OHIO**

### **Michael F. Colley National Committeeman**



#### **Present**

National Committeeman, Ohio, elected - August 16, 1988  
Member, Franklin County Executive Committee, 1966 -  
Chairman, Franklin County Republican Executive Committee,  
1978 -  
Michael Colley Company, L.P.A., 1977 -

#### **Previous**

Assistant City Attorney, 1962 - 1964  
Special Counsel, Attorney General Saxbe, 1963 - 1964  
Partner, Tyack, Scott, and Colley, 1964 - 1977  
President, Capital City Young Republican Club, 1967  
Chairman, Franklin County Republican Search and Screening  
Committee, 1974 - 1978  
Chairman, FAIR Constitutional Amendment Committee  
Chairman, Republican Supreme Court Search and Screening  
Committee, 1982, 1984, 1986  
Campaign Chairman / Director for 17 national, state and local  
campaigns  
Chairman, Ohio State Republican Party, 1982 - 1988

#### **RNC Activity**

Member, RNC Legal Affairs Advisory Committee, 1977 -  
Member, RNC Rules Committee, 1985  
Member, Committee on Call, Republican National Convention,  
1992  
Member, Committee on Contests, Republican National  
Convention, 1992

(cont.)



DEWINE BRUNCH

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1994**

**Page 6**

12:30 pm ARRIVE Home of Viea Taylor

513/871-4036

Met by: Karl Gallant

Attendance: 250 @ \$500 per person

Event runs: 12:00 - 2:00 pm

Press: Closed

Facility: No podium and mic

Format: Gene Ruehman, County Chairman, introduces Mike  
DeWine

Mike Dewine gives remarks and introduces Senator  
Dole

Senator Dole gives remarks

Contact: Barbara Briggs  
614/224-3880  
614/224-3339 fax

### TALKING POINTS ON MIKE DEWINE FOR SENATOR DOLE

- ◆ Mike DeWine leads Joel Hyatt by wide margins in the last three independent polls:
  - 17 points, Ohio Poll (9-22-94)
  - 18 points, Columbus Dispatch Poll (9-11-94)
  - 19 points, Gallup Poll (9-25-94)
- ◆ Mike DeWine attributes his lead to the fact that Ohioans agree with his message that we need to limit the federal government's role in our lives.
- ◆ Joel Hyatt told the Columbus Dispatch that he wants to follow in Senator Metzenbaum's footsteps.
- ◆ Ohio is the best chance for Republicans to pick up a seat in the U.S. Senate.
- ◆ DeWine tells voters that his first vote in the U.S. Senate will be to make Bob Dole the Majority Leader.

Vica Taylor**People Attending**

Charles & Martha Anness  
Julia Becker-Jackson  
John Hellebush  
Benjamin & Martha Marsh  
Hilda Messham  
Mark Paul  
Dwight & Paula Watkins  
Vica Taylor  
J.P. & Fran Taylor  
Susan & Willaim Gerwin  
Jones Day Law Firm ( six people)  
General Electric (ten people)  
Dale & Rita Smith  
Earl & Jerry Green  
Dottie Horn  
Elizabeth & Gatesbry Clay  
John Blohm  
Joseph Grever  
Robert Kendall  
Lucy & Charles Salowa

**Complimentary**

Buck & Karen Neihoff  
Jill & Jeff Garland  
Janan Morford  
Mark Flagler  
Gene Ruehman  
James Gerwin

NRSC BRIEFING



## MEMORANDUM

To: Senator Dole  
From: Richard McBride  
Re: Ohio Briefing

September 28, 1994

**REPUBLICAN:**  
Mike DeWine, Lt. Governor

**DEMOCRAT:**  
Joel Hyatt

**INDEPENDENT:**  
Joe Slovenec

### POLITICAL UPDATE

- The Ohio political environment is presently favorable to Republicans. Popular Governor George Voinovich appears headed toward a big win; other statewide races are competitive, and Republicans have a good shot at taking over the state House of Representatives. Republicans already control the state Senate. A June public survey found Ohioans split on the job Bill Clinton is doing (Approve 50%/Disapprove 44%).
- **Mike DeWine** scored a surprisingly strong win over attractive challenger Bernadine Healy (52%-32%), despite being outspent by \$1 million. **DeWine** served one term in the Ohio Senate until 1982, when he was first elected to Congress. After winning election as Lt. Governor in 1990, he challenged John Glenn for the U.S. Senate and lost in 1992. Ohioans have a long history of electing previously defeated candidates to high office, however, with Voinovich being the most recent example.
- **Joel Hyatt** narrowly defeated Cuyahoga (Cleveland) County Commissioner Mary Boyle, despite his 2:1 money advantage and front-runner status. **Hyatt** founded Hyatt Legal Services, a chain of low fee law offices that developed a public image - substantially negative - for **Hyatt**, through his appearances in their many ads. **Hyatt** has been actively preparing his Senate bid for several years and is perceived to have been hand-picked by his father-in-law, Howard Metzenbaum. **Hyatt** is using Metzenbaum to raise money out of state. **DeWine** is using this issue to attack **Hyatt**, saying Metzenbaum is secretly orchestrating the campaign from behind-the-scenes.

- Press coverage has emphasized the chaos and disappointments of the **Hyatt** campaign, and at the end of June **Hyatt** sacked his handlers and renewed his political ties to Metzenbaum. Mandy Grunwald, media guru and Clinton advisor, was replaced with a team from Doak & Shrum, long-time Metzenbaum and Glenn consultants. Glenn and Metzenbaum have been named Honorary Co-Chairmen of the campaign, rallying the Democrat base and aiding fundraising, but undermining **Hyatt** attempts to portray himself as an outsider/reformer.
- **Hyatt** is attempting to run as a candidate in touch with women's issues, yet his actions are consistently contradictory. In the 1971, **Hyatt** fought to keep Dartmouth College all-male and even wrote an article in the Alumni magazine praising the "composition of its student body." In a period of 60 days, **Hyatt** fired his media consultant, campaign director and spokesperson - all three women; the three replacements were men.
- **Joe Slovenec** (I), an ex-Operation Rescue leader, is starting to gain credibility in the Senate race in Ohio. **Slovenec** claims to have 3,500 volunteers and raised more than \$100,000. Last week, **Slovenec** ran TV and radio ads in Cincinnati, Columbus and Cleveland. This was good news for **Hyatt** because they believe that **Slovenec** is going to cut into **DeWine's** conservative base of support, especially to those who support the anti-abortion cause. As University of Akron's John Green stated, "**Slovenec** would dearly love to hurt both **DeWine** and **Hyatt**. His political views are a mix of libertarianism, isolationism and far-right conservatism. The mortar that holds it all together is a belief that the country is suffering from a 'moral decay' that neither Democrats nor Republicans are willing to address."
- **Hyatt** is trying to make abortion a major issue in the race while **DeWine** is trying to keep it low profile (**DeWine** is anti-abortion). **DeWine** has been attacked by **Hyatt** and **Joseph Slovenec** (I) for canceling a joint T.V. appearance when he found out that **Slovenec** was included. **Slovenec** claims, and is probably right, that he would take away from **DeWine's** conservative base. **Hyatt** is attacking **DeWine** for his opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment as well.
- **DeWine** can expect to receive considerable support from the popular governor. **DeWine** challenged **Hyatt** to defend his support for the Clinton health care plan, citing a study forecasting substantial job losses in Ohio if passed. To help shore up support in the Democrat strongholds of Cleveland and Youngstown, **DeWine** ran a introductory bio spot and a tough-on-crime spot.
- National political handicappers see this as a highly competitive race: The *Cook Political Report* (8/19) rates Ohio as a "Toss-up" and the latest *Rothenberg Political Report* (8/17) rates it as "Takeover Likely."

