

Encyclopedia of
INTEREST
GROUPS
★ ★ ★ ★ and ★ ★ ★ ★
LOBBYISTS
in the United States

Volume One

IMMANUEL NESS
Brooklyn College, City University of New York



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CONTENTS

Contributors xi
Abbreviations and Acronyms xiii
Introduction xvii

VOLUME ONE

PART I. INTEREST GROUPS

Section 1. Banking, Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate

Introduction 3
American Bankers Association 8
America’s Community Bankers 12
American Council of Life Insurance 15
American Financial Services Association 18
American Institute of Certified
Public Accountants 21
Credit Union National Association 24
Independent Community Bankers
of America 27
Independent Insurance Agents of America ... 30
Investment Company Institute 33
Mortgage Bankers Association of America ... 36
National Association of Independent
Insurers 39
National Association of Insurance
Commissioners 42
National Association of Life Underwriters 45
National Association of Professional
Insurance Agents 49
National Association of Realtors 52
National Venture Capital Association 55
Securities Industry Association 58

Section 2. Service, Trade, and Professional

Introduction 62
American Bar Association 67
American Gaming Association 70
American Hotel and Motel Association 73
American Library Association 75
American Association of Advertising
Agencies 78
Association of Trial Lawyers of America 80
Food Marketing Institute 83
Fraternal Order of Police 86
National Association of Convenience
Stores 89
National Association of Retired Federal
Employees 92
National Association of Social Workers 95
National Automobile Dealers Association 99
National Beer Wholesalers Association 102
National Federation of Independent
Business 105
National Funeral Directors Association 108
National Restaurant Association 111
Petroleum Marketers Association
of America 114
United States Chamber of Commerce 117

Section 3. Media, Entertainment, and Information

Introduction 120
Accuracy in Media 125
American Council on Education 127
Association of American Publishers 130

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting	133	Organic Trade Association	252
Magazine Publishers of America	135	United Egg Association	254
Motion Picture Association of America	138	Section 6. Environment	
National Association of Broadcasters	142	Introduction	256
National Cable Television Association	146	Environmental Defense Fund	262
Newspaper Association of America	150	Friends of the Earth	265
Recording Industry Association of America	153	Greenpeace	269
Software and Information Industry Association	157	Izaak Walton League	272
Section 4. Health and Medical		League of Conservation Voters	275
Introduction	159	National Audubon Society	278
American Academy of Ophthalmology	164	National Wildlife Federation	281
American Cancer Society	167	Rainforest Action Network	284
American Chiropractic Association	169	Sierra Club	287
American College of Emergency Physicians	172	Wise Use Movement	291
American Dietetic Association	175	Section 7. Industry, Construction, and Transport	
American Federation for AIDS Research	178	Introduction	294
American Healthcare Association	181	Aerospace Industries Association	298
American Heart Association	184	Air Transport Association	300
American Hospital Association	186	American Forest and Paper Association	304
American Medical Association	189	American Furniture Manufacturers Association	307
American Nurses Association	193	American Textile Manufacturers Institute	309
American Occupational Therapy Association	196	American Trucking Associations	312
American Psychiatric Association	199	Associated Builders and Contractors	315
American Society of Anesthesiologists	202	Business Roundtable	318
Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association	205	Chemical Manufacturers Association	321
Section 5. Agriculture		Distilled Spirits Council of the United States	323
Introduction	209	Edison Electric Institute	326
American Farm Bureau Federation	215	National Association of Home Builders	329
American Agriculture Movement	218	National Association of Manufacturers	332
American Meat Institute	220	National Mining Association	335
American Sugarbeet Growers Association	223	Nuclear Energy Institute	338
International Dairy Foods Association	226	Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America	341
National Association of Wheat Growers	229	Printing Industries of America	343
National Cattlemen's Beef Association	231	Semiconductor Industry Association	346
National Chicken Council	234	Technology Network	348
National Cotton Council of America	237	VOLUME TWO	
National Council of Farmer Cooperatives	240	Section 8. Labor	
National Farmers Organization	242	Introduction	350
National Farmers Union	244	Airline Pilots Association	356
National Grange	247		
National Pork Producers Council	249		

American Federation of Labor–Congress
of Industrial Organizations 359

American Federation of State, County, and
Municipal Employees 363

American Federation of Teachers 366

American Postal Workers Union 369

Communications Workers of America 372

Hotel Employees and Restaurant
Employees International Union 375

International Association of
Fire Fighters 378

International Association of Machinists and
Aerospace Workers 381

International Brotherhood of
Electrical Workers 384

International Brotherhood of
Teamsters 387

International Union of
Operating Engineers 390

Laborers’ International Union of
North America 393

National Education Association 396

Seafarers International Union of
North America 399

Service Employees International
Union 401

Transport Workers Union of America 404

Union of Needletrades, Industrial,
and Textile Employees 407

United Automobile Workers 410

United Food and Commercial
Workers International Union 413

United Steelworkers of America 416

United Transportation Union 419

Section 9. Civil and Human Rights

Introduction 422

ACORN (Association of Community
Organizations for Reform Now) 430

American Civil Liberties Union 433

Anti-Defamation League 435

Freedom House 438

Human Rights Watch 441

League of Women Voters of the United
States 444

Legal Services Corporation 447

National Coalition for the Homeless 450

National Lawyers Guild 452

**Section 10. Political, Religious, and
Ideological**

Introduction 454

American Conservative Union 460

American Enterprise Institute 463

Americans for Democratic Action 466

Americans for Tax Reform 469

Brookings Institution 472

Cato Institute 475

Center for Public Integrity 477

Center for Responsive Politics 479

Christian Coalition 481

Citizens for a Sound Economy 483

Common Cause 485

Economic Policy Institute 487

Heritage Foundation 490

Hudson Institute 492

John Birch Society 494

National Council of the Churches
of Christ 496

National Taxpayers Union 498

Public Citizen 500

United States Catholic Conference 502

U.S. Public Interest Research Group 504

Section 11. Single Issue

Introduction 506

Americans United for the Separation of
Church and State 513

Citizens Flag Alliance 516

Council for a Livable World 518

Handgun Control, Inc. 521

Mothers Against Drunk Driving 524

National Abortion and Reproductive
Rights Action League 526

National Committee to Preserve
Social Security and Medicare 529

National Rifle Association 532

National Right to Life Committee 536

People for the Ethical Treatment
of Animals 539

Planned Parenthood Federation
of America 542

Union of Concerned Scientists 545

U.S. English 547

U.S. Term Limits 550

Zero Population Growth 553

Section 12. Identity

Introduction	555
American Association of Retired Persons.....	561
American Indian Movement	564
American Legion	567
Congress of Racial Equality	569
Emily's List	572
Human Rights Campaign	575
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	578
National Gay and Lesbian Task Force	581
National Organization for Women	583

Section 13. Foreign

Introduction	586
China	591
Cuban Exiles	594
European Union	597
Israel	600
Japan	603
Mexico	606
Nigeria	609
Russia	611
Taiwan	614
Turkey	616

**PART II. POLITICAL ACTION
COMMITTEES AND LOBBYISTS: TABLES
AND FIGURES**

Section 1. Political Action Committees

Introduction	621
Top Agriculture PACs	627
Top Livestock/Poultry PACs	628
Top Dairy PACs	629
Top Tobacco PACs	629
Top Forestry and Paper PACs	629
Top Business PACs	630
Top Food and Beverage PACs	631
Top Retail PACs	632
Top Miscellaneous Services PACs	632
Top Gambling/Recreation/Tourism PACs	632
Top Miscellaneous Business PACs	633
Top Construction PACs	633
Top Building Equipment/Materials PACs	634

Top Engineering/Architecture PACs	635
Top Contractors and Builders PACs	635
Top Defense PACs	636
Top Electronics/Communications PACs	638
Top Electronic/Computer Manufacturing PACs	639
Top Telephone PACs	639
Top TV/Music/Movies PACs	639
Top Telecommunications PACs	640
Top Printing and Publishing PACs	640
Top Energy/Resource PACs	641
Top Oil and Gas PACs	643
Top Mining PACs	644
Top Electric Utility PACs	645
Top Nuclear/Misc. Energy PACs	645
Top Waste Management/Environmental Service PACs	645
Top Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate PACs	646
Top Commercial Bank PACs	647
Top Savings and Loan/ Credit Union PACs	648
Top Finance/Credit Company PACs	649
Top Security and Investment PACs	650
Top Insurance PACs	651
Top Accounting PACs	652
Top Real Estate PACs	652
Top Health PACs	653
Top Health Professional PACs	655
Top Hospital/Nursing Home PACs	656
Top Pharmaceutical and Health Product PACs	656
Top Democratic/Liberal PACs	657
Top Republican/Conservative PACs	658
Top Women's Issue PACs	659
Top Miscellaneous Human Rights/Identity Groups PACs	660
Top Law Firm PACs	661
Top Lobbyist Firm PACs	661
Top Manufacturing PACs	662
Top Chemical Manufacturing PACs	663
Top Steel PACs	663
Top Textile PACs	664
Top Miscellaneous Manufacturing PACs	664
Top Single-Issue PACs	665
Top Pro-Israel PACs	666
Top Environment PACs	667
Top Gun and Gun Control PACs	667
Top Pro-Choice and Pro-Life PACs	667

Top Miscellaneous Single-Issue PACs	667	Top Health Professional Associations Lobbying Expenditures	688
Top Transport PACs	668	Top Insurance Companies Lobbying Expenditures	689
Top Air Transport PACs	669	Top Oil and Gas Companies Lobbying Expenditures	690
Top Automobile PACs	670	Top Pharmaceutical/Health Product Companies Lobbying Expenditures	691
Top Trucking PACs	670	Top Single Issue/Identity Groups Lobbying Expenditures	692
Top Railroad PACs	670	Top Tobacco Companies Lobbying Expenditures	693
Top Sea Transport PACs	670	Top Corporations/Associations Lobbying Expenditures	694
Top Union PACs	671	Top Industries—Lobbying Expenditures	697
Top Industrial Union PACs	672	Top Telephone/Utilities Lobbying Expenditures	699
Top Transport Union PACs	673	Top Transportation Companies Lobbying Expenditures	700
Top Building Trade Union PACs	674	Top Lobbying Firms	701
Top Public Sector Union PACs	674	Top Clients of Top Lobbying Firms	703
Top Miscellaneous Union PACs	675	Contact Information	705
Top Soft-Money Donors, 1997-98 Election Cycle	676	Glossary	719
Section 2. Lobbyists		Bibliography	725
Introduction	678	Index	739
Top Banking, Security, and Investment Companies Lobbying Expenditures	684		
Top Business Associations Lobbying Expenditures	685		
Top Computer Companies Lobbying Expenditures	686		
Top Entertainment/Media Institutions Lobbying Expenditures	687		
Top Government Agencies Lobbying Expenditures	688		

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAAA	American Association of Advertising Agencies	AHA	American Heart Association; American Hospital Association
AAM	American Agriculture Movement	AHCA	American Healthcare Association
AAOP	American Academy of Ophthalmology	AHMA	American Hotel and Motel Association
AAP	Association of American Publishers	AIA	Aerospace Industries Association
AARP	American Association of Retired Persons	AICPA	American Institute of Certified Public Accountants
ABA	American Bankers Association	AIM	Accuracy in Media; American Indian Movement
ABC	American Builders and Contractors; <i>see</i> America's Community Bankers	ALPA	Airline Pilots Association
ACA	American Chiropractic Association	AMA	American Medical Association
ACE	American Council on Education	AmFAR	American Federation for AIDS Research
ACEP	American College of Emergency Physicians	AMI	American Meat Institute
ACLI	American Council of Life Insurance	ANA	American Nurses Association
ACS	American Cancer Society	AOTA	American Occupational Therapy Association
ACU	American Conservative Union	APA	American Psychiatric Association
ADA	Americans for Democratic Action; American Dietetic Association	API	American Petroleum Institute
AEI	American Enterprise Institute	APWU	American Postal Workers Union
AF&PA	American Forest and Paper Association	ASA	American Society of Anesthesiologists
AFCA	American Financial Services Association	ASGA	American Sugarbeet Growers Association
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations	ATA	Air Transport Association; American Trucking Associations
AFMA	American Furniture Manufacturers Association	ATMI	American Textile Manufacturers Institute
AFSCME	American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees	ATR	Americans for Tax Reform
AFT	American Federation of Teachers	AU	Americans United for Separation of Church and State
AGA	American Gaming Association	BCBSA	Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association

CFA	Citizens Flag Alliance	IMF	International Monetary Fund
CLW	Council for a Livable World	IRA	Individual Retirement Accounts
CMA	Chemical Manufacturers Association	IUOE	International Union of Operating Engineers
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality	JBS	John Birch Society
CPA	Certified Public Accountant	LCW	League of Conservation Voters
CPI	Center for Public Integrity	LIUNA	Laborers' International Union of North America
CPR	Center for Responsive Politics	MADD	Mothers Against Drunk Driving
CSE	Citizens for a Sound Economy	MBAA	Mortgage Bankers Association of America
CUNA	Credit Union National Association	MPA	Magazine Publishers of America
CWA	Communications Workers of America	MPAA	Motion Picture Association of America
DISCUS	Distilled Spirits Council of the United States	NAA	Newspaper Association of America
DoD	Department of Defense	NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
DRI	Dietary Reference Intakes	NAB	National Association of Broadcasters
EDF	Environmental Defense Fund	NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
EI	Edison Electric Institute	NAHB	National Association of Home Builders
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency	NAIC	National Association of Insurance Commissioners
EPI	Economic Policy Institute	NAII	National Association of Independent Insurers
FAIR	Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting	NALU	National Association of Life Underwriters
FCC	Federal Communications Commission	NAM	National Association of Manufacturers
FDA	Food and Drug Administration	NAPIA	National Association of Professional Insurance Agents
FTC	Federal Trade Commission	NAR	National Association of Realtors
HCFA	Healthcare Financing Administration	NARAL	National Abortion and Reproduction Action League
HCI	Handgun Control, Inc.	NAWG	National Association of Wheat Growers
HERE	Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union	NCBA	National Cattlemen's Beef Association
HHS	Department of Health and Human Services	NCC	National Council of Churches of Christ; National Chicken Council (formerly National Broiler Council)
HIAA	Health Insurance Association of America	NCCA	National Cotton Council of America
HMO	Health maintenance organization	NCFC	National Council of Farmer Cooperatives
HRC	Human Rights Campaign	NCPSSM	National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare
IAFF	International Association of Fire Fighters	NCTA	National Cable Television Association
IAMAW	International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers	NEA	National Education Association
IBEW	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers		
IBT	International Brotherhood of Teamsters		
ICBA	Independent Community Bankers of America		
ICI	Investment Company Institute		
IDFA	International Dairy Foods Association		
IIAA	Independent Insurance Agents of America		

NEH	National Endowment for the Humanities	SEIU	Service Employees International Union
NEI	Nuclear Energy Institute	SIA	Semiconductor Industry of America; Securities Industry Association
NFO	National Farmers Organization	SIIA	Software and Information Industry Association
NFU	National Farmers Union	SIU	Seafarers International Union of North America
NGLTF	National Gay and Lesbian Task Force	TechNet	Technology Network
NLRA	National Labor Relations Act	TI	Tobacco Institute
NMA	National Mining Association	TWUA	Transport Workers Union of America
NOW	National Organization for Women	UAW	United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America
NPPC	National Pork Producers Council	UCS	Union of Concern Scientists
NRA	National Rifle Association	UEA	United Egg Association
NRLC	National Right to Life Committee	UFCW	United Food and Commercial Workers Union
NTU	National Taxpayers Union	UNITE	Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees
NVCA	National Venture Capital Association	US PIRG	U.S. Public Interest Research Group
OCC	Office of the Controller of the Currency	USCC	United States Catholic Conference
OTA	Organic Trade Association	USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
PAC	Political Action Committee	USTL	US Term Limits
PETA	People for the Ethnical Treatment of Animals	USWA	United Steelworkers of America
PhRMA	Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America	UTU	United Transportation Union
PIA	Printing Industries of America	WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
PMA	Petroleum Marketers Association	WTO	World Trade Organization
PPFA	Planned Parenthood Federation of America	ZPG	Zero Population Growth
PPO	Preferred Provider Organization		
RDA	Recommended Dietary Allowances		
RIAA	Recording Industry Association of America		
SEC	Securities and Exchange Commission		



INTRODUCTION

Interest groups and lobbyists play a central role in the American political system. With thousands of staffers and hundreds of millions of dollars at their command, these groups and individuals influence elections, shape government agendas, and help draft legislation. Some interest groups represent huge industries or people in a specific field or business; others are labor unions representing workers in particular trades. Still other interest groups are devoted to a single issue or cause. Interest groups represent both small and large constituencies and help to educate the public on many issues.

While interest groups engage in numerous, diverse activities—from public relations to providing industry databases for members—their political functions essentially include one or both of the following: donating money to candidates' campaigns, and hiring lobbyists to influence the course of legislation of concern to the members of the interest group. Lobbyists, who are either on the payroll of a given interest group or who work for a professional lobbying firm, then try to educate lawmakers to the views of the interest group the lobbyists represent. Often, lobbyists' efforts go beyond education to applying pressure on legislators through public relations and advertising campaigns, such as the (in)famous "Harry and Louise" ads that sunk President Bill Clinton's universal healthcare insurance plan in 1994. Whatever their many functions, interest groups have become so ubiquitous that it is impossible to understand modern American politics without understanding the enormous power

these groups wield in shaping the national political debate.

The phenomenon of interest group politics is nothing new. In the 1830s, the great French political theorist Alexis de Tocqueville noted the propensity of Americans to form associations to effect social, political, and economic change. Such groups included abolitionists, who fought to end slavery, as well as other groups who sought to outlaw dueling, capital punishment, and the consumption of alcohol. The growth of the federal government in the twentieth century, however, sparked the rise of modern, Washington-based interest groups. Progressive Era legislation in the early 1900s and the New Deal in the 1930s created new regulatory agencies that expanded the federal bureaucracy and spurred development of business-oriented interest groups. The ferment of the 1960s led to broader social programs and triggered the formation of numerous groups dedicated to environmental, civil rights, humanitarian, educational, and economic goals. These various groups supported candidates, advocated specific laws and regulations, and pressured members of Congress and government officials to pass them.

As interest groups exerted more influence, Congress attempted to reel them in by enacting legislation limiting the size of individual contributions to candidates. Ironically, campaign reforms passed in the wake of the Watergate scandal actually helped to enhance their power. Legislation banning large, direct contributions from individuals to candidates and office hold-

ers in the 1970s prodded interest groups to establish political action committees (PACs). These PACs were able to pool donations by individuals and present them to candidates as one huge contribution, thereby enhancing the influence of the donors—and the PACs themselves.

Since the 1970s, PAC money from interest groups has played an increasingly important role in congressional elections. As the supply of campaign money has risen so has the demand. The exploding costs of running for office—and especially of placing political advertisements on television—have made many candidates reliant on PAC and interest-group support. Over the past quarter-century, the role of interest groups and money, now exponentially enhanced by “soft-money” loopholes, has stirred controversy. Soft money is money contributed to political parties—rather than directly to candidates—for partisan or issue advocacy. By focusing on specific issues supported by a candidate, advertisements paid for by soft money can be extremely influential, and there are no limits on soft-money contributions. Poll after poll has shown that a majority of Americans want fundamental campaign reform to rein in the power of interest groups over elections and the legislative process. Conversely, congressional resistance to such legislation has revealed the dependency of many office holders on interest groups and their money.

CHALLENGES TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The tight relationship between members of Congress and interest groups, which shower them with hundreds of millions of dollars and lobby them for specific legislation, has bred cynicism among the electorate and cast doubt on the credibility of the American political process. The nation’s democratic system—rooted in the principle of one person, one vote—becomes muddled when powerful interest groups that represent a narrow issue, a single profession, or a small minority of the people play a decisive role in electing candidates and influencing policy. Only the very wealthy can afford to make substantial special-interest contributions, and these contributions are often critical in helping candidates win office.

The all-consuming influence of special-interest money has a secondary effect on elections and the political process: it limits the pool of congressional candidates by dissuading qualified people who cannot raise huge funds from running for office. Consequently, the very wealthy, who can dip into their personal fortunes, often dominate political campaigns and force their opponents to rely on support from special interests. Because money is so central, both the Republican and Democratic parties have sought to recruit wealthy individuals capable of financing their own races. The influence of money can also jeopardize the job security of independent-minded government officials who challenge the interests of big contributors. Members of Congress who oppose the demands of powerful donors on the basis of principle or the best interests of the majority of Americans who cannot contribute large sums of money sometimes face strong challenges from opponents who are backed by the very contributors seeking to protect special privileges. Thus, many legislators vote in support of the established political and economic interests of their contributors.

Advocates of unlimited contributions to politicians from interest groups and PACs argue that restricting such donations would violate the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. In 1976, the Supreme Court ruled in *Buckley v. Valeo* that financial contributions to political campaigns were a form of freedom of speech and thus constitutionally protected. Some limits could be imposed on contributions from donors, but no limits could be placed on the amount of money candidates could spend on their own campaigns. This ruling imposed major obstacles to efforts to regulate spending and, despite growing public outrage, Congress has failed to pass significant campaign finance reform.

Both the Supreme Court decision and the ongoing resistance from Congress to pass meaningful reform have created a climate where money flows freely, greasing the political process. In recent years this flow of money has become a flood. During the 1996 elections, contributions to congressional races reached nearly \$800 million, and spending for federal campaigns—including the presidential race—topped \$2.1 billion, a sum expected to double in the early twenty-first century.

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, a watchdog agency that tracks political spending (and is, in effect, an interest group itself), the average cost of a seat in the House of Representatives in 1996 was \$674,000. A Senate seat cost \$4.7 million. Much of this massive amount of money came from a tiny sliver of the American people. The Center for Responsive Politics found that less than .1 percent of Americans contributed 40 percent of all money raised in the 1996 congressional elections.

Soft money continues to play a major role in political campaigns. Under *Buckley v. Valeo*, the Supreme Court ruled that no restrictions could be placed on soft money intended for issue advertisements. Thus, while the Federal Election Commission (FEC) closely monitors and restricts campaign contributions to specific campaigns, it does not limit the amount of money that individuals and special-interest groups can contribute to parties for issue advertisements. Parties frequently use soft money to pay for advertisements criticizing opponents and issues associated with them, thereby circumventing the rigorous FEC regulations on direct contributions to candidates. This gives interest groups and their PACs enormous influence on a wide range of issues, from gun ownership and tobacco price supports to school vouchers and offshore oil drilling, to name a few. In an October 18, 1999, article in the *Nation*, journalist Robert Dreyfuss reported that soft-money contributions tripled from \$86 million in 1992 to \$262 million in 1996 and are expected to rise to between \$500 million and \$750 million in 2000.

INFLUENCE ON POLICY

Although interest groups and rich contributors cannot dictate how members of Congress will vote, their large donations provide them access to people in office and the opportunity to directly present their positions. In many cases, this access—along with the implicit threat of withdrawing future support—translates into votes. Powerful interest groups and affluent contributors can thus shape public policy in ways that favor big business, large corporations, and

wealthier Americans. To critics of the existing system—formerly on the political left, but of late increasingly mainstream—the results are plain to see: the United States has greater income inequality, higher poverty rates, and more persons without adequate healthcare than other industrialized countries where campaigns cost far less. These critics argue that special-interest groups have kept the minimum wage down, trimmed social programs, and prevented adequate regulation of business activities. In the 1990s, they claim, interest groups representing powerful insurance companies helped kill the Clinton administration's plans for universal healthcare coverage. Thus, through contributions and special interest groups, wealthy Americans wield a disproportionate share of power in Washington, D.C., and enjoy access denied to many poor and working-class Americans.

Not all interest groups represent the rich, of course. Many focus on specific issues that have little to do with economics. If well-organized and efficiently operated, they too can shape public policy, often against the interests of a majority of a politician's constituents. On the issue of gun control, for example, polls have consistently shown Americans in favor of certain measures, but gunowners' groups have lobbied Congress to prevent passage of meaningful legislation. By threatening to remove financial support, interest groups can sway politicians and influence policy.

Whatever criticisms Americans may level at the role interest groups play in the political process, these groups do perform important and beneficial services. Many of the groups examined in this encyclopedia offer research and data-collection facilities to their member companies, allowing them to share trade information and new business strategies. In many cases, interest groups set and, to a degree, enforce industry standards. Sometimes this is done to thwart potentially more stringent government regulations as, for example, was the case with the movie rating system established by the Motion Picture Association of America.

Trade associations and other interest groups can also have a positive effect on the legislative and regulatory process. They act as a collective voice for a multitude of companies in a given in-

dustry—making the needs of that industry clearer to lawmakers and administrators—and can educate both legislative and executive branch officials on the needs of their trades and businesses. This can be a crucial function, particularly for newer industries that are largely unknown or older industries undergoing technological transformation. Indeed, as business and industry become more complex, trade associations and other interest groups become a critical source of information for government officials. In some cases, members of interest groups have even been used to draw up legislation involving highly technical issues. Of course, this often means that the legislation is written in such a way that favors one particular industry over another, or over the interests of the environment or the public at large.

Defenders of interest groups argue that rather than posing a threat to democracy such groups actually fulfill some of America's earliest and most enduring political ideals. In *Federalist Paper Number 10*, written in 1787–88 to promote ratification of the Constitution, James Madison argued that the diversity of interests in the new republic would prove the best defense against tyranny. Since no single interest group would be large or powerful enough to achieve a governing majority on its own, compromise among groups would be inevitable and vital, thereby assuring a multiplicity of voices in government. And indeed, as a glance at this encyclopedia's table of contents indicates, there is a multiplicity of voices among the many interest groups in Washington, D.C., today. Labor unions, environmental groups, civil and human rights organizations, single-issue proponents, even foreign governments—all vie for the ear of legislators and all compete to place their own stamp on new laws, policies, and regulations. In the final analysis, of course, it would be naïve to think that all voices are heard equally in the nation's capital. Business and industry groups, by the sheer number of lobbyists employed, campaign funds contributed, and influence exerted, outstrip all other interest groups combined, with the possible exception of organized labor. Interest groups and lobbyists of all persuasions will likely shape the American political system for years to come.

HOW TO USE THIS ENCYCLOPEDIA

The *Encyclopedia of Interest Groups and Lobbyists in the United States* is divided into two parts. Part I includes entries on 197 specific interest groups. These interest groups are divided into 13 sections: 1) Banking, Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate; 2) Service, Trade, and Professional; 3) Media, Entertainment, and Information; 4) Health and Medical; 5) Agriculture; 6) Environment; 7) Industry, Construction, and Transport; 8) Labor; 9) Civil and Human Rights; 10) Political, Religious, and Ideological; 11) Single Issue; 12) Identity; and 13) Foreign. Every section begins with an introductory essay outlining general themes and issues.

Entries in each section of Part I are listed alphabetically. Each entry itself is divided into four subsections: an introduction, which describes the interest group as it exists today; history, which explains the group's origins and development; activities: current and future, which describes the group's present and prospective legislative and political agenda; and financial facts, which covers the interest group's overall expenses and political donations. Many entries for organizations that contribute to political campaigns include graphs that trace those donations over several recent election cycles.

Part II of the encyclopedia consists largely of tables and figures. These tables and figures are divided into two sections. Section 1 covers donations for 1997 and 1998 from political action committees representing corporations, trade associations, unions, and other interest groups. Section 2 covers lobbying expenses of all of these groups, along with other firms and their clients. All tables are organized by descending order of donated money or lobbying expenses, and both sections begin with introductory essays highlighting critical issues.

The encyclopedia also contains ancillary materials. These include contact information for every organization listed in Part I (name, address, phone number, and, where available, fax number and web site); a list of acronyms and abbreviations; a glossary of terms; a bibliography of books and articles devoted to lobbying and political dona-

tions generally, as well as materials on specific interest groups and industries; and an index.

The goal of this encyclopedia is to provide readers with vital information on all the major interest groups and lobbyists active in the United States today. This material will give readers a fuller understanding of the many organizations shaping

public policy and the electoral system—organizations that often escape public scrutiny. By understanding the origins of these various groups and recognizing their impact on the political process, citizens will better comprehend the forces influencing federal legislation, the functions of our government, and American life today.

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PART I
INTEREST GROUPS



SECTION ONE

BANKING, FINANCE, INSURANCE, AND REAL ESTATE



The interests of banking, finance, insurance, and real estate organizations affect virtually every aspect of today's material existence. Whether you are born into wealth or poverty, whether you experience upward or downward mobility, your career options, the taxes you pay, your housing, your workplace, the car you drive, how you invest, the retirement you experience, and the estate you leave all come within the influence of these organizations. Although the American Bankers Association, for example, is not an everyday term in most households, the resources it and other groups in this sector are able to wield make them politically important. Members of these organizations have the same professional and economic interests. All of the organizations in this sector are resource rich. The smallest of their budgets is \$4 million a year. Although money is not everything, it is a flexible resource that allows an organization to buy at least some of what it may not have otherwise—for example, a skilled lobbyist, if none of its members has a relationship with an important member of Congress.

The current-issue agenda of groups in this sector is a long one, but financial services restructuring is clearly at the top of the list. Major changes have already taken place over the past two decades, but pending legislation has the potential to foster more dramatic, rapid alterations in how Americans save, spend, borrow, invest, insure, and conduct other financial transactions.

Finance, insurance, and real estate interest groups use all the lobbying tactics known to scholars and observers. They are strongest in direct types of lobbying activities, where their lobbyists and members work directly with legislative and executive decision makers and their staffs. Because of the positions these groups occupy in the

economy, their expertise, input, and cooperation are critical to successful policy-making. While these groups use grassroots techniques, they typically interact with their members and employees rather than with the public. They do, however, use advertising and the mass media to bolster their public standing.

These organizations focus on all three branches of government at both the national and state levels. The focus of this encyclopedia is at the national level, but a careful student must also be aware of state and local policy decisions on many of these issues.

AREAS OF INTEREST

Finance, insurance, and real estate interests have been influential in American politics since before the nation's founding. Thomas Jefferson warned that banks are more dangerous than standing armies, while Alexander Hamilton promoted cooperation with financial interests. The debate has continued. In modern times, the health of this sector has been regarded as critical to a sound economy and political stability. Instability, scandal, or failures have led to governmental efforts to impose reforms in order to restore political order, foster prosperity, protect consumers, and promote the public interest.

