

Issue Advocacy Advertising During the 1996 Campaign

By Deborah Beck, Paul Taylor, Jeffrey Stanger and Douglas Rivlin

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About the Annenberg Public Policy Center

The Annenberg Public Policy Center was established by publisher and philanthropist Walter Annenberg in 1994 to create a community of scholars within the University of Pennsylvania that would address public policy issues at the local, state, and federal levels. Consistent with the mission of the Annenberg School for Communication, the Center has four ongoing foci: Information and Society, Media and the Developing Mind, Media and the Dialogue of Democracy, and Health Communication. Each year, as well, a special area of scholarly interest is addressed. The Center supports research and sponsors lectures and conferences in these areas. This series of publications disseminates the work of the Center.

INTRODUCTION

This report catalogs one of the most intriguing and thorny new practices to come onto the political scene in many years – the heavy use of so-called “issue advocacy” advertising by political parties, labor unions, trade associations and business, ideological and single-issue groups during the last campaign.

According to the list compiled here, more than two dozen organizations engaged in issue advocacy advertising during the 1995-96 election cycle, at an estimated total expense of \$135 million to \$150 million.¹

To put those figures in context, consider a few others. Candidates for president, the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House spent a combined total of just over \$1 billion on their campaigns in 1995-96. Of that, an estimated \$400 million went into advertising. Thus, parties and advocacy groups spent more than a third as much as did the candidates themselves communicating with the public during the 1996 election.

This is unprecedented, and represents an important change in the culture of campaigns. Candidates now share the election megaphone with a cacophony of other voices. Some are promoting a cause, some are lobbying for or against legislation, some by their own admission are seeking to elect or defeat a candidate, some are trying to do all of the above. To the naked eye, these issue advocacy ads are often indistinguishable from ads run by candidates. But in a number of key respects, they are different. Unlike candidates, issue advocacy groups face no contribution limits or disclosure requirements. Nor can they be held accountable by the voters on election day.

There’s a lively debate over whether this new diffusion of campaign voices is a boon to elections, or a thorn. We will summarize that argument in a moment. First, though, to the many readers who doubtless find terms such as “issue advocacy,” “express advocacy” and “soft money” to be arcane, a few definitions are in order.

- *Issue advocacy* describes a communication to the public whose primary purpose is to promote a set of ideas or policies. *Express advocacy* describes a communication to the public whose primary purpose is to advocate the election or defeat of a candidate. As the Supreme Court acknowledged in its 1976 ruling on campaign finance regulations, *Buckley v. Valeo*, “the distinction between discussion of issues and candidates and advocacy of election or defeat of candidates may often dissolve in practical application.” Into this gray area flooded up to \$150 million worth of ads during the 1995-96 election that looked and sounded like campaign ads, but that in the view of the courts were issue ads, and therefore beyond the reach of campaign contribution limits or disclosure requirements.
- *Independent expenditures* are communications with the public that expressly advocate the election or defeat of a candidate, but that are made without any prior consultation or coordination with the candidates. Like issue ads, independent expenditure ads can be

¹ Estimate is based on Annenberg Public Policy Center analysis of the cost of the issue advocacy run in 1995-1996 by the groups profiled in this report. Cost figures are drawn from press accounts and self-reporting by the groups themselves.

paid for with funds not subject to candidate contribution limits. Unlike issue advocacy ads, however, they are subject to disclosure requirements. [This catalog also covers independent expenditure ads by parties and advocacy groups.]

- *Hard money* is money raised by candidates or parties under the system of contribution limits enacted by Congress in 1974. *Soft money* is money raised by political parties, free of contribution limits, from corporations, unions and wealthy individuals. Originally designed to help parties pay for overhead and basic organizational activities, soft money contributions have mushroomed from a few million dollars per election cycle in the early 1980's to more than \$250 million in 1995-96. In the last campaign, party soft money was routinely used for purposes beyond the original design – e.g., to pay for ads that – had the candidates themselves paid for – would have had to be funded with hard money.

As the brief glossary makes clear, a sharp imbalance has evolved over the past two decades in the laws governing campaigns. One part of the electoral system – the part that pertains to candidates – remains regulated, while another part – the one that pertains to advocacy groups and political parties – is barely regulated or not regulated at all. If you were a wealthy donor interested in affecting the outcome of a campaign, but not interested in leaving any fingerprints, it is pretty clear where you would put your money.

This movement of campaign money and message into unregulated issue advocacy groups has been facilitated by a Supreme Court that has defined *express advocacy* in narrow terms, holding that it must include such phrases as “vote for” or “vote against,” “cast your ballot for,” or “support candidate [X].” Absent these so-called magic words, the court has held, all forms of communication by non-candidate groups during campaigns are presumed to be issue advocacy.

With that definition in mind, consider the text of the following television ad, which ran in 1996 during Montana's congressional race between Democrat Bill Yellowtail and Republican Rick Hill, and was cited by political analysts as tipping a tight race to Hill, who won with 52 percent.

Who is Bill Yellowtail? He preaches family values, but he took a swing at his wife. And Yellowtail's explanation? He 'only slapped her.' But her nose was broken.²

It is difficult under any real-world standard to consider that ad anything except electioneering. But it does not contain any of the court's magic words, so it wasn't electioneering in the eyes of the law. The ad was sponsored by the Citizens for Reform, a tax-exempt, Virginia-based group created in 1996 by conservative activist Peter Flaherty. The group ran \$2 million worth of ads in congressional districts around the country, from Montana to Kansas to Texas to California. It is one of roughly a half dozen conservative, business-oriented groups that popped onto the scene last year, apparently for no other purpose than to run issue ads during campaigns. Most of these groups, including Flaherty's, declined to make known the identities of their donors.

Proponents of this sort of advocacy say it is exactly what the authors of the First Amendment had in mind. Election campaigns should be a free marketplace of ideas – messy, robust, never stifled by regulation. Let the public hear it all, and sort it all out.

Critics say that such ads are stealth attacks designed to keep the public in the dark. They argue that as accountability in political communication declines, levels of misinformation and deceit tend to rise. They propose that advocacy groups should at a minimum face

² Los Angeles Times, May 5, 1997.

disclosure requirements. Free speech defenders counter that disclosure requirements are unconstitutional because they would have a chilling effect, especially on issue advocacy advertising targeted against incumbent office-holders. This debate grows even more heated over proposals to place contribution limits on the funds issue advocacy groups can use to air advertisements during the campaign season, similar to the hard money regulations placed on candidates and parties.

Even some of those engaged in issue advocacy share some of the critics' concerns. It is "outrageous" that groups like his can "go and run political ads and call them educational," said Lyn Nofziger, the former Reagan aide who in June, 1996 helped found the Citizens for the Republic Education Fund.³ He added, "We wouldn't have had to do it if it had not been for labor."

Nofziger was referring to the 800-pound gorilla of issue advocacy advertisers during the 1996 campaign – the AFL-CIO, whose member unions voted a special assessment on themselves to launch a \$35 million campaign to try to return control of the House of Representatives to the Democrats.

The AFL-CIO sent organizers into 102 congressional district and placed a total of \$25 million in ads in an estimated 44 congressional districts. From the outset, the union insisted its motives were not electoral but legislative – to change public perceptions on such issues as Medicare, minimum wage and pensions.

Try telling that to Republican freshman Rep. Dick Chrysler (R-MI), who by the time the fall campaign got underway, had already been the target of more than \$2 million in issue ads run against him by labor and environmental groups. Chrysler did not make it back to Washington, DC for a second term.

The last word has yet to be written on issue advocacy. It is unclear if campaign finance reformers will find a way to rein them into a regime of regulation. It is equally unclear if the political culture will conclude that they are an innovation worth keeping and refining.

Nearly a year after the 1996 election, for example, there's still no consensus on a seemingly simple question: did labor's investment pay off? On one level, it plainly did not. In the 44 races where labor's ads ran, Democrats won only 15 seats. The Republican House remained in place. The union advertising initiative was "not a substitute for a well-funded Democratic challenger with a message and a campaign organization," opined an analysis put out by one of labor's adversaries, the Business-Industry Political Action Committee.

On the other hand, the issue agenda in Congress became somewhat more favorable to labor after the ads began to run. And in the summer of 1997, when the Teamsters waged a strike against UPS, public sentiment for the first time in more than a decade was decisively with the strikers.

So, again, did the ads pay off? It depends on whether their objectives were electoral, legislative or public relations. If a bit of all three, should they be regulated? If so, how?

Mercifully, this report does not attempt to sort out such complexities. Its mission is more mundane – to catalog who did what with issue advocacy during the last campaign. Some groups made public their ad buys and donors during the campaign, others preferred to remain in the shadows. This catalog has been compiled from press accounts, as well as from information provided by political sources and by the groups themselves. The dollar figures in it are the best numbers available, but they are essentially unverifiable. One last

³ Washington Post, March 9, 1997

disclaimer is in order. We made no effort to catalog the groups which sponsored issue ads in 1996 that pertained to ballot initiatives. This, too, is a rapidly growing corner of electoral landscape – but not the subject of this report.

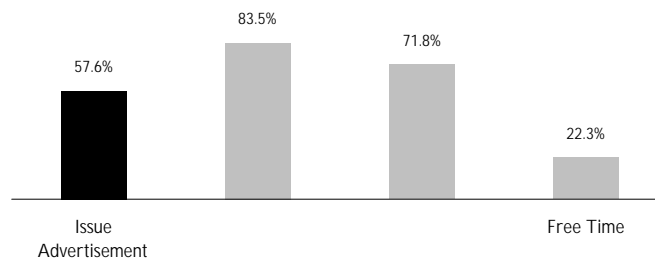
– **Paul Taylor**

AUDIENCE AND CONTENT

A national survey of 1,026 registered voters commissioned by the Annenberg Public Policy Center shortly after election day showed that a majority of voters (57.6%) recalled seeing an issue advertisement during the 1996 campaign.⁴ When compared to other political communications, using data collected from the same national survey, viewership of issue advertisements ranked below that of presidential candidate-sponsored advertising and debates. More voters recalled seeing issue advertisements than recalled watching at least one of the short speeches delivered by President Clinton and Robert Dole using free air time donated by broadcast networks.

FIG. 1

AUDIENCE SIZES FOR POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN 1996



The Annenberg Public Policy Center has compiled an archive of 107 issue advocacy advertisements that aired on television or radio during the 1996 election cycle. These ads were sponsored by 27 separate organizations.⁵ Data about the content of these advertisements are summarized below. The following figures are percentages of produced advertisements, which do not take into account differential airing and reach of the ads. In addition, although the Center's archive does include independent expenditure advertisements aired by parties and advocacy organizations, only the issue ads are included in this analysis.

As noted earlier, issue advertisements are those that do not expressly advocate the election or defeat of a candidate. If the ads do not call for viewers or listeners to cast a vote in a particular manner, what action do they call for? In many cases, the advertisement makes no call to action at all. Our analysis shows that one-quarter of issue ads (25.2%) contained no action step. Of those issue ads produced in 1996 that did solicit some action on the part of the audience, the greatest proportion asked voters to "call" a public official or candidate (37.4%). Some asked individuals to "tell" or "let a public official know" one's support for or disapproval of particular policy positions (16.8%), while others asked that a call be placed directly to the advocacy organization sponsoring the ad (15.9%). A few of the advertisements called for support or opposition to pending legislation (4.7%).

⁴ Polling was conducted by Chilton Research Services, Inc. of Radnor, PA, November 9-12, 1996. The 57.6 percent figure reflects those who recalled seeing advertisements sponsored by major issue advertisers such as the AFL-CIO, business groups, NEA, anti-abortion advocates or abortion rights groups.

⁵ Of the 31 groups cataloged in this report, only 27 were included in this analysis – some organizations only engaged in express advocacy campaigns and thus were excluded; advertisements were unavailable from others.

FIG. 2
ISSUE AD CALLS
TO ACTION

[Figure 2 did not transfer; pie chart shows proportion of each type of call to action: 37.4% call official, 16.8% tell/let know, 15.9% call advocacy group, 4.7% support/oppose legislation, and 25.2% no call to action]

Despite the presence of clear calls to action, many advertisements did not provide information, such as a phone number or address, to enable the individual to carry out the action. One in three (31.3%) issue ads that suggest action did not provide sufficient actionable information.

During the 1996 election cycle, it was the norm for issue advertisements to refer to public officials or candidates for office by name. Early nine in ten (86.9%) did so. It was also common for television issue advertisements to picture officials and candidates (59.2% pictured candidates):

FIG. 3
REFERENCE TO
AND PICTURING
OF CANDIDATES

[Figure 3 did not transfer; shows 86.9% of advertisements refer to a candidate or public official by name and 59.2% of television advertisements picture a candidate or public official.]

Both ends of the political spectrum were represented in issue advertising campaigns. Based on the number of advertisements produced, ads generally supportive of Democratic positions and those generally aligned with Republican positions were evenly split. Each accounted for 48.6% of the total. A few advertisements (2.8%), on term limits and flag burning, were not categorized as Democratic or Republican.

FIG. 4
IDEOLOGICAL
BALANCE IN
ISSUE
ADVERTISING

[Figure 4 did not transfer; shows 48.6% were generally Democratic, 48.6% were generally Republican and 2.8% neither]

While issue advertising echoed many dominant campaign themes, it also raised issues not addressed by the major party presidential candidates. For instance, abortion, gay rights, pension security, product liability reform, and term limits were among the topics that appeared in issue advocacy advertising, but were largely absent from the policy debate among the presidential candidates.

Medicare was the topic most frequently mentioned in the issue advocacy advertising of 1996. One in four advocacy ads (24.3%) mentioned the issue. The complete issue advertising agenda is listed below (mentions total more than 107 and percentages more than 100% because some advertisements mention multiple issues):

FIG. 5

**THE ISSUE
ADVERTISING
AGENDA**

	Issue	Mentions in issue advertising	Percent of issue advertisements (N=107)
1	Medicare	26	24.3%
2	Government spending/budget	17	15.9
	Taxes	17	15.9
4	Abortion	13	12.1
	Education	13	12.1
6	Welfare	11	10.3
7	Another group's ads	6	5.6
8	Crime	4	3.7
	Environment	4	3.7
	Minimum wage	4	3.7
11	Gay rights	3	2.8
	Labor unions	3	2.8
	Pension security	3	2.8
	Product liability	3	2.8
	Term limits	3	2.8
16	Gun control	2	1.9
	Health care	2	1.9
	Nuclear waste	2	1.9
19	Campaign contributions	1	0.9
	Family leave	1	0.9
	Flag burning	1	0.9
	Labor issues	1	0.9
	Social Security	1	0.9
	Tobacco	1	0.9

Consistent with prior Annenberg Public Policy Center research on the discourse of political campaigns, we divided issue advertisements into their central arguments. Arguments were categorized as *advocacy* (a case made only for the position supported by the ad's sponsor), *pure attack* (a case made only against the opposing position), and *comparison* (an argument that pairs a case against the opposition with a case for the sponsor's position).⁶ Comparison is considered preferable to pure attack because it allows evaluation of alternative positions. Pure attack contributes to the negative tone of political campaigns.