## POLLING INFORMATION

### University of Cincinnati (9/12-20/94)

#### BALLOT

DeWine	51 %
Hyatt	34
Slovenec	5

NAME I.D.	DeWine	Hyatt
Favorable	42 %	21 %
Unfavorable	20	32

### Columbus Dispatch (9/2-8/94)

#### BALLOT

DeWine	52 %
Hyatt	34
Slovenec	5

### Akron Beacon (8/30/94)

#### BALLOT

DeWine	44 %
Hyatt	33
Slovenec	4

## FINANCIAL INFORMATION

Candidate	Raised 6/30	Spent 6/30	PAC \$	2nd Quarter	COH 6/30	Debt
DeWine	\$2,506,197	\$2,337,406	\$437,832	\$1,275,574	\$169,905	\$240,155
Hyatt	\$2,167,607	\$2,766,406	\$348,067	\$1,101,744	\$421,331	\$308,222



MISC.

HOTLINE 9/27/94

\*2 OHIO: DEWINE MAINTAINS LEAD AMONG LIKELY VOTERS

A COLUMBUS DISPATCH/GALLUP POLL surveyed 803 registered voters 9/20-22; margin of error +/-4%. Subsample: 483 likely voters; +/-5%. Tested: LG Mike DeWine (R), legal entrepreneur Joel Hyatt (D), ex-Operation Rescue leader Joe Slovenec (I) (9/25). A CINCINNATI POST/Univ. of Cincinnati poll conducted 9/12-20 surveyed 767 likely voters; margin of error +/-3.5%.

	RVs	LVs	DEM	GOP	IND	FAV/UNFAV	POST (LVs)
DeWine	48%	54%	19%	83%	47%	52% / 21%	51%
Hyatt	38	35	67	9	33	40 / 34	34
Slovenec	4	4	--	--	--	--	5
Undec.	10	8	--	--	--	--	10

ANALYSIS: Gallup V.P. David Moore: "One of the problems that Hyatt has is he is not getting the same proportion of support from his party as DeWine is getting from his. ... A good number of people just haven't turned their attention to the election. We get less than one third of the registered voters who say they are very interested in the campaign right now" (Curtin, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, 9/25).

IT'S NOT DEWINE VS. CLINTON: Under the header "DeWine won't join GOP pack," Cleveland PLAIN DEALER's Diemer reports the GOP leadership wants to make Pres. Clinton "the issue" in '94 campaigns: "But that is not DeWine's plan -- at least not so far." DeWine: "Bill Clinton is not on the ballot and he is not going to be Ohio's next senator" (9/25).

AD: A new DeWine ad focuses on crime. Announcer: "He helped end the federal parole system and has put Ohio prisoners to work so they pay for their time" (DeWine release, 9/26).



HOTLINE 9/23/94

\*5 OHIO: DEWINE LOOKS LIKE DEWINNER IN DEFALL

A CINCINNATI POST/Univ. of Cincinnati poll conducted 9/12-20 surveyed 767 likely voters; margin of error +/-3.5%. Tested LG Mike DeWine (R), legal entrepreneur Joel Hyatt (D), ex-Operation Rescue Leader Joe Slovenec (I) (9/22).

	NOW	5/94	DEM	GOP	IND	BLK	WHT	CLVD	CINCY
DeWine	51%	44%	20%	82%	50%	26%	54%	45%	55%
Hyatt	34	39%	65	8	13	61	32	37	34
Slovenec	5	--	5	4	7	6	4	6	3
Undec.	10	--	11	6	29	8	10	12	8

	NOW FAV/UNFAV	5/94 FAV/UNFAV
DeWine	42%/20%	26%/16%
Hyatt	21/32	19/22

ANALYSIS: "DeWine appears to be cruising toward an easy U.S. Senate win," reports CINCINNATI POST's Ludlow. Hyatt "must buck Ohio's tradition of humbling candidates" as they "traditionally have had to first lose a statewide race before winning one." UCincy pollster Al Tuchfarber: "This race is over unless DeWine makes a terrible mistake. Time is rapidly running out on Hyatt." DeWine campaign dir. Barry Bennett: "For a Republican to be winning in the Cleveland market, where nearly half of the state's Democrats live, suggests Mike's message is really taking root." Hyatt comm. dir. Dale Butland: "DeWine's lead is the direct result of several weeks of paid TV advertising, something we're just now starting to do" (9/22).

HOTLINE 9/13/94

\*6 OHIO: DEWINE LEADS HYATT IN MAIL-IN "POLL"

A COLUMBUS DISPATCH mail-in "poll" was conducted 9/2-8.  
Sample: 1,456 registered voters; margin of error +/-3%. Tested:  
LG Mike DeWine (R), businessman Joel Hyatt (D) and ex-Operation  
Rescue leader Joe Slovenec (I).

DeWine	52%
Hyatt	34
Slovenec	5
Undec.	9

NOTE: The mail-in "poll" is an unscientific poll which has proven traditionally accurate. However, in the '92 race between DeWine and Sen. John Glenn (D), the mail-in poll showed the race tied at 50% the week prior to the election. Glenn won 51% to 42%, with a third candidate receiving 7%.

ANALYSIS: The "poll" said "DeWine led Hyatt in all regions of the state." In Dem-oriented northeastern Ohio, where Hyatt lives, DeWine had a 46-39 lead (Curtin, DISPATCH, 9/11).

DROP OUT REQUEST: The conservative group Pro-Family Forum asked Slovenec in a letter "to drop out" of the race, claiming that "he has no chance to win but might harm" DeWine's candidacy. Cincinnati Pro-Family Forum's Phil Burress: "It is our opinion that you cannot win, so why stay in the race?" Slovenec said that many groups "did not participate in the sentiments of this letter" (Riskind, DISPATCH, 9/9).