Individualism and materialism remain powerful forces at the end of the twentieth century. Americans, to borrow a phrase from historian Richard Hofstadter, are all "expectant capitalists"—demonstrating a faith in the continued expansion of prosperity that is almost utopian. The generation that remembers the Great Depression is no longer influential. Today's hero is the billionaire who invents a new technology and uses

his wealth for mansions around the world, or the college student who makes millions trading stocks on the Internet on a daily basis and retires at age 19 to play at her computer.

The economic context at the turn of the century assumes continued growth, restrained inflation, and continuing development of new technologies. Recent successes persuade some that the old law that what goes up must come down no longer applies. Low unemployment rates bring more goods within the reach of the upwardly mobile; thus poverty is regarded as a matter of personal responsibility. There is widespread faith in the outcomes of competition and the allocation of a free-market economy. Any cloud on the horizon takes the shape of the pending retirement of baby boomers. There is little attention to wages lagging behind while profits are soaring; any mention of extraordinarily high executive salaries as compared with average wages is quickly labeled "class warfare."

The late 1990s political context in which finance, insurance, and real estate interests operate has been very nearly ideal for them. Most voices support free trade and praise democracy combined with capitalism as the successful model for the entire world. The collapse of the former Soviet Union is openly used to illustrate that higher powers do indeed smile on the American model.

Few seriously question whether the rules of the game are fair; the focus is on the successful players who are vocal and seem to be larger than life. The possibility of redistributing wealth to those who have fallen out of the capitalist competition is not even a consideration. The current focus is on which subsector can claim a larger share of an expanding pie; government scurries to catch up with changes already made by specific industries but faces barriers thrown up by their refusal to compromise or be harnessed.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

Most members of the interest groups in the finance, insurance, and real estate sector are institutions such as banks or insurance companies. Having institutions or organizations as members offers numerous benefits, including greater financial resources, expertise supported by corporate positions, and relative permanence. The main disadvantage is that the members tend to vary more in size than is possible among individuals. For example, Prudential Insurance and Woodmen Accident and Life may both be members of the American Council

of Life Insurance, but they are so different in size as to have significantly different perspectives on many issues. In fact, the staff of the organization spends substantial resources interpreting issues in order to forge a consensus.

Some of the organizations in this sector only have individuals as members. Members of these groups have the same profession, such as accountants, insurance agents, or real estate agents. For these groups, difference in size is not an obstacle, but they may have different subspecialties, which create similar internal divisions. Individual membership groups do not have the same access to financial resources that financial, insurance, and real estate institutional groups enjoy, but neither do they have to penetrate organization structures to motivate individuals to be politically active.

Measured in financial terms, these organizations are very well supported. Not all of them release budget figures, but the average budget of the 12 organizations from which data are available is over \$36 million annually. The range of budget figures is from the \$4 million American Financial Services Association annual budget to the \$145 million American Institute of Certified Public Accountants (AICPA).

Data on staff size are available from all the organizations profiled and are another valid measure of the resources that the group can bring to bear on issues. The average staff size of the 17 groups is 193 persons; the largest staff is employed by the AICPA, with 700, and the smallest is nine, employed by the National Venture Capital Association. Volunteer support from well-placed persons with institutional support and expertise is also of tremendous importance for some of these organizations. While it is difficult to develop data on volunteer resources, one of the groups noted an effort including over 1,000 volunteers from member companies, another an effort by 3,400 volunteers spending 21,000 hours.

CURRENT ISSUES

The most important legislative issue in finance, insurance, and real estate in the late twentieth century is the restructuring of the financial services industry, which includes commercial and savings banks, mutual funds, insurance companies, and the securities industry. This issue has been brought to the agenda by the aggressive efforts of banks to break down traditional barriers between types of financial service providers. The main target is the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act, which, in an effort to

promote soundness and confidence, required separate financial underpinnings for banks, insurers, savings and loan associations, credit unions, and securities companies, with so-called fire walls between them. The intent was to prevent the sort of massive collapse of financial institutions that characterized the Great Depression. The merger of Citicorp with Travelers Group in April 1998 sparked government efforts to overturn Glass-Steagall, which were successful in October 1999.

Spurred by technological changes in moving funds to the best investment, the various businesses began over the last several decades to compete for market share. Large banks started offering insurance, selling securities and stocks, and providing other financial services. Their efforts have been facilitated by the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC), the courts, and Congress. Interests other than banks have not had similar regulatory support to counter competition and have been seeking legislation to give them the same opportunities. However, they are hampered by being unable to reach satisfactory compromises that would serve to protect all their interests.

Finance, insurance, and real estate interests are perennially attentive to the tax code and how their segment of capital is defined and treated. During the 1980s and 1990s, they weighed in on proposals to revise the treatment of capital gains, mortgage interest deductions, value of life insurance, employee benefits, benefits bought by the self-employed, and the deductibility of consumer interest.

Revision of bankruptcy laws is also on the legislative agenda for finance, insurance, and real estate groups. With more debtors filing for bankruptcy, lenders and creditor interests want to make it harder for debtors to write their debts off entirely. There is also competition among types of credit holders to obtain more favorable standing relative to repayment criteria.

A number of the consumer protection provisions passed in the 1960s and 1970s are under attack by these interest groups. Requirements for fuller information disclosure on interest rates, terms for saving and borrowing, and specified procedures for closing a real estate mortgage are attacked as cumbersome and confusing. Community reinvestment requirements imposed on banks, demanding that their lending patterns undergo scrutiny and meet standards of local stewardship, are also challenged as burdensome and antimarket.

Environmental laws governing liability for toxic and hazardous waste sites are on the legislative lists of real estate development interests. Their argument is that liability could be limited legislatively, large areas that are now unused could become available for development. Proposals to reform America's healthcare system draw

attention from insurance interests, as do vehicle and driving safety.

Although these interests generally portray themselves as favoring less government, in some areas they advocate on behalf of government protection. For example, they want to protect deposit insurance, federally subsidized insurance for crops, and federal support for mortgage lending. It has been accepted for two decades that major players in the industry are too big to be allowed to fail, so smaller players often voice these concerns and expect government support if necessary.

Regulatory relief has been a rallying cry for American business for more than two decades. However, the current focus on financial services restructuring makes clear that most businesses are comfortable with known relationships and are eager only to have their competitors' relationships altered. For example, insurers want expanded financial services functions to be structured as holding companies regulated by the Federal Reserve, whereas banks want them to be structured as subsidiaries, regulated by the U.S. Treasury and the OCC. Holding companies are entities that control subsidiaries but do not generally participate directly in their operations. This same issue displays how federal and state regulators compete to determine who will oversee insurance sold by banks.

Many issues relevant to these groups have already been acted upon by Congress. Most recently, the federal government provided protection against year 2000 liability lawsuits for businesses that made good faith efforts to resolve known computer problems.

Other major policy questions that concern these interests are on the agenda but unresolved. Funding the impending wave of baby boomer retirements calls for revamping Social Security and improving savings rates and pensions. The possibility of partial privatization of Social Security holds the promise of dramatic expansion of the pool of capital available to be managed by this business sector.

A number of increasingly important issues have the potential to affect these interests. All of these organizations and their members are increasingly reliant upon technology but are only beginning to deal with resulting client privacy concerns. Growing interest in selling their products and services via the Internet raises the issue of whether and how Internet commerce will be taxed. And finally, the efforts by these groups to compete in the global economy also require that they come to grips with demands and institutions outside the United States.

Although an increasing share of Americans hold equity investments, own real estate, and anticipate retiring in the next decade, public opinion does not appear to

be very attentive to critical but complicated issues in this sector. A very positive climate of confidence, growth, and well-being characterizes the present era. Consumer questions tend to focus on automated teller machine charges, home equity loans, and the availability of credit cards. Troublesome questions about speculative financial instruments, the growth of conglomerates, and the increasing detachment of financial institutions from communities are seldom raised.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Lobbying by contributing to campaigns for federal office is the norm for organizations in this sector. Only the National Association of Insurance Commissioners has no political action committee (PAC). The other organizations have active PACs, as do many of their institutional members; there is evidence that their individual members are also active contributors. A scan of these PAC contributions from 1987 through 1998 reveals interesting patterns. Standing consistently head and shoulders above the rest is the National Association of Realtors PAC, with contributions ranging from \$1.9 million to \$3.1 million per election cycle. The American Bankers Association, the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, and the National Association of Life Underwriters are also major contributors, with amounts over \$1 million per election cycle. The American Financial Services Association and the Securities Industry Association are smaller PACs in this sector.

Data from the past decade also display interesting partisan activity because of the change from Democratic to Republican majorities in Congress. From 1987 through 1992, contributions leaned slightly toward Democratic recipients, with only two exceptions. The Investment Company Institute consistently was the most generous to Democratic candidates, giving approximately 80 percent of its contributions to them. On the other side, the National Association of Independent Insurers (NAII) gave most (about 80 percent) of its funds to Republicans.

In the 1993–1994 election cycle, before the Republicans gained a majority, contributions still leaned toward the Democrats, but their share narrowed noticeably. However, since the 1995–1996 election cycle, every one of these PACs has been squarely in the Republican column. And they are more generous to

Republicans, even with their narrow majority, than they were previously to the Democrats. This reflects a perceived preference on the part of this sector for Republican Party principles and the ability of Republicans to persuade business interests to discontinue support for the opposition. The NAII continues to stand out as most partisan, now giving 95 percent of its total contributions to Republicans. More cautiously, the Mortgage Bankers Association of America calculates the numbers of Republicans and Democrats in Congress to determine how much to contribute to each party.

Effective lobbying requires much more active political influence than making campaign contributions. All of the organizations in the finance, insurance, and real estate sector have sufficient resources to monitor policy activity and access decision makers in order to present their case. Due to their expertise, they are frequently called upon to help craft legislation and present testimony; they also enjoy the support of loyal defenders on Capitol Hill. Every member of Congress receives telephone calls, letters, telegrams, and personal visits from his or her accountant, banker, broker, insurance agent, and realtor. Inviting members of important governmental committees and agencies to speak at organization meetings promotes familiarity and provides a forum for communication for key decision makers.

These organizations also wield the critical resources of data and expertise; they are able to claim the status of experts in their fields, so their arguments and presentations have a high level of validity. The few critics who question whether self-interest influences their arguments more than is healthy for the public interest tend not to have the same status in policy circles as industry lobbyists.

The activities and resources of these interest groups extend to lobbying the executive branch of government as well. Representatives are provided regular access through serving on agency advisory committees. This allows them to have input and knowledge of forthcoming regulations. Institutionalized access is provided by the Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Federal Reserve, Securities and Exchange Commission, Home Loan Bank System, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Small Business Administration, and many other agencies.

The data and expertise wielded by these groups even help to shape the language of regulations, and their representatives are sometimes invited to negotiate the content. Their staffs give feedback to the agencies by means of commenting on proposed regulations and testifying at regulatory hearings. One organization has even spon-

sored a mass demonstration to influence the outcome of regulatory hearings. And if these methods do not succeed, they sue.

Lobbying the courts includes bringing test cases and filing *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs. A prominent judicial strategy for these organizations, in response to losing some expensive class-action cases, is now more subtle. Their legal teams are trying to counter class action suits by persuading the courts to decertify the class (thereby depriving it of legal standing), limit redress to actual damages, and limit attorneys' fees.

These organizations also engage in efforts to lobby the public. Many provide consumer education through information brochures or web site service and product directories. Some groups sponsor educational programs for elementary and secondary students; others reach into higher education by funding fellowships for college professors and research through cooperating foundations. However, most of their educational focus is on their own organizations—these groups devote substantial resources to technical, managerial, and political advocacy training for their members.

For their own members, decision makers, and the attentive public, they promote their interests by developing a framework in which to explain their issues, set out their arguments in attractive ways, and communicate them persuasively. These associations craft appealing stories, buy advertising campaigns, and help their members do the same. All maintain regular contact with the media, provide articulate spokespersons for their points of view, and provide frequent press releases. They also sponsor the education of specialized journalists; for example, the American Bankers Association offers fellowships for financial reporters, and the Securities In-

dustry Association sponsors sabbaticals for financial editors and correspondents.

Interest groups in the finance, insurance, and real estate sector generally do not organize beyond their own members, employees, and retirees. In fact, many are wary of the mixed public regard for insurance agents, bill collectors, tax accountants, and the like. However, these groups do organize formal grassroots networks, including training of grassroots managers, teaching employees how to write letters to their senators and representatives, and encouraging them to take part in campaigns. Their highest-profile grassroots efforts are their "fly ins," in which hundreds of members are flown to Washington to storm Capitol Hill.

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AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION

The American Bankers Association (ABA) represents the commercial banks and trust companies that dominate the financial services industry. Its mission is to protect and enhance the role of commercial banks as the preeminent providers of financial services. The combined assets of its members account for over 90 percent of the assets of the banking industry in the United States. The ABA positions itself as spokesperson for the banking industry, and its 8,000 members include the full range of banks. Although the majority of its members are small banks, with less than \$500 million in assets, the ABA is regarded as the policy voice for larger banks.

Because the ABA stakes out such a wide policy territory, many issues become part of its interest agenda. Efforts to reshape financial services since the late 1970s have kept the organization highly visible in national policy circles. This is particularly true because technological and product developments in banking have been the driving force in financial services restructuring. Thus the organization supports the expansion of the banks into handling insurance and securities, through either subsidiaries or bank holding companies. At the same time, however, the ABA opposes the expansion of commercial, nonbanking companies such as General Electric and Archer Daniels Midland into the business of banking. The ABA targets merchant banking as a particular threat, pointing out that the largest finance company in the country is a subsidiary of General Electric, rather than a "real" banking firm.

By contrast, the ABA is generally opposed to legislation or regulations that impose costs or limitations on banks. In this vein, the organization opposes community reinvestment requirements that mandate investing money in the neighborhoods in which their offices are located. The ABA also opposes their disclosure standards on credit card charges and truth-in-savings and truth-in-lending requirements. It argues that these individual laws accumulate into a burden on banks' efforts to com-

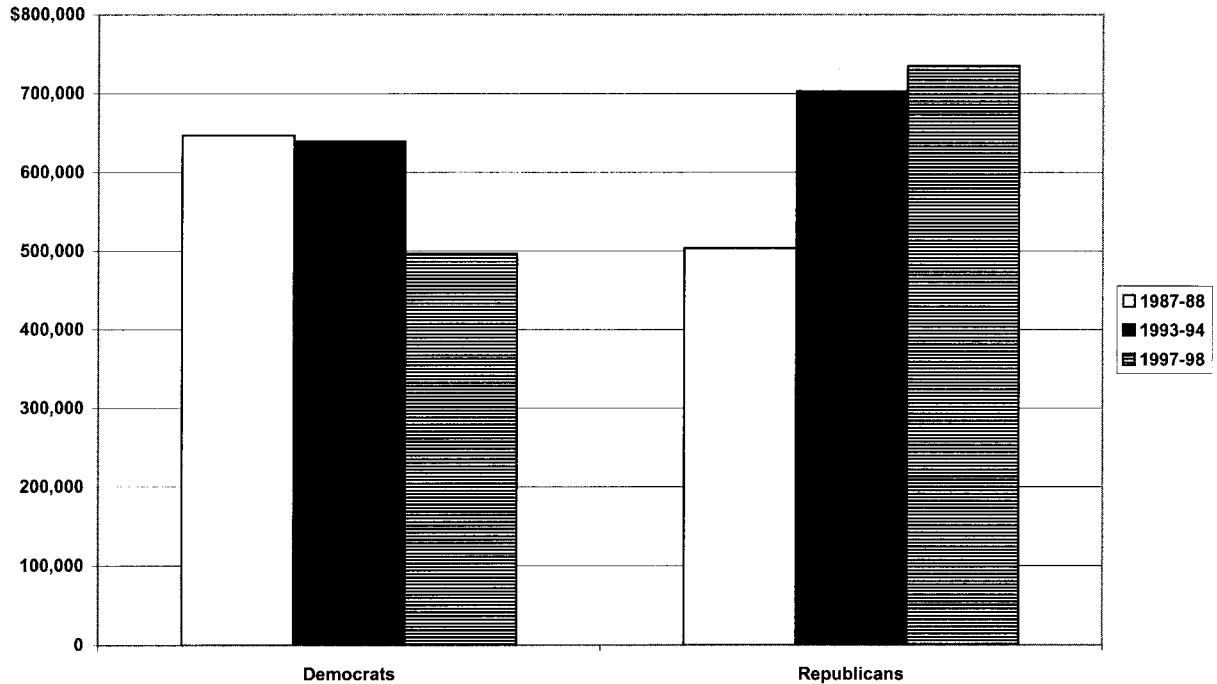
pete with other financial services businesses not subject to what the organization perceives as the same onerous rules. The ABA also opposes limits on the liability of consumers who lose their credit and automated teller machine cards.

In seeking relief from requirements of the Community Reinvestment Act, the ABA has supported giving banks that generally have a satisfactory rating a safe harbor, so that regulators could not deny or delay merger or branch opening applications due to protests by community groups demanding greater local investment. Banks with assets of less than \$250 million would be allowed to self-certify that they are obeying the community reinvestment standards; banks with less than \$100 million in assets would be exempt from the law.

HISTORY

Founded in 1875, the ABA is the oldest of the financial services trade associations. Whether banking services should be regulated and by whom have been issues since the founding of the Bank of the United States at the urging of Alexander Hamilton during President George Washington's administration. The Depression era witnessed major federal intervention with the passage of the Glass-Steagall Act in 1933 to create so-called fire walls between banking, insurance, and securities for the protection of each. Those fire walls have been under attack since the 1970s, with banks and their regulators leading the charge. Large banks have taken the lead in expanding into securities and insurance, and their regulators cheered them on. For example, in 1986, the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency issued a letter allowing nationwide sales of insurance by banks. The following year the Federal Reserve Board issued an opinion allowing bank holding companies to set up subsidiaries to

**American Bankers Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

sell insurance. These were followed by 1994 legislation permitting banks to set up branch offices nationwide.

The ABA has a reputation for significant success in pursuing its demands regardless of which political party is in power. It has successfully opposed life-line rates (low-cost basic services) for low-income and elderly customers, lining up against the American Association of Retired Persons. If the bankers can be said to have failures, it is in their inability to roll back the consumer reforms legislated in the early 1970s. While some aspects of the truth-in-lending, truth-in-savings, and community reinvestment requirements have been eased, the core standards of the legislation still remain.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Edward L. Yingling, executive director of government relations, is the lead figure for the ABA’s lobbying presence in Washington. He is often quoted as the voice of banking by both the specialized and the general media. The diverse membership of the ABA sometimes means

that the organization must be very restrained in its lobbying position. For example, when the administration of President George Bush proposed major financial services overhaul legislation in 1991, the ABA was able to give general support but unable to take a stand on such key issues as interstate branching because of division among its members. However, when it is able to forge a position, its staff and members have excellent access to members of Congress and their staffs. The ABA is frequently invited to present testimony to congressional subcommittees and committees on proposals related to banking.

A key lobbying issue for the ABA in the 1990s is how Congress will contribute to assuring that banks will be a “one-stop” financial services firm for most customers. The ABA argues that consumers want to use their banks for savings and investments, allowing them to create a customized financial plan and to track all their finances on one monthly statement. In October 1999, the ABA’s effort to overturn the provisions of the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act separating financial services proved successful. In addition, the group argues that lifting regulatory barriers will facilitate more competition and more efficient provision of services. A related aspect of

this approach is the ABA demand that Congress eliminate the federal thrift charter. The ABA's position is that the thrift charter is the primary route for competitors such as Wal-Mart to expand merchant banking. Hence, it advocates legislation to eliminate the charter altogether.

Critics of the ABA position are concerned that deregulation will lead to consolidation and higher customer costs rather than competition and lower fees. They also argue that banks may let customers believe that all their investments, rather than just their checking and savings accounts, are guaranteed by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. In addition, critical observers note that banks are well positioned to impose tying agreements on customers—for example, requiring that prospective homebuyers purchase home or life insurance from them if they want their application for a mortgage loan approved.

ABA staff monitors regulatory agencies, maintains liaisons with regulatory staff, and frequently comments on proposed regulations. ABA members and staff serve on numerous executive branch advisory committees for the Department of the Treasury, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Federal Reserve, and Office of Thrift Supervision. ABA staff, in addition, serve as the secretariat of the International Monetary Conference and the Financial Institutions Committee for the American National Standards Institute.

Besides lobbying Congress and the executive branch, the ABA conducts litigation on behalf of the commercial banking industry. It acts as a plaintiff directly and also intervenes as a friend of the court on a wide range of banking issues. For example, the ABA and four North Carolina banks sued the National Credit Union Administration for its decision to allow nonaffiliated employee groups to join the AT&T credit union. And although it won in the courts, Congress altered legislative language to protect credit union expansion.

The ABA staff numbers over 400 individuals. The General Convention, the annual membership meeting, has the power to set policy for the organization. Each member, regardless of size, has one vote in the General Convention. Members have access to a wide range of services including an extensive library with toll-free telephone reference access, fingerprint processing in conjunction with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and discounts on income-producing projects through the Corporation for American Banking. The ABA's most impressive organizational development is American Financial Skylink, its own subscription satellite telecommunications network.

The American Institute of Banking, the largest industry-sponsored adult education program in the world, is managed by the ABA. Approximately 120,000 persons take courses each year through local chapters and study groups on such topics as bank operations, consumer credit, and trust management. Education programs for senior bank executives, the Stonier Graduate School of Banking, and 24 other specialized banking schools are managed by the ABA. It prides itself on being a leader in introducing new educational technology such as computer-based tutorial programs and simulations. It also sponsors the ABA Educational Foundation and the Personal Economics Program, which is aimed at educating schoolchildren about banking, economics, and personal finance. Fellowships supporting academicians and financial journalists are also part of the ABA's efforts to shape ideas about banking.

The ABA aids its members directly and indirectly in their relations with the media. The national staff selects and trains individual bankers to do media tours of the country. The association conducts national advertising programs and provides support for other special advertising programs. It publishes a weekly newspaper that circulates not only to ABA members but also to members of Congress. It publishes a general monthly publication, *ABA Banking Journal*, and a number of monthly or quarterly journals devoted to specialized topics such as agricultural lending, consumer credit delinquency, security and fraud prevention, employee benefits, and regulatory compliance.

Future concerns for the ABA include both organizational and larger policy issues. Organizationally, the ABA must cope with a membership base increasingly divided between enormous international megabanks and small banks trying to find a survival niche. The financial services environment will continue to be shaped by rapid, technological changes, development of new and different products and services, privacy considerations, and the perennial question of whether to regulate.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ABA's annual budget is more than \$67 million and it wields the largest political action committee (PAC) in the banking industry. Forty-eight state bankers association PACs are affiliated with the ABA PAC, aptly named BankPac.

LOREE BYKERK

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AMERICA'S COMMUNITY BANKERS

America's Community Bankers (ACB) is a trade association for savings and loan associations, mutual savings banks, cooperative banks, and other types of financial institutions that are not commercial banks or credit unions. The organization describes its members as progressive community banks and positions itself to speak for an industry with more than \$1 trillion in assets and over 250,000 employees. The ACB has 2,100 members from all 50 states, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam.

The ACB's interests include any policy that affects savings, lending, credit, or housing. The organization emphasizes that savings and loan institutions are vital to economic stability and growth. Most of the investments made by its members are in residential real estate loans, but they also invest in commercial loans, student and consumer loans, and the credit card business. Members provide trust services and insurance as well.

In light of the low savings rate in the United States compared with other countries, the ACB supports policies to promote savings. Increased savings would aggregate funds for valuable purposes such as home ownership, higher education, retirement support, business investment, and the creation of jobs. The organization thus has an interest in continued federal insurance of savings deposits as a means to protect and promote saving.

Dramatic changes in the structure of financial services since the 1970s have made the savings and loan business highly unstable. It was allowed to become more speculative in the early 1980s in order to compete with other savings sectors, but quickly ran into financial and political trouble. Fraud, deregulation, expanding economic conditions, the executive branch, and Congress are responsible for a share of blame for the savings and loan fiasco. Scholars and observers are still debating how so many thrifts collapsed, losing many depositors' funds, costing billions in deposit insurance, and necessitating a massive federal restructuring. Whether there is any longer a legitimate specific niche for what used to be

called the "thrift" industry has become an open question. Commercial banking interests want Congress to repeal the federal thrift charter as repayment for their contributions to bailing out the savings and loan business; the availability of the thrift charter to nonbanks also represents an opening for "merchant banking," which commercial banks oppose.

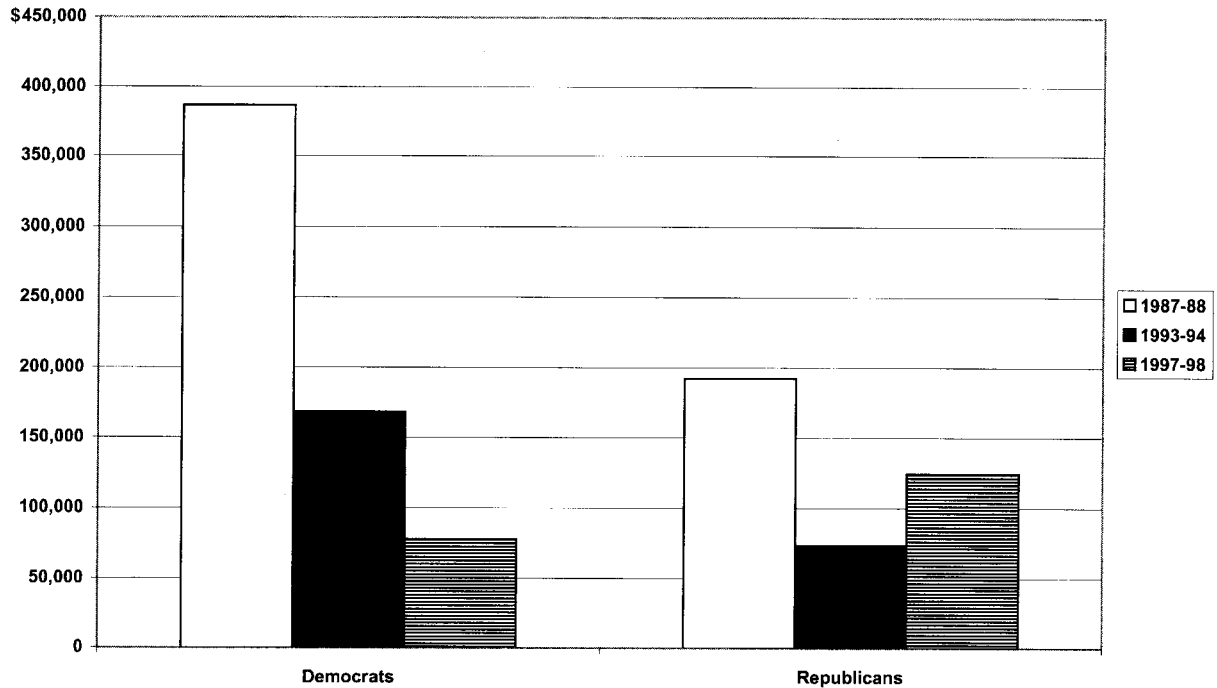
Along with the rest of the real estate finance industry, the ACB has a keen interest in maintaining the tax deductibility of mortgage interest payments. Thus, anytime reform of the tax code is proposed, the ACB rallies to defend the favored treatment of mortgage interest as a principal support of the American dream of home ownership.

HISTORY

America's Community Bankers was originally called the Savings and Community Bankers of America (it changed its name in 1994). The organization was created in 1992 by a merger of the United States League of Savings Institutions and the National Council of Community Bankers. The league dated from 1892; the council, formerly the National Council of Savings Institutions, was formed by a 1983 merger of the National Savings and Loan League and the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks. The 1992 merger and the name change were part of an effort to improve the image of the industry in the wake of the savings and loan scandals and government bailout in the early 1990s.

Considering the thrift industry's mercurial past, it is difficult to sort achievements from debacles. Persuading policy-makers to deregulate was regarded as a great victory at the time, but in hindsight it turned out to be disastrous. It may yet prove to be the death knell of this segment of the financial services industry.

**America's Community Bankers
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The effort to gain regulatory relief is the principal current lobbying topic on which the ACB shares a position with other financial institutions. This includes eased truth-in-lending requirements and more streamlined real estate settlement procedures. In addition, the ACB seeks protection from the class-action suits that borrowers have successfully brought against lenders who provided inaccurate information about mortgage loans. Relatively recent efforts to provide legislative protection for the privacy of customer data are also of concern to the ACB. At present, no federal legislation forbids the sale of customer data or requires even the disclosure to customers that data about them will be or have been sold. Proposals for such protection are strongly opposed by the ACB and other financial service providers.

Current proposals to reform bankruptcy law have also brought the ACB to Capitol Hill. Here the concern of mortgage lenders is that their position in bankruptcy settlements not be disadvantaged by comparison to

other claimants on the remaining resources of debtors filing for bankruptcy.

During the repeated efforts to restructure financial services in the United States, the ACB has taken various positions. In the early 1990s its position was to support the idea of a dual banking system. By the late 1990s, it was overwhelmed by the rate of change among the bigger players, who were becoming even bigger through buyouts—purchasing a controlling number of shares in a company—and mergers. Hence, the ACB has begun to focus more on keeping credit unions out of its business arena, treating them as possible buyout candidates for multiline financial services holding companies or even commercial conglomerates.

The ACB monitors hundreds of proposed laws and regulations each year to decide how they will affect the organization's members. The staff provides technical expertise and information to its members and to policymakers. Executives of member financial institutions are encouraged to contact members of Congress through letters, telephone calls, and personal visits. ACB staff and members also provide testimony at congressional committee and subcommittee hearings, submit letters and

comments, and maintain ongoing contact with regulators. The Federal Home Loan Bank System, the Office of Thrift Supervision, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation are the executive agencies with which the ACB maintains particularly attentive liaison.

The ACB has a Washington, D.C., staff of 120 persons. Paul Schosberg, its president, came to the organization from the New York League of Savings Institutions and previously served as chief of staff for two members of Congress from New York. The association has five for-profit subsidiaries providing investment products, credit card services, financial forms, real estate auction programs, and insurance endorsements. The Center for Financial Studies is its education affiliate. The center conducts a variety of courses to prepare managers for wider responsibilities and also sponsors the National School of Banking, a graduate-level program for high-potential managers. Additionally, the ACB holds special seminars for directors and trustees of member institutions.