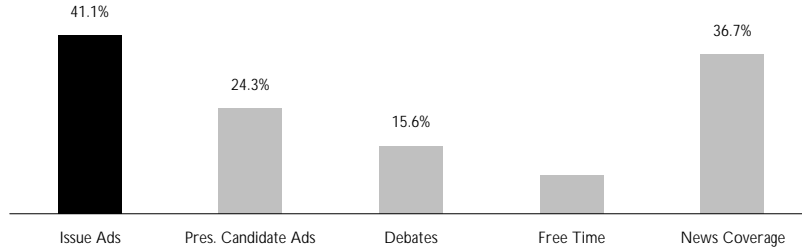
Compared to other discursive forms, including presidential candidate ads, debates, free time speeches and news coverage of the campaign (both television and print), issue

⁶ See "Assessing the Quality of Campaign Discourse – 1960, 1980, 1988, and 1992," The Annenberg Public Policy Center Report Series No. 4, July 22 1996. See also "Tracking the Quality of the 1996 Campaign," a series of 18 releases published by the Annenberg Public Policy Center, and "Free Time for Presidential Candidates: The 1996 Experiment," The Annenberg Public Policy Center Report Series No. 11, March 1997, p.9.

advertisements aired in 1996 were the highest in pure attack.⁷ Two in five arguments in issue ads attacked:

FIG. 6

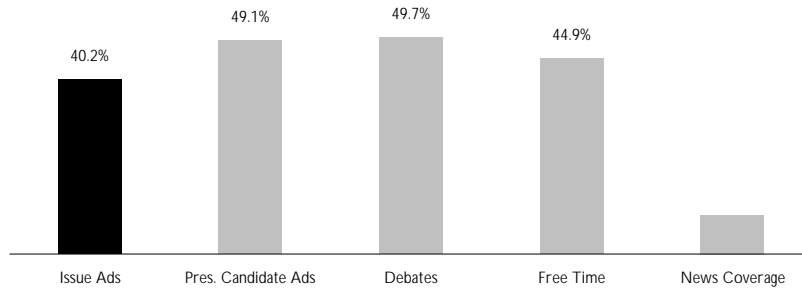
PURE ATTACK IN 1996 ISSUE ADS, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ADS, DEBATES, FREE TIME AND NEWS



Arguments in issue ads were less likely to compare positions than debates, free time speeches, and ads sponsored by the presidential candidates:

FIG. 7

COMPARISON IN 1996 ISSUE ADS, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ADS, DEBATES, FREE TIME AND NEWS



Because pure attack and comparison accounted for 81.3% of the arguments, so-called “advocacy ads” rarely simply advocated their own position. Pure advocacy appeared in fewer than one in five of the ads (18.7%).

- Jeffrey Stanger and Douglas Rivlin

⁷ News coverage figures are based on a random sample. For a summary of pure attack and comparison in the 1996 campaign, See “Free Time for Presidential Candidates: The 1996 Experiment,” The Annenberg Public Policy Center Report Series No. 11, p.9.

AFL-CIO

ORGANIZATION

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) is America's premier labor organization. It is a coalition of 78 unions with 13.1 million members.

PRINCIPALS

John Sweeney, president
Steven Rosenthal, political director
Jonathan P. Hiatt, general counsel

EXPENDITURES

The AFL-CIO spent \$35 million in 1996 on an issue advocacy campaign. Of this, an estimated \$25 million went into paid media, and the remainder went to direct mail and related organizing activities. The figures do not include contributions to candidates or independent expenditures sponsored by affiliated unions.⁸

SOURCES OF INCOME

The AFL-CIO used funds from a special assessment that its member unions voted to impose on themselves. Ultimately, the funds came from union member dues.⁹

CAMPAIGNS

In 1997, the AFL-CIO targeted Democrats and Republicans in a radio and television advertising campaign on corporate tax breaks. The AFL-CIO spent \$700,000 for a week of advertising. The 19 districts where it aired media were those of Representatives Sam Farr (D-CA), Charles Stenholm (D-TX), John Tanner (D-TN), Todd Tiahrt (R-KS), Allen Boyd (D-FL), Chris John (D-LA), Mike McIntyre (D-NC), Virgil Goode (D-VA), Robert Aderholt Jr. (D-AL), Jay Dickey (R-AR), Frank Riggs (R-CA), John Hostettler (R-IN), Kenny Hulshof (R-MO), John Ensign (R-NV), Charles Bass (R-NH), Jon Fox (R-PA), John Thune (R-SD), Linda Smith (R-WA) and Mark Neumann (R-WI).¹⁰

In 1996, the AFL-CIO sent coordinators to 102 congressional districts, where it did a combination of paid advertising, direct mail and get-out-the vote activities. It ran issue advocacy ads -- which focused on Medicare, minimum wage, education and pensions -- in a total of 44 of these congressional districts, including those of 32 Republican House freshman elected in the 1994 landslide that gave the GOP control of the House for the first time in four decades. In those 44 districts, the GOP won 29 races and the Democrats won 15 races.¹¹

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"No Way"

Carolyn: My husband and I both work. And next year, we'll have two children in college. And it will be very hard to put them through, even with the two incomes.

Announcer: Working families are struggling. But Congressman [X] voted with Newt Gingrich to cut college loans, while giving tax breaks to the wealthy. He even wants to eliminate the Department of Education. Congress will vote again on the budget. Tell Congressman [X], don't write off our children's future.

Carolyn: Tell him, his priorities are all wrong.

⁸ National Journal, May 18, 1996; Charles R. Babcock, Washington Post, April 30, 1997:A19.

⁹ Washington Post, March 22, 1996

¹⁰ Eric Schmitt, "Labor's Latest Ads Don't Spare Democrats," April 2, 1997:A18.

¹¹ Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC), "Forward Thinking: What the Business Community can Learn from the 1996 Elections," July 1997, p. 133, compiled by Carol A. Farquhar

Congressional Districts Where Business and Labor Issue Ads Aired ¹²

(Business ads benefited Republican candidates; labor ads favored Democrats.)

STATE	DISTRICT	INCUMBENT-PARTY	THE COALITION ¹³	AFL-CIO	INCUMBENT RESULT
AZ	6	J.D. Hayworth – R	✓	✓	WON
CA	1	Frank Riggs – R	✓	✓	WON
CA	22	Andrea Seastrand – R	✓	✓	LOST
CA	42	George Brown – D	✓		WON
CA	49	Brian Bilbray – R	✓		WON
CT	5	Gary Franks – R	✓	✓	LOST
FL	15	Dave Weldon – R		✓	WON
GA	4	Cynthia McKinney – D	✓		WON
GA	8	Saxby Chambliss – R	✓	✓	WON
GA	9	Nathan Deal – R		✓	WON
GA	10	Charles Norwood – R		✓	WON
GA	11	John Linder – R		✓	WON
ID	1	Helen Chenoweth – R	✓	✓	WON
IL	5	Mike Flanagan – R		✓	LOST
IL	11	Jerry Weller – R		✓	WON
IL	17	Lane Evans – D	✓		WON
IN	2	David McIntosh – R		✓	WON
IN	8	John Hostettler – R	✓	✓	WON
IA	4	Greg Ganske – R	✓	✓	WON
KS	4	Todd Tiahrt – R	✓	✓	WON
KY	1	Ed Whitfield – R	✓	✓	WON
ME	1	Jim Longley – R	✓	✓	LOST
MA	1	John Olver – D	✓		WON
MA	3	Peter Blute – R	✓	✓	LOST
MA	6	Peter Torkildsen – R	✓	✓	LOST
MI	8	Dick Chrysler – R	✓	✓	LOST
MI	10	David Bonior – D	✓		WON
MN	1	Gil Gutknecht – R	✓	✓	WON
NE	2	Jon Christensen – R	✓	✓	WON
NV	1	John Ensign – R	✓	✓	WON
NH	2	Charles Bass – R	✓		WON
NJ	7	Bob Franks – R	✓		WON
NJ	9	Bill Martini – R		✓	LOST
NY	4	David Frisa – R	✓		LOST
NY	25	Jim Walsh – R	✓	✓	WON
NY	26	Maurice Hinchey – D	✓		WON
NC	2	David Funderburk – R	✓	✓	LOST
NC	4	Fred Heineman – R	✓	✓	LOST
OH	1	Steve Chabot – R	✓	✓	WON
OH	6	Frank Cremeans – R	✓	✓	LOST
OH	10	Martin Hoke – R		✓	LOST
OH	18	Bob Ney – R	✓	✓	WON
OK	2	Tom Coburn – R	✓	✓	WON
OR	5	Jim Bunn – R	✓	✓	LOST
PA	13	Jon Fox – R	✓	✓	WON
PA	21	Phil English – R	✓	✓	WON
TN	4	Van Hilleary – R	✓		WON
TX	9	Steve Stockman – R	✓	✓	LOST
VT	At-large	Bernie Sanders – I	✓		WON
WA	1	Rick White – R	✓	✓	WON
WA	2	Jack Metcalf – R	✓	✓	WON
WA	3	Linda Smith – R		✓	WON
WA	4	Doc Hastings – R		✓	WON
WA	5	George Nethercutt – R	✓	✓	WON
WA	9	Randy Tate – R	✓	✓	LOST
WI	1	Mark Neumann – R	✓	✓	WON
WI	7	David Obey – D	✓		WON
WY	At-large	Barbara Cubin – R	✓		WON

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ The Coalition: Americans Working for Real Change was a combined effort of 32 business groups in 1996 that came together to counter the AFL-CIO's issue ad campaign. See page 27.

OF NOTE

The AFL-CIO spent an average of \$250,000 to \$300,000 on media in the districts of the 32 House Republican freshman up for reelection.¹⁴ Twelve were defeated. Among the highest profile races:

Steve Chabot (R-OH) defeated Democratic challenger Mark Longabaugh, despite the fact that by the middle of October, the AFL-CIO had spent \$1 million on ads against Chabot. The Cincinnati Enquirer ran a "reality check" analyzing an AFL-CIO ad.¹⁵

Helen Chenoweth (R-ID)'s opponent, Democrat Dan Williams, worried that he was being hurt by the labor ads.¹⁶ Chenoweth was reelected.

Dick Chrysler (R-MI) was a priority target of the AFL-CIO and other organizations. Chrysler was defeated by Democrat Debbie Stabenow (D-MI). By October, the labor unions alone had spent an estimated \$504,000 in the district.

Frank Cremeans (R-OH) faced \$243,800 in labor issue ads in his reelection race, and was defeated by Democrat Ted Strickland (R-WA).¹⁷

J.D. Hayworth (R-AZ) was the target of more than \$1.6 million in labor attack ads, but won his race against Democrat Scott Owens.¹⁸

Jim Longley (R-ME) faced \$500,000 worth of AFL-CIO advertising, and lost his reelection race to Democrat Tom Allen (D-ME).¹⁹

Steve Stockman (R-TX) was targeted by the AFL-CIO, which had spent \$300,000 on media in his district by Labor Day, and spent another \$300,000 during the first two weeks in October.²⁰ He was defeated by Democrat Nick Lampson.

December, 1995: Labor leaders launched a \$1 million media campaign that attacked Republican Representatives, including Mike Bilirakis (R-FL), C.W. "Bill" Young (R-FL), and Clay Shaw (R-FL).²¹

DISCLOSURE

Many media outlets covered the AFL-CIO issue advocacy campaign. The focus of the journalism was on the candidates affected by the television ads, rather than on the issues being advocated.

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www.afl-cio.org

¹⁴ Florida Times-Union, November 4, 1996.

¹⁵ Cincinnati Enquirer, October 29, 1996; Cincinnati Enquirer, May 21, 1996.

¹⁶ Gannett News Service, October 28, 1996.

¹⁷ Columbus Dispatch, March 9, 1997.

¹⁸ Gannett News Service, October 28, 1996.

¹⁹ USA Today, September 30, 1996.

²⁰ Houston Chronicle, October 16, 1996.

²¹ Tampa Tribune, December 7, 1995.

AMERICANS FOR LIMITED TERMS

ORGANIZATION

Americans for Limited Terms, based in Evanston, Illinois, advocates term limits at the national and state level. It researches and publicizes candidate positions on term limits.²² ALT is closely allied with U.S. Term Limits, a group with which it shares a website.²³ Steve Forbes was the keynote speaker at the U.S. Term Limits strategy conference in December, 1995.²⁴

PRINCIPALS

Bob Costello, president of Americans for Limited Terms. Costello is a Chicago bond salesman. In 1994, he established Americans for Limited Terms out of his Evanston home.²⁵

Paul Farago, vice-president, former U.S. Term Limits board member, president of Constructive Management Foundation, based in Portland, Oregon.

Howard Rich, New York businessman and developer, U.S. Term Limits president, board member of Cato Institute and former official of Libertarian Party.

John T. Harmon

EXPENDITURES

In 1996, ALT spent \$1.8 million on voter education, including issue advocacy advertising.²⁶

SOURCES OF INCOME

Americans for Limited Terms raises funds from its members.

CAMPAIGNS

Americans for Limited Terms used radio, television and mailings to educate voters about term limits during 1996.²⁷

In Illinois, ALT ran \$250,000 worth of television commercials against Senator Dick Durbin (D-IL).²⁸

In Kansas, ALT ran commercials in the final week of the Republican Senate primary race in which it targeted Sheila Framm (R-KS). ALT spent \$230,000. Framm was defeated by Sam Brownback (R-KS) who went on to win the general election.²⁹

Also in Kansas, ALT was accused of promising campaign assistance through independent expenditure commercials if a candidate would sign a U.S. Term Limits pledge to limit congressional terms. Vince Snowbarger (R-KS) reported being promised \$100,000 worth of independent ads if he supported the pledge.³⁰ Snowbarger did not sign the pledge; the ads did not run; Snowbarger won the race.

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Defy" (radio)

Announcer: It's a four letter word. It's a terrible thing. It's really a shame it's so widespread. It's here in Virginia. The home of Washington and Jefferson ... of all places. The word is D-E-F-Y. Defy. That's what John Warner is doing. He's defying the will of the people of Virginia and America. By a five to one margin, the people who pay Warner's salary support congressional term limits. Yet Warner is defying the people's will on term limits -- an important and needed reform. John Warner has refused to sign the U.S. Term Limits Pledge and has promised to fight against enactment of congressional term limits. An 18-year congressional incumbent, John Warner, is defying the clearly expressed wishes of the people he's supposed to represent. Call John Warner and ask him to stop defying the will of the people on term limits. Your action can make a difference. Tell John Warner to sign the U.S. Term Limits Pledge.

²² Gannett News Service, November 8, 1996.

²³ Roll Call, January 29, 1996; Kansas City Star, May 5, 1996.

²⁴ Roll Call, January 29, 1996.

²⁵ Kansas City Star, May 5, 1997.

²⁶ Jake Thompson, "Term limit backers stir questions: Money to aid campaigns was offered, contingent on making support Kansas City Star, May 5, 1996, A1.

²⁷ Gannett News Service, November 8, 1996.

²⁸ Chicago Sun-Times, October 26, 1996; Chicago Sun-Times, November 4, 1996.

²⁹ Kansas City Star, May 5, 1997; Kansas City Star, August 8, 1996.

³⁰ Kansas City Star, May 5, 1997.

During the 1996 Republican presidential primaries, ALT spent \$500,000 in New Hampshire attacking Bob Dole for declining to sign a U.S. Term Limits pledge. ALT ran radio and television advertising as well as direct mail and “town criers.” Of the \$500,000, \$170,000 went to the media campaign.³¹

In 1994, ALT was active in Speaker Tom Foley’s (D-WA) defeat, spending approximately \$1.4 million in the last month of the campaign. It also targeted Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA)³²

DISCLOSURE

Americans for Limited Terms declined to list its donors (Chicago Sun-Times, November 4, 1996). The Chicago Sun-Times ran a story the day before the election highlighting the problems of issue ads and disclosure.³³

CONSULTANTS

Thompson Communications represented Americans for Limited Terms. In 1994, John Thompson also handled the media for U.S. Term Limits as well as term limit ballot issues in Oklahoma, Massachusetts and Arkansas. Thompson Communications is based in Missouri.

CONTACT INFORMATION

Americans for Limited Terms
2135 Sherman Avenue
Evanston, IL 60201
www.termlimits.org

³¹ Roll Call, January 29, 1996.

³² Roll Call, October 24, 1994.

³³ Chicago Sun-Times, November 4, 1996.

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

ORGANIZATION

Americans for Tax Reform (ATR) is a non-profit think tank that asks state and federal politicians to sign the "Taxpayer Protection Pledge," a written promise not to raise taxes. It aims to cut the size of the federal government in half over the next 25 years. It has 60,000 members and is a 501(c)(4) organization³⁴ based in Washington, DC.

ATR works with the National Taxpayers Union. It was a member of The Coalition: Americans Working for Real Change.³⁵

PRINCIPALS

Grover Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, founded the organization in 1985. He is a leading conservative activist, a registered lobbyist, and a columnist for the American Spectator Magazine. Norquist is a confidante of House Speaker Newt Gingrich and was a prominent early leader of the 1994 "Republican Revolution."³⁶

Norquist also heads the Leave Us Alone Coalition, an alliance of conservative organizations such as the Christian Coalition and the National Rifle Association.

Norquist's lobbying firm, the Merritt Group, has a roster of clients that includes the Microsoft Corporation, Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, and the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States. Norquist has also represented foreign clients, including Jonas Savimbi, the Angolan rebel leader, as well as the Republic of Seychelles.³⁷

Before founding ATR, Norquist was the executive director for the National Taxpayers Union.