DEWINE AD: The DeWine campaign began airing a T.V. ad 9/11 that focuses on crime. DeWine: "A United States senator who understands the crime problem, who has been there, who has put people behind bars, who has written tough laws, yeah, can in fact make a difference" (DeWine release, 9/9).

HYATT IS NOW ATTACKING DEWINE ON THE  
ABORTION ISSUE. DEWINE IS PRO-LIFE  
EXCEPT IN THE CASES OF RAPE, INCEST AND  
MOTHER'S LIFE. SLOVENEC IS 100% PRO-LIFE  
AND SO HYATT SEES AN OPENING TO  
ATTACK DEWINE AND TAKE AWAY FROM  
HIS CONSERVATIVE BACKING.



HOTLINE 9/7/94

\*6 OHIO: POLL GIVES DEWINE THE EARLY EDGE OVER HYATT

An Akron BEACON JOURNAL poll, conducted 8/16-30 by the U. of Akron, surveyed 635 registered voters; margin of error +/- 4% (9/4). Tested: LG Mike DeWine (R), legal entrepreneur Joel Hyatt (D), and ex-Operation Rescue leader Joe Slovenec (I). Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D) is retiring.

DeWine	44%
Hyatt	33
Slovenec	4
Undec.	19

"STOKING" HYATT'S CAMPAIGN: Rep. Louis Stokes (D-11) urged voters to "continue the tradition" of Metzenbaum by electing Hyatt. Stokes voiced his support for Hyatt at an annual Labor Day picnic that has traditionally served as a "political event for candidates seeking support in Stokes' mostly black" CD. Stokes: "I need somebody like Joel Hyatt. You've got to send someone who understands Metzenbaum's philosophy, who understands what being a liberal means, what it means to care for people." Hyatt: "My opponent was a reliable vote for Republican trickle-down economic policies that favored the rich and forgot the rest. ... I say people have been trickled on enough. Don't let them elect a senator who cares only for the rich" (Luttner, Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, 9/6).

DEWINE LOOKING FOR REAGAN DEMS: PLAIN DEALER's Frolik reports that DeWine's Labor Day weekend "mirrored his entire summer. He trooped across Northeast Ohio courting voters. ... It has been a sustained effort to throw [Hyatt] off balance by making [him] defend what ought to be solidly Democratic turf." DeWine strategist Barry Bennett: "We're spending our time in neighborhoods where the Reagan Democrats are." The DeWine campaign concedes that they "may not win this part of the state," but they believe that with enough voters on their side they "can hold Hyatt well below the margin Democrats usually need to offset the GOP's downstate strength." Hyatt: "I find it somewhat galling that my opponent is out this weekend asking working families for their support. ... Mike DeWine helps working families the way Col. Sanders helps chickens" (9/6).

NOW IS THE TIME: Under the header, "Hyatt can't win without a tough new strategy," PLAIN DEALER's Luttner: "September is crucial for Hyatt. If he fails to gain ground this month, doubts about his viability will snowball and vital national campaign money could dry up. ... Hyatt's campaign to date has not been good. It needs to be close to perfect from here on out if he is to have a chance of winning. ... [He should] concentrate fully on ... ripping into DeWine's record. Hyatt has some good material to work with" (9/4).



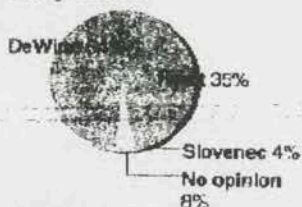
# The Columbus Dispatch

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1994

## DeWine outpacing Hyatt, Gallup poll reveals

### Gallup Poll: DeWine-Hyatt

Likely voters:



Source: The Gallup  
Organization

Dispatch graphic

*Editor's Note: Since 1965, The Dispatch has conducted its own local and statewide voter surveys during campaign seasons. This year, The Dispatch expands its efforts to gauge the public mood by contracting with The Gallup Organization of Princeton, N.J. — one of the world's best-known survey organizations. From today until just before the Nov. 3 election, The Dispatch periodically will present results from both its own and Gallup polls on Ohio's major statewide races. On Sunday Nov. 6, final, pre-election polls from both sources will be published.*

**By Mike Curlin**

*Assistant Managing Editor/Public Affairs*

Among likely voters, Republican Mike DeWine holds a 19-point lead over Democrat Joel Hyatt in the race for one of Ohio's U.S. Senate seats, according to a Gallup Poll conducted for *The Dispatch*.

Among all registered voters, a group including those who say they

■ Voters talk about candidates; how survey was conducted / 2C

are unlikely to vote or are uncertain about it, DeWine holds a 10-point lead in the poll.

The Gallup Poll, conducted Tuesday through Thursday among 803 registered voters, showed DeWine leading Hyatt among likely voters — 54 percent to 35 percent. Of the remainder, 8 percent had no opinion and 4 percent voted for independent Joseph J. Slovenec.

For all registered voters, the results were: DeWine, 48 percent; Hyatt, 38 percent; No opinion, 10 percent; Slovenec, 4 percent.

For the entire sample of 803, the margin of sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. For results based on responses of likely

Please see **GALLUP** Page 2A

### GALLUP from 1A

voters, 483 respondents the margin is plus or minus 5 percentage points.

The category of likely voters includes those who told Gallup they "definitely" or "probably" will vote on Nov. 3, and that they are "very" or "moderately" interested in the election. They represented 60 percent of the sample.

Gallup and other pollsters usually focus on likely voters because "past experience has shown that people who actually turn out to vote are often quite different from those who could vote if they chose," said David W. Moore, a vice president of Gallup who supervised the survey.

DeWine's 19-point lead among likely voters in the Gallup survey mirrors results of two other recent polls. In the first 1994 Dispatch Poll, conducted Sept. 2-8, DeWine had an 18-point lead over Hyatt. In the Ohio Poll, conducted by the University of Cincinnati from Sept. 12 to last Tuesday, DeWine led by 17 points.

In the Gallup Poll, DeWine led Hyatt in all

regions of the state, including heavily Democratic northeastern Ohio. For the entire sample of registered voters, DeWine led 44-43 in northeastern Ohio, 57-29 in central Ohio and 48-37 across the rest of the state.

Of DeWine supporters, eight in 10 said they were "strongly" for him. Of Hyatt supporters, seven in 10 classified their support as strong.

"DeWine's support is moderately stronger than Hyatt's," Moore said. "One of the problems that Hyatt has is he is not getting the same proportion of support from his party as DeWine is getting from his."

Among Democrats, Hyatt led DeWine 67-19. Among Republicans, DeWine led 83-9. Among independents, DeWine led 47-33.

DeWine, 47, is Ohio's lieutenant governor and is on the statewide ballot for the third successive even-numbered year. Hyatt, 44, is founder of Hyatt Legal Services and is on the statewide ballot for the first time. They seek the seat held by

Democrat Howard M. Metzbaum, Hyatt's father-in-law, who is retiring.