Members also have access to services supporting their needs in economic forecasting, business development, public relations, marketing, and the like. Publications for members include guides on fiduciary responsibilities, legislation, regulations, and compliance procedures. Periodic publications keep members updated on topics such as developments in policy circles, changes in marketing techniques, changes in the economy, and the housing market.

Outreach programs that the ACB supports serve both to burnish the industry's image and to advocate for its members' basic interests. Members are encouraged to sponsor in-school savings programs for children, employment training for hopeful future homeowners and borrowers, and workshops on the financial needs of retirees.

Organizationally, the ACB has remained remarkably stable considering the name change and efforts to shed its past. The future, however, is clouded by the possible demise of the federal thrift charter. Even if one assumes

basic survival, restructuring, privacy issues, and other consumer provisions will continue to prove challenging to the industry.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The organization's political action committee (PAC) is now called the America's Community Bankers Community Campaign Committee. Before 1994, it was the Savings and Community Bankers of America Community Campaign Committee and, before that, the U.S. League of Savings Association Political Elections Committee. Most notable here is the sharp decline in funds raised after the savings and loan scandal became public. The industry was on its knees financially and politically, and contributions were neither forthcoming nor so highly sought. Also striking is the swing of contributions from Democrats to Republicans after the GOP gained control of Congress. Even in 1993–1994, when some business money began to migrate to Republican candidates, 69 percent of the ACB's contributions went to Democrats and only 30 percent to Republicans. However, by the 1997–1998 election cycle, nearly 63 percent of the organization's contributions went to Republican candidates for Congress.

LOREE BYKERK

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AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LIFE INSURANCE

The American Council of Life Insurance (ACLI) is the umbrella trade association for life insurance companies doing business in the United States. It represents their interests in legislative, executive, and judicial forums at federal and state levels of government and with the National Association of Insurance Commissioners (NAIC). Its member companies are responsible for more than 90 percent of the life insurance in the United States. Among its 557 members are giants of the industry such as Prudential and John Hancock, but also numerous small, regional companies. Both mutual and stock insurance companies are members of the ACLI. (Mutual insurance companies are owned by policyholders, while stock insurance companies are owned by investors.) This makes it difficult for the organization to forge agreement on tax provisions that, in differentiating the two types of companies, tend to favor one or the other.

Because life insurance companies typically also sell annuities, disability coverage, and health insurance, the range of interests that the ACLI represents is broad. The structure of financial services and proposals for reform were high on the organization's agenda during the 1990s. These proposed reforms are the most recent variant of periodic challenges to the McCarran-Ferguson Act, which assigned the regulation of insurance to state governments. The ACLI has long defended the act, and both the states and the insurance industry have a long-standing commitment to the relationship.

HISTORY

The ACLI was founded in 1976 with the merger of the American Life Insurance Association and the Institute of Life Insurance. Its history has been marked by overt conflicts between large and small companies, and between mutual and stock companies.

Federal taxation, such as corporate taxation, is a perennial concern, as is protecting the tax exemption

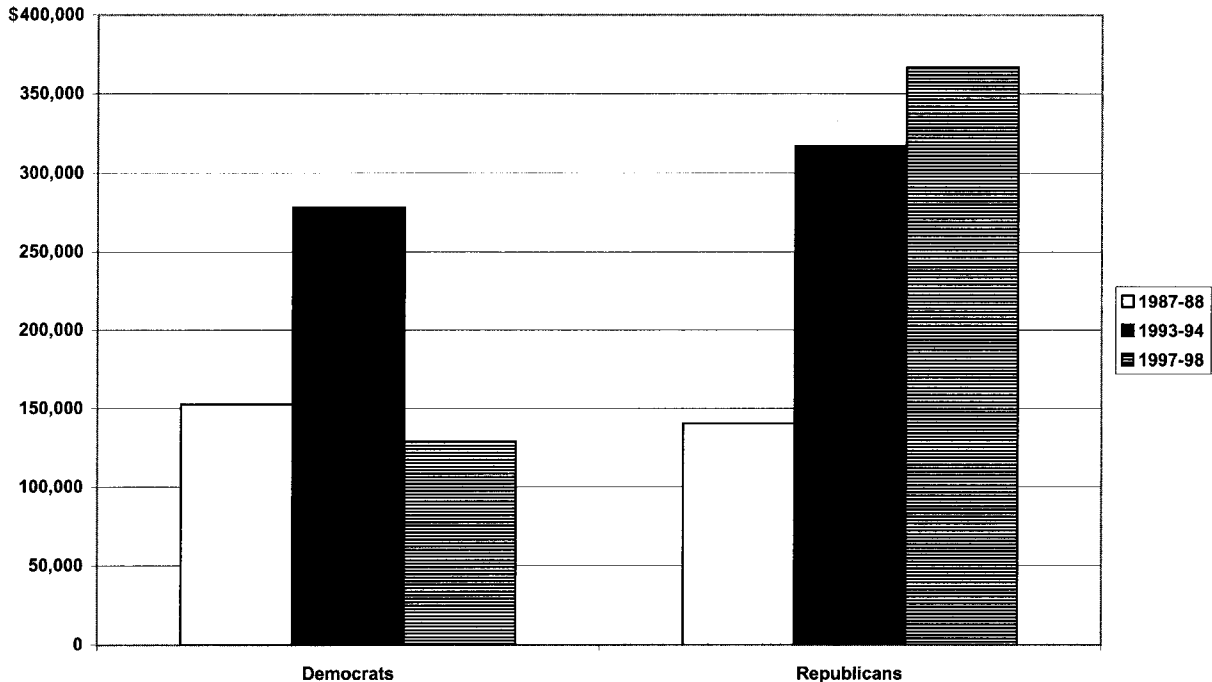
granted to life and health insurance coverage conferred as employee benefits and the tax treatment of the value of life insurance. In addition, occasional proposals to legislate underwriting—by outlawing the use of gender, sexual preference, and genetic information, for example—have become significant concerns for the organization.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The foremost issue on the ACLI's lobbying agenda is financial services restructuring. In order to participate actively on this issue, the organization has taken the position of endorsing reform legislation permitting insurers and banks to affiliate as long as it is through a holding company and subject to functional regulation. The ACLI argues that acceptable reform legislation should define insurance by reference to the federal tax code, thus blocking the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC) from authorizing new insurance powers for national banks or to preempt state regulation. In addition, it seeks a dispute resolution mechanism between banking and insurance regulators that would not defer to the OCC. The ACLI is also working in the states on restructuring, combining efforts with the NAIC over several years to stimulate greater state involvement.

Other important issues being lobbied by the ACLI include retirement policy, proposals to revise Social Security, and private pension policy. The ACLI is trying to expand awareness among legislators, the media, and the public of the insurance industry's role in retirement security. Its position is to promote expanding the private retirement system with tax incentives to encourage long-term savings. In addition, it is working to incorporate long-term care and disability income insurance as part of the solutions discussed in retirement security policy. Because the insurance industry is the only institution allowed to sell these products, this linkage would

**American Council of Life Insurance
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

advantage insurance companies in the market for retirement and financial services products.

Tort reform is another issue on which the ACLI has been active in recent years. It funded a study by the Rand Corporation on the punitive damage awards in financial injury cases in order to bolster its argument that these awards are out of hand and need to be limited. The research findings were widely publicized and helped support federal and state legislative initiatives promoted by the ACLI.

In almost every budget cycle, legislators target some aspect of insurance as a possible source of taxation. The value of employee benefits, the accrued value of life insurance policies, premiums, the investment income of companies, and other items have all been part of budget proposals in recent years. When the industry is not split along mutual-stock company lines, the ACLI is able to mount aggressive campaigns against increased tax burdens.

The leading issue on the ACLI's agenda at the turn of the twenty-first century is genetic testing in life insurance underwriting. Federal and state policy-makers are struggling to distinguish between beneficial and detrimental uses of information gained from advancing genetic technology. The ACLI is working to differentiate

between routine medical test information and genetic testing, and to defend the use of genetic information in life insurance underwriting, although some states have already prohibited its use in underwriting long-term care and disability income insurance.

On the international scene, the ACLI has worked to assure U.S. companies a level playing field when operating abroad. International trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement have led the ACLI to support fast-track negotiating powers for the president and to conduct negotiations with the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative and the World Trade Organization.

The ACLI's grassroots lobbying efforts are formally organized as the Insurance Industry's Citizen Action Network (ICAN). More than 200,000 volunteers from 350 member companies in all 50 states are part of ICAN. The network keeps informed on issues through a newsletter and mobilized by special action alerts to hold district meetings with candidates and office holders, to write letters, and to make telephone calls to legislators. Phone banks and toll-free telegrams are also used on high-profile issues.

The ACLI's legal staff assists member companies with inquiries and litigation support. It also develops and

files *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs and test cases. In a recent year it filed more than 35 such briefs on topics including bank regulatory decisions, punitive damages, pensions, fraud, and disability insurance. In class-action cases against insurance interests, the ACLI has sought decertification of the class that is acting as plaintiff, thereby depriving it of legal standing.

Carroll A. Campbell Jr., the ACLI's president, is a former governor of South Carolina, and a former Republican member of Congress. The organization's staff numbers approximately 200 people but it mobilizes substantial volunteer assistance from member companies. In developing policy positions, the ACLI utilizes the expertise of member company CEOs organized in steering committees to oversee proposals developed by volunteer task forces of member company staff experts. More than 1,000 volunteer experts support ACLI policy development in this way every year. The ACLI's board of directors makes the final policy decisions, which are implemented with the support of legislative strategy groups composed of member company government relations specialists.

On the state level, the ACLI acts as a clearinghouse, monitor, and expert on developing legislation and regulations. Member services include providing information and analysis of state activities. For example, in a recent year its state relations department received more than 20,000 proposals for state legislation for analysis. Other state issues include accounting practices, disclosure requirements, solvency regulations, and taxation. Although the ACLI does not provide introductory education found through some trade associations, it sponsors specialized meetings and seminars for industry executives, creating information-sharing forums for member company personnel such as chief investment officers, political action directors, attorneys, and pension officers. Chief executives of smaller companies are brought together in the Forum 500, an annual meeting, always held in Washington, D.C., that facilitates interaction among member representatives and national policy-makers.

The ACLI devotes substantial resources to public relations and advocacy. For example, on the retirement security issue previously discussed, it conducted research on baby boom generation concerns about long-term care and financing a lengthy retirement. The results were publicized in a research report that became part of an information packet delivered to every member of Congress; a press conference and a satellite media tour helped spread the news nationwide.

In addition, the ACLI encourages member companies to engage in and claim credit for community service activities. It publishes an annual report on the industry's community involvement for public officials and the media. The ACLI staff is a frequent source of media information and fields inquiries on every aspect of the insurance business.

The future of the ACLI remains somewhat uncertain because of the wave of large-scale consolidations among insurers—including international mergers—and the increasing competition among financial service providers. On the other hand, the approaching retirement of 75 million baby boomers promises a wealth of opportunities in the industry. But federal government and private-sector policy and actions will influence both the organization and future prosperity of the life insurance industry.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ACLI has a budget of over \$40 million annually. It has a relatively successful political action committee (PAC), and many of its members—among them Principal Financial Group, New York Life Insurance, and Equitable—have their own sizable PACs as well. ACLI's contribution pattern is typical of trade associations in that it maintains ties on both sides of the aisle no matter who is in the majority, but contributes more to winners than to losers. Nevertheless, the ACLI's contribution pattern reflects an affinity for Republican candidates, being much more generous to their narrow majority than it was to the Democrats' wider majority before the 1994 elections.

LOREE BYKERK

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AMERICAN FINANCIAL SERVICES ASSOCIATION

The American Financial Services Association (AFSA) is the national trade association for market-funded providers of financial services to consumers and small businesses. Over 500 member companies engage in direct credit lending to consumers, providing unsecured personal loans, automobile loans, home equity loans, and credit cards through specialized bank institutions. Among the members of AFSA are Beneficial Corporation, GE Capital Corporation, American Express, General Motors Acceptance Corporation, Household Finance, and TRW Information Services.

The mission of AFSA is to assure a strong and healthy consumer lending industry committed to providing quality and cost-effective service, promoting a financial system that enhances competitiveness, and supporting responsible delivery and use of credit and credit-related products. Thus, the organization is concerned with the tax status of interest paid, interest rates, credit disclosure requirements, collection processes, information privacy, credit ratings, bankruptcy provisions, and the structure of financial services.

HISTORY

AFSA was founded with 41 members in 1916 as the National Consumer Finance Association. In 1971, the organization absorbed the American Industrial Bankers Association, and, in 1983, took its present name. It has been consistently in the niche of consumer credit but has expanded in scope as the whole area of consumer credit has developed new services and instruments.

Interest payments on consumer credit could be deducted from taxable income until tax code reforms in the early 1990s, a change that represented a major loss for AFSA. Consumer legislation requiring uniform calculations and detailed disclosure of interest rates and allowing consumers a grace period to back out of a home

equity loan also was not in the interest of AFSA members. Consumer advocates also sought and won more stringent laws protecting borrowers against the tactics of collection agencies. On the other hand, proposed consumer-friendly legislation to allow borrowers to correct inaccurate credit rating data has been defeated repeatedly by AFSA and related interests.

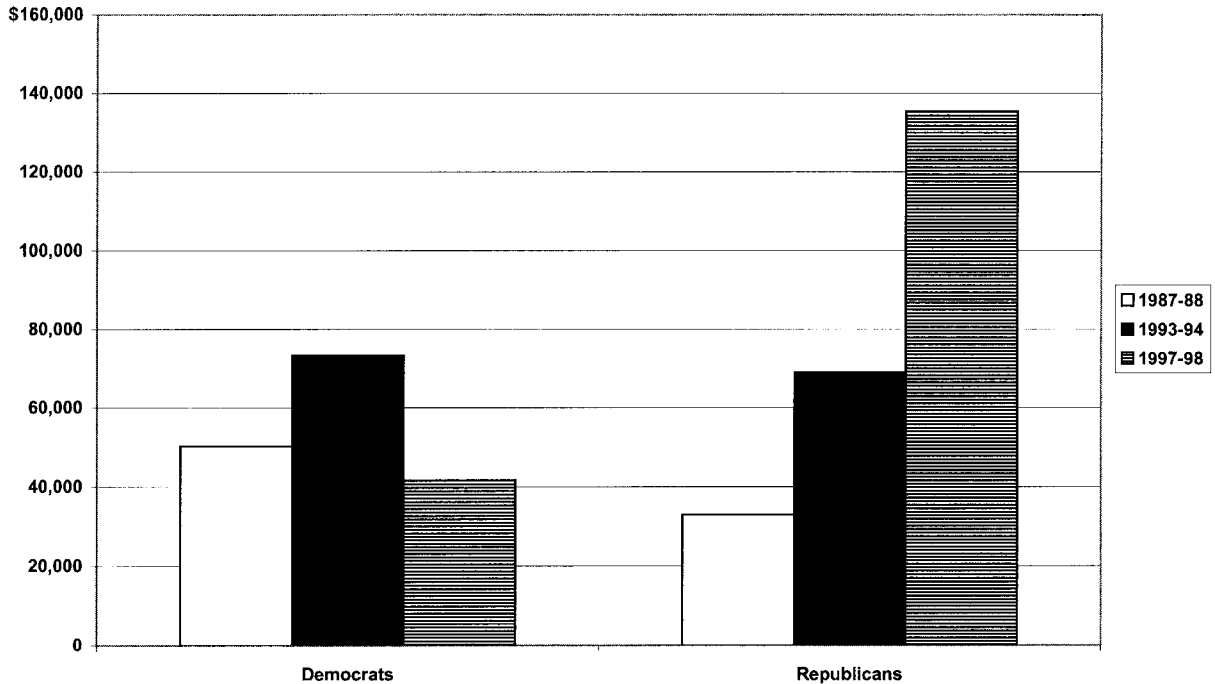
ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Issues on which the organization is active include revision of the Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act and the Truth in Lending Act. Real estate settlement procedures in the former legislation require that borrowers be provided with copies of financial forms upon closing a mortgage loan, including a second mortgage or home equity loan, and that borrowers have the right to rescind a loan within three days if they change their minds. The legislation also allows borrowers to recover damages from lenders who provide inaccurate loan information. The Truth in Lending Act requires lenders to provide simple and accurate information about the credit costs of loans so that borrowers can comparison shop.

AFSA is lobbying to remove home equity loans from the provisions pertaining to real estate, or at least to allow for more flexibility in the information required to be disclosed. In addition, the organization seeks legislation to make it more difficult for borrowers to bring class-action suits against lenders, to limit redress to actual damages, and to restrain attorneys' fees.

AFSA argues that truth-in-lending requirements are burdensome to lenders—particularly the small businesses conducted by independent credit companies—and that the information is confusing rather than helpful to potential borrowers. AFSA argues that simplification

**American Financial Services Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

or greater flexibility would make the legislation more acceptable.

Recent tax reform proposals have threatened the deductibility of interest paid on home mortgage loans, including home equity loans. AFSA has lobbied against such changes, arguing that deductibility encourages home ownership, improvements, and maintenance, all of which are good for the overall economy and integral to the American dream.

Interest rates charged on credit card debt and the ease with which multiple cards are available to consumers—even those who have sought bankruptcy protection—periodically are on the national agenda. Although lenders are required to disclose the interest on unpaid credit card balances, studies indicate that consumers are not effectively informed of the cost of this credit before they get into financial trouble. AFSA’s position is that credit cards are an integral tool in the American economy, and those who use them must become more careful consumers. The association also works to protect the recovery position of credit card lenders in proposals to reform bankruptcy laws and regulations.

AFSA activates grassroots involvement through its congressional action program, communicating with

members who in turn contact their senators and representatives. The organization maintains relationships with regulatory agencies, particularly those related to lending and housing, and also monitors state legislative and regulatory action. The AFSA also takes part in major litigation affecting the industry by filing *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs.

AFSA has a staff of 30 and is governed by a 56-member board of directors; the board includes a representative of the National Home Equity Mortgage Association. In addition to an annual meeting and product expositions, the association sponsors conferences, seminars, and a management development program at the University of North Carolina. AFSA collects statistical data and provides periodical publications for members.

Independent operators—those not owned by large conglomerates—have a special section within the organization, created in 1983. The section has its own newsletter, annual conference, and educational materials. Among the education materials are personnel training videos, a data processing guide, and an administrators’ guide. The independents’ section even has its own philanthropic project, the Children’s Miracle Network

(fund-raising for children's hospitals) and its own golf and tennis tournaments.

AFSA serves as the industry's voice to the public and informs the media about developments and issues that arise. Industry leaders frequently serve as the organization's spokespersons for opportune media appearances. The affiliated education foundation is part of a coalition promoting personal financial literacy; its strategy is to encourage curriculum enrichment so that students who graduate from high school will have financial management skills. Such skills include balancing a checkbook and understanding the basic relationships between earning, spending, saving, and investing.

Looking ahead, the probable churning of ownership of financial services providers will make the consumer credit niche occupied by AFSA members more difficult to protect. Independent companies not already part of a large corporation will face significant competition from bigger players and may well become buyout targets. Although the home equity loan and credit card businesses may be attractive to bigger competitors, the personal loans for which this sector is known are unlikely to be sought out by other businesses and are likely to remain in place as long as they are profitable.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The organization has an annual operating budget of more than \$4 million. In 1997–1998 AFSA's political action committee (PAC) contributed 24 percent of its funds to Democrats and 76 percent to Republicans—a reversal of the PAC's contributions in the 1987–1988 election cycle, when it contributed 60 percent to Democrats and 40 percent to Republicans. The group swung to the Republicans in 1991–1992 but then back to the Democrats in 1993–1994, when the Republicans captured the majority in Congress. In recent election cycles, the PAC devoted a heavy share of contributions to Republicans, perhaps to make up for previous election cycles when it leaned in the wrong direction.

LOREE BYKERK

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AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

The American Institute of Certified Public Accountants (AICPA) is the professional association of accountants certified by the states and territories to practice accounting. Its central mission is to establish auditing and reporting standards and to control access to the profession. Preparing and grading the national Uniform Certified Public Accounting Examination for the state and territorial licensing boards is the principal means of controlling access to the profession. The exam tests for knowledge of accounting theory, accounting practice, auditing, and business law.

Membership in AICPA is approximately 332,000 individuals, accounting for about 75 percent of the country's certified public accountants. The largest share of the membership (44 percent) is employed in business and industry, followed by 40 percent employed in public accounting. The organization is sensitive to the racial and gender composition of the profession and has developed programs to recruit and mentor minorities and women. The organization collaborates with the National Association of Black Accountants and the American Association of Hispanic CPAs to involve minority members in AICPA activities and offer them mentoring. Minority high school students receive grants for college preparatory programs. An executive committee surveys public accounting firms' family-related policies in an effort to promote flexible work arrangements.

Maintenance of accounting as a significant profession is the core interest of AICPA—involving not only continued attention to its education and examination requirements, but also an effective code of professional conduct—and an arena of recognized, required functions. Thus, any business practice or government requirement touching upon accounting standards, auditing requirements, taxation, or financial records comes within AICPA's purview.

HISTORY

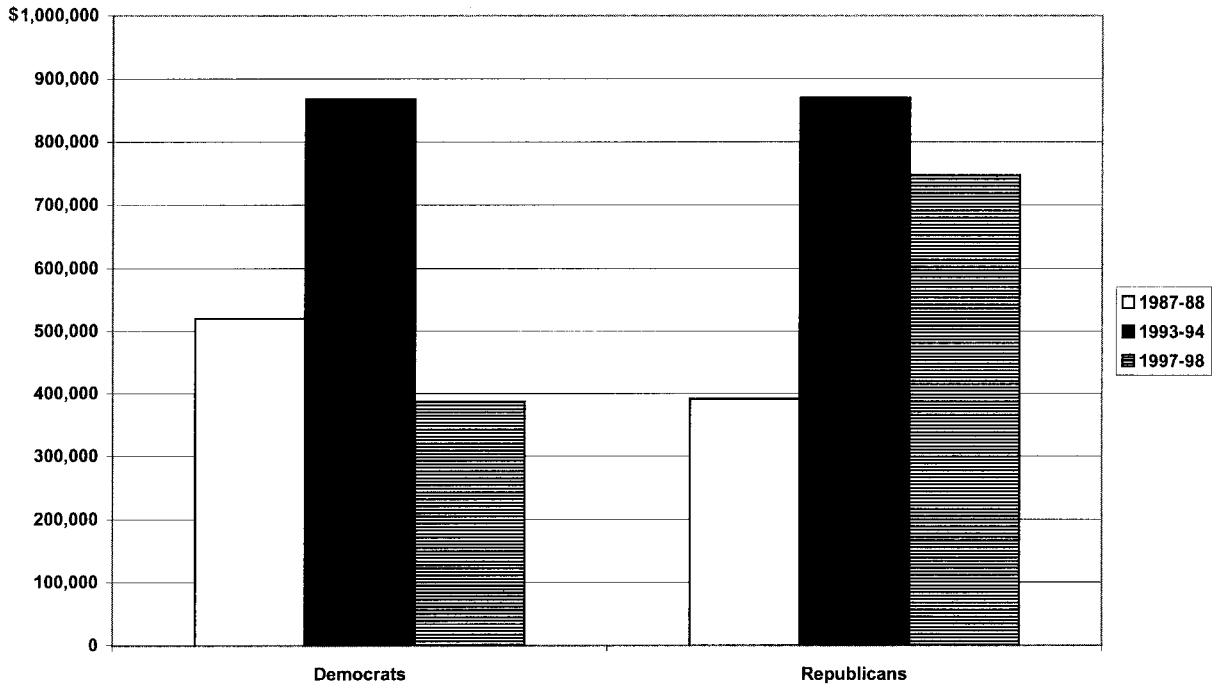
AICPA was founded in 1887 with the initial mission of elevating accounting to the status of a distinct profession. In most respects the organization has succeeded in that goal. The challenge now is to protect its niche as finance, reporting, and information change at an unprecedented rate. AICPA is seeking to extend the profession's role into the burgeoning commerce of the World Wide Web. AICPA has launched what it describes as a family of assurance services, labeled WebTrust, intended to extend certified public accountants' (CPA) domain to electronic commerce. CPAs trained and licensed by AICPA will review the business practices of a company conducting commerce over the Internet. Companies that pass the review may be awarded a WebTrust seal to display on their web sites.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The highest-profile issue for AICPA in recent years is reform of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). After a number of years of effort, the 105th Congress passed legislation to restructure the IRS. AICPA lobbied for an improved IRS management structure, better taxpayer service, stability and simplification of the tax law, and strengthened taxpayer rights. In addition, the organization also gained an extension of taxpayer confidentiality to include tax advice from CPAs in noncriminal proceedings, a complexity-analysis procedure for pending tax legislation, a prohibition on "lifestyle audits," an oversight board for the IRS, and a fixed five-year term for the IRS commissioner.

Maintaining the principle of professional self-regulation is an important political issue for AICPA,

**American Institute of Certified Public Accountants
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

which succeeded in lobbying against legislative proposals in both houses of Congress that would have altered the private-sector standard-setting process used by the Financial Accounting Standards Board to establish generally accepted accounting principles. This effort included legislative lobbying and working with executive branch officials as well.

On the executive side, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) was persuaded to formally recognize the Independence Standards Board as the standard-setting body designated to develop independence requirements and offer guidance to auditors of publicly held companies. The SEC chairman praised the organization for defeating the legislation and called for closer cooperation between the CPA profession and the commission. Among other recent successes with the SEC, AICPA persuaded the commission to issue disclosure guidelines for investors on assessment and remediation efforts for “year 2000” (Y2K) problems by U.S. public companies.

AICPA has also successfully sought shelter from investor class-action lawsuits by appealing to Congress. Working in coalition with the National Venture Capital Association, the American Electronics Association, the

Securities Industry Association, and high-technology companies, AICPA persuaded Congress to pass the Private Securities Litigation Reform Act of 1995. This legislation created a safe harbor provision for forward-looking statements, limitations on joint and several liability interpretations, a ban on the use of “professional plaintiffs,” and limits on attorneys’ fees. Even in the wake of this legislation, CPAs faced increased liability exposure by plaintiffs bringing suits in state courts. The coalition went back to Congress and gained corrective legislation providing that class-action securities suits involving more than 50 people can be removed to federal court where the protective legislation applies.

Congress also responded to AICPA lobbying aimed at extending CPAs’ practice arena into the credit union business. The National Credit Union Administration had ruled that credit unions’ financial information could be audited by nonlicensed practitioners; AICPA argued that this violated state accountancy laws and was not in the public interest. AICPA took its case to Congress and won legislation requiring large credit unions to use licensed professional auditors.

AICPA works with the National Association of State Boards of Accountancy to influence practice standards

set by the states. A powerful means of forging uniformity among the states is the model Uniform Accountancy Act, which the professional associations recently revised to facilitate electronic practice and other alternative practice settings.

Although the organization is headquartered in New York City, it also supports a Washington, D.C., office for federal affairs. A staff of over 700 is employed by AICPA. In addition, the group draws upon volunteer resources from its members. A recent strategic planning process drew approximately 3,400 members—including managing partners, chief financial officers, government regulators, and accounting professors—who devoted more than 21,000 hours. Members ask to serve on AICPA committees in such numbers that some are deferred; a page on the organization's web site now allows those members to contribute their input electronically via virtual committee.

AICPA offers and promotes continuing education for its members and persuades states to require continued training. Most states have adopted a 150-hour continuing professional education requirement promoted by the organization. AICPA also seeks to influence accounting education in colleges and universities; efforts allied with the American Accounting Association are aimed at enhancing faculty development in higher education.

AICPA's publications include the monthly *CPA Client Bulletin*, which provides practical information on taxes, business management techniques, government regulations, and personal financial planning. Other publications cover continuing education programs, conferences, practice management, tax issues, and legislative and regulatory developments.

The organization also offers members software tailored to specific tasks and an interactive web site, which is of particular value to tax and accounting practitioners, who use it almost as much as they use the web site of the Internal Revenue Service. Other tax-related member services include a tax information phone service and a 24-hour fax hotline.

AICPA was active in addressing public concern about the Y2K problem, issuing a study clarifying the auditor's role and providing guidance on communication with clients and employers. A special resource page on its web site was intended to provide assurance to a public anxious about Y2K. AICPA's advocacy role extends to participating in the debate over reforming Social Security. AICPA initiated a comprehensive study of

proposed reforms to analyze how they will affect the overall economy and Americans' finances.

AICPA is engaged in a multiyear image-enhancement campaign, including print and radio advertisements promoting the importance of having CPAs in strategic decision-making roles in senior management. The campaign is also attempting to burnish the profession's image and encourage people to become CPAs. A series of advertisements featuring entertainment and sports celebrities accompanied by their CPAs is intended to send the message that CPAs are important to the stars' financial well-being; the tagline is "Be a star in business—be a CPA."

As international commerce rapidly expands, AICPA intends to participate in setting international rules on accounting standards—including rules for financial instruments through the International Accounting Standards Committee. The institute has a senior staff position in international affairs and is a member of the international auditing practices committee of the International Federation of Accountants.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The organization's annual operating expenses exceed \$145 million. Membership dues support 40 percent of operating revenue; sales of publications and software comprise 27 percent and investment income 9 percent of operating revenue. The organization's political action committee (PAC) is called the AICPA's Effective Legislation Committee. Inspection of the PAC's contribution pattern indicates a swing toward the GOP following the 1995 Republican takeover of Congress. In the 1993–1994 election cycle, the PAC had divided its contributions evenly among Democrats and Republicans. By the 1997–1998 election cycle, 66 percent of the Effective Legislation Committee's contributions went to Republicans.

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CREDIT UNION NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

The Credit Union National Association (CUNA) is a federated trade association representing 11,500 local credit unions, affiliated with the CUNA through their state credit union leagues. Credit unions are not-for-profit, member-owned cooperatives providing savings accounts (called “share” accounts) and low-interest personal, vehicle, and mortgage loans to members. Credit unions may also offer checking account, credit card, direct deposit, payroll deduction, and automated teller machine services.

More than 90 percent of America’s credit unions representing 74 million consumers are affiliated with CUNA. U.S. credit unions have more than \$280 billion in savings, \$200 billion in loans outstanding, and \$320 billion in assets. Credit union deposits are insured up to \$100,000 by the National Credit Union Share Insurance Fund, administered by the National Credit Union Administration (NCUA), an agency of the federal government.