Audrey H. Mullen, executive director of ATR; president of Women for Tax Reform; chair of Americans for Farm Reform. Mullen was formerly associated with the Small Business Survival Committee.

Peter Ferrara, general counsel and chief economist. Ferrara is a former senior fellow at the National Center for Policy Analysis and the Heritage Foundation.

James Lucier, director of economic research.

Scott Hoffman, Merritt Group lobbyist.

EXPENDITURES

ATR spent \$4.6 million direct mail and phone bank campaign in October, 1996.

SOURCES OF INCOME

Americans for Tax Reform was given \$4.6 million from the RNC in 1996. The funds were used for direct mail. Democrats have accused the group of violating its tax-exempt status.³⁸

ATR also raises money from its 60,000 members. In 1994, it raised about \$200,000. In addition, it received funds from free-market foundations, such as the Olin Foundation.³⁹

³⁴ New York Times, July 8, 1997.

³⁵ Hotline, July 24, 1996.

³⁶ The New Republic, June 9, 1997.

³⁷ New York Times, July 8, 1997.

³⁸ New York Times, July 8, 1997; Washington Post, December 10, 1996.

³⁹ National Journal, June 25, 1994.

CAMPAIGNS

In 1997, Americans for Tax Reform ran a media campaign in Texas against a Texas House proposal to restructure state taxes and education funding. The commercials ran statewide on more than 100 radio stations. ATR worked with Citizens Against Government Waste and the Small Business Survival Committee.⁴⁰

In October, 1996, Americans for Tax Reform used the \$4.6 million from the RNC to finance a major direct mail campaign on Medicare. It telephoned 4 million voters and sent 17 million pieces of mail to voters in 150 congressional districts.⁴¹

In 1995, ATR attacked the Kennedy-Kassebaum Bill which provided for health insurance portability. ATR spent \$50,000 on a Washington radio campaign.⁴² Earlier in 1995, it also ran a radio commercial in Bakersfield, California against Rep. Bill Thomas (R-CA) and his health care proposal.⁴³

In 1994, a complaint was filed with the Federal Election Commission (FEC) by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) that accused ATR of conducting an illegal "shadow campaign" for House Republicans. While the FEC's general counsel agreed with the DCCC, the FEC found that ATR, along with U.S. Term Limits, had not broken campaign finance laws.⁴⁴

In 1994, ATR ran radio advertising in support of Ron Lewis (R-KY), Frank Lucas (R-OK), Jim Deats (R-TX), Greg Ganske (R-IA), Tully McCoy (D-OK) and Virgil Cooper (D-OK). ATR also aided Dole for President.⁴⁵ Norquist disclosed that ATR spent \$3,000 on radio commercials in support of Lewis.⁴⁶ Rep. Vic Fazio, chairman of the DCCC in 1994, estimated that ATR spent \$50,000 on direct mail and radio ads in each congressional race.⁴⁷

ATR also targeted President Clinton's health care reform effort with a radio commercial.⁴⁸

CONSULTANTS

Kellyanne Fitzpatrick, pollster
Mentzer Media Services (1994)

CONTACT INFORMATION

Americans for Tax Reform
1900 L Street NW Suite 602
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 785-0266

⁴⁰ Dallas Morning News, May 6, 1997; Houston Chronicle, April 25, 1997.

⁴¹ New York Times, July 8, 1997; The New Republic, June 9, 1996; Washington Post, December 10, 1996.

⁴² National Journal, December 2, 1995.

⁴³ States News Service, April 10, 1995; March 16, 1995.

⁴⁴ Roll Call, December 2, 1996; Roll Call, June 13, 1994.

⁴⁵ Roll Call, December 2, 1996.

⁴⁶ Roll Call, June 13, 1994.

⁴⁷ Christian Science Monitor, June 23, 1994.

⁴⁸ Wall Street Journal, April 29, 1994; Hotline, April 24, 1994.

CHILD PROTECTION FUND

ORGANIZATION

The Child Protection Fund is a 501(C)(4) non-profit educational group based in Washington, DC that organized in 1996 to fight President Clinton's veto of the partial birth abortion ban.

PRINCIPALS

Mary Ellen Bork, president, treasurer

William J. Donahue, secretary

Admiral James Watkins chairman of the advisory board. Watkins was secretary of energy during the Bush administration and is associated with the Consortium for Oceanographic Research and Education. The advisory board members are **Steve Forbes, William L.**

Armstrong, Gary Bauer, Jeb Bush, Midge Decter, John F. Donahue, Dr. William A. Donahue, PhD, Hon. William H.G. FitzGerald, Dr. C. Everett Koop, MD, Beverly LaHaye, Hon. Thomas P. Melady, Rev. Richard John Neuhaus, Mary Lee Noonan, Alfred S. Schweiker, Hon. William E. Simon and Hon. William A. Wilson.

EXPENDITURES

In 1997, the Child Protection Fund spent \$1 million on an ad campaign.

SOURCES OF INCOME

Steve Forbes gave some of the funds used in the television campaign in 1997.⁴⁹

CAMPAIGNS

In 1997, the Child Protection Fund spent \$1 million on television advertisements on partial birth abortion. The ads were run in the states of undecided senators, such as Mary Landrieu (D-LA), Max Cleland (D-GA), Tom Harkin (D-IA), Bob Graham (D-FL), Bob Kerrey (D-NE), Dale Bumpers (D-AK), Herb Kohl (D-WI) and Russ Feingold (D-WI).⁵⁰

In September, 1996, the Child Protection Fund ran two ads on partial birth abortion in 26 states.⁵¹ Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Illinois, Louisiana, Missouri, Montana and Pennsylvania were among the targeted states. Several television stations refused to run ads sponsored by the Child Protection Fund.⁵²

CONSULTANTS

Brabender Cox, Pittsburgh, PA

CONTACT INFORMATION

Child Protection Fund
501 Capitol Court N.E., Suite 100
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 408-5217
www.nrlc.org

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"First Moment"

Announcer: What you're looking at are newborn babies just moments after taking their first breath. What's hard to believe is only minutes earlier a partial birth abortion could still have been performed. This procedure has the entire body being delivered except the head. An incision is then made into the skull, and the brain is removed. Congress passed a law outlawing this gruesome procedure. Unfortunately, President Clinton vetoed it. Call your Congressman and tell them President Clinton is wrong.

⁴⁹ Chattanooga Free Press, May 16, 1997.

⁵⁰ Chattanooga Free Press, May 16, 1997; The Hill, May 14, 1997; Abortion Report, May 7, 1997.

⁵¹ Jennifer Brown, Associated Press, Chattanooga Free Press, September 19, 1996.

⁵² Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA), October 10, 1996.

CITIZEN ACTION

ORGANIZATION

Citizen Action is a grass roots consumer and environmental group. It is a tax-exempt organization with 2.5 million members and offices in 30 states. Citizen Action also serves as a campaign finance watchdog.

In 1996, the national organization and its state affiliates sponsored issue ads as part of its "Campaign for a Responsible Congress."

PRINCIPALS

Ira Arlook, executive director, founder. Arlook moved the Cleveland, Ohio-based group to Washington DC.

Tom Andrews, deputy director, is a former Democratic congressman from Maine.

Mike Gehrke, research director

EXPENDITURES

In 1996, Citizen Action spent \$7 million on paid media, direct mail and phone banks.⁵³

CAMPAIGNS

In Tennessee, Tennessee Citizen Action sponsored a statewide radio ad in May, 1997 asking Gov. Don Sundquist (R-TN) to veto a banking bill.⁵⁴

In Kentucky, Citizen Action ran radio and television ads on Gov. Paul Patton's (D-KY) workers' compensation plan. The media campaign was aired in November and December, 1996.⁵⁵

In 1996, Citizen Action's Campaign for a Responsible Congress targeted Republican incumbents in 35 districts, where it did a combination of television and radio advertising, direct mail, and phone banks.⁵⁶

In 15 districts, Citizen Action allied with the Sierra Club and the League of Conservation Voters and jointly ran a media campaign. The coalition started airing ads in mid-July. The targets of the joint campaign were William Baker (R-CA), Peter Blute (R-MA), Jim Bunn (R-OR), Jon Christensen (R-NE), Dick Chrysler (R-MI), John Ensign (R-NV), David Funderburk (R-NC), Greg Ganske (R-IA), James Longley (R-ME), George Nethercutt (R-WA), Mark Neumann (R-WI), Andrea Seastrand (R-CA), Steve Stockman (R-TX), Todd Tiahrt (R-KS) and J.C. Watts (R-OK).⁵⁷ In Washington, the state and national chapters spent \$240,000 on television commercials in six races, including ads against Nethercutt.⁵⁸

Wisconsin Citizen Action joined with the Sierra Club and aired radio and television ads which attacked Rep. Mark Neumann (R-WI) for his votes on safe drinking water. The two groups spent \$20,000 in 1996. Citizen Action spent more than \$10,000 against the Wisconsin Representative.⁵⁹

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"They Worked" (radio, Ohio)

Announcer: They worked hard all their lives. They're our neighbors, our friends, our parents. They earned Social Security and Medicare. But Congressman Cremeans voted five times to cut their Medicare. Even their nursing home care. To pay for a \$16,892 tax break he voted to give the wealthy. Congressman Cremeans, it's not your money to give away. Don't cut their Medicare. They earned it.

⁵³ Ruth Marcus, Washington Post, February 9, 1997; Julie Kosterlitz, "Nothing But Trouble At Liberal Group," National Journal, June 28, 1997, 1330.

⁵⁴ Knoxville News-Sentinel, May 9, 1997.

⁵⁵ Courier-Journal, December 15, 1996.

⁵⁶ Citizen Action

⁵⁷ The Hotline, July 12, 1996.

⁵⁸ Jim Camden, "Citizen Action stands tainted parent; State Chapter says it will help fix problems of national organization" Spokesman-Review (Spokane, WA), July 23, 1997, B1.

⁵⁹ Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, April 20, 1996; Wisconsin State Journal, July 11, 1996.

Citizen Action of Massachusetts joined with the Sierra Club and the League of Conservation Voters to target Rep. Peter Blute (R-MA) for his votes on the environment. The television ads were scheduled to run for two weeks and cost \$2,800. The radio buy was from July 10 to August 6 and cost \$10,625.⁶⁰

In South Carolina, Citizen Action spent \$79,000 on a campaign against Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-SC). The group ran a television commercial.⁶¹

In Idaho, Citizen Action and Idaho Citizens Network aired a television advertisement attacking Sen. Larry Craig's (R-ID) votes on Medicare, Social Security and veteran's affairs. The ad ran in Boise, Idaho Falls and Spokane.⁶²

In New Jersey, Dick Zimmer (R-NJ) was the subject of a radio ad that aired in the senatorial race. The ad on Medicare started running in late June.⁶³

In Iowa, Republicans claimed that Iowa Citizen Action violated federal election law by endorsing Jack Hatch (D-IA) for Congress. In addition, Citizen Action targeted Greg Ganske (R-IA).⁶⁴

In Indiana, Citizen Action used billboards to target Rep. Ray LaHood's votes on clean water.⁶⁵

Ohio Citizen Action ran television commercials attacking Frank Creamer's (R-OH) votes on Social Security, Medicare and taxes.⁶⁶

In 1995, Citizen Action was part of the Save America's Families Coalition. Twelve groups, including the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and the National Council of Senior Citizens, conducted a \$750,000 national media campaign on Medicare. In October, the coalition aired ads criticizing three Maine Republicans, James Longley, William Cohen and Olympia Snowe. In August, the Save America's Families Coalition ran Medicare commercials in 69 congressional districts.⁶⁷

DISCLOSURE

The Idaho Statesman ran an ad watch on a Citizen Action ad that criticized Sen. Craig. It analyzed the ad's intent and accuracy.⁶⁸

CONTACT INFORMATION

Citizen Action
1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW
Washington, DC
(202) 775-1580

⁶⁰ Telegram & Gazette (Worcester, MA), July 9, 1996.

⁶¹ Schuyler Kropf, Post and Courier (Charleston, SC), November 1, 1996.

⁶² Idaho Statesman, September 20, 1996.

⁶³ Art Weissman and Greg Trevor, Asbury Park Press, August 2, 1996.

⁶⁴ Des Moines Registrar, June 11, 1996.

⁶⁵ State Journal-Register (Springfield, IL), July 14, 1996.

⁶⁶ Ohio Citizen Action script and documentation, October 1, 1996.

⁶⁷ Health Line, October 19, 1995.

⁶⁸ Idaho Statesman, September 20, 1996.

CITIZENS FLAG ALLIANCE

ORGANIZATION

In 1994, Citizens Flag Alliance was founded by the American Legion. It is a coalition of 123 organizations, mostly national groups, that lobby Congress in support of a constitutional amendment to protect the flag. The group is based in Indianapolis and has almost 200,000 members.⁶⁹

PRINCIPALS

Dan Wheeler, president; director of Americanism, Children and Youth, American Legion. Wheeler is a Navy veteran who publishes the American Legion magazine.
Marty Justis, executive director

EXPENDITURES

CFA spent \$700,000 on ads in 10 states during the last two weeks of the 1996 elections⁷⁰

It spent \$1 million in November and December, 1995.⁷¹

SOURCES OF INCOME

CFA receives contributions from member organizations, chief among them the American Legion.

CAMPAIGNS

In 1996, the Citizens Flag Alliance ran media highlighting the opposition of Senate candidates to the flag amendment.⁷² They included Dick Durbin (D-IL), Tom Harkin (D-IA), John Kerry (D-MA), Paul Wellstone (D-MN) and Joseph Brennan (D-ME).

In 1995, Citizens Flag Alliance ads targeted Senators who opposed a constitutional amendment to make flag burning illegal, including Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-KY). Republican pollster Ed Goetas resigned as CFA's pollster after the group attacked the incumbent Republican Senator.⁷³ Other targets were Patty Murray (D-WA), Arlen Specter (R-PA), Kent Conrad (D-ND) and Byron Dorgan (D-ND).

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Illinois"

Announcer: Some things are wrong. They've always been wrong. And no matter how many politicians say they're right, they're still hateful and wrong. Stand up for the right values. Call Representative Richard Durbin today. Ask him why he voted against the Flag Protection Amendment. Against the values we hold dear. The Constitutional Amendment to safeguard our flag, because America's values are worth protecting.

CONSULTANTS

Jim McAvoy
Withlin Worldwide
Ed Goetas, Tarrance Group. Goetas resigned as CFA's pollster in February, 1996.

CONTACT INFORMATION

Citizens Flag Alliance, Inc.
P.O. Box 7197
Indianapolis, IN 46207-7197
(800) 424-FLAG
www.cfa-inc.org

⁶⁹ Citizens Flag Alliance website.

⁷⁰ Telegraph Herald, October 30, 1996; State Journal-Register, October 16, 1996.

⁷¹ Seattle Times, November 3, 1996; St. Petersburg Times, October 24, 1996.

⁷² Roll Call, October 31, 1996.

⁷³ Cincinnati Enquirer, November 2, 1995; Courier-Journal, February 23, 1996.

CITIZENS FOR REFORM

ORGANIZATION

Citizens for Reform was founded in May, 1996 by Peter Flaherty, a conservative Republican activist. It is a Virginia based tax-exempt group which told the IRS it had no plans to spend money “attempting to influence” the 1996 elections.⁷⁴

Citizens for Reform is a client of Triad Management, a Washington, DC-based consulting and fundraising company run by Carolyn Malenick, former fundraiser for Oliver North.⁷⁵ Mark Braden, former RNC Counsel, is Triad’s lawyer.

PRINCIPALS

Peter Flaherty, conservative Republican activist, also runs the Conservative Campaign Fund. He was chairman of Citizens for Reagan.⁷⁶

EXPENDITURES

The group spent \$2 million on issue advertisements in October and November of 1996.⁷⁷

SOURCES OF INCOME

Private donations. One of its donors was Dan Gerawan, a California fruit grower, who gave \$100,000 to Citizens for Reform to air ads criticizing Rep. Cal Dooley (D-CA) as soft on drugs and opposed to the death penalty.⁷⁸

CAMPAIGNS

In 1997, Citizens for Reform spent \$1 million on partial birth abortion ban ads, including ads targeted against Wisconsin Democratic Senators Herb Kohl and Russ Feingold. The Wisconsin ads aired on Christian and talk radio stations and cost \$41,000.⁷⁹ Citizens for Reform also ran an ad campaign advocating the defunding of the Legal Services Corporation.

