

## CAMPAIGN 96: THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS

In presidential politics, the more things seem to change, the more they stay the same.

Four years ago, in undertaking the first comprehensive study of presidential candidates and their advisers, we learned that despite the heavy blasts of anti-Washington rhetoric out on the campaign trail, the major contenders in both parties were all relying heavily on Washington insiders to raise money and to help craft their positions on the issues. The rhetoric simply didn't match the reality.

The 1996 presidential campaign, to borrow Yogi Berra's phrase, is turning out to be "deja vu all over again." In this year's headlong rush for the White House, candidates have turned on Washington insiders — lawyers, lobbyists, spin doctors, and assorted other hired guns — with a vengeance. Then, mostly when no one's watching, they've been turning to those same insiders for ideas, advice, and financial sustenance.

The advisers to this year's presidential candidates include more than 40 individuals who work or have worked for lobbying

organizations, at least 15 who are or have been registered with the Justice Department as foreign agents, and at least 25 who've passed through the revolving door that connects big government and big business.

Even if you've been closely following the 1996 presidential campaign, chances are that you know nothing — or next to nothing — about this year's bumper crop of insider-advisers. Try, for example, to answer these questions:

Which candidate has criticized "the appearance of a revolving door between government and private-sector enrichment" but has at least 18 campaign advisers who've passed through that door?

Which candidate has named as his campaign co-chairman a political activist who has a track record of working with leaders of the Aryan Nations and the militia movement?

Which candidate counts among his top advisers a powerful Washington lobbyist whose law firm has been paying him a

\$295,000-a-year salary while he runs for president?

Which candidate has hired a secretive political strategist who once condemned school integration for having as its goal "racial intermarriage and the disappearance of the Negro race by fusing it into white."

The press and the public need to ask probing questions of the presidential candidates and the people who make it their business to advise them. We should know more about the advisers, and pay more attention to them, than we do. With the benefit of hindsight, it's easy to see how the paid and unpaid advisers to Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign constituted a virtual government-in-waiting. Campaign advisers ascend to power along with their candidates.

What's more, there's nothing to stop "volunteer" campaign advisers from carrying water for their paying clients. During their "day jobs," many of these unpaid advisers collect huge fees from big corporations, foreign governments, trade associations and other industry groups, and special interests of virtually every stripe. These interests have one thing in common: They all want something from, or in, Washington.

The Year of the Outsider? They've got to be kidding.

### S P E C I A L I S S U E

OCCASIONALLY THE CENTER WILL PUBLISH A SPECIAL ISSUE OF *THE PUBLIC i* IN AN EFFORT TO PROVIDE A COMPREHENSIBLE RECORD OF CERTAIN EVENTS.

# CANDIDATES ON THE WASHINGTON CULTURE

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## Bill Clinton

"[O]rdinary Americans also understand that organized interests too often can hold too much sway in the halls of power. They know that in Washington, and [the] influence industry too often operates in secret, and get special privileges not available to most Americans. Lobbyists in the back room secretly rewriting laws and looking for loopholes do not have a place in our democracy." (Remarks in signing Lobbying Reform Act, December 19, 1995)

## Lamar Alexander

"If you want to change the culture of Washington, why send someone steeped in that culture to the White House?" (*The Orlando Sentinel*, November 5, 1995)

"Now is the time to give another Republican outsider the same opportunity to help put a little humility in the arrogant empire in Washington, DC." (*Inside Politics*, CNN, February 6, 1996)

## Pat Buchanan

"We do not need to replace their set of professional politicians with our set of professional politicians. We need a new leader of vision and courage who is not part of the system in Washington, D.C." (*The Washington Post*, October 13, 1995)

## Bob Dole

"The real problem here is . . . the appearance of a revolving door connecting government service and private-sector enrichment. This appearance problem

becomes all the more acute when former high-government officials work on behalf of foreign interests. . . . Service as a high-government official is a privilege, not a right." (Dole said this on the Senate floor on July 26, 1995, in explaining his amendment to the lobby reform bill that would have banned former U.S. Trade Representatives from becoming registered foreign lobbyists.)