HISTORY

CUNA was founded in 1934, although the first credit union in America was established in 1908 and is still operating. Credit unions have consistently occupied a respectable if unglamorous niche in the financial services industry.

CUNA’s mission is to promote credit union membership, use of services, and organization of new credit unions. It works to monitor and change laws and regulations governing credit unions, and to serve as the public voice of credit union interests in national policy. Credit unions try to cultivate the image as the financial institution through which working people of modest means save and borrow for basic purposes such as buying a car or a house.

Longstanding areas of interest for CUNA include the structure of financial services, governance of credit

unions at state and national levels, savings rates, availability of credit, and consumer protections such as truth-in-lending legislation. In recent years, interest rates, home equity loans, real estate settlement regulations, definition of membership eligibility, and the year 2000 issue have also become important areas of activity.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Association members are encouraged to be politically active through an annual conference on legislative and regulatory issues, a weekly newsletter devoted to political affairs, and a political action handbook. The most important issue facing CUNA is the attack by banks, led by the American Bankers Association, on the client base of credit unions. The bankers have filed over 20 lawsuits challenging the credit union industry definition of membership eligibility. The dispute centers on how closely associated persons must be to comprise an eligible collectivity to form a credit union membership.

Traditionally, credit unions were formed among people working for the same employer, belonging to the same association, or living in the same community. Efforts by credit unions and their regulators to maintain or expand their position in the fiercely competitive financial services arena have been challenged by banks. The many questions raised in the litigation include the following: What defines a local community? What is reasonable proximity or a single common bond? Should family and household members be included in calculating the membership of a group? And may credit unions merge? Although CUNA lost the protracted judicial struggle leading all the way to the Supreme Court, it persuaded Congress to effectively overturn the Court’s ruling. Congress passed the Credit Union Membership Access Act in August 1998 with strong bipartisan sup-

port. However, bankers' suits have continued, now against the NCUA regulations interpreting the new statute.

Along with other financial institutions, CUNA lobbies Congress for regulatory relief. It supports amending the truth-in-lending requirements relating to variable rate and periodic payment disclosures, arguing that changes would be in the interest of lenders and borrowers. However, cooperative relationships between CUNA and banking interests have been damaged by the series of lawsuits over membership definition.

Credit union interests are represented on Capitol Hill by both CUNA staff and well-positioned members. For example, the president of an Amarillo, Texas, credit union testified before the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee on proposed bankruptcy legislation. Citing data from his own credit union, he argued that consumers with ability to repay all or some of their debts should be required to file for Chapter 13 bankruptcy as opposed to Chapter 7, which erases all of their debts. In support of this argument for borrower responsibility, he explained that most credit unions counsel their members who are in financial difficulty or refer them to a specialized counseling service.

In 1999, CUNA had a staff of 185; its president and chief Washington, D.C., spokesperson, Daniel A. Mica, was a former Democratic congressman from Florida. CUNA staff and members have regular contact with executive agencies by serving on advisory committees and councils. For example, CUNA has members on the Federal Reserve's Thrift Institutions Advisory Council and on the Internal Revenue Service's Information Reporting Program Advisory Committee. CUNA also worked with the Federal Reserve, Treasury Department, and National Credit Union Administration on the year 2000 liquidity and liability protection. However, CUNA has lobbied for a special credit union advisory council to the Federal Reserve, arguing that credit unions need improved access to the Federal Reserve than they currently have in order to protect their specific business interests.

Although CUNA generally has a close, positive relationship with its regulatory agency, it does occasionally go around the agency with an appeal to Congress. For example, CUNA is currently lobbying Congress to support a more expansive definition—compared to NCUA rules—of credit union powers to make business loans to members. CUNA argues that the NCUA's interpretation of the Credit Union Membership Access Act is not what Congress intended in regard to credit union flexibility to make member business loans.

CUNA works to develop new services, including new payment systems, and assists in training credit union officials and employees. It compiles statistics on the industry for use by its members and for policy-makers and the media. Among its most widely circulated publications is *Everybody's Money*, a quarterly magazine used as a promotional piece and to educate members. Credit union directors, managers, and staff also receive specialized publications including a weekly newsletter on legislative and regulatory issues and association activities. CUNA holds an annual governmental affairs conference in addition to its annual symposium, an educational convention with exhibits.

CUNA is affiliated with CUNA Mutual Group, an insurance company providing services to its members, and with the Defense Credit Union Council, which serves military personnel and civilian employees of the Department of Defense. It is also affiliated with the National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions and the World Council of Credit Unions.

The association provides education and training conferences and seminars on such topics as electronic funds transfer and data management. An executive development program at Stanford University is its most prestigious educational offering.

CUNA members draw upon association support for advocacy and public relations efforts. Staff develop image and advocacy campaigns, work to build positive relations with individuals in the media and supply the media with materials reflecting the credit union perspective on issues. For example, an editorial essay by Daniel Mica on the bankers' harassing lawsuits appeared in prominent newspapers.

Although the recent attack by the banking industry is still a potential threat, it is likely that CUNA and its members can continue to survive and even prosper in their niche. On the other hand, the risk remains that in an era of dramatic change, credit unions may get trampled in the stampede when increasingly larger financial services conglomerates are racing ahead of ineffectual efforts to legislate or regulate.

FINANCIAL FACTS

CUNA's annual operating budget is approximately \$27 million. The organization's political action committee (PAC), the Credit Union Legislative Action Council, indicates a pattern of protecting access to the majority

party but not cutting off relations with the minority. In the 1993–1994 election cycle, 59 percent of the PAC’s contributions went to Democrats. By the 1997–1998 election cycle, 57 percent of the PAC’s contributions went to Republicans.

LOREE BYKERK

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INDEPENDENT COMMUNITY BANKERS OF AMERICA

The Independent Community Bankers of America (ICBA) represents small and mid-sized community banks, portrayed as “Main Street” banks. Its membership numbers about 5,500, down from over 6,000 in the early 1990s. The organization’s mission is to protect and promote the position of smaller banks in the financial services industry. Small community banks are represented as essential building blocks of the towns and rural areas they serve. They are locally owned, locally operated, and set their own policies. The very survival of community banks has been threatened over the last two decades by dramatic changes in financial services, particularly the trend toward concentration of banking and credit.

Recent issues affecting ICBA include maintaining deposit insurance at existing levels, recapitalizing the bank insurance fund, and rolling back consumer regulations that it regards as too costly. Requirements for truth-in-savings disclosure, truth-in-lending disclosure, and community reinvestment reporting are particular targets of ICBA’s pleas for regulatory relief. ICBA is also involved in agriculture legislation, including provisions for crop insurance, commodity supports, and rural housing mortgage loans, and generally supports programs necessary to the survival of small-town and rural economies. At the same time, ICBA tries to prevent federal agencies from lending directly to customers who would otherwise be served by local banks.

Credit union infringement on ICBA member customer territory has been a lively issue during the 1990s. ICBA documented credit union expansion to a wider member base and has fought in the courts, the Congress, and with regulators to roll back the credit union business. The banks’ issue with credit union competition is that the latter enjoy taxation and deposit insurance advantages not shared by banks. Technology, electronic transactions, privacy, and personal bankruptcy legislation are also on the group’s issues agenda.

HISTORY

ICBA was founded in 1930 by 25 local bankers in response to attempts by major bank holding companies to acquire banks throughout Minnesota and neighboring states. Its essential mission has been consistent since its founding. Formerly known as the Independent Bankers Association of America, the ICBA adopted its present name in 1999.

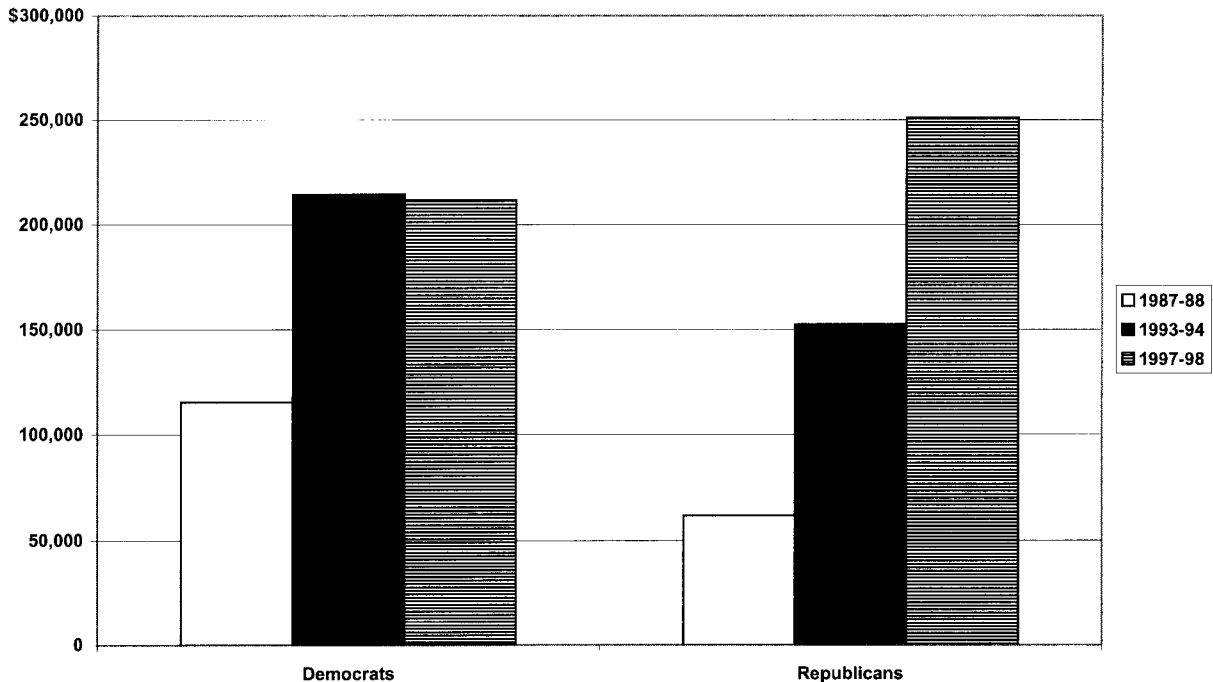
Community banks were generally opposed to the deregulatory movement for financial services in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Proposals by President George Bush to overhaul federal legislation were regarded by ICBA as leading to consolidation of the nation’s financial services on Wall Street at the expense of Main Street. Smaller banks wanted continued barriers between banking and commerce and restrictions on branch banking.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

ICBA uses a multitude of lobbying tactics to influence public policy. For example, individual members are encouraged to form personal relationships with their members of Congress and to communicate their interests frequently. ICBA occasionally uses “fly-in campaigns” to bring members to Washington to meet with their congressional delegations on high-profile issues. For example, 300 member bankers went to Capitol Hill, at a cost of \$1 million, during the 1998 credit union battle over expanded eligibility for credit union membership. Although the Georgia delegation met with House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA), he was unswayed from his support of the credit union position on pending legislation.

Members and staff provide testimony before con-

**Independent Community Bankers of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

gressional committees as they did before the Senate Banking Committee on automated teller machine (ATM) fees. ICBA testified that Congress should allow market forces to determine whether ATM fees would be imposed and how much those fees would be.

The organization and its members have close relationships with executive branch and regulatory agencies. The ICBA board executive committee meets periodically with the full board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, and ICBA members serve on the Federal Reserve's Federal Advisory Council and on the Kansas City Federal Reserve Board. It has similar ongoing relationships with the Financial Accounting Standards Board, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), the Small Business Administration, and others.

ICBA uses judicial tactics as well, by bringing test cases and acting as a friend of the court. For example, it filed suit against the Farm Credit System for expanding into general financing to nonfarmers and rural businesses and later appealed the lower-court ruling allowing the expansion. ICBA also participated in the Supreme Court case on defining credit union membership eligibility.

The organization is governed by a 90-member board

of directors, led by a six-member executive committee. The Washington, D.C., office has the largest staff and is responsible for legislative and regulatory issues as well as information services. A Sauk Centre, Minnesota, office manages educational programs, meetings, membership recruiting, and accounting services, and a western regional office is located in Newport Beach, California. State independent banking associations join the national association on grassroots efforts; they are affiliated with ICBA but function independently.

ICBA runs the Community Banking Network, which offers members a variety of products and services. These include Visa and MasterCard credit cards, travelers checks, property and casualty insurance, credit life reinsurance, mortgage loans, provision of bank supplies, mutual funds, annuities, retirement plans, and discount brokerage services.

Member education is a significant function of the organization. Approximately 2,000 members a year use some of ICBA's seminars to learn about compliance issues, to become certified in various specialties, and the like. Educational newsletters to members cover such topics as IRS positions and legislative developments. Members receive a monthly journal, *The Independent*

Banker: The National Voice of America's Independent Bankers, the *Washington Weekly Report* newsletter, and special bulletins on developing issues. *The ICBA Compliance Deskbook and Compliance Bulletin* updates provide in-depth information on the regulations with which banks must comply; disclosure forms and model compliance action plans are included.

An annual convention and Techworld (the organization's high-tech product and service exhibition) provides not only workshops and displays but also an audience for useful and important speakers. For example, the 1998 meeting in Hawaii brought Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, Comptroller of the Currency Eugene Ludwig, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Chairman Andrew "Skip" Hove, and Deputy Treasury Secretary (and future Secretary) Lawrence Summers to the ICBA podium.

ICBA helps members get the community banking message to their customers and to the media with press releases, posters, advertising, CDs, and videos. Community bank preparedness on potential year 2000 problems was the topic of one recent advocacy campaign. The year 2000 controversy gained significant public attention in the late 1990s as many experts predicted that computer technology would cease to operate with the changing of the millennium—leading to financial chaos and technical disaster. ICBA staff also prepare news releases, hold press conferences, engage in one-on-one conversations with journalists around the country, and occasionally appear on major national news shows.

Looking into the future, ICBA as an organization will continue to face the challenges of financial services restructuring and the trends favoring larger, even international service providers. Although the potential membership pool may dwindle, the organization may be buoyed by its provision of profitable services, which al-

low its remaining members to compete more effectively than they could without those services. Privacy concerns, particularly relating to electronic data, will continue to be an issue, as will the supportive role of the federal government in the rural economy.

FINANCIAL FACTS

ICBA has a staff of 50 and an annual budget of approximately \$14 million; its Community Banking Network subsidiaries have revenues of over \$61 million annually and assets of more than \$115 million. Notable in the organization's contribution pattern is the inverse relationship between 1987–1988 and 1995–1996: ICBA's political action committee (PAC) switched its one-third to two-thirds ratio in favor of the majority Republican Party candidates, but moved to a more balanced contribution pattern in the next election cycle.

LOREE BYKERK

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INDEPENDENT INSURANCE AGENTS OF AMERICA

The Independent Insurance Agents of America (IIAA) represents insurance sales agents who sell all types of insurance and represent multiple insurance companies. Members are small-business owners who handle auto, home, business, life, and health insurance. The organization is structured as a federation of 50 state and 1,200 local associations, with 34,000 individual members.

The IIAA's interests include aspects of insurance and of small, independent business owners. Thus, it is generally concerned with the structure of financial services and with regulatory burdens as well as with the impact of taxation on insurance, regulation of insurance, and product liability standards. More specifically, in the past few decades, it has been concerned with keeping banks out of the insurance business and with protecting the McCarran-Ferguson Act, under which insurance is regulated by the states.

HISTORY

The organization traces its roots to 1896, when two fire insurance agents happened to meet in Denver and began to discuss how agents could sell their customers products from more than one insurance company. Their meeting led to the founding of the National Association of Local Fire Insurance Agents, which later became the National Association of Insurance Agents. The group's current name was adopted in 1975.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

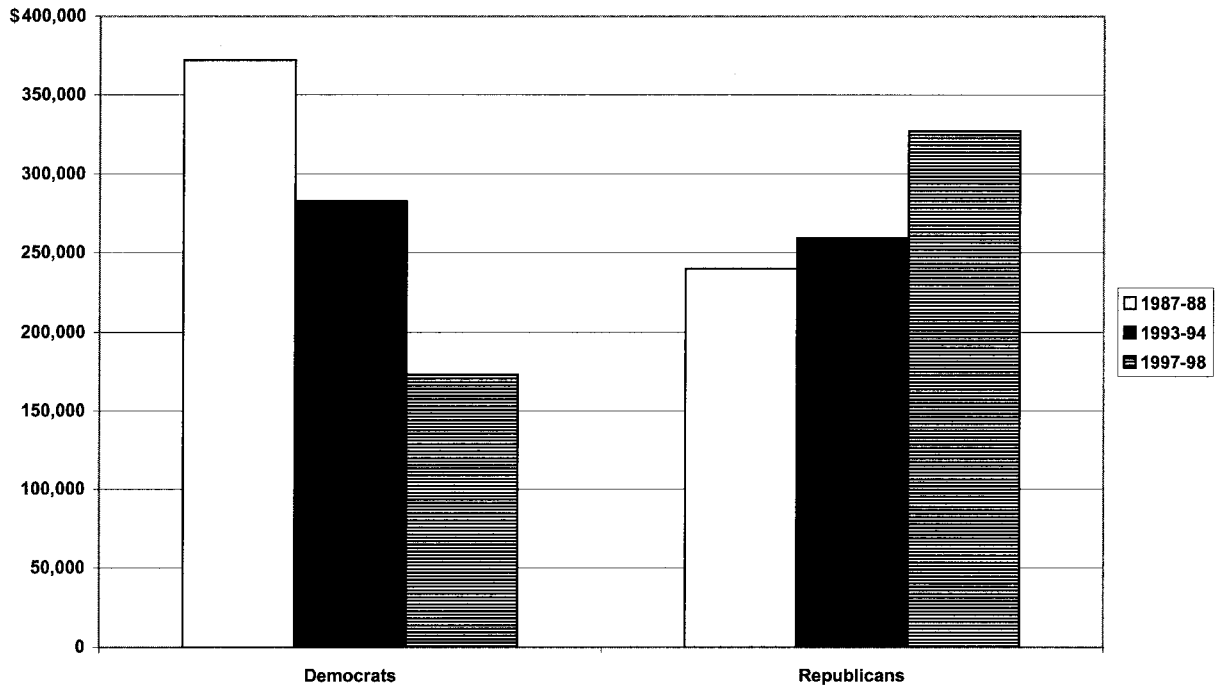
The IIAA is regarded as a lobby force in Washington, D.C. Its lobbyists are well known on Capitol Hill, and the agents are expected to have a place at the table

on any legislative proposals affecting their interests. For more than the last decade, the principal issue on the agenda has been financial services restructuring. The IIAA's position is to protect the sector available to insurance agents from being further usurped by banks or other forms of banking organization. It points out that banks already have been allowed to expand into the insurance business by their regulators and the courts; insurers have not been allowed similar access to the banking business. Thus Congress, in order to keep the playing field at all level, must at least protect agents' niche from further incursions in any restructuring legislation. The IIAA argues that, at a minimum, banks should be allowed to sell insurance only through affiliates that are regulated by state insurance commissioners.

Although insurers and agents do not have a federal regulatory agency and, in fact, want to protect the relationships they have with state regulators, they do have strong ties with members of Congress. Republican leaders, including House Majority Leader Richard Arney of Texas and House Rules Committee Chairman David Dreier of California, are staunch agent supporters. Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) was consistently willing to take the agents' position against banks and securities firms. But the real source of the IIAA's power is that every congressional district has insurance agents and they are often well-known, articulate, persuasive individuals who are an integral part of the hometown, Main Street business community.

The IIAA's agenda extends beyond financial services reform. It has promoted legislation to address federal natural disaster response and with grassroots support moved a bill out of committee for the first time in 1998. It also is involved in aspects of the multiple health-care reform proposals that have been considered by Congress during the 1990s. Its specific interest is to protect the position of agents—which it has succeeded in doing, for example, by blocking provisions that would allow patients to sue their health plans over coverage decisions.

**Independent Insurance Agents of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

Because of the wide range of policies sold by independent agents, the IIAA also is involved in agriculture legislation and auto issues. With respect to automobile coverage, it has dealt with agent liability and licensing issues and worked to protect insurer sharing of accident and repair data. It worked with the Republican leadership on auto issues and on crop insurance; on the latter its effort was to secure long-term funding for crop insurance support.

Not only does the IIAA lobby in Washington, D.C., it also is active in state politics. Among the issues on the states' agendas are financial services reform, agent licensing, and electronic commerce. The IIAA promotes model legislation on issues in which it is supporting state action; it has been successful in persuading states to enact its model provisions on financial services restructuring.

The IIAA works with the National Association of Insurance Commissioners (NAIC), most recently cooperating on streamlining the agent licensing process and working toward interstate reciprocity. It is also working on natural disaster issues, auto insurance, and healthcare reform at the state level.

In addition to direct state lobbying and cooperating with the NAIC, the IIAA also supports lobbying in the

states through a grant program. State organization efforts such as improving government affairs operations or promoting legislation such as graduated drivers license laws receive grants from the national group.

The IIAA is able to draw on substantial volunteer expertise from its members. Membership committees are organized into commercial lines, personal lines, education, government affairs, technical conference, and young agents. Through its staff of 68, education, public relations, and other services are made available to members.

Benefits available to IIAA members include technical and sales courses; new agents get special attention, but continuing development for established agents is encouraged as well. A conference for young agents features sessions on legislative initiatives, media training, and leadership. Educational workshops and seminars focus on sales skills, sales management, and customer service. Courses may lead to recognition or certification in specialized areas, such as accreditation for customer service representatives. Among the other widely distributed member services is a series of best practices manuals; recent topics include management succession and producer compensation.

Through the IIAA, members have access to employment practices liability insurance coverage, errors and omissions coverage, including year 2000 coverage (which would protect policyholders from ramifications of computer and other technological failure with the turning of the year 2000), and retirement programs, including Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) and 401(k) plans. Employee benefit plans including disability, dental, and long-term care coverage, and personal insurance for members covering motorcycles, snowmobiles, and jet skis are also available. Members' legal inquiries on such issues as their contracts with insurance companies, antitrust issues, and others are fielded by IIAA staff.

Member publications include the monthly *Independent Agent*, handbooks and periodicals focusing on management topics, and the bimonthly *Actiongram*. The web site is also used for rapid-response grassroots action notices. An annual convention with exhibits draws about 3,000 attendees; speakers include high-profile political figures. An annual Legislative Conference is held to focus members on lobbying.

The IIAA sponsors a program serving both education and public relations functions in what it calls InVEST. Videos and other teaching materials on business and insurance skills are provided for high school and community college students. Leading the list of the IIAA's public image events is its 31-year sponsorship of the Insurance Youth Golf Classic, the largest golf tournament of its type.

The organization also works cooperatively with its members on a media program including consumer guides, brochures, and national broadcast and print media advertisements. Broadcast and cable network spots for a recent campaign were purchased on CNN Headline News and the Weather Channel to reach more than 239 million households. Agents are recruited to participate in on-camera media training conducted by the IIAA communications staff. In addition, a joint venture with a national advertising agency to support state associations, local boards, and individual members in advertising their agencies is under way. The IIAA also boasts an award-winning web site at www.independentagent.com, where consumers can find more than 26,000 agency listings.

The IIAA has expanded its range of services dramatically over time and is now poised to expand into the savings bank business. It is launching InsurBanc, a

federal bank thrift, which will provide deposit and loan services to member agents and provide them with financial products and services to offer their customers.

The expansion of technology is the IIAA's major concern for the future. Electronic product and service availability poses both risks and opportunities for the independent agent, and the organization is attempting to help its members weigh the balance in a positive direction. Its goal is to help agents control their own destiny in an environment of electronic commerce. However, in the nearer term, the threat of continued expansion by banks into insurance is the highest concern.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The IIAA is regarded as a significant player in Washington, D.C., circles, in part because of its generous campaign support. Over the last decade, contributions to Republicans have increased markedly. In the 1993–1994 election cycle, nearly half of the organization's contributions went to Republicans. After the Republicans gained control over Congress, contributions to Republicans increased to a level more generous than they had been to the previous Democratic majority, a pattern reflecting close ties to House leadership.

In response to the serious issues facing the organization, it has made some changes in administering its political action committee (PAC). The IIAA began in 1998 to solicit contributions earlier in the year and also began accepting contributions by credit card to facilitate added contributions in a more convenient process.

LOREE BYKERK

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INVESTMENT COMPANY INSTITUTE

The Investment Company Institute (ICI) is the national trade association for mutual fund and closed-end investment companies registered under the Investment Company Act of 1940. A mutual fund company is required to repurchase stocks from shareholders when they demand it, whereas a closed-end company is not. Investment advisors and underwriters to these companies, unit investment trust sponsors, and interested others may also join the organization. Its membership represents 7,521 mutual funds, 447 closed-end funds, and 10 sponsors of unit investment trusts. Its mutual fund members represent more than 73 million individual shareholders and manage more than \$5.7 trillion in investments.

The ICI presents itself as spokesperson for its members and their shareholders in matters related to legislation, regulation, taxation, public information, economic and policy research, business operations, and statistics. It endeavors to enhance public understanding of the investment company business, to serve the public interest by encouraging high ethical standards in the industry, and to promote the interests of shareholders. Areas of interest for this organization include savings rates and incentives, investment choices, the structure of the financial services industry, communication with investors, the overall health of the economy, and oversight of investment advisor conduct.

Within the financial services industry, the ICI is distinguished by the mutual fund safeguards of the 1940 Investment Company Act. That legislation provided investor protections including full and fair disclosure, strict limits on borrowing, prohibition of affiliated transactions, and oversight by independent directors. These standards are credited with keeping mutual funds out of the crises and debacles affecting other pooled investments such as those in real estate and hedge funds. As a result, much wider shares of the population have relied upon mutual funds for the sort of professionally managed diversified portfolio that was previously available only to a few.

HISTORY

The ICI was founded with the passage of the Investment Company Act of 1940 as the National Association of Investment Companies. In 1973 it absorbed the Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors; in 1961 it took its present name. In 1987 it absorbed the Association of Publicly Traded Investment Funds.

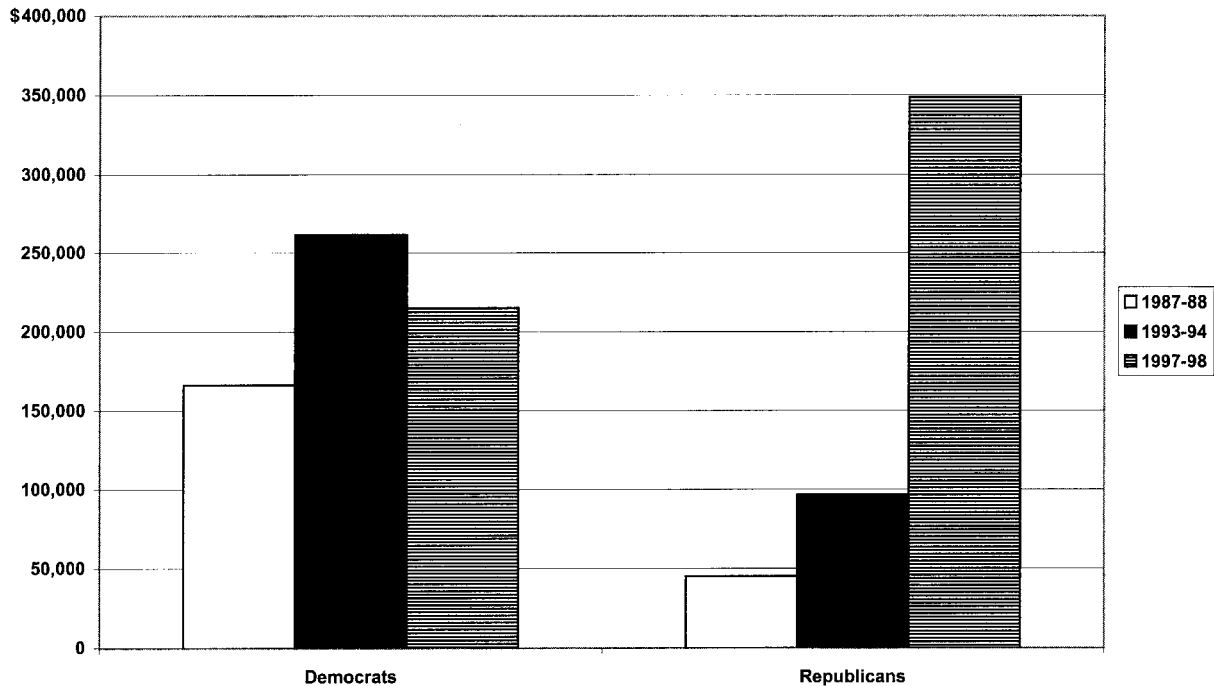
The mutual fund industry has grown since 1940 from \$400 million to over \$5.5 trillion. As compared with other sectors of the financial services industry, it has been relatively free of scandal, a record attributed by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to the effective watchdog function served by independent directors of the funds. Both the SEC and the ICI have an interest in protecting that record and periodically revisit the standards and procedures required of the funds.

Important historic benchmarks of cooperation between the industry and its regulators include revision of rules on advertising fund performance, making prospectuses more understandable, and presenting fees in tabular format. These disclosure reforms are credited with encouraging shareholders to move to lower-cost funds and bringing down the cost of investing in mutual funds.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Funding of Americans' retirement is a major arena of activity for the ICI at the present time. This includes work on Social Security reform and on pension legislation. The ICI participated in the White House Conference on Social Security, convened by President Bill Clinton in December 1998. The ICI's position stressed that the long-term health of Social Security must be ensured, and its status as a universal system must be

**Investment Company Institute
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

maintained. Together, these will continue to assure a modicum of income security to Americans who do not have employer-sponsored programs or individual savings.

The ICI is cautious on privatizing Social Security. If Congress chooses to proceed with individual accounts, the ICI maintains that investor protections similar to those in securities laws must be put in place. In addition, a significant public education campaign must be conducted to explain investment principles, markets, risks, and product disclosure. If individual accounts are created, they initially should be invested in government-sponsored funds to provide for a transition period, after which individuals should be allowed to elect other investment options that meet their own objectives. If such choices were not allowed, government-managed investment pools would become so large as to have significant, possibly unintended impacts on private markets.

In the area of pensions, the ICI is particularly focused on proposals aimed at expanding defined contribution pension plans and making them more portable. It supports raising the limits on contributions, permitting after-tax contributions, permitting catch-up contribu-

tions for workers aged 50 and older, and giving small employers tax credits for setting up plans. It is also in support of allowing employees to move pension assets from one type of plan to another when they change jobs. In addition, the ICI is promoting legislation restoring simple, universal Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) that would allow anyone to set aside a tax-exempt sum annually, arguing that complex reforms have had the unintended consequence of dampening savings rates among middle- to lower-income workers. Its testimony before the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Oversight also urged Congress to raise the \$2,000 limit on contributions to IRAs.