In 1996, Citizens for Reform was active in 15 congressional districts and spent \$2 million.⁸⁰ Its ads focused on issues such as term limits and balanced budget amendments, as well as mentioning aspects of several candidates’ personal lives.

Citizens for Reform ran ads targeted against Judy Hancock (D-KS) who lost to Vince Snowbarger (R-KS) in the 3rd district of Kansas. Snowbarger said that during the media campaign he did not know anything about the organization running ads in support of his candidacy.⁸¹

It also ran media campaigns targeted against congressional candidates Nick Lampson (D-TX), Rep. George Brown (D-CA-42), Bill Yellowtail (D-MT) and Cal Dooley (D-CA).⁸² The commercials against Yellowtail noted that he had been accused of domestic violence.

In Hawaii, Citizens for Reform spent \$53,000 on television advertising against Neil Abercrombie (D-HI) and in support of Orson Swindle (R-HI).

⁷⁴ [Washington Post](#), March 9, 1997.

⁷⁵ [Houston Chronicle](#), April 10, 1997.

⁷⁶ UPI, June 7, 1988.

⁷⁷ Peter Flaherty, CNN Inside Politics, March 26, 1997; [Washington Post](#), March 9, 1997.

⁷⁸ Jeanne Cummings, “A Private Crusade to Unseat a Candidate,” [Atlanta Journal-Constitution](#), July 14, 1997:A7.

⁷⁹ Craig Gilbert, [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel](#), April 17, 1997, p.2.

⁸⁰ Peter Flaherty, CNN Inside Politics, March 26, 1997; [Washington Post](#), March 9, 1997.

⁸¹ [Kansas City Star](#), March 10, 1997.

⁸² [Washington Post](#), March 9, 1997.

DISCLOSURE

Flaherty disclosed how much money Citizens for Reform had spent and the number of races in which it participated, but he declined to reveal the source of the funds.⁸³

On November 1, 1996, the Wichita Business Journal disclosed sponsors and amounts of political and issue advertising in the Wichita media market over the past 60 days. The Citizens for Reform spent \$27,440.⁸⁴

During an October debate, Judy Hancock attempted to link the Citizens for Reform to her opponent, Vince Snowbarger, by asking Snowbarger to disclose how much money he had received from the group. Snowbarger said he had received \$9,500 from Citizens for Reform, the Christian Coalition and the National Rifle Association.⁸⁵ Citizens for Reform said it has never made a direct contribution to a candidate.

CONSULTANTS

Dresner-Wickers, Bedford Falls, NY
Triad Management Services

CONTACT INFORMATION

Citizens for Reform
1309 Vincent Place, Suite 3000
McLean, Virginia 22101
(707) 748-1548 phone
(703) 821-7441 fax

⁸³ Peter Flaherty, CNN Inside Politics, March 26, 1997.

⁸⁴ Wichita Business Journal, November 1, 1996.

⁸⁵ Kansas City Star, October 30, 1996.

CITIZENS FOR THE REPUBLIC EDUCATION FUND

ORGANIZATION

Citizens for the Republic Education Fund was incorporated in Washington, DC by Lyn Nofziger on June 20, 1996.⁸⁶

It is a tax-exempt group and a client of Triad Management, a consulting and fundraising organization.⁸⁷

PRINCIPALS

Angela “Bay” Buchanan, president, is the sister and was the 1992 and 1996 campaign manager of Republican presidential hopeful Pat Buchanan.⁸⁸

Lyn Nofziger, former political director for Ronald Reagan and Republican strategist, is a member of the Citizens for the Republic’s board.⁸⁹

EXPENDITURES

Citizens for the Republic Education Fund raised more than \$2 million in 1996.⁹⁰

CAMPAIGNS

Citizens for the Republic Education Fund spent “hundreds of thousands of dollars” on ads targeted to help Republican Senate candidates during the 1996 election.⁹¹

In Arkansas, the education fund paid for more than \$300,000 worth of television advertisements attacking Democratic Senate candidate Winston Bryant. The media campaign ran in late October in Little Rock and Jonesboro.⁹² According to CNN, Citizens for the Republic Education Fund spent \$337,000 in Arkansas.⁹³ Bryant was defeated by Republican Tim Hutchinson.

In Kansas, the fund aired \$200,000 in ads against Democrat Jill Docking (D-KS),⁹⁴ who lost her race to Republican Sam Brownback.

It also ran ads in a dozen congressional races,⁹⁵ including ads targeted against Nick Lampson (D-TX) in his race with Republican Steve Stockmayer; against Democrat Ted Strickland in his race with Frank Cremeans (R-OH), and against Democrat Ron DiNicola in his race with Republican Phil English (R-PA).

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

“Winston Bryant”

Announcer: Senate candidate Winston Bryant's budget as Attorney General increased 71%. Bryant has taken taxpayer funded junkets to the Virgin Islands, Alaska, and Arizona. And spent about \$100,000 on new furniture. Unfortunately, as the state's top law enforcement official, he's never opposed the parole of any convicted criminal, even rapists and murderers. And almost 4,000 Arkansas prisoners have been sent back to prison for crimes committed while they were out on parole. Winston Bryant: government waste, political junkets, soft on crime. [super: Call Winston Bryant and tell him to give the money back]

⁸⁶ Kansas City Star, March 10, 1997.

⁸⁷ Washington Post, March 9, 1997.

⁸⁸ Chicago Tribune, March 13, 1997.

⁸⁹ Kansas City Star, March 10, 1997.

⁹⁰ Leslie Wayne, “A Back Door for the Conservative Donor,” New York Times, May 22, 1997:B10; CNN Inside Politics, March 26, 1997.

⁹¹ Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, April 10, 1997.

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ CNN Inside Politics, March 26, 1997.

⁹⁴ Kansas City Star, March 10, 1997.

⁹⁵ CNN Inside Politics, March 26, 1997.

DISCLOSURE

On November 1, 1996, the Wichita Business Journal disclosed sponsors and amounts of political and issue advertising in the Wichita media market over the past 60 days. The Citizens for the Republic Education Fund had spent \$49,540.⁹⁶

CONSULTANTS

Greg Stevens
Triad Management Services

CONTACT INFORMATION

Angela Buchanan
6862 Elm Street Suite 210
McLean, VA 22101

⁹⁶ Wichita Business Journal, November 1, 1996.

CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY

ORGANIZATION

CSE, founded in 1984, is a grass-roots advocacy organization. It operates seven regional field offices across the country. It is active in the debates on regulatory reform, tax policy, free trade, and the size of government.

EXPENDITURES

CSE's revenues were \$10.1 million in 1996. In 1995, more than 300 major donors gave an average of nearly \$40,000 apiece.⁹⁷

PRINCIPALS

C. Boyden Gray, chairman. Gray is a Washington lawyer and was White House counsel during the Bush Administration.

Paul Beckner, president. Beckner has co-chaired the Coalition for a Balance Budget.⁹⁸

Rep. David McIntosh (R-IN) worked as a consultant to CSE in 1993.⁹⁹

James C. Miller III, former Virginia Senate candidate, is counsel to CSE.

SOURCES OF INCOME

While CSE declines to identify its donors, the press has reported that over a period of years it received more than \$8 million from the Koch family of Wichita, Kansas, which owns energy companies.¹⁰⁰ David Koch was also a large contributor to the Dole campaign.¹⁰¹ Philip Morris has given an estimated \$250,000 to CSE.¹⁰²

CAMPAIGNS

In 1997, CSE has run one ad campaign against EPA regulations, and another against a Hatch-Kennedy bill to provide health care to children.

In 1996, Citizens for a Sound Economy joined "The Coalition," a collection of business-oriented groups which set out to counter the AFL-CIO's media campaign. The Coalition was led by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

May, 1996: CSE was part of a coalition that supported product liability reform. It aired ads urging President Clinton to support a reform bill.

January, 1996: CSE ran radio commercials calling for FDA reform and a quicker approval process for new drugs.¹⁰³

December, 1995: CSE ran a campaign against New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman's tax package, which included a cigarette tax of 25 cents a pack to pay for health care for the uninsured. The \$25,000 radio campaign ran ads on WKXM-FM.¹⁰⁴

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Peggy"

Peggy: My name is Peggy Philips. I was clinically dead twice. I had no pulse. And no blood flow to my brain. It was cardiac arrest. Doctors implanted a medical device that can shock my heart to keep me alive. My implant's special battery needs changing from time to time. But unfortunately, it may no longer be made because of the threat of frivolous product liability lawsuits. Congress passed product liability reform legislation. Mr. President, won't you please sign this bill? I might not be lucky the third time around.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁸ *ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, June 6, 1997.

¹⁰⁰ *National Journal*, July 13, 1996.

¹⁰¹ *U.S. News & World Report*, May 20, 1996

¹⁰² *ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Washington Post*, January 16, 1996.

¹⁰⁴ *The Bergen Record*, December 21, 1995.

September, 1995: CSE joined the “Coalition for Change,” which was made up of business and advocacy groups in favor of the balanced budget.¹⁰⁵

In 1993, CSE ran a \$1 million advertising campaign to fight the Clinton Administration’s proposed energy tax.

DISCLOSURE

CSE has been active in issue advertising since opposing the 1987 highway bill and was active in the 1994 health care debate. The national press has reported on its activities.

CONSULTANTS

CSE has used Public Opinion Strategies (Alexandria, VA) for polling. The product liability ads were produced by RobinsonLerer Sawyer Miller.

CONTACT INFORMATION

Citizens for a Sound Economy
1250 H Street NW Suite 700
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 783-3870
www.cse.org

¹⁰⁵ Washington Post, September 7, 1995.

THE COALITION: AMERICANS WORKING FOR REAL CHANGE

ORGANIZATION

The Coalition is a combination of 32 business groups that joined together in April, 1996 to combat the AFL-CIO's media campaign. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce led the group.

The groups involved in The Coalition supported such issues as expanded trade, tort reform, a balanced budget, and tax and regulatory reform.¹⁰⁶

Other members of The Coalition were:

American Bakers Association; American Furniture Manufacturers Association; American Insurance Association; American Petroleum Institute; American Trucking Association; Americans for Tax Reform; Associated Builders and Contractors; Associated General Contractors of America; Business Leadership Council; Citizens for a Sound Economy; Food Distributors International; International Mass Retail Association; International Franchise Association; National Association of Convenience Stores; National Association of Independent Insurers; National Association of Manufacturers; National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors; National Council of Chain Restaurants; National Federation of Independent Business; National Restaurant Association; National Retail Federation; National Roofing Contractors Association; and Printing Industries of America/Master Printers of America.¹⁰⁷

Some of these groups had previously done independent advertising, such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Americans for Tax Reform and the Citizens for a Sound Economy.

PRINCIPALS

R. Bruce Josten, senior vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Josten coordinated The Coalition.

EXPENDITURES

In 1995-1996, The Coalition spent \$5 million on issue ads. In addition, it mailed 2 million letters to members.¹⁰⁸

The Coalition had been hoping to spend \$20 million in 1996, but due to a late start, was unable to raise the entire amount.¹⁰⁹

SOURCES OF INCOME

The Coalition raised funds from its member groups, including a \$1 million contribution from the National Restaurant Association.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Chicago Tribune, October 14, 1996.

¹⁰⁷ Gannett News Service, July 18, 1996.

¹⁰⁸ St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 6, 1996.

¹⁰⁹ National Journal, May 18, 1996.

¹¹⁰ National Journal, July 20, 1996.

CAMPAIGNS

The Coalition was active with ad campaigns in 35 congressional districts. Pro-business candidates won 27 of those races for a 77 percent victory rate.¹¹¹ According to a report by the Business-Industry Political Action Committee, The Coalition was involved in a somewhat higher number of races -- 47. However, in some of those races, the involvement was limited to direct mail. (See p.2 for BIPAC's rundown of business and labor issue advocacy activity in 1996.¹¹²)

DISCLOSURE

The Tulsa World ran one Ad Check comparing ads by The Coalition and the AFL-CIO. The article explained the legislative evidence for the commercials; it did not analyze the accuracy or strength of the arguments.¹¹³

The Hartford Courant examined how the Gary Franks (R)-James Maloney (D-CT) congressional race was being influenced by outside groups. The AFL-CIO and The Coalition were both active in the district. Due to the business and labor ads, the candidates delayed their media campaigns.¹¹⁴

On November 1, 1996, the Wichita Business Journal disclosed sponsors and amounts of political and issue advertising in the Wichita media market over the past 60 days. The Coalition spent \$19,670.¹¹⁵

CONSULTANTS

Alex Castellanos, National Media, Alexandria, VA
Lawrence McCarthy, Gannon McCarthy, Washington

CONTACT INFORMATION

R. Bruce Josten
U.S. Chamber of Commerce
1615 H Street NW
Washington DC
(202) 659-6000

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Election Year"

Announcer: Election year. There'll be a lot flying through the air. But when you look through the mud, you see what Congressman [X] has helped to achieve: The first real cut in spending since World War II. 270 wasteful government programs eliminated. Historic welfare reform that requires recipients to work for their benefits. Why would we ever go back to the past? When you see the mud, remember the accomplishments. Call Congressman [X] and tell him to keep on reforming our government.

¹¹¹ Nation's Business, January 1997.

¹¹² Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC), "Forward Thinking: What the Business Community can Learn from the 1996 Elections," July 1997, p. 133, compiled by Carol A. Farquhar

¹¹³ Tulsa World, October 6, 1996.

¹¹⁴ Hartford Courant, October 10, 1996.

¹¹⁵ Wichita Business Journal, November 1, 1996.

COALITION FOR CHANGE

ORGANIZATION

In September, 1995, a group of business and advocacy organizations joined together to promote a balanced budget. Among the groups were the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Ross Perot's United We Stand, Citizens for a Sound Economy, Seniors Coalition, Third Millennium, Business Roundtable and the Committee for Responsible Federal Government.¹¹⁶

PRINCIPALS

Lawrence Bossidy, chairman of coalition, chairman of Allied-Signal, Inc.

Ken Cole, executive director of coalition; vice-president of government relations at Allied-Signal

John Danforth, attorney and former Republican senator from Missouri

EXPENDITURES

In 1995, the Coalition for Change spent more than \$1 million on a television and radio issue advocacy campaign. It had planned a \$10 million effort in 1996,¹¹⁷ but ultimately did not spend any money on issue advocacy advertising.

SOURCES OF INCOME

Funds have come from major corporations, including Allied-Signal, Hewlett-Packard and Procter and Gamble.¹¹⁸ In addition, the Coalition for Change received money from the Business Roundtable.¹¹⁹

CAMPAIGNS

In 1995, the Coalition for Change ran broadcast advertisements on CNN, CNBC and MTV. One of the commercials, which featured a young woman discussing taxes, was targeted at young voters.¹²⁰

The television ads aired in 20 states.¹²¹ Senator John Danforth's (R-MO) voice was used in one of the ads that advocated for a balanced budget and showed deficit-related information on the screen. A second ad featured a group of adults eating at a restaurant and then giving the check to a young boy.¹²²

The Coalition for Change spent \$1 million on a radio campaign that aired in two dozen states.¹²³

CONSULTANTS

Stuart Stevens, Alexandria, VA

Frank Luntz, pollster

CONTACT INFORMATION

Ken Cole

Allied-Signal, Inc.

1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Suite 700-S

¹¹⁶ Washington Post, September 7, 1995; Elizabeth Kolbert, New York Times, October 22, 1995.

¹¹⁷ Washington Post, September 7, 1995.

¹¹⁸ Elizabeth Kolbert, New York Times, October 22, 1995.

¹¹⁹ Washington Times, October 12, 1995.

¹²⁰ Elizabeth Kolbert, New York Times, October 22, 1995.

¹²¹ Clay Chandler, Washington Post, September 7, 1995.

¹²² Gannett News Service, September 6, 1995.

¹²³ National Journal, October 21, 1995; Robert A. Rosenblatt, Houston Chronicle, September 8, 1995.