In the low-key race for governor, pitting incumbent Republican George V. Voinovich against Democratic challenger Robert L. Burch Jr., the Gallup Poll showed Voinovich leading 63 percent to 27 percent among likely voters, and 60 percent to 23 percent among all voters. Billy R. Inman, an independent, received 2 percent and 3 percent, respectively.

With six weeks remaining before the election, voter interest appears subdued, Moore said. "There is not a high level of interest currently being expressed by the voters in Ohio, or for that matter, in any other part of the country," he said.

"A good number of people just haven't turned their attention to the election. We get less than one-third of the registered voters who say they are very interested in the campaign right now."

**Monday: Other statewide races.**





September 30, 1994

### Campaign Finance Reform

- \* The conference report would have established a \$600,000 spending limit for House candidates and would have allowed candidates to receive up to \$200,000 in "voter communication vouchers."
- \* These vouchers would have been financed, in part, by a \$5 checkoff (\$10 for joint filers) appearing on the federal income tax return.
- \* The Democrats claim that the checkoff is not public financing since it is 1) voluntary, and 2) the \$5 is added to the filer's tax liability. In other words, if your tax liability is \$100 and you mark the \$5 checkoff, you send \$105 to the federal government.

- \* The response: If it walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it is a duck. Instead of a checkoff for politicians, why not have a checkoff to hire more police, or for disaster relief (which was proposed by Senator Murkowski).

The participation rate for the Presidential checkoff has reached an all-time low--17%. Why do we think the American taxpayers would check a box on their federal tax returns so that they can finance Congressional campaigns?

D. Shea

BOB DOLE  
KANSAS

## United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7020

September 29, 1994

The Honorable Dave Durenberger  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Dave:

I am writing to urge you to vote against cloture on the motion to request a conference with the House on S. 3, the Campaign Finance Reform Act.

Last year, you wrote to me, reaffirming nine "core principles" that "must be included in any bill passed by the Senate, including a conference report resulting from negotiations with the House of Representatives." The letter emphasized that "if the House of Representatives passes legislation that creates different standards for itself or fails to address any of the nine original principles..., we will take any step necessary to prevent this bill from becoming law." A copy of the letter and other related correspondence is attached.

It is my view that both the House campaign finance bill and the proposed conference report fail to fulfill many of the core principles you have previously outlined.

1. Let's start with political action committees. One of the nine principles is that "political action committee (PAC) contributions should be subject to further limitation. PAC contribution limits should be no higher than individual contribution limits, so that PACs have no more of a financial advantage than the average citizen. In addition, we should pursue aggressive aggregate limits."

As you know, the Senate passed legislation eliminating all political action committee contributions (with a \$2,000 fall-back if the PAC-ban is declared unconstitutional). According to press accounts, the proposed conference report would still allow House candidates to receive up to \$6,000 from a single PAC during an election cycle. This is three times greater than the contribution limit for private citizens. Press reports also indicate that the conference report raises the aggregate PAC contribution limit for House candidates--from 33% to 40% of total campaign receipts. I submit that this change is inconsistent with your goal of "pursuing aggressive aggregate limits."

2. A second principle is that "the House and Senate must play by the same rules. If certain kinds of campaign practices



are unacceptable for one body, they shouldn't be permitted in the other."

Obviously, establishing different PAC rules for House and Senate candidates is inconsistent with this principle. In addition, while the proposed conference report prohibits Senate candidates from accepting out-of-state contributions at any time prior to the 2-year period immediately preceding an election, it establishes no similar rule for House candidates.

3. A third principle you have advocated is the "disclos[ure] of all soft money, not just party soft money." As you have stated, "it doesn't make sense to selectively target political party soft money but ignore the soft money that pours into elections from tax-exempt special interests."

Last year, the Senate adopted an amendment, offered by Jim Jeffords, that promoted the goal of full disclosure of all soft-money expenditures. More specifically, the Jeffords amendment would a) require the advance disclosure of non-party soft-money activities over \$10,000 that are devoted solely to candidate advocacy, and b) allow federal candidates and party committees to respond in-kind to these activities. It is my understanding that this second provision, allowing candidates and party committees to respond to non-party soft-money expenditures, has been deleted from the conference report.

4. A fourth principle outlined in your letter is that "[c]ampaign committees should not pay back loans that candidates make to their own campaigns. We need to address the unfair advantages of millionaires who are able to bankroll their campaigns."

As you know, the Senate passed legislation last year that would allow those candidates, who comply with the spending limits, to contribute or lend no more than \$25,000 in personal funds to their campaigns during an election cycle. The legislation also prohibits candidates from raising money to pay off a personal loan after an election.

It is my understanding that both provisions have been dropped from the conference report.

5. A fifth principle reads as follows: "Avoid taxpayer financing of campaigns. At a time when the federal government is calling on Americans to make sacrifices to reduce the deficit, Congress shouldn't create a new entitlement program for politicians. We are not opposed to spending limits, but it might not be necessary to swallow the bitter pill of taxpayer financing to get them. Now is the time for creative proposals that test the boundaries of Buckley v. Valeo and provide for voluntary spending limits without dipping into the federal Treasury."

The conference report appears to violate this principle by

allowing each House candidate to receive up to \$200,000 in the form of "voter communication vouchers." It is my understanding that these vouchers will be financed, in part, by a \$5 checkoff (and a \$10 checkoff for joint filers) appearing on the federal income tax return. No matter how you slice it, this amounts to the taxpayer financing of campaigns.

\*\*\*

Finally, I have learned that the conference report exempts organizations like EMILY's List from the restrictions on bundling. In my view, this exemption is clear and convincing evidence of the partisan intentions behind this legislation.

Dave, I hope you will be able to vote with us tomorrow.

Sincerely,

Bob

BOB DOLE

Enclosure



JOHN MCCAIN  
ARIZONA

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES  
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE,  
AND TRANSPORTATION  
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS  
COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

## United States Senate

June 17, 1993

111 RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0303  
(202) 224-2335

151 NORTH CENTENNIAL WAY  
SUITE 1000  
MESA, AZ 85201  
(602) 836-8894

2400 EAST ARIZONA  
BILTMORE CIRCLE  
SUITE 1000  
PHOENIX, AZ 85018  
(602) 952-2410

450 WEST PASSO REDONDO  
SUITE 200  
TUCSON, AZ 85701  
(602) 670-8314

TELEPHONE FOR HEARING IMPAIRED  
(202) 224-7132  
(602) 952-0170

The Honorable Bob Dole  
Senate Republican Leader  
U.S. Senate  
United States Capitol  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Dole:

Earlier we notified you, and stated publicly that there were nine principles guiding our decisions on Campaign Finance Reform. We again reaffirm that those principles must be included in any bill passed by the Senate, including a conference report resulting from negotiations with the House of Representatives.