Whether there is sufficient price competition in the mutual fund industry to protect consumers is an issue that comes before Congress and regulators periodically. Both Republican and Democratic members of the House Commerce Subcommittee on Finance and Hazardous Materials made opening statements characterizing their September 1998 hearings as a checkup for a healthy patient. At the time, the ICI president Matthew P. Fink testified that competition in the industry is healthy and working in the interests of investors. He described funds as competing in price, performance, in-

vestment philosophy, experience, specialized expertise, and service.

The ICI works cooperatively with the SEC by creating and serving on advisory groups studying regulatory issues. For example, the ICI's board chairman presently serves on an advisory group established to review practice standards for fund directors; the group was created to self-study and self-regulate pursuant to SEC suggestions that a review was in order. Work is also under way on disclosure of the impact of taxes on fund performance and on advertising rules. Guidelines issued by the SEC in 1998 requiring prospectuses to be written in plain English were the result of substantial prior joint study and feedback over a year-long comment period.

The organization's close working relationship with the SEC are further revealed by the ICI testimony supporting an increased level of SEC funding for fiscal year 2000. The ICI's statement defended an increase to support the commission's responsibilities in enforcing plain-English requirements in prospectuses, in monitoring progress toward year 2000 compliance and disclosure, and in public education.

The ICI has also worked with state regulators to sort out which investment advisors must register with their states and which with the SEC. Changes in these arrangements were mandated by the National Securities Markets Improvement Act of 1996.

The ICI maintains a staff of 150, who monitor policy developments and provide member services, such as access to a reference library, an online member network, and various publications including a service directory, a fact book, and monthly industry data and trends. The ICI also makes available to members brochures and videos for consumer education. The general membership meeting is held annually in Washington, D.C., and includes product and service exhibits.

The ICI and its members are the high-status, high-integrity players in the financial services sector; they are keenly aware of that status and intend to protect it. They

are well positioned to grow with private retirement savings and even more so with partial privatization of Social Security. By the same token, dramatic growth in the latter would also raise issues of investor understanding, telemarketing contacts, and the privacy of investor data.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The organization has an annual budget of more than \$30 million. Even more valuable are the high-status volunteers it is able to mobilize; presidents of prominent mutual funds and their staffs have excellent access to policy-makers in Washington and other capitals. The ICI has its own political action committee (PAC), and many of its members—such as Dean Witter Reynolds Financial Group, J.P. Morgan and Company, Merrill Lynch Asset Management, Paine Webber, and Scudder Kemper Investments—also sponsor PACs. Inspection of the ICI's PAC contribution data over the last decade shows an effort to maintain ties with the minority Democrats, with even more generosity bestowed on them than had been bestowed on Republicans when they were the minority party in Congress. In the 1993–1994 election cycle, 73 percent of the ICI's contributions went to Democrats and 27 percent went to Republicans. In the 1997–1998 election cycle—two years after Republicans had taken control over Congress—38 percent of the organization's contributions went to Democrats while 62 percent went to Republicans.

LOREE BYKERK

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MORTGAGE BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The Mortgage Bankers Association of America (MBAA) is a trade association representing the real estate finance industry. This includes mortgage bankers, mortgage brokers, commercial banks, credit unions, savings and loan associations, savings banks, and life insurance companies. Mortgage bankers make, sell, and service mortgages secured by residential or commercial real estate. They serve as middlemen, arranging and making loans using short-term funding and then selling these loans to other lenders and investors, both within the U.S. secondary markets and abroad.

Buyers of mortgages include commercial banks, thrifts, life insurance companies, pension funds, and the secondary market agencies—the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae) and the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (Freddie Mac), which purchase primarily conventional mortgage loans. The Government National Mortgage Association (Ginnie Mae) purchases government loans. All three are federal agencies created to provide liquidity to the mortgage market and affordable housing to home buyers and renters. Mortgage bankers also make use of federal and state government programs such as the U.S. Federal Housing Administration residential mortgage insurance program and the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) home loan guarantee program. The VA program allows mortgage lenders to offer long-term, low down-payment mortgage financing to eligible veterans.

Three thousand companies involved in the mortgage banking business are members of the MBAA. The organization bases its status on the role of home and property ownership in the American political economy. It positions itself as representing an industry it describes as the engine that generates the capital to build and own homes, apartments, offices, hotels, shops—most of our physical surroundings. The real estate finance industry is the largest segment of the capital markets of the United States.

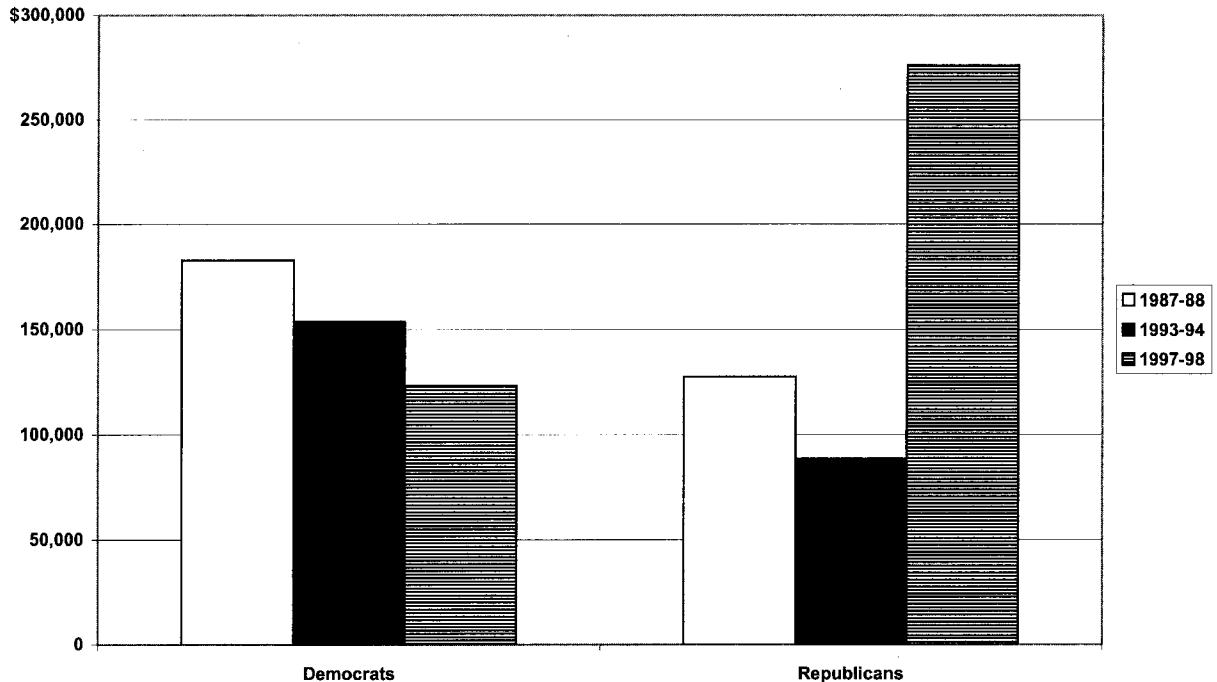
The MBAA's objectives are to achieve the lowest cost of credit for home buyers and other real estate borrowers and to maintain a stable, efficient, and assured source of mortgage credit. It works to create an environment suitable for an efficient and profitable real estate finance industry, and to ensure that federal legislation and regulation provide for safety, soundness, and consumer protection without undue burdens and costs being imposed on the industry.

HISTORY

The MBAA was founded in 1914. The favored income tax status granted to those who pay interest on home mortgages has been its continuous core concern. The long-term success in protecting that status accrues not only to the MBAA but also to the deep-seated American attachment to the goal of home ownership. The development and continuation of government-financed mortgage loan guaranties and support for the secondary market in mortgages represent significant success for mortgage bankers. Restrictions on the dollar amount of mortgages that federal agencies will guaranty, caps on the interest that may be deducted on multiple-home mortgages, and consumer protection laws constitute more disappointing outcomes for organized lender interests.

As an organization, the MBAA is engaged in a strategic planning process that appears to be leading it in the direction of dividing more distinctly between residential and commercial housing. This looming split could challenge the MBAA's mission of promoting the American dream of home ownership. It could also threaten the group's reliance on conservative Republicans who continue to favor both tax reform and the rolling back of consumer protection provisions.

**Mortgage Bankers Association of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987-1998.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

A major concern of the MBAA is to protect the mortgage interest deduction each time there is any discussion of revising the federal tax code. Its position is that the interest paid on mortgages should continue to be deductible in full and should include mortgages on second homes and refinanced mortgages. Thus, each time a major revision of the tax system is proposed, particularly one calling for some version of a national sales tax, the MBAA swings into action along with the rest of the housing finance lobby.

The mortgage bankers advocate creating and maintaining a level playing field among the various types of housing finance providers. Thus, they participate in the legislative and regulatory fray over restructuring financial services. They generally support financial services reform and modernization; their position is that a fully competitive marketplace would be preferable to one with outdated and unfair barriers to some segments.

Reform of the 1968 Truth in Lending Act and the Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act are high on the

MBAA agenda. The Truth in Lending Act requires lenders to provide simple and accurate information about loans so that borrowers can comparison shop. It also allows borrowers to recover damages from lenders who provide inaccurate loan information. The Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act requires that information and paperwork copies be given to borrowers when they close a mortgage loan and gives consumers the right to rescind a loan within three days. The requirements also extend to closing a second mortgage loan.

The MBAA regards these requirements as burdensome and confusing to consumers and is particularly concerned about class-action suits brought against lenders for what the MBAA regards as overly technical interpretations of the legislation. The MBAA advocates reforms including changing the information provided to consumers, an arbitration process, limiting redress to actual damages, and limiting attorneys' fees in class actions. It also advocates federal preemption of state laws in order to create standard requirements and procedures across the country.

Lobbying on these consumer protection rollbacks displays a wide array of tactics. The MBAA encourages grassroots input from its members as a means to influ-

ence legislators, including electronic letters on its web site that may be personalized but still convey the content of the group's position. The organization works with members of Congress, their staffs, and in coalitions with other industry groups to craft legislative and regulatory language. It provides testimony for congressional committees and subcommittees on housing finance proposals.

The MBAA works with the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Federal Reserve, as it has done in trying to change truth-in-lending and real estate settlement procedures. In general, it maintains liaison with the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation, the Federal National Mortgage Association, the Government National Mortgage Association, and the Veterans Home Loan Guarantee Board.

The MBAA staff numbers 135; they work with member committees in more than 20 functional areas, including affordable housing, residential loan production, commercial mortgage and asset management, loan administration, and regulatory compliance. The staff is responsible for research and publication of a quarterly newsletter reporting delinquency and foreclosure rates by state, by region, and nationally. An annual report of costs and revenues associated with originating and servicing loans for one- to four-unit residential complexes is also published by the MBAA. Mortgage banking statistics are also published in a monthly magazine, *Mortgage Banking: The Magazine of Real Estate Finance*. *Real Estate Finance Today*, a biweekly newsletter, reports events relating to legislative and regulatory issues. The MBAA's web site provides daily updates of statistics, issues, and news of interest to members.

Education services for MBAA members include clinics on all aspects of the mortgage finance business. The association sponsors the School of Mortgage Banking and makes correspondence courses available to its members. Conferences on special topics, such as international real estate, are held periodically, in addition to an annual convention featuring exhibits.

As previously discussed, the MBAA's public relations image relies heavily on the American dream of home ownership. The organization's message is that mortgage bankers provide most of the mortgages for low- to middle-income home buyers—the young couples buying their first, modest bungalow. Their role in commercial real estate, foreclosures, and the secondary market are not part of the featured portrait.

One specific ambition that the MBAA will continue to pursue is gaining access to the Federal Home Loan Bank system. Thus, it is part of a growing movement to revisit and revise that entire system.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Mortgage bankers' political preferences lean toward the Republican Party, which most believe to be more in line with their interests in private enterprise and profits. However, because Democrats largely controlled Congress from 1955 to 1994, they received the majority of contributions. This began shifting in favor of Republicans even before the party regained control of the House and Senate, but Democrats subsequently won back many of those contributions. Republicans have not yet gained the share of funds previously contributed to Democrats.

LOREE BYKERK

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT INSURERS

The National Association of Independent Insurers (NAII) is a trade association of independent property and casualty insurance companies; its members write automobile, homeowners, business, workers' compensation, and surplus lines insurance coverage. (Surplus lines brokers provide insurance in states where coverage is not available through licensed insurers.) It is the largest full-service property and casualty company trade association, representing 619 members whose market share includes almost one-third of the total premium volume. Allstate, GEICO, SAFECO, and USAA are among the NAII's more prominent insurance company members.

The interests of the NAII include the overall structure of financial services at the national level and protecting the regulation of insurance by the states rather than the national government. The NAII presents itself as an aggressive, tenacious defender of state regulation of a competitive marketplace and an opponent of federal intrusion. It also is involved on shorter-term issues such as liability judgments by the courts; it has supported federal legislative proposals to establish limits on damage awards in product liability cases. Federal support for flood insurance, transportation infrastructure, and vehicle safety are also issues that bring the NAII and its members into national politics.

HISTORY

The NAII was founded in 1945 to represent an aggressive group of companies in a rapidly expanding insurance field. It has been involved in vehicle safety since the issue gained attention in the 1970s. It has supported efforts to require safety equipment such as airbags in automobiles, to revise state laws on driver's license availability, and to reduce drunken and drugged driving. The NAII is one of the organizations that has successfully promoted the Graduated Driver's License law aimed at

reducing teen auto accidents and fatalities. It has also supported administrative revocation of drivers' licenses and lowering the legal blood alcohol concentration standard for convicting persons of drunken driving.

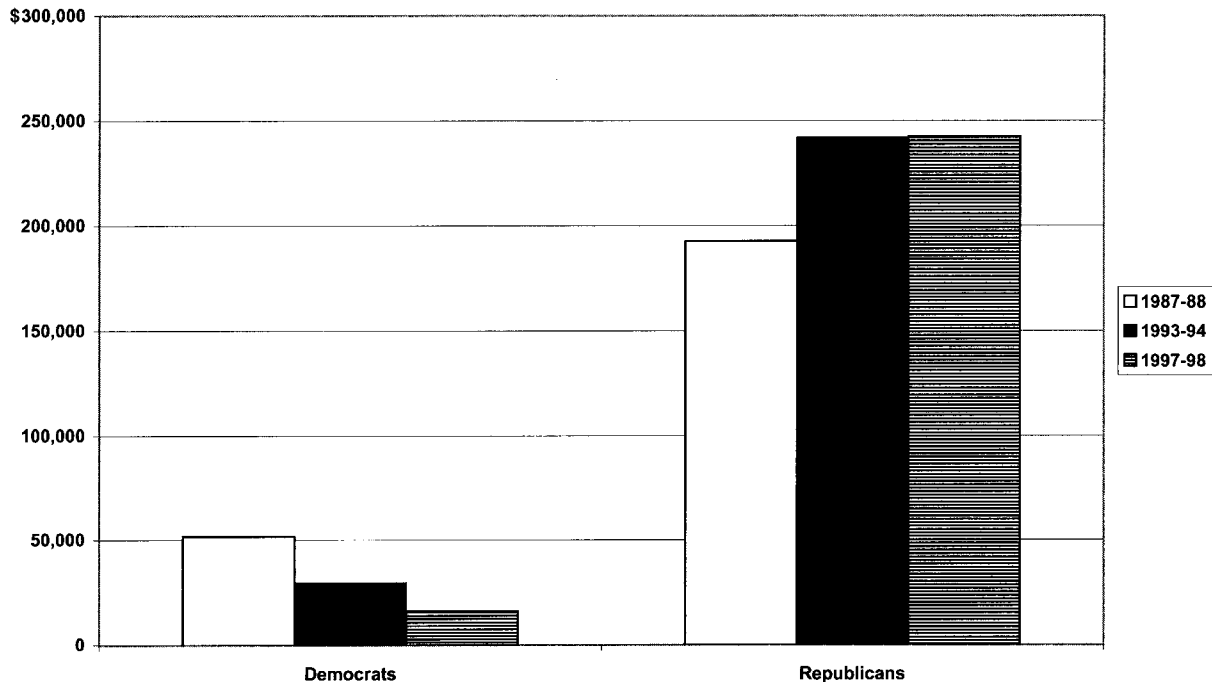
ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The association describes itself as an aggressive, proactive leader on issues; its staff numbers 180. NAII member companies are domiciled in 48 states. They are well connected politically, and the organization works to mobilize executives, employees, agents, and retirees. Its Washington, D.C., lobbyists bring members together with lawmakers at social gatherings, policy discussions, meetings with new legislators, and at fund-raising events.

The most serious current issue for the NAII is financial services restructuring legislation at the national level. It is working in coalition with the Independent Insurance Agents of America, the National Association of Life Underwriters, and the National Association of Insurance Commissioners to keep banks out of the insurance business. This industry coalition is vehemently opposed to the direction set by federal bank regulators, who have allowed banks to move into selling insurance.

The restructuring legislation passed by the House of Representatives in 1999 would, in the eyes of this insurance coalition, continue to give banks a decided competitive advantage. Rather than requiring insurance business conducted by banks to be regulated by state insurance commissioners, as the coalition prefers, the bill allows existing state insurance regulations to be preempted by federal regulators if they impact banks differently than they impact insurers. In addition, insurance companies pay into guarantee funds in each state to cover insurance company insolvencies; they fear banks will take advantage of the fact that these funds are in-

**National Association of Independent Insurers
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

sured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, backed ultimately by the federal government.

The insurance coalition, however, has succeeded in persuading the House to adopt one of its demands: the requirements of the Community Reinvestment Act have not been extended to insurers, which was a demand of the banking coalition, especially smaller banks and savings and loan associations who argue they are disadvantaged by its application.

Another federal issue currently receiving NAII attention is reform of Superfund, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) fund to clean up toxic waste sites nationwide. The NAII is supportive of reforming Superfund in the direction of minimizing litigation, hastening hazardous waste cleanup without new taxes, and eliminating retroactive joint and several liability. A proposed tax on insurance premiums to add revenue to Superfund does not get support from the NAII. The association is one of the supporters of the proposed Brownfields Redevelopment and Superfund Transformation Act, which would, they argue, effectively codify many of the reforms already administered by the EPA.

The NAII is engaged in two other federal legislative initiatives. The first is federal support for homeowners

insurance in areas affected by natural disasters such as floods or hurricanes. A bipartisan bill to provide federal reinsurance for state disaster insurance programs and for private property casualty insurers is applauded by the NAII. The association was successful in having language included in the legislation that allows small and regional property-casualty companies to compete more effectively in the auction mechanism used for U.S. Treasury reinsurance contracts.

Clinton administration initiatives on transportation infrastructure and safety also are supported by the NAII. The association worked for the 1998 Transportation Equity Act, which addresses commercial vehicle safety issues caused by the North American Free Trade Agreement. The NAII's particular concerns are commercial vehicles crossing the border with heavier loads, less effective brakes, and drivers who have logged more miles without sleep than federal law allows. The Department of Transportation, with NAII input, is currently considering additional proposals on railroad, airline, and highway safety.

On state issues, the NAII devotes national staff, maintains regional offices in Atlanta and Sacramento, and also retains local counsel, including former state leg-

islators and former insurance commissioners, in every state. Because of its substantial market share, it can claim to be a significant player in industry coalitions. The NAII is active on many state issues simultaneously. Among current topics are the use of credit history information in underwriting, the use of aftermarket parts in repairing cars (those items needed to maintain the vehicle), and whether an insurer may recommend an auto repair shop to its policyholders.

The organization has a formal, computerized grassroots network. Managers in member companies act as intermediaries, receiving onsite training from the national staff and a manager's handbook. Individual volunteers are matched with office holders, encouraged to send targeted messages that may be computer generated, and prompted by Action Alerts to make other contacts. Political training seminars coach managers and volunteers on how to contact legislators, get involved in campaigns, and maximize the impact of campaign contributions. An additional focused newsletter keeps activists informed about issues and gives them policy and position background.

The NAII claims to devote more resources than any other association to working with the National Association of Insurance Commissioners. It attends their meetings, works with them in coalitions, and provides a specialized publication, *NAIC Reporter*. The NAII also lobbies the courts, acting as *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) or a direct party in state and federal courts. For example, it filed an *amicus curiae* brief in a 1998 case on workers' compensation before the Supreme Court.

NAII services include the Independent Statistical Service that provides data services used by companies to comply with state reporting requirements. Members may access reference materials and publications through a fax-on-demand service and an extensive web site. Direct public relations services are part of the NAII's membership benefits. Using its position in the industry, it is able to assemble data to shape compelling evidence in support of its arguments.

The future of the NAII will be shaped by the direction of federal financial services restructuring and federal bank deregulation. As this is written, it appears likely that banking interests will win more of their demands

than will insurance interests. Property and casualty insurers have a great deal to lose if banks and other businesses move into selling insurance on automobiles and homes. Business insurance may be similarly usurped by commercial bank subsidiaries or affiliates. Thus, the only fairly certain element on the horizon is continued change and turmoil.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NAII has an annual budget in excess of \$20 million and is also able to draw upon substantial volunteer expertise from member companies. It maintains offices in suburban Chicago, Atlanta, Sacramento, and Washington, D.C. The NAII political action committee (PAC) was the first PAC established by a property and casualty association, and it is the largest. Unlike most trade association PACs, the NAII PAC barely supported the Democrats when they were in the majority, and maintains negligible financial ties with them when they are in the minority. In the 1993–1994 election cycle, only 11 percent of the PAC's contributions went to Democrats. In the 1997–1998 election cycle, Democratic contributions dropped to 6 percent of all contributions. Whether the enthusiasm for the Republican majority withstands the outcome of financial services restructuring will be interesting to observe.

LOREE BYKERK

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE COMMISSIONERS

The National Association of Insurance Commissioners (NAIC) is an association of the chief insurance regulatory officials of states, U.S. territories, and the District of Columbia. Its mission is to assist state insurance regulators in serving the public interest; promoting the reliability, solvency, and financial solidity of insurers; promoting competitive markets; and facilitating the fair and equitable treatment of consumers.

The NAIC operates in two ways. First, it provides a forum in which insurance regulators can discuss common issues and work cooperatively on regulatory matters. Second, it extends its influence to the legislative process by endorsing model laws and regulations, which it encourages all states to adopt. These models are usually preceded by a lengthy study process, a report that is widely circulated, and formal adoption by the assembled members.

The primary interest of the NAIC is to maintain and protect regulation of insurance by state officials as assigned by the federal McCarran-Ferguson Act of 1947. In recent years the federal government has encroached on this domain through policies related to retirement security, healthcare, consumer protections, disability protections, and others. During the 1990s, the greatest incursion into insurance regulation has come from federal banking regulators, particularly the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC).

The basic response of the NAIC to threatened encroachment is to demonstrate to federal decision makers that state regulation is effective, efficient, responsible, and in the public interest. When this strategy is ineffective in dissuading federal action, the NAIC attempts to build collaborative relationships with the new intruders so as to protect as much of their domain as possible.

HISTORY

The NAIC was founded in 1871 and is the oldest association of state officials. Until 1936, it was called the National Convention of Insurance Commissioners. It has served to upgrade and professionalize the regulation of insurance by state officials and their staffs. At the same time, the organization is inherently political, which is evident from the intense lobbying attention insurance companies and trade associations devote to its members and their deliberations. The intensity with which the regulators and the regulated defend the status quo suggests to some critics that perhaps the results are not as much in the public interest as would be beneficial.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Even though it is an association of public officials, the NAIC's lobbying activities look very much like those of other interest organizations. Their efforts on financial services restructuring provide the most extensive current example. NAIC members and staff have worked closely with members of House and Senate committees and their staffs; they have provided testimony, crafted legislative language, and fostered a coalition to lobby members. Among the allies they have mustered are the National Conference of State Legislatures, the North American Securities Administrators Association, and the National Governors' Association. The NAIC was part of the negotiations among banks, agents, and insurers who were attempting to arrive at an acceptable restructuring compromise. They persuaded individual insurance commissioners to contact their members of Con-

gress, and the association wrote a formal letter to members as well.

The position of the NAIC is that modernization of financial services is a worthy goal but it must not be accomplished at the expense of insurance consumers. They seek to protect the ability of state officials to supervise the solvency of insurance providers, address market conduct problems, and review the soundness of affiliations among service providers. They object to the superior status granted federal regulators and the codification of bank expansion into insurance reflected in some of the legislative proposals.

The NAIC advocates requiring insurance activities of financial services conglomerates to be conducted through holding company affiliates rather than subsidiaries. The holding company structure provides more solvency protections for insurance policyholders and allows state insurance regulators to more effectively monitor for solvency. Although no legislation has been passed, the NAIC appears to be preparing for any eventuality by arranging meetings between state insurance regulators and their banking counterparts at the Federal Reserve Board, the Office of Thrift Supervision, the OCC, and the Conference of State Banking Supervisors.

Although other issues are less important than financial services restructuring, the organization is active on many additional fronts. An NAIC subcommittee is studying the use of credit reports in underwriting setting rates. After a task force study, an official report on the topic was adopted in 1997; the following year the subcommittee held extensive public hearings on the impact of using credit reports on the availability, affordability, and accessibility of insurance to urban consumers.

Initiatives on healthcare in President Bill Clinton's administration have included NAIC representation in an advisory capacity as exemplified by the 1997 Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Healthcare Industry. One of the commission's recommendations was for development of a consumer bill of rights, including an external grievance review process. The NAIC produced a white paper on the issue to highlight achievements by the states and proceeded to develop model legislation. The model then became both the subject of intense interest from congressional members and staff and a resource for subsequent legislative considerations.

On other health issues, the NAIC works to educate executive agency officials, comment on proposed regulations, and shape the debate in various other ways. It has been part of groups created to negotiate regulations,

such as the Healthcare Financing Administration, which worked to negotiate regulations on the role of provider-sponsored organizations in Medicare. Concern about discrimination against victims of domestic violence has spurred the NAIC to adopt model legislation against unfair treatment in health, life, disability, property, and casualty insurance.

On the international scene, the NAIC is currently involved with two principal issues—trade agreements and settlement of Holocaust victim claims. The NAIC's international committee works with the Department of Commerce and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative on developments relating to insurance, such as the data privacy directive from the European Union and the bilateral trade agreement with Japan. The NAIC was influential in establishing the International Holocaust Commission, and its members currently serve on the commission along with insurance supervisors from Germany and Italy and representatives of survivor groups.

The NAIC maintains three office locations. It is headquartered in Kansas City; it has an office for its federal relations, international relations, financial analysis, and federal counsel functions in Washington, D.C.; it maintains a securities valuation office in the World Trade Center in New York City.

Its staff of 320 coordinates volunteer input from members and their staffs and also provides expertise in financial, actuarial, legal, computer, and economic areas. The staff conducts research, monitors federal government activity, creates publications, and maintains state-of-the-art database services, including a computer network linking all insurance departments.

An affiliate, the Insurance Regulatory Information Network, was created by the NAIC to set up a national network of data about insurance agents and brokers in order to make the licensing process more effective and efficient. In addition, the NAIC is attempting to streamline the regulatory process by taking increased advantage of electronic options for functions such as policy and statement filing and to facilitate the marketing of insurance over the Internet without sacrificing consumer privacy protections.

Another affiliate, the Education and Research Foundation, supports education for insurance regulators and their staffs. It has funded the development of an introductory text on insurance regulation for new regulatory staff members. It also has developed training programs and handbooks for market conduct examiners and for financial analysts, and supports an annual educational program held at Drake University in Iowa.

The NAIC develops consumer information publications such as its *Shoppers Guide to Long-Term Care*

Insurance and funds public service announcements on insurance issues. In addition, it encourages consumer participation in its deliberations by funding their expenses to attend NAIC meetings.

The main potential problems for the NAIC's future are likely to arise from financial services restructuring and trends toward globalization. The organization is moving to cope with these changes both domestically and abroad. NAIC members participate in the International Association of Insurance Supervisors, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, and the Joint Forum on Financial Conglomerates in order to be involved in international developments; however, events may move with greater momentum than their established networks are able to handle. International financial services conglomerates threaten to rapidly make the NAIC and its members marginal players.

FINANCIAL FACTS

As an association of 55 public officials, the NAIC does not have a political action committee (PAC). However,

it is not unusual for insurance commissioners to be politically ambitious and to use their position as a stepping-stone to higher office. As a result, they undoubtedly are contributors as individuals. Perhaps more important, as state officials they enjoy both a level of respect and access in national policy debates that many private interests can only observe with envy. The association's operating budget is more than \$40 million annually; database fees, subscriptions, and publications sales make up their largest revenue sources.

LOREE BYKERK

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LIFE UNDERWRITERS

The National Association of Life Underwriters (NALU) is a federation of 50 state and 950 local associations of life and health insurance sales professionals. Life insurance agents, general agents, and managers comprise most of the 100,000 members. Independent insurance agents, general managers of life insurance companies, and other life and health insurance professionals may be associate members.

NALU's mission is to improve the business climate and to enhance the professional skills and promote the ethical conduct of life and health insurance agents. Financial services restructuring, healthcare reform, taxation, and federal regulation of insurance are primary issues for NALU. The entry of banks into insurance sales, with the support of the Treasury Department's Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC), poses a serious threat to the business base of insurance agents. Proposals for healthcare reform that reduce the potential consumer demand for private insurance services and products are also anathema to this group. Efforts to alter the tax status of life insurance products, annuities, and employee insurance benefits also have posed recent challenges for NALU. On the other hand, tax proposals to make health insurance costs wholly deductible for self-employed persons are welcomed because they expand the market for insurance sales to professionals such as physicians, engineers, and lawyers.

The most persistent area of interest for NALU is protecting the 1947 McCarran-Ferguson Act, which provides that the business of insurance is to be regulated by the states. Insurance interests have invested years of effort in building relationships with state legislators, executives, and regulators, and they want to preserve that base. Thus, occasional proposals for federal intervention raise alarm bells for NALU and other insurance lobbies.