Washington, DC 20004
(202) 662-2650

COALITION FOR OUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE

ORGANIZATION

In 1995, Coalition for Our Children's Future was established to support the Republican legislative agenda. The group went through a period of inactivity until the final weeks of the 1996 election. It was then revived, apparently without the knowledge or consent of some of its directors, and sponsored a media campaign. The television ads were paid for by an anonymous donor.¹²⁴

PRINCIPALS

Haley Barbour, director

Dirk Van Dongen, president of the National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors and a former director of the Coalition for Our Children's Future

Donald L. Fierce, Republican consultant, former RNC aide and former director

Gary Andres, a former director

Deborah Steelman, a former director and president.¹²⁵

(Van Dongen and Fierce left the Coalition for Our Children's Future in protest in the fall of 1996. Andres and Steelman had previously resigned from the board of directors.¹²⁶)

Barry Bennet, executive director of the Coalition for Our Children's Future. He also served as chief of-staff to former Representative Frank Cremeans. Bennet oversaw the airing of ads in 1996.¹²⁷

Drew Lewis, former RNC official and federal transportation secretary, helped found the Coalition for Our Children's Future.¹²⁸

John Simms, fundraising consultant.¹²⁹

J. Curtis Herge

EXPENDITURES

In 1996, the Coalition for Our Children's Future spent more than \$700,000 on media campaigns, mailings and telephone banks across the country.¹³⁰

In 1995, the Coalition for Our Children's Future ran a \$4 million campaign in support of the Republican legislative agenda.¹³¹

SOURCES OF INCOME

The source of funds for the ads that aired in the fall of 1996 are unknown due to a confidentiality agreement with the donor.

CAMPAIGNS

In 1996, the Coalition for Our Children's Future was active in six congressional districts, the Louisiana Senate race and 12 Minnesota legislative contests.¹³²

¹²⁴ Washington Post, March 9, 1997.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁸ Jeanne Cummins, "Tax Exempt Groups Offer New Ways to Secretly Fund Campaign Battles," Cox News Service, July 13, 1997.

¹²⁹ Washington Post, March 9, 1997.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ *ibid.*

¹³² *ibid.*

CONSULTANTS

The 1995 ads were produced by Greg Stevens, Alexandria, VA.
Denis Calabrese, a political consultant based in Houston, worked for the Coalition for Our Children's Future and helped it find donors.¹³³

CONTACT INFORMATION

Coalition for Our Children's Future
8201 Greensboro Drive Suite 200
McLean, VA 22102

¹³³ *ibid.*

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE (DNC)

ORGANIZATION

The Democratic National Committee (DNC), Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) are the three main entities of the national Democratic Party that engage in campaign related activities.

PRINCIPALS

Governor Roy Romer (D-CO), general chair
Steve Grossman, national chair
Joe Sandler, general counsel
Amy Weiss Tobe, director of communications
Melissa Bonney, press secretary
Steve Langdon, press secretary
Steve Jarding, communications director for the DSCC

EXPENDITURES

In 1995 and 1996, the DNC spent \$44 million on issue ads, most of it focused on the Medicare issue. Party organizations also spent \$1.5 million on independent expenditure ads on behalf of Senate candidates.

In 1992, according to Anthony Corrado of Colby College, the DNC spent \$14 million on issue advertising.¹³⁴

SOURCES OF INCOME

The great bulk of the issue ads were paid for by so-called soft money, funds intended for party-building purposes of that are raised from wealthy individuals, unions and corporations and are not subject to the contribution limits imposed by law on "hard money" contributions to political parties. President Clinton and Vice President Gore were each heavily involved in raising this soft money, invoking such blandishments as Oval Office coffees and Lincoln Bedroom sleep-overs.

CAMPAIGNS

DNC

The DNC aired an extensive series of commercials that sought to advance the Democratic legislative agenda and improve the reelection prospects of President Bill Clinton in 1995 and 1996. The DNC advertised in 24 states. The ads focused on the Republican congress's role in the government shutdown, the future of Medicare, the strength of the economy and the reduction of crime in America. The Democrats avoided states where Clinton won by large margins in 1992 or where strategists felt Clinton could not win in 1996. Heavily targeted states included Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.¹³⁵

DSCC

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Defend"

Announcer: Protect families. For millions of working families, President Clinton cut taxes. The Dole/Gingrich budget tried to raise taxes on eight million. The Dole/Gingrich budget would've slashed Medicare \$270 billion, cut college scholarships. The President defended our values, protected Medicare. And now a tax cut of \$1,500 a year for the first two years of college, most community colleges free. Help adults go back to school. The President's plan protects our values.

¹³⁴ Peter H. Stone, National Journal, November 9, 1996.

¹³⁵ Dick Morris, Inside the White House, The Guardian, January 15, 1997; Hartford Courant, May 25, 1996.

In New Jersey, the Democratic party ran issue ads in favor of Bob Torricelli (D-NJ) in his campaign against Dick Zimmer. The DSCC spent \$157,000 attacking Zimmer on Medicare.¹³⁶ The DSCC ran independent expenditure ads in the following races:

DSCC Independent Expenditures ¹³⁷

FOR	\$ SPENT FOR	AGAINST	\$ SPENT AGAINST	OUTCOME
Jill Docking (D-KS)	\$43,000	Sam Brownback (R-KS)	\$319,000	Brownback
Joseph Brennan (D-GA)		Susan Collins (R-ME)	\$30,000	Collins
Max Cleland (D-GA)		Guy Miller (R-GA)	\$357,720	Cleland
Thomas Bruggere (D-OR)		Gordon Smith (R-OR)	\$384,302	Smith
Dick Swett (D-NH)		Bob Smith (R-NH)	\$100,000	Smith
TOTAL	\$43,000	TOTAL	\$1,191,022	

CONSULTANTS

DNC

Squier Knapp Ochs, media consultants, Washington, DC

Dick Morris

Penn and Schoen, pollster

DSCC

Saul Shorr

Barbara Abar, Abar Hutton Media, Alexandria, VA, media buyer

CONTACT INFORMATION

Democratic National Committee

430 South Capitol Street, SE

Washington, DC 20003

(202) 863-8000

www.democrats.org

¹³⁶ Adam Piore, *The Bergen Record*, November 2, 1996; Jennifer Bradley, *Roll Call*, October 31, 1996.

¹³⁷ Federal Election Commission, *Independent Expenditures Reported After 6/30/96*, November 5, 1996, pp. 4-5.

ARTHUR S. DE MOSS FOUNDATION

ORGANIZATION

The Arthur S. De Moss Foundation is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt foundation with over \$400 million in assets. It is based in Pennsylvania.

PRINCIPALS

Nancy De Moss, chair and chief officer. Nancy De Moss contributed \$70,000 between 1985 and 1993 to Newt Gingrich's GOPAC.¹³⁸

Theodore De Moss, secretary and treasurer. He was a member of the steering committee of the Reconstruction Coalition on Revival.

Mark De Moss, member of board of directors. He worked for Reverend Jerry Falwell for six years. He also heads a public relations firm with clients including the Rev. Franklin Graham, the oldest son of Billy Graham; Chuck Colson, a prison evangelist; and Promise Keepers, a men's ministry founded by former University of Colorado football coach Bill McCartney.¹³⁹

Deborah De Moss, member of board of directors. Deborah De Moss worked for Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC).

Charlotte De Moss

Richard Wirthlin, pollster

Lyn Nofziger, ex-Reagan adviser

EXPENDITURES

1992 to present: \$40 to \$60 million advocacy campaign against abortion.

The De Moss Foundation has also given funds to the National Coalition Against Pornography and Campus Crusade For Christ.¹⁴⁰

SOURCES OF INCOME

Large private trust.

CAMPAIGNS

The De Moss Foundation started its campaign in April, 1992. The tag line of the long running media campaign is "Life. What a Beautiful Choice."

In August, 1994, a De Moss ad which featured an ultrasound image of an embryo and the line "I hope to be born in April" caused a controversy over advocacy ads. Previously, the commercials were filled with beautiful, happy children from unplanned pregnancies.¹⁴¹

In 1992, the De Moss Foundation aired commercials on four Turner networks, including a \$1 million buy on CNN.¹⁴²

DISCLOSURE

The De Moss ads attracted attention across America. Many regional newspapers carried articles about the commercials and editorials on fairness and accuracy.

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Partial Birth Abortion"

Announcer: Maybe you've heard the term "partial birth abortion" and all the controversy surrounding it. But do you know what this procedure really is? Do you know what it takes to abort a fetus the same age as these premature infants? Do you know why even many pro-choice supporters are against it? For the truth about this procedure, call this number for a free pamphlet. Life. What a beautiful choice.

¹³⁸ New York Daily News, January 8, 1995 in Abortion Report, January 9, 1995.

¹³⁹ Atlanta Journal and Constitution, October 24, 1995.

¹⁴⁰ Boston Globe, February 3, 1995.

¹⁴¹ Jenny Hontz, Electronic Media, August 29, 1994.

¹⁴² Mediaweek, April 6, 1992.

In response to the De Moss campaign, pro-choice groups attempted unsuccessfully to pressure broadcasters into reinstating the fairness doctrine, which required both sides of an issue to have air time.

CONSULTANTS

Philip Dusenberry, creative head of BBDO worldwide advertising agency. Dusenberry worked on Reagan's Morning in America campaign in 1984.

Corinthian Media Buyers, New York

CONTACT INFORMATION

Arthur S. De Moss Foundation
150 Radnor Chester Road
St. Davids Center
Suite A-300
St. Davids, PA 19087
(610) 902-2900

Charlotte De Moss
Washington Harbour
3050 K Street NW
Suite 345
Washington, DC 20007
(202) 625-0500

HANDGUN CONTROL, INC.

ORGANIZATION

Handgun Control, founded in 1974 is the largest gun control advocacy group in America. It is based in Washington, DC and “works to enact stronger federal, state and local gun control laws, but does not seek to ban handguns.” Handgun Control has more than 400,000 members.¹⁴³

Handgun Control ran ads through its Voter Education Fund.

PRINCIPALS

Sarah Brady, chairwoman, wife of James Brady, former Reagan press secretary

James Guest, president

Bob Walker, legislative director

Vinnie DeMarco, community outreach

Jamie Shor, spokeswoman

EXPENDITURES

Handgun Control spent \$120,000 on ads and other independent expenditures in 1996. It made \$200,000 in contributions to candidates.¹⁴⁴

SOURCES OF INCOME

Membership dues.

CAMPAIGNS

Handgun Control selected 12 candidates to target and dubbed them the “Dangerous Dozen.” Of these twelve top targets, it conducted issue advertising campaigns in two races. The group was active in a total of 90 races across the nation.¹⁴⁵

The Dangerous Dozen were:

Andrea Seastrand (R-CA). Handgun Control ran a \$43,000 ad campaign against Seastrand. Steve Sposato, whose wife was killed in a massacre at a San Francisco law firm, appeared in the commercials. Seastrand lost to Walter Capps (D-CA).¹⁴⁶

Martin Hoke (R-OH). Handgun Control ran radio ads attacking Hoke’s vote for the repeal of the assault weapons ban. It spent \$62,000 on a ten day buy before the election. Steve Sposato was also featured in these commercials. Hoke lost to Dennis Kucinich.¹⁴⁷

Bill Baker (R-CA) voted against the assault weapons ban. Baker lost to Ellen Tauscher (D-CA).¹⁴⁸

Michael Flanagan (R-IL) was targeted by Handgun Control because of his votes on “cop killer” handgun bullets and the assault weapons ban. Flanagan lost to Rod Blagojevich (D-IL).¹⁴⁹

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

“Can You Believe It?” (radio)

Announcer: Semiautomatic assault weapons, with names like AK-47, Uzi, Tec-9, Street Sweeper. They’re used by drug traffickers, gang members and mass murderers. That’s why assault weapons are banned by federal law. In fact, a criminal can get five years in prison just for making one. But our congressman, Rick White, voted to repeal the ban on semiautomatic assault weapons. Can you believe it? White’s vote would put military-style weapons back in the hands of violent criminals! Call Congressman Rick White at 640-0233. Ask him this: How can we win the war on crime and drugs while arming the enemy with assault weapons?

¹⁴³ Handgun Control, U.S. Newswire, October 31, 1996.

¹⁴⁴ Arizona Republic, November 7, 1996.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ San Francisco Examiner, November 8, 1996; Handgun Control, U.S. Newswire, November 6, 1996.

¹⁴⁷ Handgun Control, U.S. Newswire, November 6, 1996; Gannett News Service, November 8, 1996.

¹⁴⁸ Handgun Control, U.S. Newswire, November 6, 1996.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*

Dan Frisa (R-NY) represented the district where the LIRR massacre occurred and voted to repeal the assault weapons ban. He was challenged by Carolyn McCarthy (D-NY), whose husband was killed in the incident. Frisa lost to McCarthy.¹⁵⁰

Fred Heineman (R-NC) again ran against David Price (D-NC). Former Rep. Price had voted for the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban while Heineman was a member of the task force that wrote the assault weapons ban repeal. Price defeated Heineman.¹⁵¹

Jim Longley (R-ME) voted to repeal the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban. He lost to Tom Allen (D-ME).¹⁵²

Vince Snowbarger (R-KS) was targeted by Handgun Control and the NRA. The NRA gave Snowbarger \$7,950 as well as \$18,928 in independent expenditures in 1996. Snowbarger defeated Judy Hancock (D-KS).¹⁵³

Harold Volkmer (D-MO) was one of the strongest gun advocates in the House of Representatives. He was defeated by Kenny Hulshof (R-MO).¹⁵⁴

Senator Wayne Allard (R-CO) voted against the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban. Allard's opponent, Tom Strickland (D-MO), attacked Allard for his pro-gun votes and for taking money from the NRA.¹⁵⁵

Handgun Control worked against Ronna Romney (R-MI). Gun control was an important issue in Romney's primary and general election campaigns. She lost her challenge to Sen. Carl Levin (D-MI).

Al Salvi (R-IL) opposed the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban. Salvi was defeated by Dick Durbin (D-IL).

In addition, Handgun Control targeted Gary Franks (R-CT) because he voted against the Brady Bill. It sent a staff member to assist James Maloney's (D-CT) campaign. This was reported to the FEC as an in-kind contribution of \$2,202. Franks lost to Maloney.¹⁵⁶

In Kansas, the NRA and Handgun Control both ran independent expenditures. The NRA used the gun control group's involvement to accuse Jill Docking (D-KS) of "trying to force their East Coast agenda on Kansas."¹⁵⁷

In Nebraska, Rep. Jon Christensen (R-NE) was challenged by James Martin Davis (D-NE). Handgun Control ran radio ads and a postcard campaign against Christensen.¹⁵⁸

In Indiana, Handgun Control used billboards to bring attention to Rep. John Hostettler's (R-ID) vote for the repeal of the assault weapon ban.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*

¹⁵² *ibid.*

¹⁵³ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Hartford Courant*, December 19, 1996.

¹⁵⁷ *Roll Call*, October 31, 1996.

¹⁵⁸ *Omaha World Herald*, September 10, 1996.

¹⁵⁹ *The Bergen Record*, October 29, 1996.

DISCLOSURE

Handgun Control put out a series of press releases that outlined who it was targeting and why. After the election, the press release disclosed how much money had been spent on television advertising against candidates.¹⁶⁰

CONTACT INFORMATION

Handgun Control, Inc.
1225 Eye Street NW
Washington, DC
(202) 898-0792

¹⁶⁰ Handgun Control, U.S. Newswire, October 31, 1996 and November 6, 1996.

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

ORGANIZATION

Human Rights Campaign, the nation's largest gay advocacy group, was founded in 1980. It has 175,000 members and is based in Washington, DC. Human Rights Campaign was a strong supporter of President Clinton in 1996.

PRINCIPALS

Elizabeth Birch, executive director
David Smith, communications director
Susan Schuman, managing director

EXPENDITURES

In 1996, the Human Rights Campaign spent \$100,000 on issue ads and public service announcements.¹⁶¹

Its annual budget is \$10 million.¹⁶²

SOURCES OF INCOME

Dues of \$20 per member

CAMPAIGNS

In 1997, the ABC television network rejected a Human Rights Campaign ad on job discrimination to be aired during the episode of "Ellen" in which the main character reveals she is a lesbian. Thirty-three affiliates of ABC did run the advertisement.¹⁶³

In September 1996, Human Rights Campaign conducted an issue advocacy campaign about job discrimination against gays and lesbians. The television ad featured Coretta Scott King, former Sen. Barry Goldwater, Newt Gingrich's mother, Kathleen, and New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman. It aired on Washington, DC stations.