## Steve Forbes

"It's going to take an outsider to do it who understands how Washington works but is not part of the Washington culture. If the insiders had the answers, they'd have implemented those answers by now." (*Inside Politics*, CNN, December 28, 1995)

"It is going to take an outsider. The lifetime politicians don't get it and never will get it." (*National Journal*, January 27, 1996)

## Phil Gramm

"The difference between me and other, quote, insiders, and the difference between me and so-called outsiders and the so-called outsiders who want to be insiders is I am consistent." (*Reuters*, February 3, 1996)

## Richard Lugar

"Opposing us, President Clinton and his advisers see Americans as many separate groups each defined by its own narrow self-interest, each competing with the others for its share of the federal budget, and each hooked on this or that federal program." (Announcement speech, April 20, 1995)

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# 1995 Contributions to Presidential Candidates from their "Top Ten Career Patrons"\*

(January thru September 30th)

## Lamar Alexander

David K. "Pat" Wilson Family	\$18,750
Amon Carter Evans Family	\$ 8,000
Jack Massey Family	\$ 4,000
John L. Parish Family	\$ 8,000
John L. Lupton Family	\$ 2,000
James Haslam II Family	\$11,500
Ben Rechter	\$ 2,000

## Pat Buchanan

The Vopnford Family	\$8,000
The McKissick Family	\$2,000

## Bill Clinton

Goldman Sachs	\$14,584
The Henreich Family	\$ 7,000
Covington & Burling	\$ 2,250
Jackson Stephens Inc and Family	\$ 5,000
Harvard University	\$ 3,250
Wilkie, Farr & Gallagher	\$ 1,250
Gallo Winery	\$ 2,000

## Bob Dole

Ernest & Julio Gallo Winery	\$18,000
Koch Industries	\$18,250
Archer Daniels Midland	\$ 8,000
Torchmark	\$ 7,750
MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings	\$ 5,000
The Anschutz Corporation	\$ 3,000
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company	\$30,975
Fisher Brothers	\$ 6,000
NTC Group	\$ 2,000

## Phil Gramm

National Rifle Association	\$4,950
American Medical Association	\$2,000
Bass Enterprises	\$9,000
Hunt Corporation	\$5,000
Trammell Crow	\$ 1,000
Baker and Botts	\$4,500

## Richard Lugar

Eli Lilly, Lilly Endowment	\$31,050
Chicago Mercantile Exchange	\$ 5,000
Chicago Board of Trade	\$ 5,000

*\*Includes contributions from PACs, individual and employees*

# 1995 Contributions from their "Top Ten Career Patrons"\*\*

(January thru September 30th)

## Republican Party

National Rifle Association	\$40,000
American Medical Association	\$ 20,000
Hunt Corporation	\$ 37,500
National Assoc of Relators	\$ 3,000
Eli Lilly	\$ 75,000
Chicago Mercantile Exchange	\$ 30,290
American Bankers Association	\$ 30,450
Harris Corporation	\$ 7,000
McKissick, Ellison	\$ 15,000
Gallo Winery and Family	\$ 20,000
Archer Daniels Midland	\$255,000

Torchmark	\$22,500
The Anschutz Corporation	\$15,000
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company	\$56,000
Vopnford Family	\$ 5,000
Koch Industries	\$25,000
Fisher Brothers	\$16,886

## Democratic Party

Stephens Inc.	\$ 5,000
Covington & Burlington	\$ 500
Gallo Winery and Family	\$40,000
Sullivan & Cromwell	\$ 5,000

*\*\*Includes contributions from companies, individuals and employees.*

# SPECIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN 1995

*continued from page one*

Democratic party through October 1995. ARCO executives got a seat on Brown's trips to China, Hong Kong and South Africa.

Telecommunications companies continued to be generous to the president and the Democratic party in 1995 following a favorable change in policy on the part of the Clinton administration. Seven major telecommunications firms gave Clinton some \$54,900 in the first three quarters of 1995 and the Democratic party \$259,250 through October 1995.

Contrary to statements made during the 1992 presidential campaign, Vice President Al Gore in December 1993 reversed the administration's position on the information superhighway by saying that it should be privately funded, a position advocated by telecommunications companies. Within two days of the policy reversal, industry executives and employees gave the DNC \$132,000.

A Houston-based oil company whose industry Texas Sen. Phil Gramm's wife, Wendy Gramm, helped avoid federal regulation continued to give significant money to the senator in 1995. Enron Corp. — which was Sen. Gramm's largest campaign donor over the past decade or so with \$34,100 — gave the senator's presidential bid some \$23,500 during the first three quarters of 1995 and \$95,000 to the Republican party.

In 1992, Enron was one of nine energy companies which wrote to the Commodities Futures Trading Commission, where Wendy Gramm served as chairwoman, seeking to exempt energy derivative contracts, a business valued at \$5 trillion a year, from federal regulation. Mrs. Gramm ordered commission staff members to begin a rule-making process to allow for the exemption. When Mrs. Gramm left her post in 1993, she assumed a seat on the Enron board of directors for fees of \$22,000.

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