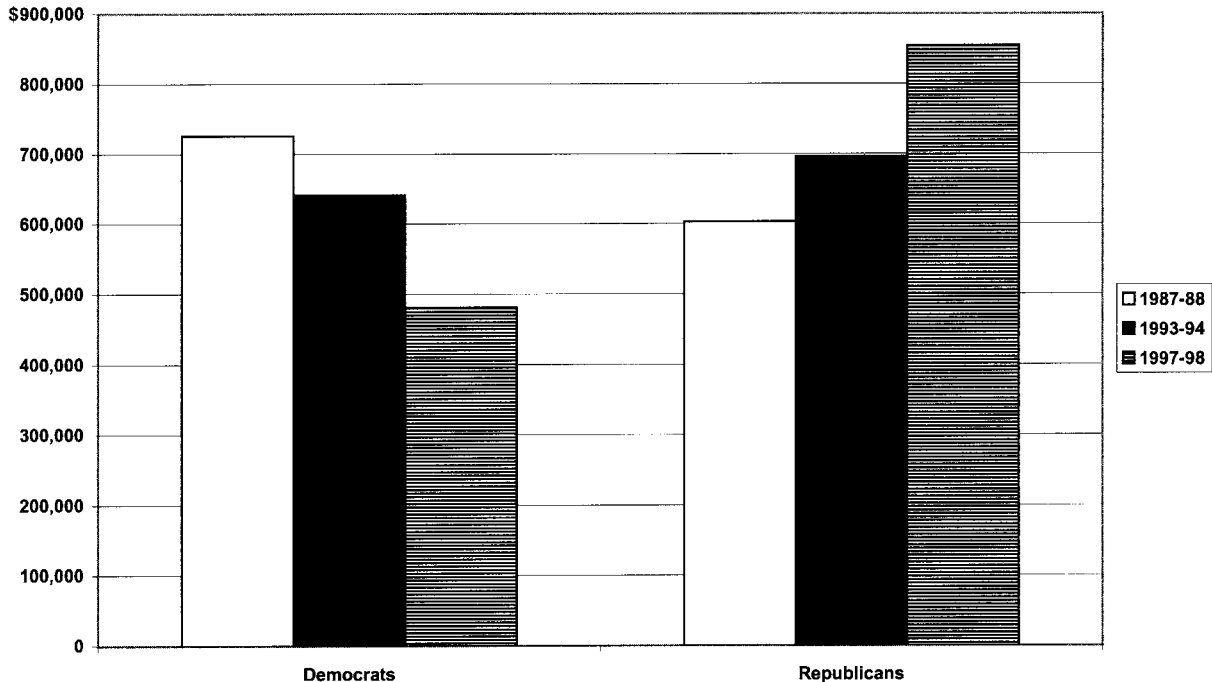
HISTORY

The organization was founded in 1890 and has consistently served the same constituency since that time. Although insurance agents do not enjoy high public regard, the association has helped, over time, to upgrade their practices and their image. A serious concern for NALU is declining membership numbers. Declining renewals and fewer new members have meant a drop from 120,000 to 100,000 in just the past few years. Efforts to reverse the decline are under way, including a new company relations program in which insurance companies provide endorsements and information about new agents to NALU and in turn to its local associations.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Challenges in most of its major policy areas have confronted NALU in the last several years; proposals from President Bill Clinton's administration and from Congress have required their response. White House budget proposals have included taxes on annuities, on the value of life insurance policies (referred to as the "inside build-up"), and on employer-provided life insurance by including them in individual assets or income. In coalition with the American Council of Life Insurance (ACLI) and the Association for Advanced Life Underwriting (AALU), NALU worked to defeat these changes during congressional deliberations. A grassroots campaign, including agent visits to members of the House of Representatives and Senate tax-writing committees, resulted in an Internal Revenue Service restructuring bill that did not include new taxes on insurance.

**National Association of Life Underwriters
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

NALU lobbying on financial services restructuring has proved challenging because not all the organizations representing insurance agents pursue the same strategy. NALU's position is that federal legislation is necessary to level the playing field in the financial services marketplace. It wants clarification of the states' authority to regulate the insurance activities of national banks and protections against banks' attempts to leverage their relationship with customers. When the Republicans gained control of Congress, NALU became better positioned on this issue. House Republican leaders invited NALU to negotiate with bank interests to arrive at language they could support. As a result, the bill passed by the House required that bank insurance agents be licensed and subject to state insurance regulation. It also gave the states equal footing with federal regulators on preemption issues through a new "equal deference" standard. NALU testified in support of the bill before the Senate Banking Committee, but in spite of its urging, the issue is still unresolved.

Healthcare reform issues brought NALU to Capitol Hill often in the 1990s. Recent debates over pa-

tient treatment by managed care plans gave rise to a proposal to establish federal healthcare ombudsmen. This function was regarded by NALU as usurping the responsibilities of insurance agents, and NALU worked with the Association of Health Insurance Agents to kill the proposal in the House.

NALU's grassroots efforts are formally organized as the Life Underwriters Political Involvement Committee (LUPIC). Federal congressional district and Senate coordinators lead groups of member constituents in meeting with their representatives and senators on NALU issues. Key members are flown to Washington, D.C., to meet with their representatives face-to-face on important issues, and thousands of members write letters and faxes conveying the same concerns. The LUPIC has direct contact with 529 members of Congress in this way, a 99 percent coverage rate. Timely information on the latest legislative developments is available to NALU members on their web site, which also provides background information and discussion points for letters or other contacts with policy makers.

Because of the significance of state regulation of the

insurance business, NALU supports its state chapters on local legislative and regulatory activity. Prominent topics at the state level parallel those at the national level, with banking reform currently the most prominent. NALU has drafted model legislation that would impose conditions under which banks may sell insurance, which about half the states have adopted in some form. The model bill prohibits credit tie-ins and coercion, provides safeguards against misleading consumers as to what products are insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, forbids the use of confidential customer information for cross-marketing purposes without the customer's knowledge or consent, and prohibits discrimination against nonaffiliated insurance agents or brokers.

NALU represents insurance agents at meetings of the National Association of Insurance Commissioners (NAIC) and provides expertise to NAIC committees working to develop model legislation or regulations. NALU then also promotes adoption of the NAIC models by the states. For example, NALU has been promoting state adoption of an NAIC model regulation on how life insurance should be presented for sales purposes. The model addresses issues of disclosure, assumptions, and consumer understanding. NALU also is working on reciprocal agent licensing agreements and on a model regulation for governing replacement of policies.

Membership in NALU gives insurance agents access to education on topics such as sales and client services. NALU coordinates with the Life Underwriting Training Council in basic training leading to certification. Continuing education seminars are provided directly by NALU on topics such as Social Security, equity-indexed annuities, long-term care, and legal and ethical business practices. Seminars for agents selling property and casualty lines of insurance in addition to life and health are developed and offered cooperatively with the Independent Insurance Agents of America (IIAA). The two organizations, both organized as federations, also encourage cooperation and participation in education and training programs by their state associations.

Publications for members include a monthly magazine, *Life Association News*, which contains sales ideas, product and marketing trends, and news coverage. Access to information from NALU documents is available to members around the clock by using its automated fax-on-demand service. An annual convention with exhibits draws approximately 3,000 members.

NALU's public relations program seeks to project a

positive image of insurance agents. It provides interviews for national publications such as the *Wall Street Journal*, circulates a consumer column, places supplements on life insurance in local newspapers, and contributes to op-ed columns. NALU is a contributor to the Life and Health Insurance Foundation for Education (LIFE); NALU's Washington headquarters houses LIFE's staff. LIFE is devoted to raising consumer awareness of the benefits of insurance and the value of agents. It designs and funds programs such as a multimedia presentation for high school students, a nationwide radio program with public service announcements about insurance, and a web site with information about different types of insurance.

The future holds serious challenges for NALU on two fronts. The most immediate concern is the aggressive encroachment by banks into the business of insurance. The role played by insurance agents may well be usurped by bank employees or even by computer software. (Rather than using agents, customers could directly enter application information via the Internet or telephone lines.) The other threat comes from continuing broad changes in healthcare services and how those services are paid for. Although national public-supported healthcare was beaten back in the early 1990s, incremental changes in funding and organization continue to make the agent's position fluid and vulnerable.

FINANCIAL FACTS

NALU has a staff of 110 to 125 persons and an operating budget of more than \$15 million annually. More than half of its revenue is derived from member dues; revenue is also derived from advertising and subscriptions to its monthly magazine.

According to NALU's annual report, its political action committee (PAC) is the largest in the industry. It has an unusual mode of operation in that it shares half of the funds it raises with state life underwriters' associations for state races, whereas the other half goes to national candidates. NALU PAC was one of the few that switched more funds to Republican candidates in the 1993–1994 election cycle, giving them 52 percent of its contributions. Republicans swept Congress in 1994, and since then, NALU has given the party an increasingly larger share. By the 1997–1998 election cycle, Republicans received 64 percent of NALU's political contributions.

LOREE BYKERK

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PROFESSIONAL INSURANCE AGENTS

The National Association of Professional Insurance Agents (NAPIA) is a trade association representing independent insurance agents and their employees who sell and service all kinds of insurance but specialize in coverage for autos, homes, and businesses. National membership numbers about 180,000, and there are 46 state and regional chapters. Their mission is not only to represent agents but also to provide education and business support and to compile statistics and research on insurance.

NAPIA is interested in issues affecting the health of property and casualty insurance as a business, regulation of insurance, auto safety issues, and environmental legislation and regulation. In general, it supports the McCarran-Ferguson Act, under which insurance is regulated by the states rather than by the federal government. It encourages enhanced auto safety features such as seat belts, child safety seats, and airbags, and it is generally in favor of state laws making the use of these features mandatory.

On environmental issues, NAPIA takes a more conservative position because of the impact on property and liability insurance rates of strict environmental protection standards. It also argues that insurers should not be taxed to fund liability relief. Trial attorneys are often their opponents on aspects of auto safety and environmental protection standards. The insurance agents argue that exorbitant attorneys' fees and damages awards do not serve to protect consumers but merely reward attorneys and raise everyone's insurance rates.

HISTORY

The association was founded in 1931 as the National Association of Mutual Insurance Agents and took its current name in 1976. It has worked over time to support the state governance of insurance and has allied with the National Association of Insurance Commissioners and the National Governors Association in that

cause. In spite of periodic assaults, the principles of the McCarran-Ferguson Act are still in place.

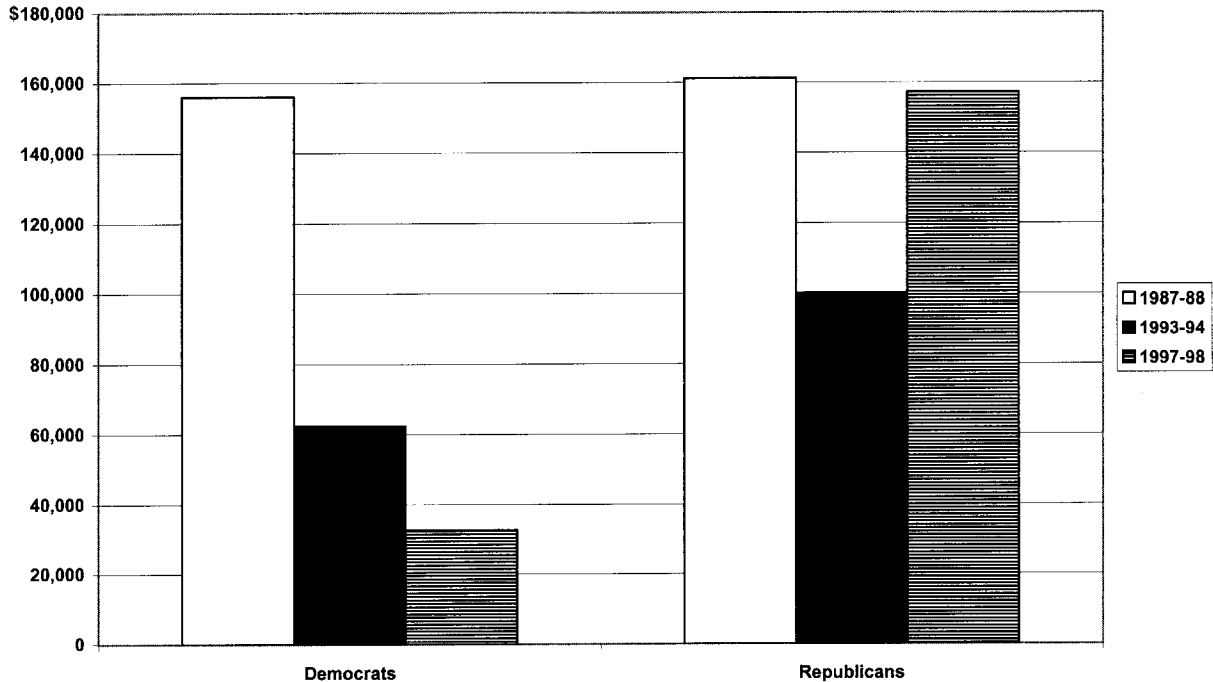
ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Federal intervention in restructuring financial services is one of the crucial issues for NAPIA at the present time, as it was for much of the 1990s. NAPIA maintains that the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC) has overstepped its bounds in giving banks permission to sell insurance. Since the OCC's decision has been endorsed by the Supreme Court, NAPIA's position is that it is not seeking an advantage over bank-affiliated insurance agents but neither should an advantage be granted to banks. The strategy, then, is to lobby for inclusion in any restructuring legislation of language to ensure that the state insurance regulators have jurisdiction over insurance activities of banks. NAPIA argues that state insurance regulators are in a better position to enforce consumer protections against probable bank abuses.

House Resolution No. 10, considered in 1999, attempted to address the concern for state regulation by establishing 13 safe harbor provisions within which states could impose consumer protections. However, states could not impose standards more restrictive or burdensome than the federal provisions. NAPIA opposed this approach as inadequate and also wanted a requirement that banks separate their banking activities from their insurance activities.

NAPIA has provided expert testimony to House and Senate committees repeatedly on financial services restructuring proposals. Coalitions with other insurance agents groups and support of the position taken by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners strengthen their stand. However, they do want legislation to even the playing field, and that has not occurred.

**National Association of Professional Insurance Agents
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987-1998.

In coalition with other insurance agents organizations, NAPIA has fought bank expansion into insurance in the courts as well as in Congress. The agents financed and filed a lawsuit against the OCC's ruling that banks could sell crop insurance to farmers in conjunction with providing loans. The federal district court decision overturned the OCC ruling on the grounds that the National Bank Act limits national bank sales of insurance to offices located in towns with populations of less than 5,000 people. However, the OCC is expected to appeal the ruling.

Another issue that has come before national policy makers periodically is auto insurance reform. A recent version considered by Congress was the proposed Auto Choice Reform Act sponsored by Senators John McCain (R-AZ), Mitch McConnell (R-KY), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), and Joseph Lieberman (D-CT). The bill was designed to lower the cost of auto insurance and reduce frivolous lawsuits by offering consumers a choice among policies with different levels of coverage for tort liability. In testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee, NAPIA applauded the goals but opposed the means on the grounds that the states must govern insurance standards. The insurance agents

also could not accept that the bill included no provisions to protect agents from liability for errors and omissions when selling the policies. In addition, NAPIA is concerned that the rhetoric about rates may stimulate pressure for mandatory rate reductions.

The highest-profile lobbying that NAPIA conducts is its annual federal legislative conference, held every year since 1983. Prominent members of Congress address the conference about pending issues and prospects for action on them. NAPIA government affairs staff also provides background briefings for attendees. Thus prepared, the agents spend two days on Capitol Hill meeting with members of Congress and their staffs.

The legislative conference also provides a forum in which members of Congress can cultivate NAPIA support, as Representative Rick Hill (R-MT) did in 1999 by announcing that he would introduce legislation allowing insurers to establish tax-deferred reserves to pay disaster-related claims. NAPIA was invited to work with the representative and his staff to develop legislative language.

NAPIA has a staff of 60, who function in the areas of research, government relations, education, and marketing and advertising. An annual national conference

with exhibits is available to members. Insurance for agents and their businesses is available, as are discounted products and services to support the agencies. Publications for members include a monthly magazine, *Professional Agent*, and a monthly action newsletter.

NAPIA sponsors more than 200 educational programs and seminars each year on a wide range of topics related to property and casualty insurance. Training is available for relatively new agency employees, new agents, and new and experienced managers of agencies of various sizes. Advanced technology, retraining costs, and dealing with diversity are some recent seminar topics. A relatively new development in this area is a series of television programs produced jointly by NAPIA and the Insurance Broadcast System, a satellite television network for the industry. Program topics include pending legislation, dealing with year 2000 problems, marketing in minority communities, workers' compensation insurance, and relations between companies and agencies.

NAPIA supports the public relations efforts of its members by developing advertising ideas and materials. It develops arguments articulating the organization's stands so that the public interest rather than their private interest appears foremost. It also works directly with the media, providing op-ed pieces on topics in the news. For example, during recent publicity on the dangers of airbags, it editorialized about the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration proposal to require an on/off switch for airbags.

It is difficult for NAPIA and other groups representing insurance agents to predict the future beyond the looming role of banks as insurance sellers. Now added to this is the challenge posed by the entry of retail giants such as Wal-Mart into banking, and thus into

insurance. Compared to these threats to their existence, everything else on the horizon is minor.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The annual operating budget of NAPIA is about \$5 million. Membership dues are the most significant part of its revenue base. Its political action committee (PAC), called PIA PAC, is one of the few trade association contributors that consistently follow ideological preferences for Republicans rather than maintaining access to the winners. It gave more to Republican candidates even when the Democratic Party was in control of Congress. In the 1993–1994 election cycle, the PAC increased the share of its contributions to Republicans, after which the GOP gained the majority. The PAC increased the Republicans' share even more significantly in the next election. By the 1997–1998 election cycle, Republicans in Congress received 83 percent of the organization's contributions.

LOREE BYKERK

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS

The National Association of Realtors (NAR) is the largest national trade association of professional realtors, and claims to be the world's largest trade association. It is organized as a federation, with 1,700 local and 54 state and territorial associations as members, along with 730,000 individual members. Membership in a local association automatically extends to the state and then to the national association. It represents realtors, brokers, agents, and realtor-associates and positions itself as the voice of private real property ownership. Its mission is to preserve the free enterprise system and the right to own, use, and dispose of real property.

NAR's interests at all levels of government are to protect the real estate industry from what it regards as cumbersome legislation and undue regulation; it seeks changes that support a realtor's ability to conduct business. The association dedicates itself to promoting the significance of home ownership, asserting that owning a home is one of the building blocks of a great nation and that realtors work to promote that end. Real estate plays a critical role in the economy, contributing more than \$1.4 trillion annually, and an important role in the tax codes at local, state, and national levels. Thus, the NAR interest agenda includes property rights, taxation, lending, credit, financial services generally, insurance, liability, and information management.

HISTORY

The association was founded in 1908 as the National Association of Real Estate Exchanges by representatives of real estate boards from 13 states. In 1915 it became the National Association of Real Estate Boards and in 1973 took its present name. A strict code of ethics was adopted in 1913; the purpose of the code of ethics is to distinguish its adherents for their professionalism, integrity, and competence.

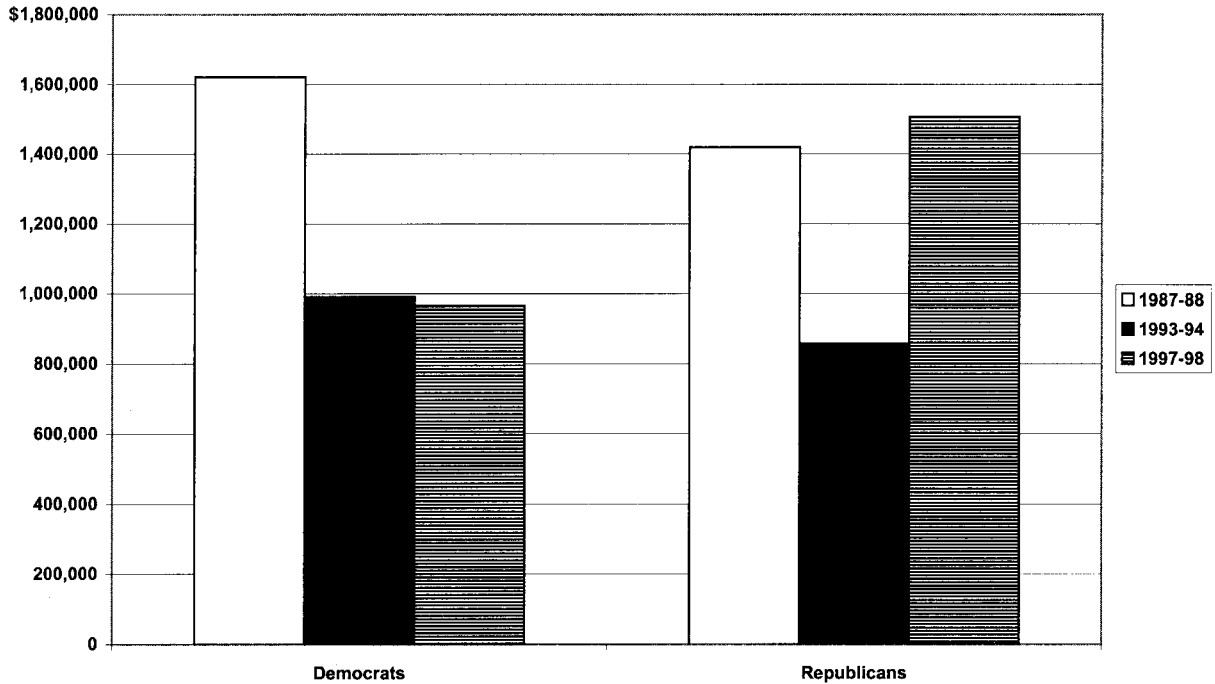
Protection of tax deductibility for mortgage interest is perennially a priority issue for NAR, which was part of the coalition credited with protecting that benefit during work on the 1986 Tax Reform Act. Other recent victories include extending to two years the deadline for taxpayers to roll over their profits from the sale of a house through purchase of another home of equal or greater value to thereby avoid paying capital gains taxes. NAR also supported the tax law change that allows persons 55 or older to shield \$125,000 in profits from the sale of a home from capital gains taxes.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

NAR's government affairs group monitors federal issues and promotes the group's positions with the legislative and executive branches of government. A wide array of current issues are on its agenda. On financial services restructuring, NAR advocates maintaining banking and commerce as separate functions and keeping real estate activities off-limits for bank holding companies and bank subsidiaries. It also supports restricting savings and loan holding companies in order to keep commercial firms out of banking; the argument is that mixing banking and commercial business exposes the financial system to higher risks and threatens its stability.

Proposals to reform the Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act are high on NAR's congressional lobbying agenda. The group's testimony before a Senate committee advocated one-stop shopping and was able to generate over 2,000 contacts to Senate offices in a five-day period. Although not so clearly related to the real estate mission, the grassroots membership of NAR made over 4,000 Capitol Hill contacts in opposition to a proposal by President Bill Clinton's administration to tax trade association income. NAR argued that the effect would be to raise membership dues and make it

**National Association of Realtors
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987-1998.

more difficult to provide the level of services needed by members.

Two tax code issues are currently on the Washington, D.C., agenda. NAR is among those interest groups promoting revision of the time period for depreciation of capital improvements to commercial property. Rather than the current 39-year amortization period, NAR wants an 8- to 15-year amortization. It argues that such a change would provide an incentive to keep downtown commercial, office, and retail space more modern and competitive with suburban space, thus keeping these areas more economically viable. A tandem issue is the capital gains tax rate, which NAR contends should be as low as possible and structured so that it is effectively the same on sales of real estate as on sales of securities and other assets.

Property listings are a valuable part of realtors' business, and NAR advocates protection of this database from use by unauthorized parties who may sell it or use it for other purposes. NAR is seeking legislation to maintain electronic listings and consumer access to those listings, but to protect them from piracy by other parties. At the same time, NAR supports proposed legislation that would prohibit the Federal Communications Com-

mission from imposing Internet access fees. The argument here is that if telephone service companies are allowed to charge time fees to Internet service providers, it would dampen the use of electronic real estate listing services by both realtors and consumers.

Also on NAR's wish list for Congress is the proposed Recycle America's Land Act, which would provide liability relief for property owners and promote redevelopment of abandoned or underutilized industrial sites thought to be contaminated by toxic wastes (also called brownfields).

NAR's PAC not only contributes to campaigns but also encourages members to volunteer, educates voters on issues related to property ownership, and encourages members to visit, call, write, and e-mail elected officials. A user-friendly web site function provides members ready access to their members of the House and Senate with messages on the topics that NAR is lobbying.

NAR maintains close ties with numerous executive branch agencies. Commercial real estate interests are currently involved with a Treasury Department study of depreciation of nonresidential real estate ordered by 1998 legislation. The Federal Reserve, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Federal Hous-

ing Authority, and other lenders and guarantors receive a special NAR liaison because of their impact on housing and finance. NAR also engages in legal advocacy through a special legal action committee that provides funds for test cases and participation in suits with *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs.

NAR has a staff of 450, organized in divisions for communication, economics and research, education, forecasting, government affairs, legal affairs, and research. In addition, NAR has developed nine affiliates to facilitate specialized expertise, communication among members, and recognition for achievement. Affiliates are devoted to real estate counseling, commercial investment real estate, brokerage management, land sales, residential sales, industrial and office sales, national marketing, international issues, and women in real estate.

An annual convention and exposition features educational forums and trade demonstrations of innovative products and services. Meetings are held in Washington, D.C., and members receive detailed issue briefings before visiting their congressional delegations in large numbers.

NAR's publications include biweekly and monthly releases that provide news affecting the industry. Members may also access information about legislation, legal developments, marketing, and association events through the organization's website. Publications supported by the organization's research group focus on market conditions and trends. A group buying program for products and services provides travel, insurance, and retirement planning. In addition, specialized research from an extensive library may be requested by members.

Public relations campaigns for the industry are designed and funded by NAR. The organization launched

a major new campaign in 1998 to educate the American public about the roles that real estate professionals play in transactions. Major broadcast and cable network prime-time slots were used for this effort.

Ongoing consideration of the tax base and the structure of the tax system will continue to keep NAR on the alert. The association has moved into electronic commerce and will also continue to be part of the effort to keep Internet transactions free of taxation. NAR helped win the 1998 Internet Tax Freedom Act moratorium, which may be a harbinger of future success.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The organization's political action committee (PAC) has been prominent among trade association political actors since the 1970s. After the Republicans won a majority in Congress in 1994, the PAC increased the share of its contributions to the party. From the 1993–1994 to the 1997–1998 election cycle, the share of the PAC's political contributions to the Democrats fell from 53 to 39 percent.

LOREE BYKERK

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NATIONAL VENTURE CAPITAL ASSOCIATION

The National Venture Capital Association (NVCA) is a trade organization of corporate financiers, venture capital groups, and individual venture capitalists whose business is investing private capital in young growth companies. Members of this group lend funds to launch new, relatively untried business ventures. These investments are high risk in that they have potential for either very high returns or complete failure. The goals of the NVCA are to foster greater understanding and appreciation for the role of venture capital in the U.S. economy, to stimulate the free flow of capital for investment, and to enhance the communication of ideas regarding investment capital in government, education, and the business community.

The organization argues that venture capital has nurtured economic growth, particularly in high-technology industries, resulting in job creation and international competitiveness. Microsoft, Genentech, Federal Express, and Intel are cited as examples of the results of contributions of venture capital to the economy. However, the role of venture capital and entrepreneurs is insufficiently appreciated, often overlooked or even hampered by public policy, problems that the NVCA seeks to correct.

Although the public image of a venture capitalist tends to focus on the individual investor, the NVCA is careful to dispel this image. According to the organization, over half of venture capital investments come from institutional public and private pension funds; the remainder comes from endowments, foundations, banks, insurance companies, and individuals. The norm is for these investors to allocate only 2 to 3 percent of their portfolios to venture funds in order to diversify their holdings.

The typical organizational form of venture capital investment is a limited partnership seeking a high rate of return after an investment period of five to seven years. The fund manager is a full partner and assumes a seat on the board of the enterprise in which funds are invested in order to be involved in management deci-

sions on strategy, marketing, and planning. The fund reaps its profit when the new venture is acquired, merges, or goes public with a stock offering.

Among the NVCA's 230 members are some familiar names that illustrate the more institutional nature portrayed by the organization; these include Fidelity Ventures, Hewlett-Packard Company, and Norwest Venture Capital. The organization's interests focus on the treatment of investment vehicles in taxation, government regulation, trade policy, and technology issues.

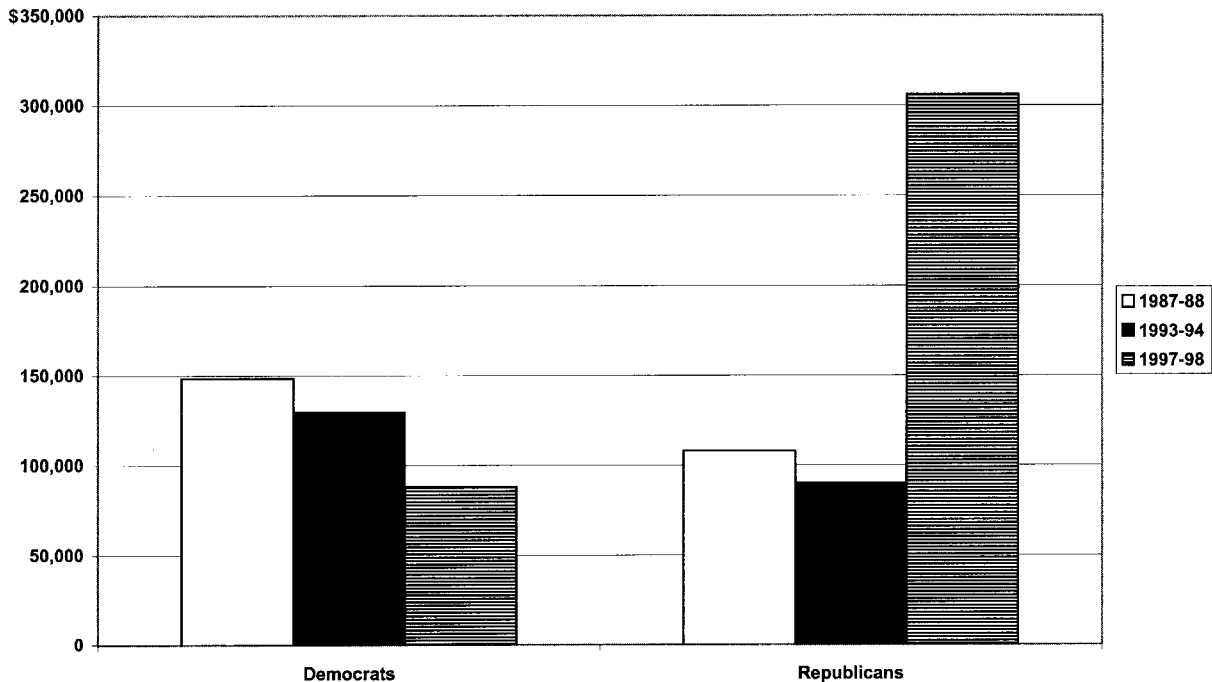
HISTORY

The NVCA was created in 1973, and it in turn created the American Entrepreneurs for Economic Growth (AEEG) in 1992. This organization has both contributed to and taken advantage of the era; its interests and its message harmonized with the economy and ideology of the 1980s and 1990s. The entrepreneur is the new American hero, although the hero is supposed to look more like Bill Gates (founder and president of Microsoft) than Fidelity Ventures Fund or a public pension fund.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

NVCA members and staff testify before congressional committees and work with various agencies of the executive branch. The association often works in coalition with other groups, such as the AEEG, to bring individual entrepreneurs into the advocacy arena. The AEEG does not have a political action committee (PAC) and maintains that it is a nonpartisan organization. Since its founding in 1992, it has grown to be the largest national

**National Venture Capital Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

organization of entrepreneurs that focuses on public policy.