In 1996, HRC set up phone banks in North Carolina in an effort to defeat Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC).¹⁶⁴

In August 1996, Human Rights Campaign conducted an issue advocacy campaign against the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA). One commercial, "Marriages," showed prominent Republican couples, such as Bob and Elizabeth Dole, Phil and Wendy Graham and Clarence and Virginia Thomas, as well as a lesbian couple to illustrate that divorces or mixed marriages were not always acceptable. Human Rights Campaign targeted its advertising to correspond with Bob Dole's traveling schedule.¹⁶⁵

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Campaign Guys"

Old Campaign Guy: Hey, this new law against gay marriage is great. This is going to take us all the way to the White House.

New Guy: What about violent crime?

Old Campaign Guy: Pay attention! This is what Republicans are all about. Do you think Bob Dole would co-sponsor this bill, one of his last bills in Congress, if it weren't the most important issue for the American people?

New Guy: What about education?

Old Campaign Guy: No! This is the issue Americans can understand. Nobody cares about term limits or jobs.

New Guy: Not even Medicare?

Old Campaign Guy: Who cares about Medicare?

Announcer: Tell Bob Dole and Congress to stop trying to score political points by attacking gay Americans. Americans want solutions to bring us together, not drive us apart.

¹⁶¹ Dallas Morning News, June 14, 1996.

¹⁶² Washington Post, May 22, 1996.

¹⁶³ Advertising Age, May 12, 1997; UPI, April 22, 1997.

¹⁶⁴ Hotline, November 1, 1996.

¹⁶⁵ National Journal's CongressDaily, August 27, 1996; New York Times, August 7, 1996.

HRC also ran a second advertisement asking if Congress was ignoring more crucial issues, such as crime or Medicare, while considering the Defense of Marriage Act.¹⁶⁶

It ran a billboard campaign during the Republican National Convention in San Diego. The group joined with the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation and spent \$37,000 on the bus shelter and billboard campaign.¹⁶⁷

In June, 1996, it ran a get-out-to-vote commercial with celebrities, such as Candace Gingrich, sister of Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA).¹⁶⁸

DISCLOSURE

Human Rights Campaign issued press releases which included scripts and time buy information.

CONSULTANTS

Linda Seamans, Alexandria, VA

CONTACT INFORMATION

Human Rights Campaign
1101 14th Street NW Suite 200
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 628-4160
www.hrcusa.org

¹⁶⁶ Washington Post, August 20, 1996.

¹⁶⁷ San Diego Union-Tribune, August 26, 1996; San Diego Union-Tribune, July 29, 1996.

¹⁶⁸ State News Service, June 13, 1996.

LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS

ORGANIZATION

The League of Conservation Voters is an environmental watchdog group that focuses on rating candidates and helping to elect officials with strong environmental records. It financed its media campaign efforts during the 1996 election through its political action committee, the LCV Action Fund.

PRINCIPALS

Debra Callahan, president of LCV, former national field director for Al Gore's 1988 presidential campaign

Betsy Loyless, political director

Paul Brotherton, research director

EXPENDITURES

The LCV Action Fund spent \$1.5 million seeking to defeat twelve incumbents it called its "Dirty Dozen." It also raised more than \$430,000 for pro-environmental candidates.

SOURCES OF INCOME

The LCV Action Fund receives contributions from the members of the League.

CAMPAIGNS

The LCV Action Fund aired almost 10,000 television and radio commercials in the districts of the "Dirty Dozen." Those twelve targets were Sen. Larry Pressler (R-SD), Rep. Jim Longley (R-ME), Rep. Fred Heineman (R-NC), challenger Jim Ross Lightfoot (R-IA), Rep. Randy Tate (R-WA), Rep. Steve Stockman (R-TX), Senate candidate Gordon Smith (R-OR), Rep. Michael Flanagan (R-IL), Rep. Frank Riggs (R-CA), Rep. Helen Chenoweth (R-ID), Rep. Gary Condit (R-CA), and Senate candidate Wayne Allard (R-CO).

Seven of the Dirty Dozen – Pressler, Longley, Heineman, Lightfoot, Tate, Flanagan, and Stockman – were defeated.

LCV also ran ads in several districts in conjunction with Citizen Action and the Sierra Club. Among its targets were Rep. Greg Ganske (R-IA) and Rep. George Nethercutt (R-WA).¹⁶⁹

In 1995, LCV joined with the Sierra Club and ran a \$200,000 media campaign in the Oregon Senate race. Ron Wyden (D-OR) defeated Gordon Smith (R-OR).¹⁷⁰

CONSULTANTS

Celinda Lake and Stan Greenberg did polling for LCV in 1996.¹⁷¹

CONTACT INFORMATION

League of Conservation Voters
1707 L Street, NW Suite 750
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 785-8683
www.lcv.org

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Environment"

Announcer: It's our land; our water. America's environment must be protected. But in just 18 months, Congressman Ganske has voted 12 out of 12 times to weaken environmental protections. Congressman Ganske even voted to let corporations continue releasing cancer-causing pollutants into our air. Congressman Ganske voted for the big corporations who lobbied these bills and gave him thousands of dollars in contributions. Call Congressman Ganske. Tell him to protect America's environment. For our families. For our future.

¹⁶⁹ Lewiston Morning Tribune, July 12, 1996.

¹⁷⁰ Des Moines Register, September 19, 1996.

¹⁷¹ Knoxville News-Sentinel, February 13, 1997.

NATIONAL ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE (NARAL)

ORGANIZATION

The National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) is a pro-choice advocacy group that lobbies for reproductive rights legislation and works to elect pro-choice members of congress. It was founded in 1969 and is based in Washington, DC.¹⁷²

PRINCIPALS

Kate Michelman, president
Joanne S. Blum, vice president of government relations
Belle Taylor-McGee, communications director

CAMPAIGNS

In June, 1996 NARAL aired a television spot in Washington, DC to educate voters about Bob Dole's record on abortion. A second similar spot was aired in San Diego in August during the Republican convention.

In August, 1996, 40 abortion rights groups, including NARAL, formed a coalition to run a two-year media campaign.¹⁷³

NARAL and NARAL-PAC conducted extensive direct mail and phone banks campaigns and claimed these efforts helped bring about pro-choice wins in Senate races in Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, and Montana, and in nineteen House races.

In 1995, NARAL ran print ads in the New York Times after the House of Representatives passed a ban on partial birth abortions. The ads showed a wire coat hanger with the caption "Will this become the only congressionally approved abortion method?" The ads cost \$50,000.¹⁷⁴

In 1994, NARAL ran television and print ads in support of health care reform.¹⁷⁵

In 1994, NARAL helped Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) in his race against Mitt Romney (R-MA) by running radio ads.¹⁷⁶

CONSULTANTS

Greer Margolis Mitchell Burns, Washington, DC
Fenton Communications, public relations

CONTACT INFORMATION

NARAL
1156 15th Street NW
Suite 700
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 973-3000
www.naral.org

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Real Story"

Announcer: Now Bob Dole says he's tolerant on abortion? The real story is...he's supporting a platform that would make abortion illegal...Take us back to back-alley abortions. And it was Bob Dole who voted against protecting women from violence outside health clinics. But voted for a constitutional amendment to overturn Roe v. Wade. NARAL is working to make abortion less necessary...not more dangerous. Join us in opposing Bob Dole's extremist party platform. While we still have the choice.

¹⁷² NARAL website.

¹⁷³ Washington Post, October 12, 1996; AP, Chattanooga Free Press, August 7, 1996.

¹⁷⁴ "NARAL bashes Congress on abortion," UPI, November 6, 1995.

¹⁷⁵ National Journal, March 5, 1994.

¹⁷⁶ Joe Battenfeld and Andrew Miga, Boston Herald, October 12, 1994.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (NEA)

ORGANIZATION

The National Education Association is a union of 2.2 million teachers.

PRINCIPALS

Keith Geiger, president

Mary Elizabeth Teasley, political director, Director of Governmental Affairs

Kathleen Lyons, spokeswoman

EXPENDITURES

In 1996, the National Education Association spent \$500,000 on independent expenditures. The ads started in mid-October and ran through November 5, 1996.¹⁷⁷

The NEA and the American Federation of Teachers gave \$5 million in contributions to candidates.¹⁷⁸ In 1993 and 1994, the NEA gave \$2.2 million to Democratic congressional candidates.¹⁷⁹

CAMPAIGNS

In 1996, the NEA mobilized after Bob Dole targeted the union in his San Diego convention speech. The NEA used its political action committee to run independent expenditures. The \$500,000 independent expenditure ad campaign focused on the Republican Congress's attempts to limit the student lunch and student loan programs.¹⁸⁰ Among its targets were Rep. Frank Cremeans (R-OH), Bob Ney (R-OH), Peter Blute (R-MA) and Fred Heineman (R-NC).¹⁸¹

In addition, the NEA aired issue advocacy ads reminding voters to keep education in mind,¹⁸² and conducted an extensive phone bank effort to get its members out to vote.¹⁸³

In 1996, the NEA and the American Federation of Teachers won four of their five targeted Senate races and 85 of 103 House seats.¹⁸⁴ The NEA only endorsed one Republican candidate for the House of Representatives, Kathleen Donovan (R-NJ).¹⁸⁵

In 1995, the NEA conducted a campaign against federal education budget cuts. The campaign was announced in September and television, radio and print ads began running in November, 1995.¹⁸⁶ James Greenwood (R-PA) and Jon Fox (R-PA) were two of the 21 Congressmen targeted on local school funding.¹⁸⁷ William Cohen (R-ME) and Olympia Snowe (R-ME) were also NEA targets.¹⁸⁸

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Attack"

Announcer: This election year, America's children need your vote. Our public schools are our children's ticket to the future. But education has become just another target for attack by politicians who want huge cuts in education programs. They're making the wrong choices. Our children deserve leaders who will strengthen public education, not attack it. They deserve the best education we can give them. So this year, vote as if your children's future depends on it. It does.

¹⁷⁷ Roll Call, October 17, 1996.

¹⁷⁸ Florida Times-Union, November 4, 1996.

¹⁷⁹ Washington Post, June 3, 1996.

¹⁸⁰ Boston Globe, October 16, 1996.

¹⁸¹ Roll Call, October 17, 1996; Roll Call, October 31, 1996.

¹⁸² Investor's Business Daily, May 14, 1996.

¹⁸³ Ruth Marcus, Washington Post, November 3, 1996.

¹⁸⁴ Atlanta Journal and Constitution, November 16, 1996.

¹⁸⁵ Abby Goodnough, New York Times, October 27, 1996.

¹⁸⁶ National Education Association Release, U.S. Newswire, November 6, 1995.

¹⁸⁷ Philadelphia Inquirer, November 14, 1995; Roanoke Times and World News, October 3, 1995.

¹⁸⁸ Bangor Daily News, September 15, 1995.

CONSULTANTS

Beber Silverstein Communications

CONTACT INFORMATION

National Education Association
1201 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-4000
www.nea.org

NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION (NRA)

ORGANIZATION

The National Rifle Association is America's largest gun owners' advocacy group. The NRA ran its 1996 independent expenditures through its Institute for Legislative Affairs.

PRINCIPALS

Tanya Metaksa, executive director of the NRA's Institute for Legislative Affairs
Bill Powers, spokesman for Institute for Legislative Action
Chip Walker, NRA spokesman

EXPENDITURES

NRA's estimated expenditures during the 1996 election were \$4.5 million, of which \$1.5 million went to independent expenditures and \$2.5 million was contributed to candidates.¹⁸⁹

In 1994, the NRA spent \$1.5 million.¹⁹⁰

SOURCES OF INCOME

Member dues

CAMPAIGNS

In the 1996 elections, most of the NRA's spending was in the last three weeks of the campaign and most of it (80-85%) was for Republican candidates.¹⁹¹ The group was active in about three dozen House and Senate campaigns.¹⁹²

In 1996, some of the NRA's most loyal supporters in the House lost re-election campaigns, including Rep. Harold L. Volkmer (D-MO). From 1991 to 1996, Volkmer received \$24,750 in contributions from the NRA and the NRA ran more than \$30,000 worth of independent expenditures in favor of him.¹⁹³

The NRA ran an independent expenditure campaign against Sen. Dick Durbin (D-IL). Durbin defeated Al Salvi (R-IL).¹⁹⁴ In early October, NRA allegedly threatened to withhold a \$50,000 independent expenditure campaign if Salvi changed his position on the repeal of the assault weapons ban.¹⁹⁵

The NRA also ran ads in support of Rep. Dick Chrysler (R-MI) against Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) and for Frank Riggs (R-CA) against Michela Alioto (D-CA). In Kansas, the NRA and Handgun Control both ran independent expenditures. The NRA used the gun control group's involvement to accuse Jill Docketing (D-KS) of "trying to force their East Coast agenda on

¹⁹⁶

The NRA spent \$37,675 to oppose House Minority Whip David Bonior,¹⁹⁷ as well as Jack Quinn (R-NY).

¹⁸⁹ Arizona Republic, November 7, 1996; Roll Call, October 31, 1996.

¹⁹⁰ The Bergen Record, October 29, 1996.

¹⁹¹ Los Angeles Times, October 31, 1996.

¹⁹² Roll Call, October 31, 1996.

¹⁹³ Handgun Control, U.S. Newswire, November 6, 1996.

¹⁹⁴ Chicago Sun-Times, November 4, 1996.

¹⁹⁵ Handgun Control, U.S. Newswire, November 6, 1996.

¹⁹⁶ Roll Call, October 31, 1996.

¹⁹⁷ National Journal's Congress Daily, October 30, 1996.

CONTACT INFORMATION

NRA-ILA
11250 Waples Mill Road
Fairfax, VA 22030
Public Relations: (703) 267-1190
(800) 392-8683
www.nra.org

NUCLEAR ENERGY INSTITUTE

ORGANIZATION

The Nuclear Energy Institute is a Washington, DC-based trade organization for the nuclear energy industry founded in 1994. Its membership is made up of 300 national and international companies.¹⁹⁸

The Nuclear Energy Institute supports the use of Yucca Mountain, Nevada for storage of nuclear waste from around the country.

PRINCIPALS

Joe Colvin, president and CEO
Scott Peterson, director of communications
Steve Unglesbee, spokesman

EXPENDITURES

\$1 million in 1996.

SOURCES OF INCOME

The Nuclear Energy Institute is supported by major energy companies such as Westinghouse and General Electric.¹⁹⁹

CAMPAIGNS

March, 1997: The Nuclear Energy Institute ran newspaper ads in the Washington Post calling the storage of nuclear waste in Nevada "the sensible solution."²⁰⁰

In August and September, 1996, the Nuclear Energy Institute sought to rally public opinion to support the Yucca Mountain waste dump. The Institute used television, radio and print ads that ran in important electoral states, such as Michigan and Illinois. The ads asked people to call a toll-free number and then gave the option to be connected to the Clinton campaign to complain about nuclear waste. The campaign cost slightly more than \$1 million. The targeted states have a large number of nuclear reactors.²⁰¹ This media campaign marked a departure in its strategy; instead of touting nuclear energy's safety, the group emphasized the danger of waste and the need to move it to a safe, remote location.²⁰²

August, 1996: Nuclear Energy Institute ran print and radio ads in Illinois, Michigan and Iowa.²⁰³

May, 1996, December, 1995 : The Nuclear Energy Institute ran ads calling for the establishment of a waste facility. The ads appeared in the Washington Post, the Washington Times and Roll Call.²⁰⁴

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Mess" (radio)

Announcer: Radioactive nuclear waste! It just keeps piling up. Here -- in Michigan. Tons of it. Near our homes...jobs...schools. Congress says "move the nuclear waste --- now." Our Senators and our members of Congress agree. But Bill Clinton says "no." Pile it up. Wait. Do nothing. Why? The President's been bullied by two Nevada senators. They bark...he balks. Nevada senators! Here in Michigan we've already paid nearly half a billion dollars to move this mounting mess. Move it. Far away. Safe. Secure. It's time Bill Clinton listens to us. "Mr. President, move the nuclear waste out of Michigan." And it's time the President hears from us. So call 1-800-____-____. We'll make sure you're heard. A message from the Nuclear Energy Institute. It just keeps piling up.