Please be assured that if the House of Representatives passes legislation that creates different standards for itself or fails to address any of the nine original principles we indicated are absolutely necessary for fair campaign finance reform, we will take any step necessary to prevent this bill from becoming law.

We hope this will clarify our intent on this important subject.

Sincerely,

Dave Durenburger

John McCain

William Cohen

James Jeffords

John Chafee

Nancy Landon Kassebaum

Larry Pressler



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

May 6, 1993

1993 MAY -7 PM 10:38

The Honorable Mitch McConnell  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mitch:

We are writing to inform you of several key principles that will be guiding our decisions when Campaign Finance Reform comes to the Senate floor.

We are optimistic that campaign finance reform can become law this year. We believe that this reform must be bipartisan and must not favor one party over the other.

At the outset, we would like to emphasize that there are significant areas of common ground in both S.3 and S.7, the Democratic and the Republican campaign finance reform bills. For example, both proposals would prohibit bundling by special interest groups and would require disclosure of independent expenditures. Congress should not hesitate to adopt proposals that are clearly bipartisan, broadly supported reform goals.

Each of us is committed to other campaign finance reform principles that are not included in this letter or go further than those listed in this letter, but that we individually believe are essential elements of reform. The following is a list of core principles that we have in common that we believe will constitute meaningful campaign finance reform:

1. Political Action Committee (PAC) contributions should be subject to further limitation. PAC contribution limits should be no higher than individual contribution limits, so that PACs have no more of a financial advantage than the average citizen. In addition, we should pursue aggressive aggregate limits.
2. The House and Senate must play by the same rules. If certain kinds of campaign practices are unacceptable for one body, they shouldn't be permitted in the other.
3. Disclose all soft money, not just party soft money. It doesn't make sense to selectively target political party soft money but ignore the soft money that pours into elections from tax-exempt special interests. Sunshine is still one of the best disinfectants.
4. In-state contributions should be favored over out-of-state contributions. The individual limit for out-of-state contributions should be lowered from \$1000 to \$500. Candidates should receive most of their financial support inside their state, from the citizens they seek to represent.



Campaign Finance Reform  
Page 2

5. Severability. If one provision of the campaign finance reform package is struck down as unconstitutional, the rest of the reforms should survive intact.

6. Campaign fundraising should be limited to the actual election cycle. Candidates who are not in an election cycle should be able to raise funds only from their constituents.

7. Campaign committees should not pay back loans that candidates make to their own campaigns. We need to address the unfair advantage of millionaires who are able to bankroll their own campaigns.

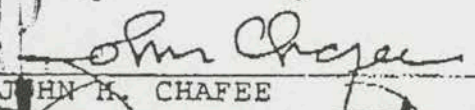
8. Avoid taxpayer financing of campaigns. At a time when the federal government is calling on Americans to make sacrifices to reduce the deficit, Congress shouldn't create a new entitlement program for politicians. We are not opposed to spending limits, but it might not be necessary to swallow the bitter pill of taxpayer financing to get them. Now is the time for creative proposals that test the boundaries of Buckley v. Valeo and provide for voluntary spending limits without dipping into the federal treasury.

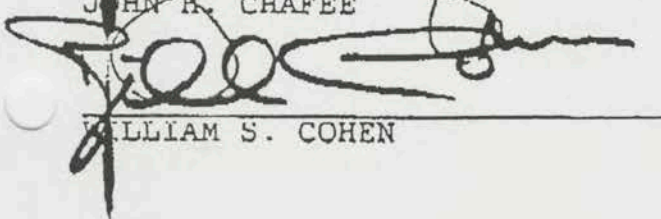
9. Any bill that provides for public financing must be paid for. The bill presented to the Senate must clearly incorporate the method for offsetting the cost, and this method must not increase the deficit. In addition, if public financing is available during general elections, it must be available during primaries to give a fair shake to challengers.

We have taken the responsibility of crafting reform principles very seriously, since campaign finance reform is actually incumbents writing the rules for their own re-election. We believe that campaign finance reform should be meaningful, and it must also be bipartisan. We hope that our efforts will help to build the consensus that will be necessary to enact campaign finance reform this year.

Sincerely,

  
DORE DURENBERGER

  
JOHN H. CHAFEE

  
WILLIAM S. COHEN

  
JOHN MCCAIN

  
JAMES M. JEFFORDS



*Bob Dole*



NEWS

U.S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

FROM:

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
Friday, September 30, 1994

Contact: Clarkson Hine  
(202) 224-5358

## CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

### REPUBLICANS WANT REAL REFORM, NOT NEW ENTITLEMENT FOR POLITICIANS

Like so much we do around here, you won't know anything about a proposal unless you look beyond the label and read the fine print.

Everyone's for health care reform, until you find out that "reform" means a government takeover of the best health-care delivery system in the world. Everyone wants to support a "crime" bill, until you find out that it actually coddles criminals and wastes billions and billions of taxpayer dollars on misguided social-welfare programs. And, I suspect, most people would support legislation advertised as "campaign finance reform"...unless they took a moment to look behind the label and examine what "reform" actually means.

#### Taxpayer-Financing of Campaigns

For starters, "reform" apparently means a new entitlement program. Not for the needy. Not for the working poor. Not even for the middle-class. But for politicians.

Under the so-called campaign reform "compromise" unveiled yesterday, each house candidate would have been eligible to receive up to \$200,000 in taxpayer funds. When the smoke finally cleared after each election cycle, the total taxpayer-payout could have amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars.

So, as public approval of Congress sinks to an all-time low, our first instinct is not to change our own behavior, but to look to the taxpayers themselves as the funding source for our own political campaigns: more money for politicians. Less money for the American people. That's what's known in Washington as a "reform" proposal.

Republicans are proud to stand with the taxpayers and against the public-financing of congressional campaigns. Republicans opposed this taxpayer hand-out, and we're proud to have done so.

#### Spending Limits

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle constantly remind us that we spend too much on campaign advertising...which is another way of saying that we spend too much on political speech. As a result, they have proposed placing an overall cap on the amount a campaign may spend in any election cycle. This cap is called a spending limit.

But if we spend too much on politics, what should be our spending-priorities? Instead of politics, should we spend more money on hamburgers? On cars? On video games? On vacations?

Is participating in politics by making a voluntary campaign contribution to a candidate of your own choosing really such a bad thing?

Expert after expert has testified that spending limits not only reduce political speech, they also make it much more difficult for challengers to mount successful campaigns against entrenched incumbents who enjoy huge advantages: high-name recognition. The franking privilege. Large staffs. And easy access to the media.

Inflexible spending limits, in other words, are anti-competitive and pro-incumbent.