As part of the Capital Gains Coalition, the NVCA played a role in the 1997 passage of a broad-based reduction in the capital gains tax. The legislation represented the largest tax victory ever for the venture capital and entrepreneurial communities, and the NVCA had worked on it for several years with testimony, PAC contributions, and grassroots activities. The NVCA has also been successful in persuading Congress to extend the tax deduction of the full market value for contributions of publicly traded stock to private foundations. The organization is attempting to follow this up with additional reductions in capital gains taxes and with tax credits for employee information-technology education.

Because of the high-risk nature of venture capital investments, the NVCA has also become involved in product liability issues. It successfully promoted the Biomaterials Access Assurance Act of 1998—legislation designed to protect the suppliers of raw materials to medical device companies from product liability lawsuits. The NVCA argued that the legislation would alleviate a shortage of raw materials and component parts

for medical devices by relieving companies who do not design, test, or sell the devices from liability arising from the devices themselves.

The NVCA and AEEG are actively involved in securities litigation at both federal and state levels. They provided testimony, signed letters, and circulated petitions as part of the coalition to curb class-action securities lawsuits that were often targeted at high-technology companies. The legislation became law in spite of a presidential veto; it had the distinction of being the first veto override to occur during the administration of Bill Clinton. After federal legislation was passed, a California ballot proposition would have expanded the opportunity to file securities suits under state law. As part of the steering committee of Taxpayers Against Frivolous Lawsuits, the NVCA helped raise over \$40 million to defeat the proposition by an overwhelming margin.

California was also the site of a tactic not usually found in the lobbying arsenal of financial trade associations. The Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB), a federal agency, proposed to value stock options on corporate profit and loss statements. Over a several-year period, NVCA and AEEG members lob-

bied Congress, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the FASB, and even persuaded the Senate to pass a resolution denouncing the proposal. While the FASB held a public hearing on its proposal in San Jose, the NVCA staged a 1960s-style rally across the street with over 4,000 employees from Silicon Valley companies protesting the threat to their stock options. The parties did reach a favorable compromise, but the FASB has since raised aspects of the issue in proposed regulations.

Intellectual property and international trade present somewhat more difficult issues for venture capital interests. Here the NVCA seeks increased and vigorous protection for their inventions, products, and ideas both domestically and internationally. Specifically, the NVCA is lobbying for a longer effective patent term for biotechnology companies and for a more favorable trade policy toward U.S. encryption technology products. At the same time the NVCA has avidly promoted legislation to increase the number of visas available for highly skilled foreign workers. It also urges Congress and the president to increase funds for basic scientific research and to ensure that research results are transferred for development and marketing through partnerships with entrepreneurs.

The NVCA has a staff of only nine persons; however, it augments its capabilities by allying with the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, which underwrites research on topics of mutual interest. Members have discounted access to publications resulting from this research and also to management liability insurance programs. In addition, the NVCA is attempting to launch a data collection survey and database that captures all venture capital and private equity data. If successful, the database would serve members by providing access to industry statistics and would also enable the NVCA to better represent the industry in public policy venues. This effort is also underwritten by the Center for Entrepreneurial Leadership of the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation.

The NVCA sponsors educational programs for its members including seminars on topics such as hiring and

compensating senior executives and a three-day “graduate program” at Emory University in Atlanta. It provides networking opportunities through a series of regional luncheons sponsored by accounting firms including Ernst & Young and PricewaterhouseCoopers. As long as small emerging ventures continue to create jobs and enjoy success in a booming economy, the NVCA’s agenda is likely to succeed. Their demands for tax shelters and other inducements along with their self-portrait as risk-taking entrepreneurs sounds as American as the national anthem.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Political contributions of the organization’s PAC, called VenturePAC, reflect political considerations. In 1987–1988, 58 percent of the organization’s political contributions went to Democrats, who held a majority in Congress; however, the PAC shifted contributions following the Republican congressional victory in November 1994. The pattern evidenced here shows a dramatic swing toward the Republicans in 1995–1996, but ironically, not one foreseen in 1993–1994 contributions, when 59 percent of VenturePAC’s contributions still went to Democrats. By the 1997–1998 election cycle, Republicans received 78 percent of the organization’s contributions.

LOREE BYKERK

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SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION

The Securities Industry Association (SIA) is a trade association representing investment banks, broker-dealers, and mutual fund companies active in all markets and all phases of corporate and public finance. In the United States, SIA members account for about 90 percent, or \$100 billion, of securities firms' revenue and 350,000 jobs. They manage the accounts of more than 50 million investors directly and tens of millions indirectly through corporate, savings, and pension plans.

The SIA has 775 members, for whom its mission is to foster an effective capital-raising and investment process, to present their views to legislators and regulators at state and federal levels of government, to provide a forum for addressing industry issues, and to be a catalyst for creative ideas.

Because of its position as a general association for the securities business, the SIA has a long list of policy interests, many of which have become more pertinent in recent years due to expanding technology and more widespread investing by Americans. Trading volume on U.S. stock markets is now 350 times what it was a decade ago; Internet transactions grew 700-fold in just four years. Thus, the role of securities firms as the intermediaries between investors and markets is changing rapidly.

Perennial issues for the SIA include tax policy, savings and investment incentives, the structure of financial services, and government oversight of market transactions. The securities industry has suffered in the last few years as a result of banks expanding into its business. Regulators have allowed banks to own securities firms as subsidiaries, stimulating a wave of acquisitions enabling banks to offer brokerage services along with deposit and lending services. Banks now lead-manage about 20 percent of the value of corporate bonds underwritten and 15 percent of the stock underwritten. By contrast, in 1990 their share of bond underwriting was about 1 percent and they did not underwrite stock.

Hence, the securities industry is keenly interested in recovering its position among financial service providers.

HISTORY

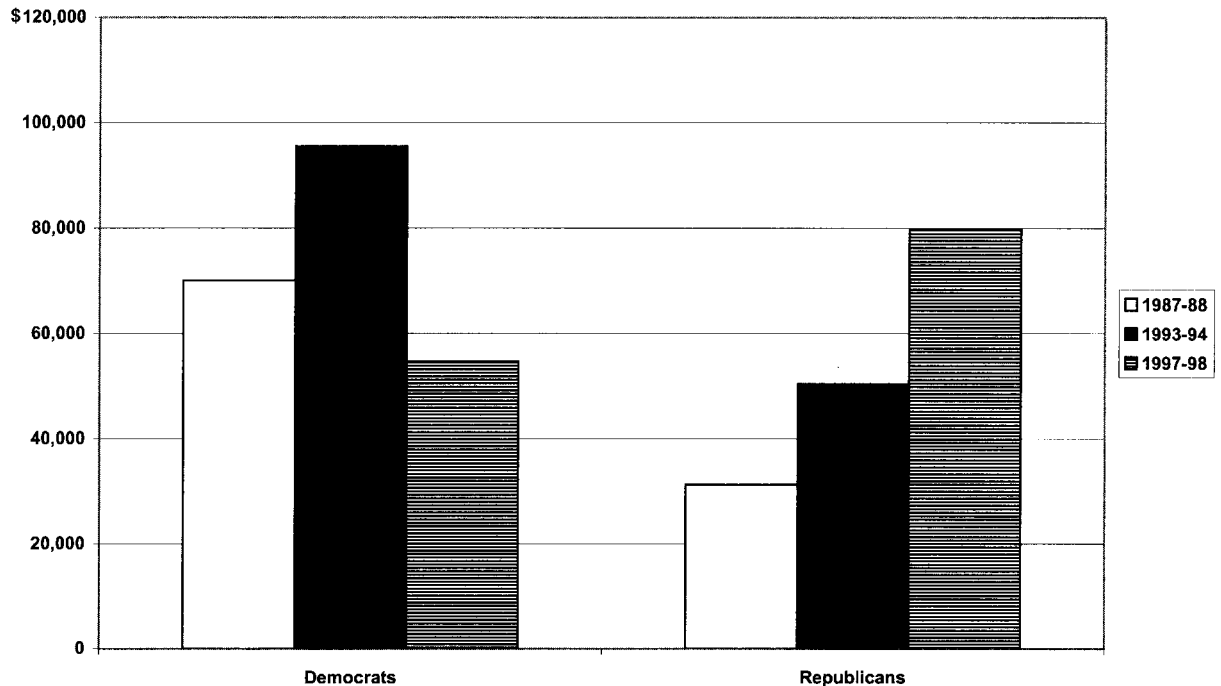
The SIA was established in 1972 through the merger of the Association of Stock Exchange Firms, founded in 1913, and the Investment Bankers Association of America, founded in 1912. In recent years, the organization has faced a more rapidly changing environment characterized by accelerating technological developments, competition among financial service providers, and fluid legislative and regulatory guidelines.

CURRENT ACTIVITIES

The SIA has been lobbying for years to expand savings incentives for Americans. In 1997, it helped persuade Congress to raise the income eligibility levels for Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) and make them available for non-wage-earning spouses. The SIA advocates raising the maximum contribution limits for IRAs to \$4,000 and indexing the limit to reflect cost-of-living increases; it also seeks to index the contribution limit to 401(k) pension plans in which employees set aside pre-tax income for retirement and to allow for "catch up" contributions for those years when individuals did not make their full contributions. In addition, the SIA wants Congress to eliminate the income test that determines whether IRA contributions are tax deductible. The association also lobbies on the capital gains tax issue and did succeed in getting the rate lowered in 1997 and getting the required holding period for securities restored to 12 months in 1998.

On financial services restructuring, the SIA believes that outdated federal laws impair the global competi-

**Securities Industry Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987-1998.

tiveness of financial services firms, drive up costs, and threaten future growth. It argues that modernization of the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act, which restricted a company's ability to provide overlapping financial services, should allow brokerages to have the same ability that banks have to affiliate freely with other financial service providers. Reform should also align regulation functionally so that one federal agency applies the same set of rules to the same financial activity. Thus, brokerages would be allowed to own banks and, the SIA argues, generate more competition, which would lower costs for consumers.

Support for financial services legislation along these lines has been generated from the SIA's grassroots; thousands of employees of member firms contacted their representatives in Washington, D.C., promoting passage of legislation on the House floor. When the Senate took up the bill, a group of CEOs from member firms flew to Washington to meet individually with key senators, and another group from the SIA's grassroots network flew in for the Senate committee markup and passage.

Working with accountants and high-tech companies, the SIA persuaded Congress to make it more dif-

ficult for investors to bring class-action lawsuits against securities firms. In 1995 and 1998, Congress imposed uniform national standards for securities litigation, required that plaintiffs show specific evidence of misconduct, capped lawyers' fees, and created a safe harbor for companies to furnish investors with forecasts about future performance.

The SIA was also part of the lobbying force against taxing Internet commerce. It supported passage of the Internet Tax Freedom Act, which provides for a moratorium on Internet taxes and sets a policy against state or local interference with Internet commerce.

The growing significance of foreign markets draws the SIA to take positions intended to expand and protect their members' multinational and foreign businesses. The SIA is among the voices urging normalization of trade relations with China; it points out that China is poised to invest \$1 trillion in transportation, communications, and energy over the next decade.

Relations with the European Union have brought client privacy issues onto the agenda. The SIA contends that existing U.S. laws and regulations provide adequate safeguards, and it provided the administration of President Bill Clinton with a report on industry practices

making that point. Also in the interest of protecting client information, the SIA is promoting efforts to allow U.S. securities firms to export encryption products for protecting data they send worldwide. The SIA was able to persuade the Department of Commerce to allow securities firms to be included in guidelines allowing such exports.

In the regulatory arena, the SIA generally supports relying as far as possible on self-regulation. Its work with the Federal Reserve and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) promotes revision of investor margin requirements so firms can maximize their use of capital without incurring imprudent levels of risk. The SIA is also working with the SEC on streamlining the process by which securities issuers access capital markets, including digital-age standards for prospectus delivery. A recent success with the SEC was the issuance of a new limited regulatory structure for over-the-counter derivatives dealers (dubbed "broker-dealer lite") to allow firms to compete with unregistered or overseas entities.

Preparing for transition to the year 2000 has brought forth an enormous cooperative effort within the securities industry, facilitated by a series of SIA forums and committees. The SIA obtained approval from the U.S. Department of Justice to allow members to share computer testing results and information on methods to correct problems without fear of antitrust litigation. The association also worked with Congress, the Clinton administration, and the business community to enact the Year 2000 Disclosure Act, to reduce liability concerns that may inhibit businesses from disclosing and sharing year 2000 information.

Joint purchasing of telecommunications services is available to SIA members. A contract with Sprint, used by 175 firms, saves them \$25 million annually on a service volume of more than \$75 million; it also generates revenue for the SIA that has amounted to over \$5 million in seven years. Other service contracts are with Bell Atlantic, AT&T, and Teleport.

In pursuit of its education goals, the association offers members the Securities Industry Institute, branch management leadership training, and a professional conduct program. The institute draws professors from the prestigious Wharton School and provides industry professionals week-long seminars for three consecutive years on topics including management skills, information technology, market trends, and regulatory policy. The SIA's values statement demonstrates an awareness that member firms and employees have a responsibility to issuers and to investors and that the public's trust and confidence rest upon their integrity.

The SIA conducts programs to increase industry

support for diversity in the workplace and the marketplace. It contends that demographic trends require employers to adapt to a labor market increasingly populated by minorities. It also emphasizes that women and minorities are a growing source of, and market for, investment capital. In furtherance of these goals, the Reverend Jesse Jackson was brought to address the association's annual meeting and a special conference that also featured speeches by President Clinton, Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, regulators, and industry leaders. The SIA also worked with SEC Chairman Arthur Levitt to conduct meetings on diversity with CEOs in Los Angeles and Minneapolis.

The association provides poll data on a variety of topics for members' use. The SIA conducts 15 surveys annually to supply data for firms' use in planning their budgets, benchmarking branch production, and developing compensation policies. It also conducts consumer polls and focus groups to help member firms understand their clientele and improve their service offerings.

In addition to an annual meeting, the SIA sponsors multiple specialized conferences each year in various regions and on topics such as technology management and estate planning. Besides an extensive web site, members also may use reference material and data reports and receive periodic publications as well. There are six different periodicals related to legislation and regulation, including *Legislative Alerts* and *Legal Alert*.

The SIA supports member firms' advocacy efforts by developing client education programs and campaigns to persuade Americans to save more. This includes development of the Stock Market Game for use in the classroom to acquaint young people with how investing works.

Relationships between the securities industry and the media are enhanced by an annual two-day program in which reporters and editors are brought to visit firms' trading floors, computer operations centers, the stock market, and self-regulatory organizations. The SIA also supports a fellowship program allowing senior business correspondents and editors to spend a year's sabbatical studying at Columbia University. These ties are maintained at such events as a recent day-long conference on how the media covers Wall Street, held at the Columbia School of Journalism.

Looking ahead, the association is working to coordinate numerous consumer service upgrades for the securities industry. Among these are a program to shorten the clearing and settlement process from three days to one, having cut it from five to three days in 1995. The SIA is also coordinating efforts of broker-dealers, stock and futures markets, clearing and settlement organiza-

tions, and other industry utilities to shift equity pricing from fractions to decimals in the year 2000. It is also planning to address the impact of the Internet on the securities industry and to strengthen the industry's international capability.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The SIA has annual revenues exceeding \$27 million. Member dues and investment income contribute 64 percent of that, and proceeds from member services, conferences, and publications comprise the remainder. The organization employs a staff of 107. Among the members are several large corporations that sponsor their own political action committees (PACs), including Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley, and Prudential Securities. The SIA's PAC did not anticipate the Repub-

lican takeover of Congress with its 1993–1994 contributions. In 1993–1994, 65 percent of the PAC's contributions still went to Democrats, who had maintained a majority in Congress. By the 1997–1998 election cycle, nearly 60 percent of the SIA PAC's contributions went to Republicans. Still, it is interesting to note that the securities industry is more generous to Democrats than are many financial services PACs.

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SECTION TWO

SERVICE, TRADE, AND PROFESSIONAL



Of all the types of political interest groups, it is perhaps most difficult to find common themes in the ones that represent service, trade, and professional organizations. Their missions vary widely, as do their ideologies and organizational structure, their penchant for a particular political party, and the people whom they represent. Furthermore, although most service interest groups mentioned here have created their own political action committees (PACs) within the last few decades, some do not officially maintain PACs and may only influence government indirectly—that is, through various forms of media rather than lobbying before members of Congress. Their methods or strategies as lobbyists also vary greatly. Some lobby quietly; their lobbyists will bring their individual PAC’s issues before Congress without including their interest group’s members. Others lobby loudly by encouraging members to jam the phone lines and use the Internet so that they can communicate directly with congressional leaders.

The associations or federations mentioned in this section represent individuals with remarkably different political views and personal interests. Small-business-related interest groups—the National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB), for example—oppose legislation involving antitrust laws, increases in the minimum wage, and the increase of excise taxes on various products relating to member businesses. A handful of organizations, like the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and the National Beer Wholesalers Association (NBWA), have embraced ideological interest groups on the right, including the National Rifle Association (NRA), which has supported amendments that would soften gun-control laws. Other associations of this type

have radically different views: the National Association of Social Workers (NASW)—in contrast to, say, the NFIB—favors minimum-wage increases and supports all types of legislation that not only furthers social workers’ interests and social-science-related research but also benefits each individual’s social, psychological, and physical well-being rather than serving the monetary interests of business owners or chief executive officers. Likewise, the Association of Trial Lawyers of America (ATLA) represents workers, not wholesale or retail business owners and operators, as many of the other service interest groups do. In particular, ATLA represents plaintiffs—generally employees—who are involved in workers’ compensation lawsuits, and it has consistently lobbied in opposition to federal legislation that would establish a national ceiling on damages or that would enable states to preempt product liability laws.

These interest groups represent members of organizations that include business and law offices; law enforcement agencies; food and beverage, convenience, and chain-store operations; federal and social work agencies; and funeral homes, to name a few. Perhaps most noteworthy are the business PACs, the NFIB in particular, for they were seminal players in the Republican Party takeover of Congress in the 1994 elections, using both soft and hard money to advance their cause.

AREAS OF INTEREST

Like most other interest groups, service-related businesses and organizations have been a staple of American society since colonial times. Business regulation was

then common, as British authorities regulated the trade of goods and services; colonies themselves, however, were still allowed to supervise and regulate business within their own borders.

The move to centralize civil institutions, such as law enforcement, came at a time when similar institutions were in the process of being organized into large bureaucratic systems. These include centralized school systems as well as centralized municipal services, fire-fighting agencies, and hospital emergency services. However, centralization did not mean that workers were satisfied with wages and benefits. The oldest interest group discussed in this section, the National Funeral Directors Association (NFDA), was established in 1882, five years before Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act, which deprived the individual states of the power to control and regulate railroads. In 1890 Congress passed antitrust legislation—the Sherman Antitrust Act—for the purpose of mollifying farmers and small-business owners when it appeared that huge corporations would overwhelm and possibly bankrupt small “Main Street” businesses.

In 1914, in reaction to small-business owners and as part of President Woodrow Wilson’s progressive program to regulate big business, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) was established. It consisted of a five-member watchdog team of commissioners who had power to control competition by defining “unfair trade practices.” It also issued cease and desist orders, which varied depending on who were members of the commission. One service and service interest group that seemed to benefit from this piece of legislation was petroleum wholesaling and the Petroleum Marketers Association (PMAA). Founded in 1909 as the Independent Petroleum Marketers Association, the PMAA wanted to limit the power of the Standard Oil Company, which seemed to monopolize the petroleum industry and overpower small petroleum wholesalers and retailers.

Issues related to tax increases and the fear of being monopolized by corporations and big business were prevalent since the need for services arose. To be sure, one of the reasons for establishing service interest groups was to ensure the existence of a voice for all individuals involved in serving the public, whether they were small-business owners or federal employees.

Other factors contributing to the creation of some interest groups were issues related to the sale of alcoholic beverages. As a result of the end of Prohibition, the NBWA was established as a means of giving wholesalers the power to regulate beer and malt beverage sales and to prevent breweries from oversupplying retailers.

More recently a number of laws were passed to en-

able interest groups to contribute directly to political candidates or use soft money as a means of influencing members and the public at large to endorse particular candidates who would serve on the interest group’s behalf.

CURRENT CONTEXT

Despite the dramatic differences in lobbying style, mission, or general structure of each of the interest groups mentioned here, some stand out as being highly influential in political campaigning in the 1990s. The NFIB, for example, with the financial assistance of the National Restaurant Association, the NBWA, and ideological groups like the NRA and the Christian Coalition, strongly endorses the GOP and has been extremely influential in the dramatic changes that have occurred in both houses of Congress. Working in collaboration, these groups participated in The Coalition—Americans Working for Real Change, a strong antilabor and anti-union group that helped to counteract the efforts of the AFL-CIO, a powerful trade union federation that has favored Democratic candidates. Some claim that Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, retired from his post in 1995 partially due to age but also as a result of the Republican takeover of Congress.

Another feature that makes the NFIB so powerful is its enormous membership—over 600,000 individuals. The NFIB encourages its members to flood telephone and Internet lines so that congressional representatives act immediately on the issues they vehemently oppose. In fact, the NBWA has gone so far as to encourage its members—mostly beer wholesale distributing company owners—to invite their employees to make toll-free calls as a means of lobbying members of Congress and presenting them with an increased head count.

In contrast, a large number of interest groups have been hit hard since the GOP assumed the majority in Congress. Some of these include those representing organized labor, such as the AFL-CIO, and several environmental organizations, like Greenpeace and the Sierra Club. The new GOP majority was quick to move on modifying pending environmental legislation and even questioned existing environmental laws. Similarly, the agendas of a few service interest groups have been frustrated by the GOP majority. The NASW as well as the National Association of Retired Federal Employees (NARFE), lobbying in support of the patient’s bill of rights, sponsored by Tom Daschle (D-SD), failed in their endeavor after the Republican Congress turned

down the measure and replaced it with its own version of healthcare.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

As stated earlier, service interest groups differ widely in terms of their interests, political philosophies, and organizational makeup. However, one similarity is that each of the organizations provides services—as varying as they may seem—to either members themselves (the NFIB or the PMAA, for example) or individuals served by memberships (as is the case with the NASW or the ATLA).

There really is no central theme that unites all service, trade, and professional interest groups. The majority attempt to further the interests of small-business owners and operators, although a few of them, for example the NBWA, have attempted to strengthen a few select businesses through advocating federal laws limiting the sale of alcohol through the mail, telephone, and Internet. The owners and operators can also be involved in wholesale or retail business. Such groups include the Food Marketing Institute (FMI), the National Association of Convenience Stores (NACS), the National Automobile Dealers Association (NADA), the NBWA, the NFIB, the NFDA, the PMAA and, perhaps most supportive in small-business politics, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce—the largest federation and organization among those listed here that regulate and foster small-business interests.

On the flip side, however, are service associations and related organizations that serve and benefit workers and their families rather than owners and management. Two groups, ATLA and the NASW, not only represent the rights and interests of lawyers and social workers but also the people whom they serve and counsel. Some groups, like NARFE, actually serve the interests of the workers themselves.

With the exception of four interest groups in this section—the American Bar Association (ABA), the American Library Association (ALA), the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce—the remaining 11 interest groups have established PACs as a means of sponsoring political candidates who will advance their goals and objectives. The four that do not specifically use PACs as a means of conducting their lobbying activities have addressed their political penchants through other types of media. The FOP, for example, has used both national and syndicated networks to its advantage by influencing network

personnel to be sympathetic to its interests. Moreover, these associations have used soft money as a means of endorsing politicians who support group interests.

Other associations, like the FMI, make use of tax-exempt satellite associations as a means of furthering their interests. The FMI, for example, established the Food Marketing Institute Foundation as a means of carrying out much of its lobbying activities. Although the association formed the Food Marketing Institute Political Action Committee (FOODPAC), the FMI uses the Food Marketing Institute Foundation (FMIF) for lobbying politicians. Since it is filed under the Internal Revenue Service tax code Section 501(c)(3), the FMIF can lobby Congress and support particular candidates and issues while being tax-exempt at the same time. Also, federal tax laws, as well as federal election laws, have permitted certain interest groups to establish tax-exempt subsidiary or related groups as a means of influencing memberships, the public, and politicians themselves, through education and educational programs relating to political candidates and their issues. In recent years, however, these laws have allowed the PACs of these groups to use their money directly for the purposes of a particular candidate's election or defeat. The passing of these laws has been no doubt a financial boon for a number of interest groups, not only those representing service, trade, or professional personnel but also ideological groups, like the Progress and Freedom Foundation or Americans for Tax Reform, which fall under 501(c)(3) status.

CURRENT ISSUES

Current issues among service interest groups not only vary greatly but may be in diametric opposition to one another. On the one hand, there are interest groups that focus nearly all their attention on small businesses and their interests, while others devote considerable time to both member interests and issues relating to the people they serve. In general, small-business interest groups, as well as ideological service groups, like the FOP, have endorsed GOP candidates running for both legislative and executive offices, while groups representing individual members, mostly workers or individuals represented by these workers, have endorsed Democratic candidates.

The major issues and concerns for interest groups of small- and medium-sized businesses have always focused on the possibilities of tax increases or laws requiring the increase of wages for employees of these businesses. For

the most part, these businesses are particularly wary of increases in excise taxes on various merchandise. Both the NBWA and NACS have lobbied Congress to repeal the Special Occupational Tax (SOT). The SOT was established in the 1860s as a means of generating funds for the Civil War by taxing businesses that sold alcohol. These interest groups, however, claim that there is little reason to require the SOT in the 1990s and accuse the defenders of this legislation of being against the sale of alcoholic beverages altogether.

Small-business interest groups also fear that a raise in the minimum wage will force a number of businesses to lay off employees. They argue that rather than aiding entry-level or unskilled employees, minimum-wage increase legislation, backed mostly by Democrats, only cuts down on the hiring of such employees because businesses will be unwilling to pay higher hourly wages. In contrast, the NASW strongly approves of federal legislation supporting minimum-wage increases for the purpose of relieving workers and their families of financial burdens that place them well below the poverty level. Furthermore, the NASW argues that increases in the minimum wage enhance the opportunities of entry-level employees rather than frustrate them.

This is not to say that all small-business-related groups support GOP candidates exclusively. The NACS, for example, has opposed the Hyde Amendment (H.R. 1501), which would hold convenience store owners and operators accountable for damage relating to the sale of “violent” or “sexually explicit material.” Opposition to this amendment has received bipartisan support. In addition, the concerns of some interest groups, the Business Roundtable in particular, seem to diverge greatly from most of the other business-related interest groups. To illustrate, the Business Roundtable opposes a Republican healthcare package sponsored by Charles Norwood (R-GA), which, they argue, would make business owners and employers liable in state courts for the health benefits they would grant employees.

In addition, some small-business service interest groups—like a number of the interest groups representing media and the information and entertainment industries—are deeply concerned with issues relating to copyright, particularly regarding the playing of music. Two organizations representing the rights of composers, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers and Broadcast Music Incorporated, have filed numerous lawsuits over the years against small-business members of the NFDA and the National Restaurant Association who have been accused of copyright in-

fringement. Businesses that do not obtain permission to perform music that does not fall under public domain can receive stiff penalties if found guilty of violating copyright law. Part of the NFDA’s and the National Restaurant Association’s lobbying efforts, then, have focused on supporting amendments to copyright infringement laws. The National Restaurant Association firmly opposes the tenets of the Copyright Damages Improvement Act, which requires that restaurateurs and other food-service owners and operators obtain permission for every musical composition performed at their establishments.

Apart from business-related and worker-related interest associations and federations, some service interest groups have agendas that relate to the promotion of services. One such group is the ALA, whose lobbying efforts focus on furthering literacy in low-income urban and rural areas, opposing legislation on censorship or banning of certain books, and recruiting individuals from groups that have been oppressed historically, particularly people of color, women, and people with disabilities.

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

As mentioned above, service interest groups engage in a number of forms of lobbying. Some have opened toll-free phone lines and have made Internet access available for members to communicate their issues or group interests with PAC administrators and lobbyists, or even senators and representatives themselves. Very few service interest groups, however, resort to this method exclusively. (Interest groups that solely exploit their large memberships and bury politicians in phone calls, Internet e-mails, and faxes are usually political, ideological, and religious groups.) Instead, they will adopt this so-called outsider method of lobbying in tandem with insider approaches, such as meeting with congressional leaders privately as a means of lobbying. Interest groups and PACs like the NFIB, the NBWA, or even NARFE fall into this category. In reaction to President Bill Clinton’s plan to increase taxes on beer and alcohol sales as a means of reducing the federal deficit, the NBWA, for example, sent out more than 13,000 faxes to its members, urging them to contact members of Congress and even White House personnel to express their opposition to the plan.

Interest groups like the NFIB and the PMAA garner support from members as a way of influencing legislation that encourages competition and that prevents large

corporations from monopolizing particular industries. In contrast, a number of corporate and trade associations lobby quietly before Congress, rather than focusing specifically on members.