¹⁹⁸ The Capital, August 9, 1996, in Arundel section.

¹⁹⁹ Business and Society Review, September 22, 1995.

²⁰⁰ Greenwire, March 4, 1997.

²⁰¹ Austin-American Statesman, September 18, 1996; Greenwire, September 17, 1996; National Journal's CongressDaily, September 11, 1996.

²⁰² Chicago Tribune, September 8, 1996.

²⁰³ Robert Novak, Buffalo News, September 25, 1996.

²⁰⁴ States News Service, December 13, 1995; Nucleonics Week, May 23, 1996.

CONTACT INFORMATION

Nuclear Energy Institute
1776 I Street NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20006-3708
(202) 739-8000
www.nei.org

PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA (PPFA)

ORGANIZATION

Planned Parenthood Federation of America is the nation's largest and oldest reproductive health organization. It has 152 affiliates and almost 1000 clinics across America. Its political arm is the Planned Parenthood Action Fund.

PRINCIPALS

Gloria Feldt, president
Helen Howell, vice president for public policy
Margaret Conway, associate vice president for public policy
Darryl Figueroa, director for media relations
Estelle Rogers, legislative director

EXPENDITURES

\$1 million on an issue advocacy campaign that began in 1996. The group also spent \$40,000 in October, 1996 on independent expenditures for an against candidates.²⁰⁵

CAMPAIGNS

In April 1997, Planned Parenthood launched a media campaign on the importance of family planning. The print, radio and television ads appeared in Iowa as well as several cities across the country.²⁰⁶

In 1996, Planned Parenthood Action Fund used independent expenditures for the first time, in more than two dozen House and Senate races.²⁰⁷ Among the anti-abortion candidates it targeted most heavily were incumbents Rep. AndreaSeastrand (R-CA), Rep. Vince Snowbarger (R-KS), Rep. Linda Smith (R-WA), and Rep. Randy Tate (R-WA), and challengers BillWitt (R-OR) and Al Salvi (R-IL).

In August 1996, Planned Parenthood dedicated \$1 million to an 18-month education campaign entitled "Keep the Choice Yours." The print and television ads began running August 12, 1996, during the Republican National Convention in San Diego.²⁰⁸

Planned Parenthood chapters also ran separate media campaigns. Planned Parenthood of New York placed a series of print advertisements in the New York Times. The ads criticized Congress and provided postcards to be sent to RNC chair HaleyBarbour.²⁰⁹

In October 1996, Upper Hudson Planned Parenthood and Planned Parenthood of Northeastern New York jointly aired a television commercial. The Upstate New York ad ran mostly on cable for three weeks before the November 5th election. The groups spent \$2,500. The campaign entitled "Your Vote Counts and Keep the Choice Yours" also ran in other parts of New York.²¹⁰

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Mom/Call"

Vikki Stella: I've seen how Planned Parenthood helps people build stronger, healthier families...Through health care, education and counseling. As a mom, I do not want politicians making decisions for my husband and I about our family. But some in Congress want to take away our choices...by cutting birth control programs...and banning all abortions. We need to tell our representatives...These are choices that don't belong to politicians. They belong to us.

²⁰⁵ Gannett News Services, November 8, 1996.

²⁰⁶ Des Moines Register, April 18, 1997.

²⁰⁷ Gannett News Services, November 8, 1996.

²⁰⁸ Planned Parenthood Release, PR Newswire, August 1, 1996 ; Reuters Financial Service, August 1, 1996.

²⁰⁹ Abortion Report, August 13, 1996.

²¹⁰ Times Union (Albany, NY), October 17, 1996.

In 1995, Planned Parenthood of Minnesota ran issue ads criticizing Reps. Gil Gutknecht (R-MN) and Collin Peterson (D-MN) for their votes on federal family planning programs. The commercials were paid for by the regional group's Action Fund²¹¹

CONSULTANTS

Greer Margolis Mitchell Burns and Associates
Celinda Lake, pollster

CONTACT INFORMATION

Planned Parenthood Federation of America
1120 Connecticut Avenue Suite 461
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 785-3351
www.ppfa.org

²¹¹ Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN), October 27, 1995.

PRO-CHOICE PUBLIC EDUCATION PROJECT

ORGANIZATION

In August, 1996, 40 abortion rights groups formed a coalition to run a two-year media campaign.²¹² It is based in Mamaroneck, New York.

Members of the Pro-Choice Public Education Project include the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL), Voters for Choice Education Fund, Ms. Foundation for Women, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the Feminist Majority Foundation and the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice.²¹³ Each group used its nonprofit organizations, not its political action committee, because the commercials were considered public education and did not endorse any candidates.²¹⁴

PRINCIPALS

Karen Marks, Pro-Choice Public Education Project
Gloria Feldt, Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Kate Michelman, president of National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League
Gloria Steinem, president of the Voters for Choice Education Fund
Vicki Saporta, National Abortion Federation
Eleanor Smeal, president, The Feminist Majority Foundation
Marie Wilson, president, Ms. Foundation for Women
Rev. Katherine Hancock Ragsdale, president, Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice
Nancy Yanofsky, executive director, ProChoice Resource Center

EXPENDITURES

The project spent \$2 million between August 1996 and January 1997.²¹⁵

SOURCES OF INCOME

Ms. Foundation for Women, Robert Sterling Clark Foundation.²¹⁶

CAMPAIGNS

In 1996, the Pro-Choice Public Education Project produced commercials that focused on clinic violence, declining access to abortion and legislation on partial birth abortion. The \$250,000 media campaign aired in seven regions. The targeted areas were Lansing, MI; Portland, OR; Santa Barbara, CA; Denver, CO; Chicago, IL; Seattle, WA; and Raleigh-Durham, NC.²¹⁷

It aired its "Generation" commercial in San Diego during the Republican National Convention. The ad compared the abortion rights fight to earlier women's movements. "Generation" also aired on CNN as well as several markets across the nation.²¹⁸

The Pro-Choice Public Education Project also ran educational projects on college campuses.²¹⁹

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"1996"

Man: So, let me get this straight. There are members of Congress who want to make it tougher for a woman to get an abortion early in a pregnancy?

Woman: Yep.

Man: They voted against a later abortion procedure that can save a woman's life and protect her fertility?

Woman: Sure did.

Man: They voted against family planning, and they voted to make it tougher for a woman to get birth control?

Woman: Yeah.

Man: Do you ever wonder what they have against women?

Woman: I just wonder if they know what year it is.

Announcer: Protect choice. Call to get the facts.

²¹² Washington Post, October 12, 1996; AP, Chattanooga Free Press, August 7, 1996.

²¹³ AP, Chattanooga Free Press, August 7, 1996.

²¹⁴ National Journal, August 24, 1996.

²¹⁵ ibid.

²¹⁶ ibid.

²¹⁷ Washington Post, October 12, 1996; Seattle Times, October 14, 1996; Detroit News, October 15, 1996.

²¹⁸ New York Times, August 7, 1996; AP, Chattanooga Free Press, August 7, 1996.

²¹⁹ Seattle Times, October 14, 1996.

CONSULTANTS

MacWilliams Cosgrover Smith Robinson

CONTACT INFORMATION

Pro-Choice Public Education Project
174 East Boston Post Road
Mamaroneck, NY 10543
(914) 381-4715

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE (RNC)

ORGANIZATION

Republican National Committee (RNC), National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) and National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) are the national Republican Party's main campaign-related organizations. Each conducted separate advertising campaigns in 1996. The RNC ran issue ads in support of Republican members of Congress and GOP presidential nominee Bob Dole; the NRCC ran issue ads in support of congressional candidates, and the NRSC ran independent expenditure campaigns in several states.

PRINCIPALS

Jim Nicholson, chairman

Patricia Harrison, co-chairman

Clifford May, communications director

Michael J. Hook, chief of staff

Haley Barbour, former chairman

Ted Maness, executive director of the NRCC

Craig Engle, general counsel for the NRSC

Gregory Strimple, head of independent expenditure committee and former NRSC director of polling and campaign programs

EXPENDITURES

In 1996, the RNC and NRCC spent \$34 million on issue advertising. The RNC used \$14 million before the Republican Convention for ads that helped Bob Dole's campaign.²²⁰ The Washington Post estimated that the RNC spent a total of \$24 million on issue advertising.²²¹

In 1995, the RNC spent \$2.7 million on issue advertising.²²²

Independent Expenditures and Issue Advertising by the Republican Party, 1996 ²²³

PARTY COMMITTEE	INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES	ISSUE ADVERTISING
RNC	\$0	\$24 million (1995 - \$2.7 million)
NRSC	\$9,734,445	
NRCC	\$0	\$10 million
Republican State and Local	\$292,096	
TOTAL REPUBLICAN	\$10,026,541	\$34 million

Anthony Corrado of Colby College estimated that the RNC spent \$10 million on issue ads in 1992.²²⁴

SOURCES OF INCOME

The RNC, NRCC, and NRSC raise a combination of hard and soft money.

²²⁰ Peter H. Stone, *National Journal*, November 9, 1996.

²²¹ Ruth Marcus, *Washington Post*, February 9, 1997.

²²² *Washington Post*, February 7, 1996.

²²³ Federal Election Commission, "FEC Reports Major Increase in party Activity for 1995-96," March 19, 1997, 3 ; Howard Kurtz, *Washington Post*, February 7, 1996.

²²⁴ Peter H. Stone, *National Journal*, November 9, 1996.

CAMPAIGNS

RNC

In 1997, the RNC targeted Bob Torricelli (R-NJ) and Tim Johnson (D-SD) in radio commercials on the balanced budget amendment.²²⁵

In 1996, the cash-strapped Dole presidential campaign did not have the money to pay for commercials between March 18 and the Republican Convention in August, when Dole was able to receive federal funds for the general election. The RNC provided money for ads in support of the Dole candidacy during that period.²²⁶

For example, in August 1996, the RNC spent \$3.5 million on a television commercial attacking President Clinton's stance on drugs.²²⁷ In July, 1996, it ran a commercial that attacked Clinton's failed promise of a tax cut for the middle class.²²⁸ At the end of May 1996, the RNC produced "Stripes" which ridiculed President Clinton's use of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Defense Act of 1940 in the Paula Jones suit. The commercial ran on CNN in the Washington, DC media market.²²⁹ Another RNC ad in May attacked Clinton on his record on the gasoline tax. In April, RNC ads focused on Clinton's record on welfare and taxes.

Also in May, the RNC paid for the airing of "The Story," which focused on Dole's biography and mentioned legislative issues. It was shown in California, Illinois, Ohio and Michigan at a cost of \$3 million. At the same time, the RNC launched a commercial targeting Clinton's position on the budget.²³⁰

The National Republican Party responded to the AFL-CIO's ad campaign by running commercials in support of 40 Republican freshman congressmen.²³¹

In August 1995, the RNC aired radio commercials in South Dakota that targeted Tim Johnson (D-SD) for his votes on welfare reform. Johnson, who had not yet announced his candidacy, defeated incumbent Larry Pressler (R-SD) in the 1996 senate race.²³²

In August 1995, the RNC targeted 11 Democratic congressmen with radio commercials on Medicare. The ads aired against Dick Gephardt (D-MO), David Bonior (D-MI), George Brown (D-CA), Rosa DeLauro (D-CT), Vic Fazio (D-CA), Martin Frost (D-TX), Sam Gejdenson (D-CT), Sam Gibbons (D-FL), Lee Hamilton (D-IN), Mike Ward (D-KY) and Pat Williams (D-MT).²³³

NRSC

The NRSC ran media in senate races across the country to help elect its candidates.²³⁴ For example, in Wyoming the NRSC spent \$1 million, more than either candidate.²³⁵

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Pledge"

Clinton: I will not raise taxes on the middle class.

Announcer: We heard this a lot.

Clinton: We gotta give middle class tax relief, no matter what else we do.

Announcer: Six months later, he gave us the largest tax increase in history. Higher income taxes, income taxes on social security benefits, more payroll taxes. Under Clinton, the typical American family now pays over \$1,500 more in federal taxes. A big price to pay for his broken promise. Tell President Clinton: You can't afford higher taxes for more wasteful spending.

²²⁵ RNC Release, M2 Presswire, March 4, 1997; Roll Call, March 3, 1997.

²²⁶ James Bennet, *New York Times*, August 21, 1996.

²²⁷ *Dallas Morning News*, August 27, 1996.

²²⁸ *Tampa Tribune*, July 19, 1996.

²²⁹ *Washington Post*, May 25, 1996; *Hotline*, May 28, 1996.

²³⁰ *New York Times*, May 31, 1996.

²³¹ *Louisville Courier-Journal*, September 18, 1996.

²³² *Hotline*, August 10, 1995.

²³³ Adam Clymer, *New York Times*, August 16, 1995; RNC Release, *Health Line*, August 16, 1995.

²³⁴ *National Journal*, October 19, 1996; *Roll Call*, May 23, 1996.

²³⁵ Ruth Marcus, *Washington Post*, February 9, 1997.

In Rhode Island, the RNC and the NRSC aired commercials calling Jack Reed (D-RI) a liberal. The campaign started in May 1996 and had almost reached \$1 million by the end of October 1996.

In New Jersey, the NRSC ran issue ads in favor of Dick Zimmer (R-NJ) in his campaign against Bob Torricelli. In September, Torricelli was criticized for missing votes and his votes on taxes.²³⁶

NRCC

At the end of October 1996, the NRCC spent \$4 million on a "Blank Check" ad that focused on retaining control of Congress and implied that Dole was going to lose the election.²³⁷

In October 1996, the NRCC responded to the AFL-CIO commercials. The ads ran in media markets across the country.²³⁸

In July, 1996, the NRCC launched a \$10 million campaign to increase support for House freshman. The ads, which ran in 40 media markets and 30 congressional districts, defended the GOP positions on such issues as Medicare.²³⁹ Among the heaviest beneficiaries of the ad campaign were J.D. Hayworth (R-AZ), Frank Riggs (R-CA), Andrea Seastrand (R-CA), John Hostettler (R-ID), Todd Tiahrt (R-KS), Ed Whitfield (R-KY), Jim Longley (R-ME), Dick Chrysler (R-MI), Fred Heineman (R-NC), Steve Chabot (R-OH), Frank Cremeans (R-OH), Tom Coburn (R-OK), Jim Bunn (R-OR), Phil English (R-PA), Steve Stockman (R-TX) and Randy Tate (R-WA)²⁴⁰

CONSULTANTS

RNC

Alex Castellanos
Greg Stevens
Mike Murphy
Don Sipple
Stuart Stevens
Smith & Harroff, Inc.
John McLaughlin
Tony Fabrizio
Linda DiVall

NRSC

Russo-Marsh
Ian and Betsy Weinschel's River Bank
Larry McCarthy, Gannon McCarthy Mason

CONTACT INFORMATION

Republican National Committee
310 1st Street SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 863-8500
www.rnc.org

²³⁶ Adam Piore, The Bergen Record, November 2, 1996; Cook Political Report, October 4, 1996; New York Times, September 18, 1996.

²³⁷ Hotline, October 29, 1996.

²³⁸ National Journal's Congress Daily, October 4, 1996.

²³⁹ Roll Call, July 25, 1996.

²⁴⁰ ibid.

SIERRA CLUB

ORGANIZATION

The Sierra Club is the nation's oldest environmental group. It was founded 105 years ago by John Muir. It conducts its political activity through its political action committee.

PRINCIPALS

Adam Werbach, president
Carl Pope, executive director
Dan Weiss, political director

EXPENDITURES

In 1996, the Sierra Club spent \$7.5 million on media and grassroots electoral activity²⁴¹ It spent more than \$1 million on media (television, radio and print ads)²⁴²

SOURCES OF INCOME

Member dues.

CAMPAIGNS

In 1996, the Sierra Club targeted anti-environmental members of Congress. Many of their targets were freshman Republican congressmen.

A post-election Sierra Club report stated that "Americans chose Sierra Club -- backed candidates in two of every three races in which the Club invested heavily in time, money, or both, electing 33 of 53 green candidates for the House and 7 of 11 for the Senate."²⁴³

Among the heaviest targets of the Sierra Club's ads were Dick Chrysler (R-MI), Andrea Seastrand (R-CA), Rick White (R-WA.) and Peter Blute (R-MA). All but White were defeated.