Of course, the Supreme Court has held that spending limits are constitutional if they are voluntary...but as my distinguished colleague from Missouri, Senator Danforth, pointed out last week, there is nothing voluntary about the so-called "speech tax" that would have been imposed on candidates who did not abide by the limits. The speech tax is a club, a way to beat candidates into submission so that they will have no other choice but to accept the spending limit. The biggest winners, of course, are the incumbents. And the biggest loser is the Constitution of the United States.

As Roll Call magazine pointed out last year, and I quote: "the version of campaign finance reform passed by the Senate...is a miserable piece of legislation. Its key provision--[the spending limit]--is outrageously unconstitutional. Why would senators pass a bill that so blatantly restricts the right of free political speech, as

(more)



the Supreme Court clearly defined in Buckley versus Valeo? Partly, to rescue themselves from the political liability of failing to pass a campaign bill but, more importantly, to keep their own seats warm and secure."

And let me just say that I don't blame my colleagues on the other side of the aisle for stacking the deck in their own favor. They control Congress now...and they want to continue to control Congress next year...and the following year...and into the next century. After all, it's only human nature to try to hold on to what you don't want to give up...and, in all candor, if Republicans controlled Congress, we'd probably try to do the same thing, too.

#### PAC-Ban

One provision that continues to merit our support is the ban on contributions from political action committees. PACs may have started out as a reform measure but, over the years, they have gradually become part of the problem. The bottom line is that PACs make politics less competitive, not more competitive, as any reform measure should.

PACs love incumbents. In 1992, in races where members of Congress were up for re-election, incumbents received a staggering 86% of the total PAC contributions. That's \$126 million for incumbents versus a paltry \$21 million for challengers.

At the urging of Republicans, including my colleague from South Dakota, Senator Pressler, the Senate passed a bill last year that banned PACs outright. No PACs. No exceptions.

That was a step in the right direction...and it's a step that should have been taken by the House of Representatives, as well. Unfortunately, the PAC-addiction in the House is so great, so consuming, that the House Democrat leadership has insisted all along that the PAC-status quo be maintained.

That's why the so-called compromise didn't propose to ban PACs outright, but to reduce the individual PAC contribution limit modestly--to \$6,000. Not surprisingly, news reports indicate the compromise actually increased the aggregate PAC contribution limit from 33% to 40% of total campaign receipts.

#### Democrat Gridlock

So, when I hear some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle complain that Republicans have somehow blocked campaign reform, I know it's time for a little history lesson.

The Senate passed a bill more than a year ago, in June of 1993. The House soon followed suit, passing its own version of campaign finance reform in November of 1993. And, now, ten months later, we've finally gotten around to working out the differences.

It's not Republicans who've blocked campaign reform...it's my colleagues on the other side of the aisle. They're the ones who've been meeting behind closed-doors. And they're the ones who waited until just yesterday to reach an agreement among themselves.

Yes, restoring the credibility of Congress is critical.

Yes, campaign reform is essential if we are to win back the confidence of the American people.

#### Republicans Want Real Reform

And yes, Republicans want reform. That's why we introduced a bill at the beginning of this session, S.7., that would have banned PACs, provided seed money for challengers, prohibited soft-money contributions, and required candidates to receive most of their contributions from their own constituents. Unfortunately, S.7 was never treated seriously by our Democrat colleagues. From day one, Republicans have been shut out of the process. No meetings. No negotiations. It's been take it or leave it--the Democrat plan or no plan at all.

And that's why campaign finance reform failed again this year: for when all is said and done, the American people don't want a political document. They want a document they can trust--one that enjoys bipartisan--and nonpartisan--support.

A few years ago, Senator Mitchell and I tried the bipartisan approach when we appointed a six-member commission of outside experts to look at the campaign-finance issue and report back to us with a package of recommendations. I thought many of these recommendations made some sense, but as it turned out, the report was largely ignored.

In the future, convening a nonpartisan--or bipartisan--panel of outside experts may be the only way to break the logjam and craft rules that are equally fair--and equally unfair--to both parties. If recent history teaches us anything, it teaches us that the temptation to use the campaign laws to extract partisan advantage is perhaps too great to leave Congress to its own devices.

###



Crime



*Bob Dole*

U.S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

NEWS

FROM:

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
Tuesday, September 13, 1994

Contact: Clarkson Hine  
(202) 224-5358

## REPUBLICAN CRIME BILL

DOLE INTRODUCES "CRIME CONTROL IMPROVEMENT ACT":  
EFFORT TO STRIP PORK, BEEF UP PENALTIES IN JUST-SIGNED BILL

Instead of signing the so-called crime bill, President Clinton should have used today's White House ceremony to send the bill back to Congress marked with four simple letters: V.E.T.O. Veto.

The President should have told Congress to cut out the billions and billions of dollars in wasteful social spending, toughen up the penalties, and send him a new-and-improved crime bill that matches his own tough-on-crime rhetoric.

### Republican Tough-On-Crime Measures

And that's exactly what Senate Republicans tried to do last month, when we were ready to offer a series of ten amendments...all designed to improve the crime bill by stripping out the pork and toughening up the weakest parts of the watered-down conference report.

Republicans tried to save the taxpayers nearly \$5 billion by cutting such phony "crime-fighting" measures as the Local Partnership Act, the Model Intensive Grants Program, the National Community Economic Partnership...even something called the "Ounce of Prevention" Program, which in reality is not an ounce, but a multi-million dollar ton of pure, unadulterated pork-barrel spending.

Republicans sought to establish mandatory minimum penalties for those vicious criminals who use a gun in the commission of a crime and who sell illegal drugs to children.

Republicans tried to ensure the swift deportation of illegal aliens who have committed violent crimes while in the United States.

Republicans attempted to tighten up the crime bill's prison language so that funds will be used to build "brick and mortar" prison cells, rather than warm-and-fuzzy prison "alternatives" such as "half-way houses" and "juvenile detention centers." Believe it or not, there's no guarantee that one dime of the crime bill's \$30 billion will be used to build a single prison cell.

And, last month, Republicans sought to ensure that first-time violent offenders are kept behind bars by encouraging states to adopt real, meaningful truth-in-sentencing reform.

Although a full two weeks have elapsed since the Senate's passage of the conference report and today's signing ceremony, Republicans were nonetheless blocked--shut out--from using just several hours to debate our ten amendments, toughen up the crime bill in the process, and potentially save the taxpayers nearly \$5 billion.

### So-Called Crime Bill: Expensive Lesson for Americans

So, today's signing ceremony may be a legislative victory for President Clinton, but it's a very expensive lesson for the American people.

The American people aren't dumb. They know that the crime bill is more hype than tough-on-crime substance. They know that it fully funds only 20,000 new police officers, not the 100,000 claimed by the administration.

And the American people understand that the most effective way to prevent crime is not with the pork-barrel, but with the prison cell.