The Sierra Club participated in several Senate campaigns. It supported Sen. John Kerry (D-MA), Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-MN) and Senate challenger Dick Swett (D-NH), who lost to Sen. Bob Smith (R-NH).²⁴⁴ Wellstone and Kerry were reelected.

The Sierra Club also participated in a ballot issue. Its Maine chapter ran television advertisements in favor of Maine Option 2A, the Ban Clearcutting Measure.²⁴⁵

The Sierra Club was active in the 1995-1996 Oregon special Senate election. It spent \$140,000 against Republican Gordon Smith,²⁴⁶ who lost to Democrat Ron Wyden.

DISCLOSURE

"Some of these activities were expressly political, unapologetically aimed at changing the make-up of Congress, state legislatures, and city councils. But others had a subtler, more far-

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Beaches"

Santa Barbara, independent expenditure

Announcer: Our beautiful beaches. Our children's inheritance to protect and preserve. But Congressman Andrea Seastrand has voted to make it easier to dump pollutants and sewage into our water. Fact is, Seastrand, who took over \$117,000 in campaign contributions from some notorious polluters...voted 11 out of 11 times against the environment, against our families' health and future. Fact is, it's time to dump Andrea Seastrand. Before she dumps anything else on us.

²⁴¹ U.S. News and World Report, March 31, 1997.

²⁴² Sierra Club, January 11, 1997; New York Times, October 23, 1996.

²⁴³ Sierra Club, January 11, 1997.

²⁴⁴ Sierra Club, January 11, 1997; National Journal's Congress Daily, October 24, 1996

²⁴⁵ New York Times, July 21, 1996).

²⁴⁶ Roll Call, September 12, 1996.

reaching goal: to raise the visibility of environmental issues across the nation and, in the process, reinvigorate the Club's grassroots presence in local communities.²⁴⁷

The Washington Times was critical of the Sierra Club's aggressive media campaigns, especially in Rick White's Washington State district.²⁴⁸

Dan Weiss outlined three tests the Sierra Club used to decide the races it targeted: the incumbent's voting record; whether there is a "clear difference" between the candidates; and whether the race is close enough that its efforts could make a difference.²⁴⁹

CONTACT INFORMATION

Sierra Club
404 C Street NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-1141
www.sierraclub.org

²⁴⁷ Sierra Club, January 11, 1997.

²⁴⁸ Washington Times, November 1, 1996.

²⁴⁹ Roll Call, September 12, 1996.

TEAMSTERS

ORGANIZATION

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters represents transportation workers. The union has 1.4 million members.

PRINCIPALS

Ron Carey, president

SOURCES OF INCOME

Union dues.

CAMPAIGNS

In November 1996, the Teamsters ran print advertisements with the AFL-CIO, Friends of the Earth, Texas Citizen Action and Public Citizen. The ads focused on a plan to use Mexican trucks in Texas and California as part of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The ads were placed in the Dallas Morning News and the San Diego Union Tribune as well as Sacramento and Orange County newspapers.²⁵⁰ In January 1996, the union used a radio campaign to build support for banning Mexican rigs. It aired commercials on 128 radio stations.²⁵¹

In October 1996, the Teamsters conducted a radio campaign against ten congressmen. The disclaimer on the advertisements was "DRIVE - Democrat, Republican Independent Voter Education Committee." The advertisement against Greg Ganske (R-IA) was revised after incorrectly stating that he had accepted contributions from tobacco companies. Ganske actively rebutted the ad by releasing documents to the press and pressuring radio stations to pull the commercial.²⁵²

In addition to Ganske, the targets of the Teamsters' ads were Jim Longley (R-ME), Frank Riggs (R-CA), Todd Tiahrt (R-KS), Gil Gutknecht (R-MN), Tom Coburn (R-OK), Dick Chrysler (R-MI), J.D. Hayworth (R-AZ), Fred Heineman (R-NC), and Helen Chenoweth (R-ID).

In January 1996, the Teamsters ran television commercials in the Oregon Senate race against Gordon Smith. One commercial accused Smith of breaking the law and blamed him for two workers' deaths at a Smith owned factory. The radio ad, produced by Hank Sheinkopf, was criticized for distorting the truth. In addition, it attracted attention because Ron Wyden (D-OR) had pledged to refrain from negative advertising.²⁵³

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Drive-Riggs" (radio)

Voice 1: Here's \$500 from Brown and Williamson and another \$500 from RJR Nabisco. And Cong. Riggs, we sho' need your help again. They're trying to stop us from selling tobacco to kids here in California.

Voice 2: Here's five hundred dollars from Mass Mutual and another five hundred from Mutual of Omaha. Thanks Cong. Riggs from all of us in the insurance industry here in Connecticut. Now let's talk about the tax loophole we need.

Voice 3: Cong. Riggs, wanted to make sure the oil money's flowin' in. Texaco's in. So is Arco, Chevron, Shell and Exxon. We'll be in touch, hear.

Voice 4: Hey, Cong. Riggs, here are the checks from Chase Manhattan. And Barnett Banks of Florida is on its way. And there's more to come.

Voice 5: Tobacco? Insurance? Oil? Banking? What's that have to do with us here in Northern California?

Announcer: Frank Riggs promised he'd be different. But he's just another Washington politician. Why during the last year alone he's taken over \$260,000 from corporate special interest groups. Just like Newt Gingrich, he listens to them. But is he listening to us anymore?

²⁵⁰ "Teamsters Ads Slam Truck Plan," November 12, 1996.

²⁵¹ "Union Seeks Permanent Ban on Mexican Trucking in US," *Journal of Commerce*, January 31, 1996:1B.

²⁵² "Ganske as censor, He's right to be outraged, but wrong to pressure broadcasters," *Des Moines Register*, October 18, 1996, p. 14.

²⁵³ Jeff Mapes, "Smith, Wyden team up against ad," *Oregonian*, January 10, 1996:D1.

"Wyden, Smith attack union ad," *The Bulletin (Bend, OR)*, January 10, 1996:A1.

CONSULTANTS

Hank Sheinkopf, Austin Sheinkopf, New York

CONTACT INFORMATION

The Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 624-6800
www.teamster.org

TOBACCO ACCOUNTABILITY PROJECT (PUBLIC CITIZEN)

ORGANIZATION

The Tobacco Accountability Project is a coalition of consumer and health advocacy groups. It supports stricter federal regulations to prevent teen smoking. The Tobacco Accountability Project is affiliated with Public Citizen, a nonprofit organization founded by Ralph Nader in 1971.

PRINCIPALS

Joan Claybrook, president of Citizen Action
Bill Wagner, public affairs

SOURCES OF INCOME

Public Citizen is supported by its membership of individuals and organizations. It accepts no corporate or government donations.

CAMPAIGNS

The Tobacco Accountability Project produced a television commercial that criticized seven members of congress for accepting donations from tobacco companies and opposing regulation of the industry. The advertisements started airing on September 25, 1996 against Gary Franks (R-CT), John Ensign (R-NV), Collin Peterson (D-MN), Gil Gutknecht (R-MN), Doc Hastings (R-WA), Phil English (R-PA), and Chet Edwards (D-TX). All but Franks were reelected.

CONSULTANTS

Cindy Hoffman, Arthur Silverman, Fenton Communications

CONTACT INFORMATION

The Tobacco Accountability Project
Public Citizen
1600 20th Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 588-1000
www.citizen.org

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Children"

Announcer: Smoking cigarettes kills. Every day 3,000 kids start smoking. The addiction will kill one out of three. The FDA wants to stop the tobacco companies from targeting our children. But last year your Congressman -- Gary Franks -- who's taken over \$49,000 from big tobacco companies -- lobbied the FDA to back off. He's put the interests of big tobacco before our children. Tell Congressman Franks to stop protecting big tobacco companies and start protecting our children.

UNITED SENIORS ASSOCIATION

ORGANIZATION

The United Seniors Association (USA) is an advocacy group that promotes smaller government, lower taxes and balanced budgets. It has 400,000 members and considers itself an alternative to the AARP (American Association of Retired Peoples).

PRINCIPALS

Richard Viguerie, founder. Viguerie owns a direct mail advertising agency, American Target Advertising. He also formed the Seniors Coalition and 60-Plus.

Sandra L. Butler, president

Beau Boutler, legislative counsel, former congressman from Texas

David A. Keene, senior advisor

Mike Korbey, legislative director

EXPENDITURES

USA spent \$3 million on their "Fair Election for Seniors Campaign."

SOURCES OF INCOME

USA raises money through member's \$5 dues.

CAMPAIGNS

In 1997, United Seniors Association was one of twelve conservative groups to form the Tax Cut Working Group. Other groups were the American Conservative Union, Americans for Tax Reform, the Cato Institute, Citizens for a Balanced Budget, Citizens for a Sound Economy, Empower America, National Center for Policy Analysis, National Tax Limitation Committee, National Taxpayers Union, 60 Plus and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.²⁵⁴

In 1996, USA's Fair Election for Seniors Campaign spent \$3 million on a direct mail and media campaign to rebut Democratic and union Medicare claims. It also displayed posters in senior's centers around the country. The targeted states were Oklahoma, Iowa, Nebraska, Kentucky, Washingtonstate, Arizona and Wisconsin.²⁵⁵

CONTACT INFORMATION

United Seniors Association
3900 Jermantown Road
Fairfax, VA 22030
(703) 359-6500
www.unitedseniors.org

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

No title (radio)

Announcer: When we were younger we learned that telling the truth was good, and that lying, trying to deceive others was wrong. Sadly, there are people out there right now running negative radio and television ads filled with some of the most damaging hurtful lies of all. They're saying that Congress voted to cut Medicare. They're trying to scare seniors citizens in Kentucky into believing that their benefits will be reduced. Well it's just not true. The fact is, last year, Congress voted to increase Medicare funding from \$179 billion to over \$289 billion over seven years. That's an average increase of seven percent a year for seven years. And all their lying can't turn that increase into a cut. If you're tired of the lies, tired of being taken for granted, pick up the phone, call us at 1-888-NO-LIES-96. And join our fight to stop the deceit. We're the United Seniors Association with more than 400,000 members. And with your help we'll teach these folks a lesson they should have learned a long, long time ago. Call us toll free 1-888-NO-LIES-96.

²⁵⁴ Citizens for a Sound Economy release, U.S. Newswire, June 6, 1997.

²⁵⁵ Washington Times, November 4, 1996.

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC COALITION

ORGANIZATION

The United States Catholic Coalition is a Montana based group.²⁵⁶ Each election year, it releases civic-involvement guidelines for Catholics.²⁵⁷

PRINCIPALS

Father Lawrence Battle appeared in the 1996 commercials. Father Battle is a 76-year-old retired priest from San Bernardino, California.

Al Rhomberg, a physicist in Sacramento, California and pro-life activist.

CAMPAIGNS

In the final days of the 1996 elections, the United States Catholic Coalition ran a television ad which told Catholics they should not vote for pro-choice candidates, such as President Clinton.²⁵⁸ The commercial, which contained an image of a blood-drenched fetus, ran in several markets including Palm Springs, San Diego and Philadelphia. The group also attempted to air the ad on ABC stations in Washington, DC, Los Angeles, Chicago, St. Louis, Baltimore and Houston. WJLA in Washington rejected the ad. It cost \$500 to produce the commercial.²⁵⁹

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

No title

independent expenditure

Father Lawrence Battle: I am Father Battle. It is the mission of the Catholic Church to pass moral judgment in matters related to politics whenever the fundamental rights to man require it. The Democratic Party and Bill Clinton have brought shame and horror to this nation. They have legalized the savage murder of babies during birth. We are outraged. Catholics must uphold human rights, avoid sin, and cannot vote for abortion candidates – cannot vote for Clinton.

²⁵⁶ Santa Fe New Mexican, November 5, 1996.

²⁵⁷ Washington Times, October 18, 1996.

²⁵⁸ Washington Times, October 18, 1996; Santa Fe New Mexican, November 5, 1996

²⁵⁹ Washington Times, October 18, 1996.

U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

ORGANIZATION

America's leading business trade group and largest business federation. It has a national staff of 842, and 200,000 members.²⁶⁰

PRINCIPALS

Thomas Donohue, president

Richard Lesher, immediate past president

R. Bruce Josten, senior vice president, membership policy group. Josten coordinated The Coalition: Americans Working for Real Change.

Lonnie Taylor, vice president, congressional affairs.

Frank Coleman, vice president, media relations

EXPENDITURES

In 1996, the US Chamber of Commerce spent \$2 million on Medicare ads. In addition, the chamber donated funds to "The Coalition," a group it spearheaded.²⁶¹

SOURCES OF INCOME

Raises money from members.

CAMPAIGNS

1997: The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is a member of the Education Excellence Partnership, a coalition of non-profit and business groups that is running pro-education ads which feature baseball players.²⁶²

1996: The U.S. Chamber of Commerce was one of the earliest groups to organize against the AFL-CIO's issue advocacy ad campaign. The Chamber organized other groups into "The Coalition" or "The Coalition: Americans Working for Real Change". This group of business organizations ran ads across the nation. The Chamber of Commerce's Vice President Bruce Josten and its spokesman Frank Coleman were two of the most visible figures in The Coalition's campaign.²⁶³

U.S. Chamber of Commerce endorsed 306 congressional candidates 300 Republicans, 5 Democrats and 1 Independent.²⁶⁴

CONSULTANTS

John Arnold

CONTACT INFORMATION

US Chamber of Commerce
1615 H Street NW
Washington, DC 20062
(202) 659-6000
www.uschamber.org

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Real People/Issues" (radio)

Announcer: Well the plain fact is Medicare is going broke, you can't play politics with Medicare. It's too important. Now's the time to save Medicare. Medicare is in trouble, now the true story. The Republicans have the plan to save Medicare. The Republican plan actually raises benefits. I never knew that. This gives me more control. I can choose my own doctor. This gets at fraud. We need it, our children need it, our children's children will need it. The true fact: Republican Congress's Medicare plan saves Medicare.

²⁶⁰ Legal Times, March 17, 1997.

²⁶¹ Washington Post, February 9, 1997.

²⁶² White House Bulletin, July 2, 1997.

²⁶³ Roll Call, September 26, 1996.

²⁶⁴ Gannett News Service, October 28, 1996.

WOMEN FOR TAX REFORM

ORGANIZATION

Women for Tax Reform, a non-profit organization, is affiliated with Americans for Tax Reform. It was founded in August 1996 to advocate tax cuts.

Women for Tax Reform is a member of Putting Families First, a coalition of conservative groups. Other members include the Small Business Survival Committee, Americans for Tax Reform and the Eagle Forum.²⁶⁵

PRINCIPALS

Audrey Mullen, president. Mullen is Executive Director of Americans for Tax Reform.

Kellyanne Fitzpatrick, member of board of directors. CNN commentator

Barbara Ledeen, member of board of directors, executive director of Independent Women's Forum in Arlington, VA

Amy Moritz, member of board of directors, president of National Center for Public Policy Research, a conservative think tank.

Karen Kerrigan, member of board of directors, president, Small Business Survival Committee

Lisa Kruska, spokeswoman

EXPENDITURES

\$50,000 advertising campaign in 1996.²⁶⁶

CAMPAIGNS

Women for Tax Reform ran two commercials during the Democratic National Convention in August, 1996. The group spent \$50,000. The spots were first shown in Chicago and then nationally on CNN. The commercial featured a woman who had voted for President Clinton in 1992, but was disappointed by his failure to cut taxes for the middle class.²⁶⁷

CONSULTANTS

Creative Responses Concepts, Alexandria, VA.

CONTACT INFORMATION

Women for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street N.W. Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

"Extreme"

Woman: I'm scared. Unless they change the law, the commission Clinton appointed said federal taxes will have to almost double. When Republicans try to cut spending and balance the budget, Clinton vetoes it. When Clinton was running, he promised a middle-class tax cut. Then he raised my taxes. He calls every effort to balance the budget extreme. I'm scared he's going to raise my taxes – again. Call this number for more information on how to ask Clinton to support the tax cut America needs.

²⁶⁵ Roll Call, July 17, 1997.

²⁶⁶ Washington Times, August 22, 1996; James Bennet, New York Times, August 21, 1996.

²⁶⁷ National Journal, September 7, 1996; Washington Times, August 22, 1996; Washington Post, October 29, 1996.