Although Senate Republicans came up a bit short last month, this temporary set-back doesn't mean we've given up. On the contrary: Republicans will continue to push ahead--with greater effort and with even greater resolve--until the American people

(more)



get the kind of tough, no-nonsense, crime fighting policy they deserve...and one that is 100% fat free.

Crime Control Improvement Act: Incorporates 10 GOP Provisions

That's why I am introducing a bill today--the Crime Control Improvement Act--that incorporates all ten amendments proposed by Republicans during the debate last month: a \$5 billion cut in wasteful social spending. Tough mandatory minimum penalties for those who use a gun while committing a crime. Tough mandatory minimums for those who peddle drugs to minors and employ minors to sell drugs. The swift deportation of criminal aliens. And real truth-in-sentencing for first-time violent offenders, not for the second-time offenders, as the crime bill now provides.

The Senate should have adopted these amendments more than two weeks ago. The crime bill would have been vastly improved as a result...and the American people wouldn't be so skeptical today of the overblown claims made by President Clinton and by the bill's most ardent supporters.

No doubt about it, the Senate missed a golden opportunity by preventing Republicans from offering our amendments. But one lost opportunity doesn't mean we shouldn't keep on trying....and that's exactly what Republicans intend to do in the weeks and months ahead.

7 :###

\* Remarks delivered on the Senate floor, approximately 2:55 PM.

PROPOSED TEN REPUBLICAN AMENDMENTS--August 25, 1994

- \* Four amendments striking approximately \$5 billion in "social spending" from the conference report (excluding Violence against Women Act and funding for federal and state prison drug treatment).

--Amendment One: Strike Local Partnership Act

Savings: \$1.62 billion

--Amendment Two: Strike Model Intensive Grants

Savings: \$625.5 million

--Amendment Three: Strike Local Crime Prevention Block Grants; Family and Community Endeavor Schools; Community-Based Justice Grants; Urban Recreation; Assistance for Delinquent and At-Risk Youth; and Police Recruitment

Savings: \$734.5 million

--Amendment Four: Strike National Community Economic Partnership; Community Schools; Ounce of Prevention; Family Unity Demonstration Project; Gang Resistance Education and Training; and Drug Courts

--Savings: \$1.99 billion

- \* Tighten prison language:

--elimination of reverter clause, thereby ensuring that funds remain allotted for truth-in-sentencing

--elimination of "correctional plan" language that unnecessarily burdens state prison administrators

--ensure that prison funding will go to build "brick-and-mortar" prison cells, not just prison "alternatives"

--truth-in-sentencing for first-time violent offenders

- \* Simpson amendment expediting criminal alien deportation.

- \* Gramm/D'Amato mandatory minimum penalties for gun crimes.

- \* Mandatory minimum penalties for selling drugs to minors.

- \* Mandatory minimum penalties for employing minors to sell drugs.

- \* Drop mandatory minimum repeal. Substitute Senate-passed proposal with a requirement that federal prosecutors have a role in the decision to deviate from the mandatory minimum.





September 30, 1994

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SENATOR DOLE  
FROM: DENNIS SHEA  
SUBJECT: LOBBYING DISCLOSURE/GIFTS-BAN

As you know, Rep. Gingrich has made the point that the Lobbying Disclosure conference report treats Members of Congress and average citizens differently. This is what Gingrich is talking about:

- \* for those lobbyists who knowingly violate the registration, disclosure, and gift-ban rules, the conference report establishes a maximum \$10,000 fine for "minor" violations and a maximum \$200,000 fine for "major" violations. These fines are imposed by a new independent federal agency--the Office of Lobbying Registration and Public Disclosure.
- \* for Members of Congress who knowingly accept gifts from lobbyists in violation of the rules, the conference report would allow the House and Senate Ethics Committees to determine the penalty.

The House passed the conference report by a vote of 306 to 112. Most of the House Republican Leadership (Michel, Gingrich, Arme) voted against final passage. Henry Hyde voted for final passage.

Outside organizations like the National Rifle Association, National Right-to-Work, the Christian Coalition, the Family Research Council, the American Civil Liberties Union, and even Planned Parenthood are now beating the drums against the conference report. Rush Limbaugh is also emphasizing the issue on his radio and television shows. As you know, their main concern is the "chilling affect" the conference report would have on "grassroots lobbying."

The conference report would require the registration and public disclosure of any person or firm that spends, on behalf of a client, more than \$2,500 during a six-month period on lobbying activity, including grassroots lobbying. "Grassroots lobbying" is defined to include "communications that attempt to influence legislation through communications with the general public (i.e. television and radio ads)" and "communications between organizations and their members with an intent to influence such members to contact public officials on matters of public policy."

The conference report would also require any organization attempting to influence the federal government with the help of a

grassroots operation to publicly disclose the names and addresses of those retained in conducting the grassroots lobbying.

Reed Larson called to say that the conference report is the first step toward a requirement that the names of his donors be disclosed. (Larson admits, though, that the conference report would not require the disclosure of donors).

A good point: Congress wants to prevent lobbyists from taking Members of Congress out to lunch at McDonald's, but Congress is unwilling to prohibit lobbyists from giving Members a \$5,000 PAC check.

Another point: The conference report is ambiguous at best. Congress ought to understand the full ramifications of the lobbying bill before passing it.



## **LOBBYING DISCLOSURE AND GIFTS-BAN BILL**

### **I. Restrictions on Gifts by Lobbyists**

The following gifts by lobbyists are banned outright:

- \* Meals
- \* Entertainment
- \* Travel
- \* Legal Defense Fund Contributions (includes the President's legal defense fund)
- \* "Hard" Gifts (Items such as Fruit Baskets)

#### **Exceptions:**

- \* Food and Refreshments of Nominal Value that are not offered as part of a meal
- \* Campaign Contributions and Attendance at Political Events
- \* Informational Materials
- \* Gifts from Close Personal Friends and Family Members when given for a Non-business Purpose and Cost of Gift is Neither Deducted nor Reimbursed

### **II. Restrictions on Gifts by Non-Lobbyists**

The ban on gifts by non-lobbyists is similar to the ban on gifts by lobbyists, with the following gifts by non-lobbyists permitted:

- \* Food and Refreshments of Nominal Value (less than \$20)
- \* Food, Refreshments, and Entertainment in the Member's Home State, subject to reasonable limits set by the Ethics Committee
- \* Contributions to Legal Defense Funds
- \* Home State Products of Minimal Value
- \* Sponsor's Gift of Attendance at Charity Function or other "Widely-Attended" Event
- \* Gifts based on a Personal or Family Relationship, unless the Member has Reason to Believe that the Gift was provided because of the Member's Official Position

### **III. Rules for Payment of Travel Expenditures**

The following activities are banned:

- \* Lobbyist-paid travel by Member or staff
- \* Payment or reimbursement for Travel to Events that are substantially recreational in nature

The following activity is permitted:

- \* Payment or Reimbursement for Necessary Expenses for Travel to a Meeting, Speaking Engagement, Factfinding Trip or Similar Event in connection with official duties



Capitol Hill Office

**STOP THE GAG RULE ON FREE SPEECH - VOTE "NO"  
ON THE LOBBYING DISCLOSURE CONFERENCE REPORT**

Dear Member of Congress:

September 28, 1994

On behalf of the 1.4 million members and supporters of the Christian Coalition and the 60,000 member churches we represent, we are writing to express our strong opposition to the threat to democratic expression contained in a provision in the Lobbying Disclosure Act Conference Report (S. 349) which will violate the first amendment rights of all Americans and specifically all religious affiliated groups in America. The measure described in Section 104 (b) (5) and other segments of the conference report are in direct conflict with the first amendment right of every citizen to "petition the government for redress of grievances."

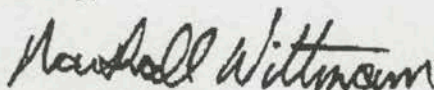
At a time when we should encourage Americans to make their voices heard on issues of public concern, this measure would have a chilling effect on the First Amendment. Although the legislation contains a vague "freedom of religion" exception, the bill would likely result in forcing many grassroots organizations with religious affiliations to report their activities to the federal government, specifically to a "director of lobbying" a presidential appointment.

This legislation serves the interest of some in Congress who have targeted religious people for direct and virulent attacks over the past several months. Meetings have even been held in the Capitol to discuss derailing the participation of religious people in public debate. This legislation represents a new "gag rule" on democratic participation.

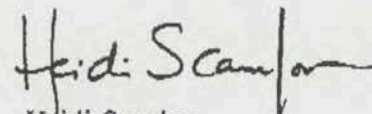
We believe that it is extremely ominous that the federal government would require with the enactment of this legislation that grassroots citizen organizations be required to reveal the specific names (possibly including volunteers), addresses and principal place of business retained in conducting grassroots lobbying. This bill would require that organizations which represent large constituencies, such as the Christian Coalition, report these names with each lobbying action. *It is our perception, this bill would require us to print and provide our membership list to a federal bureaucrat every time a Member of Congress asks us for help on a legislative issue of mutual concern.* This provision is extremely draconian. Our membership data base is not even resident in our small lobbying office on Capitol Hill. Although the legislation ostensibly targets "special interests," Americans on Main Street would also be forced to report their expenditures when they want to tell Congress how they feel on issues of the day.

We do not oppose real lobbying reform. The Christian Coalition does not routinely give "gifts" to congressional staff and we are not at all opposed to that portion of the bill. **The Lobbying Disclosure Act Conference Report is not about real lobbying reform.** Once again, another conference committee, controlled by the most liberal members of congress, have sought to stop conservative people of faith from participating in the process with these onerous requirements. **We urge you in to vote "no" on the Lobbying Disclosure Act Conference Report.** This vote will be considered a key vote on our *Christian Coalition Scorecard* distributed to some 20 million people annually. This bill is an infringement on the *free speech rights of all Americans to petition the government for redress of grievances* without having to report each time he or she does so. This Conference Report is not the American way.

Sincerely,



Marshall Wittmann  
Director, Legislative Affairs



Heidi Scanlon  
Director, Governmental Affairs



[Note: The following was sent to the members of the conference committee on the Lobbying Disclosure bills and members of the House and Senate Leadership]

September 21, 1994

Members of the House-Senate Conference Committee  
on the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1993  
Members of the House and Senate Leadership  
U. S. Congress  
Washington, DC

Dear Senators and Representatives:

The undersigned nonprofit groups have very different memberships, represent a variety of viewpoints, and are often in opposite corners when debates on public policy get underway. Despite these differences, we find ourselves united in our concern over the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1994 and the adverse impact it will have on our ability to convey our members' views to the Congress and the Executive Branch.

As currently drafted, the lobbying reform legislation, S. 349 and H.R. 823, will place an undue and unnecessary burden on the exercise of our First Amendment freedoms. The legislation's registration and reporting requirements will jeopardize the fundamental right of all citizens to communicate with and lobby their government through associations by imposing time-consuming and costly recordkeeping and paperwork demands on all groups that inform their members or urge them to give the government their views on the issues. As organizations struggle to comply with the legislation's directives, the diversion of both manpower and financial resources to meet the recordkeeping and paperwork demands will undermine the ability of all groups to communicate with Congress and the Executive Branch on the important issues facing this country.

The impact of this legislation will reach well beyond Washington, D.C. and will adversely affect organizations across the country. There is not an issue under discussion in Congress or the Administration today that does not elicit the views of organizations from all 50 states. The proposed lobbying disclosure reforms will make it extremely difficult for many of these organizations to continue to make their opinions known to their elected representatives. The problem is exacerbated for those nonprofit organizations impacted by the recently enacted tax law changes regarding nondeductibility of lobbying expenses, since that legislation also contained extensive recordkeeping requirements. The overall result is that fewer associations and, hence, fewer Americans, will get their voices heard in Washington, D.C.

We are concerned that much of the momentum for lobbying reform springs from the misconception that nonprofit organizations harm, rather than help, the policy-making process. Nonprofit groups provide information and resources that are both useful to and needed by Congress and the Executive Branch -- information and resources which help to keep government officials in touch with the citizens of this country. An interactive democracy, such as ours, requires citizen participation, and nonprofit groups are essential in allowing Americans from every part of our nation to register their views with their government.

It is unprecedented for such a diverse array of groups to stand together in opposition to a single legislative proposal. Our doing so is evidence that we believe this legislation will seriously impair our

ability to exercise our rights guaranteed under the First Amendment. We therefore, respectfully urge that you oppose S. 349 and H.R. 823 as currently drafted, and consider revising the legislation by making the changes that are outlined on the attached page.

A similar letter has been sent to the other members of the House and Senate leadership and to the members of the conference committee on the lobbying disclosure bills.

Sincerely,

Alliance for Educational and Cultural Exchange

American Family Association

Americans United for Life

Center for Science in the Public Interest

Child Protection Lobby

Christian Legal Society's Center for Law and Religious Freedom

Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms

CNP Action, Inc.

Coalition Against Gun Violence

Doris Day Animal League

English First

Family Research Council

Federation of American Scientists

Free Congress Foundation

Fund for an Open Society

Gun Owners of America

Humane Society of the United States

International Freedom Foundation

National Right to Life Committee

National Rifle Association

National Legal And Policy Center

National Association of Housing Cooperatives

Ohio Citizen Action

Safe Streets Coalition

Planned Parenthood of America

Population-Environment Balance

United Seniors Association, Inc.

\* RECEIVE STOPPED \*