While some interest groups' war chests have remained large, like NADA's over \$1 million allocation for political contributions during the past decade, a number of other groups' allocations for legislative and executive candidates have grown exponentially. The NBWA's political contributions increased more than threefold—from under \$400,000 in 1987 to more than \$1.3 million in 1996. The NFIB, too, increased its funds more than threefold, from approximately \$300,000 in 1987 to \$1.1 million in the 1996 election cycle. Most of the groups that increased their war chests significantly were major GOP benefactors. The NBWA and the NFIB, in particular, are claimed by a number of advocates to have been responsible for the 104th Congress's Republican majority. On the other hand, some groups' political contribution allocations diminished over the years. Such had been the case for NARFE, whose political contributions, favoring Democratic candidates, amounted to nearly \$2 million in 1988, while in the 1996 election year, total contributions amounted to only \$1.2 million.

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AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

A center and voice of the legal profession in the United States, the American Bar Association (ABA) represents practitioners in specialized areas of the law, geographic interests of some state and local bars, and those of law-related associations. It has around 400,000 members, including practicing lawyers, judges, and court administrators, public service non-practicing lawyers, legal professionals working for firms and corporations, and law professors and students. The ABA represents nearly one-half of all lawyers in the country and is currently the world's largest voluntary professional association.

The ABA's mission is "to be the national representative of the legal profession, serving the public and the profession by promoting justice, professional excellence and respect for the law." The association is concerned with such goals as the achievement of high standards of professionalism, competence, and ethical conduct; the independence of the legal profession and the judiciary; the full and equal participation in the profession by minorities and women; and—more broadly—the improvement of the American system of justice and the promotion of the rule of law in the world. However, its influence goes beyond the legal profession itself; through its 24 sections and four divisions, the ABA touches virtually all aspects of the law. Its agenda includes serving the needs of a changing society, promoting meaningful access to legal services, and increasing public understanding of law.

HISTORY

In the last part of the nineteenth century, professional lawyers and professional politicians had become differentiated groups within the American state. After the Jacksonian era, lawyers were not the surrogate aristocracy that the French observer Alexis de Tocqueville had seen in the early 1830s, but they would continue to be a highly influential elite in a system of government where the judicial branch has the power of judicial re-

view and, subsequently, the capacity to determine whether the actions of other branches comply with or oppose the U.S. Constitution.

The initiative to create a national bar came from Simeon Eben Baldwin, a lawyer who proposed it to the Connecticut Bar Association. Once the idea was accepted, Baldwin worked in the search for 14 well-reputed lawyers to sponsor a meeting in Saratoga Springs, New York, and took upon himself the task of sending personal invitations to a number of colleagues across the country. The call attracted responses from nearly 100 lawyers from 21 states, who approved the creation of the new association, along with a constitution to govern it, in August 1898.

The ABA was originally established for the "advancement of the science of jurisprudence, the promotion of the administration of justice and a uniformity of legislation throughout the country"; some committees to seek these aims were formed, along with others dealing with questions such as patents and bankruptcy. The interest in professionalization and training, however, was a priority for the ABA since its early years.

At the time, apprenticeship was the most frequent method of professional qualification and was at the same time an informal mechanism to regulate the entry and characteristics of new practitioners. Since the 1880s economic, demographic, and social change caused a gradual shift from apprenticeship to formal education in the legal profession. The process took four decades to be completed, and the ABA played a fundamental role in shaping its development.

The ABA established requirements for prelegal education and criteria for admissions, as well as for duration of programs. The ABA was also instrumental in the organization of the Association of American Law Schools (1900) and promoted a variety of standards to qualify and approve institutions and universities offering legal instruction. In addition, a written test—the bar examination—after completion of courses was institutionalized. Within 50 years state and local authorities would accept this centrally administered test.

The ABA's proposals resulted in the homogenization

of the standards of professional qualification and the demise of less demanding schools. As a consequence of this as well as the Depression and the Second World War, part-time law schools, in particular, disappeared by the 1950s. But critics maintain that the association's actions may have limited the entry of new practitioners and discouraged certain ethnic groups from entering the profession. Three requirements in particular—citizenship, residence, and “good character”—restricted the access of immigrants and political radicals. (All three were eventually struck down or considered as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court during the 1970s and 1980s.) Especially during the first 40 years, ABA membership was very exclusive and grew slowly; it was not until 1965 that the association reached a membership of 100,000.

An early area of concern for the ABA was the question of legal ethics. When the association was established, no ethical regulations existed regarding responsibility toward clients, courts, and opponents, other than the lawyers' consciences. The ABA can claim credit for being the first bar to adopt an ethical code—in 1908; in subsequent years local and state bars became increasingly involved in this issue. Critics still express concerns to the extent to which enforcement actually occurs in the legal profession; violations do not always receive sanctions and can actually help to advance clients' interests. However, the ABA has revised its original code, trying to adapt it to new situations. The last modifications were approved in 1982 and have become a basis for several other local and state regulations of professional conduct.

In 1937 the ABA opposed the attempt made by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to pack the Supreme Court's membership in order to overcome judicial opposition to his legislative plan. In the end, a majority of the Supreme Court accepted Roosevelt's proposals, but the mobilization undertaken by the ABA reinforced its public recognition as a salient voice of the legal profession. In the association itself, this was a time of change: a new constitution was adopted in 1936 to integrate into the bar's agenda a wider range of social, political, and economic concerns. Efforts were also made to recruit young lawyers.

Traditionally, the ABA has been very influential in the selection of judges at the state and federal level. In 1936 a special committee was created to work on these issues, but it was not until 1952 that the executive branch first invited the association to review qualifications of candidates. This practice persists up to the present time. Regarding nominations to the Supreme

Court, on the other hand, there is no fixed pattern, and variations occur across administrations.

The legal profession today is quite diversified, and bar enrollment necessarily reflects this situation. Lawyers perform a variety of activities, not only in the judicial field but also as teachers, corporate lawyers, sole practitioners, and public officials. The ABA's leadership has been dominated by older practitioners—graduates of elite schools and law firm partners—as opposed to younger or sole practitioners, and has been seen as conservative compared to other bar associations. No monolithic voice can exist here. The ABA is only loosely linked to other organizations: state and local bars are mostly autonomous and are more likely to mobilize their particular interests at their respective levels of action. Still, the ABA plays a fundamental role as a setter of standards in the legal profession; it is a preeminent voice, and its opinions and influence cannot be underestimated.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The ABA's center in Chicago, Illinois, is a complex organization that extends its work to units in other states. The “Office of Washington” is of particular relevance because its staff works continuously on the status of bills, regulations, and policies. This information is then sent twice a month to state and local bar associations by way of *The Washington Summary*. A monthly publication, *The Washington Letter*, provides deeper analytical perspectives on those issues affecting the legal profession.

The Governmental Affairs Office (GAO), also located in Washington, works for the successful representation of the ABA's perspectives before the U.S. executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Between 1997 and 1998, for instance, lobbying activities were performed for over 100 issues, testimonies were presented at 28 congressional hearings, and 150 letters were sent to legislative committees and executive offices. More recently, GAO has launched new programs to track legislative activity at the state level.

The American Bar Endowment is a fund-raising organization providing support for education, research, and public-service activities, and it also supports the ABA Fund for Justice and Education, which deals with projects and awards for young lawyers. The American Bar Foundation is a think tank related to the ABA.

The ABA publishes the *American Bar Association Jour-*

nal, a general-interest magazine, more than 50 periodicals, and approximately 100 single titles per year on a variety of topics of professional and public concern. ABA members receive benefits that go from electronic information resources to insurance programs and investment advice. Beyond this, the ABA has expanded its agenda to include a number of programs addressing public concerns, such as child abuse, legal service, the high cost of justice, domestic violence, juvenile trial, problems of the elderly, fair trial, and free press.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ABA's administrative staff includes 750 employees, working with an annual budget of \$65 million. In 1997

and 1998, the ABA's lobbying expenditures reached \$1,180,000 and \$1,280,000, respectively, according to the Center for Responsive Politics; but the association does not make contributions to political campaigns and has no political action committee.

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AMERICAN GAMING ASSOCIATION

Located in Washington, D.C., the American Gaming Association (AGA) represents members of the gaming and entertainment industry and those who assist in the industry's success. The AGA has approximately 110 members, with casino and equipment manufacturers comprising only 25 percent of the total. Its remaining members consist of suppliers, vendors, and others servicing the gaming industry. The AGA is primarily interested in providing aggressive national representation for the industry and its related businesses via lobbying activities. Additionally, the AGA provides information to its members for purposes of improving the public image of the gaming industry. This latter goal is apparent in the selection of the name "gaming," as its connotation is more benign than that of "gambling."

HISTORY

The AGA has a very brief history, as it was founded in 1995. The instigating factor behind its creation was President Bill Clinton's proposal in 1994 to tax gambling at 4 percent to help pay for welfare reform. Deeming its interests threatened, the gambling industry joined forces and founded the AGA. Its political mission, if not already obvious, was underscored by its selection of President and Chief Executive Officer Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., who is a former chairman of the Republican National Committee. The AGA met with immediate success in its political efforts, as Clinton dropped the proposed gambling tax. The formation of a gaming trade association was not surprising at this time, given the sudden emergence and growth of the industry. As late as 1988, only two states had casinos. By the mid 1990s, gambling was on its way to becoming one of the nation's favorite forms of entertainment, with casinos in 27 states. *Mother Jones* magazine reported in 1997 that the revenue from gambling in the previous five-year

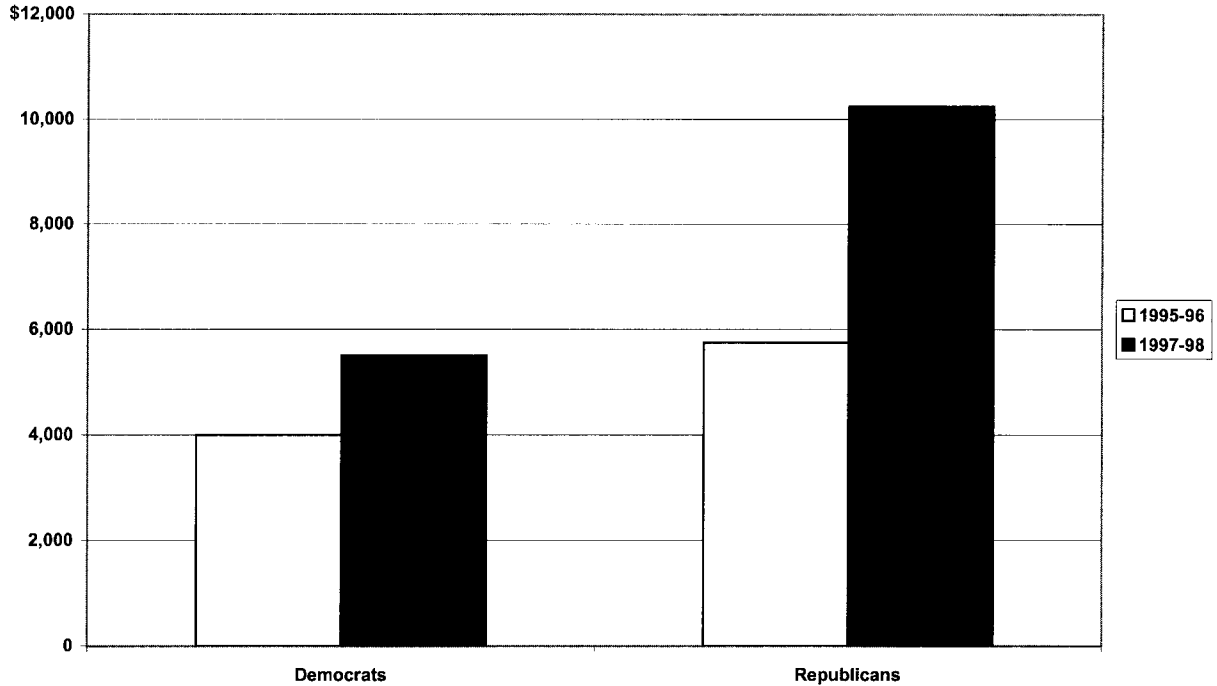
period exceeded the revenue from movies, spectator sports, theme parks, cruise ships, and recorded music combined. Surely, an industry with such exorbitant growth rates would find itself in need of national representation.

Such representation was particularly necessary in this industry because of the many legal restrictions on gambling and the numerous opponents of its expansion. In fact, coalitions of clergy, elected officials, and community groups have waged successful campaigns to keep casinos out of Florida, Ohio, and New York. However, the AGA has had much to celebrate in its brief history, as it has defended against smoking bans in casinos and hotels, bankruptcy reforms that would preclude gaming-related debts from consideration, advertising restrictions, and the repeal of the wagering loss deduction that enables individuals to pay taxes on net, as opposed to gross, winnings from gambling. What is more, it helped to defeat two southern Republican governors, who opposed forms of gambling, in the 1998 elections.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The AGA utilizes an "insider" strategy, donating to campaigns and hiring lobbyists to influence governmental policy. Capitalizing on the financial resources of its members, the AGA has arranged tours of casinos for legislators and thereby built the foundation for friendly relationships. In addition, it has employed a Republican pollster to conduct surveys and political research. Currently, there are several issues in the legislative arena that have prompted the AGA to engage in these lobbying activities. For example, the AGA has closely monitored the legal status of Internet gambling in an effort to ensure that laws do not prohibit the industry's use of the medium for marketing purposes. Of

**American Gaming Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1995-1998.

more significance, the AGA, together with its individual members, is working to dilute the consequences of the National Gambling Impact Study Commission, which Congress charged to conduct a two-year study of gambling’s political, social, and economic effects. The report, which is expected to be negative, was issued in 1999.

Closely related to its lobbying activities, the AGA additionally seeks to enhance the public image of the gaming industry. To this end, the AGA attempts to arm its members with information and statistics that can offset the industry’s negative image. As is well known, the gambling industry is often blamed for increased crime, suicide, divorce, and bankruptcy. To offset these negative associations, the AGA runs a national information clearinghouse with data about the industry, publishes biweekly reports about the “good work” of the industry, and disseminates information about responsible gaming. Clearly, an improved public image for the industry would be an asset in any of the AGA’s lobbying efforts. In addition to its political activities, the AGA offers its members promotional opportunities, a benefit that would surely be coveted by vendors and others serving the industry. As do most

trade associations, the AGA also enables its members to network with others in the gaming industry via several sponsored events. For example, the AGA holds an Annual Meeting and Board of Directors’ Reception, independent conferences and seminars, and task force meetings on newly emerging and important issues.

Despite occasional victories by community groups opposed to gambling, then, the future of the industry appears bright, and for the time being, the AGA’s future seems secure as well. As the entertainment industry continues to consolidate in the current legal environment of deregulation, casinos, with their ability to make staggering profits, will be well placed to dominate the industry. For example, they will be in a superb economic position to purchase theme parks and movie studios. Indeed, Las Vegas is currently home to 11 of the 12 largest hotels in the world, with more such facilities in the works. The line between gambling and other forms of entertainment is likely to blur, as mega-hotels combine theme parks for children with casinos for their parents. In light of this potential, the AGA and its members will surely remain interested in any legislation aimed at the increasing con-

centration of ownership in the media industry. The future development of the Internet and the possibility of online gambling are issues that the AGA will continue to monitor closely as well. If approved and regulated by the state and federal governments, online gambling would move from offshore companies to the large casinos, which consumers would trust. Clearly, the financial stakes for the industry are enormous. The Internet is, of course, part of the larger information-entertainment industry and as a result, surely has the potential to be colonized by the lucrative gaming industry. The AGA has not taken a stand on Indian gambling because its members are divided, but it might be forced to confront this issue in the near future as well. Some of the AGA's members have contracts to manage the Indian casinos, while others claim that the tax-free status of these competitors is threatening. However these and other specific issues are resolved, the AGA's future is bound to grow more secure as the gambling industry becomes an increasingly significant economic and political force.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Indicative of its political interests, the AGA has its own political action committee (PAC). In its first election cycle in 1995–1996, the AGA's PAC had receipts of \$23,600 and expenditures of \$22,363. Its contributions in the last two election cycles were:

	Total	Democrat	%	Republican	%
1995–96	\$ 9,750	4,000	41	5,750	59
1997–98	\$15,750	5,500	35	10,250	65

Additionally, the AGA contributed \$70,100 and \$50,800 in soft money in the 1995–1996 and 1997–1998 election cycles, respectively. In 1997–1998, it gave \$30,300 or 60 percent to the Democrats and the remainder to Republicans, but it had been close to evenly divided in its partisan giving in 1995–1996. Because the AGA speaks on behalf of casinos, it undoubtedly benefits from their contributions as well. In 1997–1998, the gambling industry contributed \$1.2 million to political candidates and \$3.1 million in soft money to political parties. The AGA itself paid \$760,000 to lobbyists in the calendar year 1997 alone. Despite relatively small PAC contributions, then, the AGA and its members clearly have invested much money in their effort to gain influence on Capitol Hill.

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AMERICAN HOTEL AND MOTEL ASSOCIATION

The American Hotel and Motel Association (AHMA), located in Washington, D.C., has approximately 12,000 members in its national association, which is a federation of 70 state and city lodging associations in the United States and 33 foreign countries. It is the leading trade association for the \$75.4 billion lodging industry in the United States. Its members consist primarily of lodging properties and businesses that supply goods and services to the lodging industry, though individual memberships are offered to members of the military, college faculties, and students planning a career in the hospitality industry. The AHMA represents the lodging industry at both the national and state levels, monitoring legislation that would impact the profitability of the industry and lobbying on the industry's behalf.

HISTORY

The AHMA traces its origins to 1910, when it was founded in Chicago. Before assuming its current name in 1962, the organization was called the American Hotel Protective Association and later, the American Hotel Association. Throughout its history, the AHMA has been able to win exemptions from the minimum wage and hour laws as well as tax deductions for meals and entertainment expenses. Increasingly, the interests of its most prominent and powerful members are merging with the American Gaming Association and the entertainment industries since the larger hotels are now invested in casinos and theme parks. In fact, Las Vegas currently houses 11 of the 12 largest hotels in the world.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The AHMA's government affairs department, which is responsible for overseeing lobbying efforts in Washington, D.C., relies upon "insider" strategies to foster a fa-

vorable business climate for the lodging industry. At its annual legislative action summit, the AHMA arranges appointments with senators and representatives for those members in attendance and provides instruction on the art of effective lobbying. It also briefs members about important issues affecting the industry. At the 1999 summit, the AHMA highlighted the importance of keeping the minimum wage at its present level, retaining the 50 percent deductibility of business meals, and preventing healthcare reforms that would increase or require employer contributions. In addition to the annual summit, the government affairs department prepares briefs analyzing the effects of proposed pieces of legislation on the industry and provides status reports about such legislation. Although state associations are charged with lobbying at the state and local level, the AHMA serves as an information center on these matters. In so doing, it enables members to share information and possibly work together on similar issues.

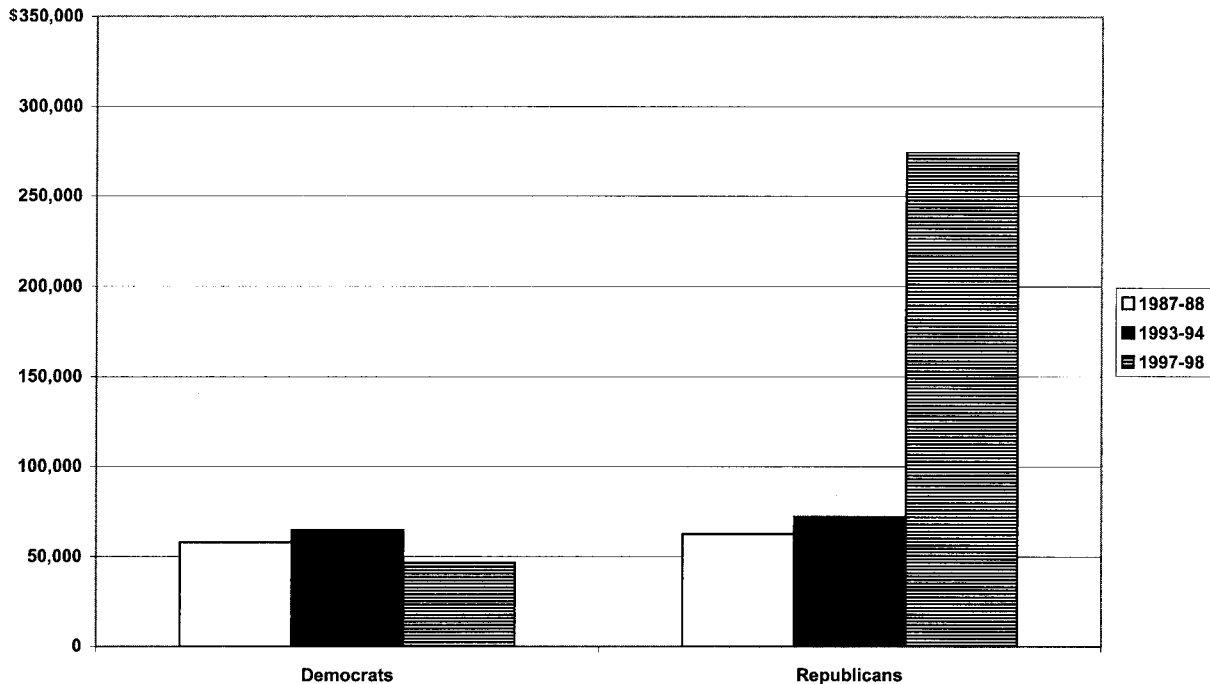
The AHMA does not limit its activities to lobbying, but instead provides many other services to members. For example, it operates an information center and publishes a lodging trade magazine. With more than 20 committees that enable members to participate in the organization and to address critical issues facing the industry, the AHMA additionally provides networking opportunities to its members. One of these committees, Copyright Music, negotiates with music licensing organizations about fee schedules at the behest of members who purchase musical entertainment. On this issue, its interests are at odds with others in the entertainment industry, such as recording companies.

In the future, the AHMA is thus likely to expand upon its traditional agenda of labor, tax, travel, and fire safety issues to include gambling and perhaps even copyright issues.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The AHMA has a staff of 65 in its national office and a budget of \$7 million. Additionally, the AHMA has two

**American Hotel and Motel Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

affiliate organizations, the Educational Institute, which is a source of training and educational materials for the lodging industry, and the American Hotel Foundation, which maintains the financial resources to support education and research within the lodging and other related industries. Like other trade associations, the AHMA has a political action committee (PAC). In the 1995–1996 election cycle, its PAC had receipts of \$191,376 and expenditures of \$196,011. Its contributions for the last two election cycles were:

	Total	Democrat	%	Republican	%
1995–96	\$179,800	51,600	29	128,200	71
1997–98	\$315,577	46,750	15	268,827	85

Prior to the Republican takeover of Congress in 1995, the AHMA was more balanced in its partisan contributions, even donating slightly greater dollar amounts to the Democrats in the 1989–1990 and 1991–1992

election cycles. Such a pattern is indicative of the PAC's pragmatic orientation. The AHMA's political budget is not limited to PAC contributions, but also includes lobbying expenditures and soft money contributions. Indeed, in 1997, the AHMA paid \$160,000 to lobbyists. In the 1997–1998 election cycle, it contributed \$48,000 to the Democrats and \$96,738 to the Republicans in soft money. These amounts represented dramatic increases from the 1995–1996 cycle when the AHMA contributed \$6,400 and \$1,500 in soft money to the Democrats and Republicans, respectively.

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AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

The American Library Association (ALA) was established in 1876, with the main purpose of promoting librarians' interests. Today, more than a century later, the ALA is a complex organization with a wide agenda, working to improve its members' resources and welfare and extending its activities to questions as important as the defense of intellectual freedom in the United States.

The ALA is interested in state, public, school, academic, and special libraries, and supports the creation of methods to improve library systems and standards of service. The ALA also works for free access to library services and everyone's right to information, and promotes popular understanding and public acceptance of the value of these services and of librarianship in general.

The association has helped to establish libraries on Indian reservations, in hospitals and prisons, and in locations overseas, and has collaborated with executive agencies such as the U.S. Information Agency in the implementation of particular projects. Nowadays, the ALA has relations with over 70 other library associations (in the United States and at the international level) and works with several organizations in the fields of education, research, cultural development, recreation, and public service.

With 57,000 members (including librarians, trustees, publishers, supporters, and friends), the ALA is the world's oldest and largest national library association.

HISTORY

The ALA's origins are usually traced to a convention of librarians held in 1853. The idea of creating a permanent association was first stated there, but it was two decades later that the final impulse for such an initiative took place.

Melvil Dewey, creator of the Dewey decimal system and one of the most influential persons in the history of

librarianship in the United States, was among a small group of librarians who worked intensely to attract interest and support for a conference to be held on the occasion of the nation's centennial celebration. The conference took place in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in October 1876, gathering 103 librarians from different states. The resolution to establish the ALA was approved during the final day of sessions.

The ALA's founders were a quite homogeneous group. These librarians were mostly Anglo-Saxon men who wanted to facilitate communication among themselves in order to identify and solve their common professional problems. Soon after the ALA was established, however, its members embraced some degree of social responsibility, when they recognized as part of their mission to get "the best reading, for the largest number, at the least cost." (Originally suggested by Dewey, this became the association's motto in 1879.)

During the first three decades of the association's existence, several discussions were centered on technical preoccupations of librarianship and the organization of the annual conferences. Then, gradually, the ALA created general indexes, maintained a periodical publication (*The Library Journal*), and established relations with librarians overseas. In 1899 the association was able to exert some influence on the appointment of the head of the Library of Congress.

In 1917 the ALA had reached a level of stability that allowed it to develop a wider set of activities. When the United States entered the First World War, the ALA's membership decided to work to supply books and services for soldiers at home and abroad. Two fund-raising campaigns were developed in order to acquire publications ranging from foreign language dictionaries and manuals to strategy and military affairs books. With some financial support from Andrew Carnegie and working in combination with organizations such as the Red Cross and the Young Men's Christian Association, the ALA was able to establish temporary libraries in several military stations. Such libraries continued working

even when the war was over and then were gradually transferred to local administrations.

With these actions, the ALA achieved some national visibility for the first time in its history.

The Path to Intellectual Freedom

Between 1939 and 1969 the ALA was in a process of transformation that eventually led it to embrace the defense of intellectual freedom in the United States as a mission. When the ALA was created, its mostly homogeneous membership had taken for granted that librarians had jurisdiction and autonomy regarding book selection. In the following years, however, changes at the political level in the United States caused different waves of censorship, which eventually reached librarians and their jobs.

The advance of fascism in Europe and the nonaggression pact signed between Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939 were events that increased concerns about internal security in the United States. A variety of governmental and nongovernmental actors tried to restrict or ban the circulation of publications considered subversive or propagandistic on both leftist and rightist grounds. Then, the ALA sought to define the role of libraries in democratic systems and approved a bill of rights stating the association's commitment to providing the public with free access to information and different ideas.

Later, in the years from 1948 to 1953, librarians reacted against book burning, the imposition of loyalty oaths, material labeling, and directives to control and withdraw publications in libraries overseas, which were imposed during the wave of anticommunist censorship that characterized the years of McCarthyism. The ALA modified its bill of rights and made different efforts to assure wide distribution of *The Freedom to Read*, a statement meant to provide guidance to librarians and to the public in general. (This statement was endorsed by organizations such as the American Bar Association.)

The association's bill of rights was modified once again in the decade of the 1960s to promote free access to libraries and to contribute to the elimination of forms of racial segregation.

Not all actions were effective or immediately influential, and the ALA had to go from the formulation of statements to attempts to influence public opinion. It gradually developed more concrete activities such as the formulation of principles of intellectual freedom. Today the ALA's activities include participation in processes of arbitration and investigation, lobbying, and

programs to support librarians who were affected by or lost their jobs in controversies involving intellectual freedom.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The ALA is headquartered in Chicago, Illinois, and maintains a research center and 10 offices addressing issues regarding international relations, library outreach services, and public programs, among others. The ALA currently has a staff of 275 persons and a member council composed of 175 persons governs it. In addition to this, 11 membership divisions deal with specific kinds of library services.

Currently the ALA identifies five main action areas: 1) the provision of services for diverse populations; 2) education and continuous learning for librarians; 3) equity of access to libraries; 4) intellectual freedom, including reading, search for information, and speech; and 5) twenty-first-century literacy, ensuring that children and adults develop the skills to participate in a global economy.

The association maintains an office in Washington, D.C., which plays a very important role in supporting the ALA's agenda. The office gathers and analyzes information regarding bills and coordinates coalitions to sponsor and support legislative initiatives. It also maintains communication with members of Congress and executive agencies, and publishes a newsletter.

Three units in particular develop activities regarding intellectual freedom: the ALA's Office for Intellectual Freedom, the Freedom to Read Foundation, and the Intellectual Freedom Roundtable. They deal with questions of communication, information, education, grassroots involvement, awards, and fund-raising. The ALA's publications on this subject—now complemented by Internet resources—have chronicled the challenges to intellectual freedom in the United States in a continuous way since the decade of the 1950s.

In addition to periodical publications such as the *ALA Bulletin*, the association produces books for librarians and researchers. The ALA also has a rich web site containing news, information, and a variety of resources regarding librarianship, education, and funding opportunities. The association's commitment to favor the access of information has faced some problems. In 1999, for instance, the ALA has been criticized by conservative moralists (such as talk-show host Laura

Schlesinger) for having included a Columbia University-sponsored web site in a reference guide for teenagers. The involved service (“Go Ask Alice”) responds to questions in areas regarding health, sex, emotional health, and nutrition. This incident was about to have adverse repercussions on a grant that the private firm Toys “R” Us was going to give the ALA’s Fund for America’s Libraries, to be used for children’s reading rooms.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ALA has an annual budget of \$31,597,153, 80 percent of which is generated by conferences and grants from other organizations. According to the Federal Election Commission, the ALA spent \$279,394 in lob-

bying activities in 1997 and \$321,426 in 1998; the main areas of interest are education, media, and budget.

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ADVERTISING AGENCIES

With offices in New York and Washington, D.C., the American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA) is the national trade association of the advertising agency business. Advertising, of course, is the major source of revenue for news providers and much of the entertainment industry. Advertisers are themselves seeking to convey information as well, albeit of a very biased nature. Ownership is highly concentrated in this industry, with seven or eight firms dominating the global market. The AAAA has approximately 600 members, who together account for 75 percent of all agency-produced advertising in the United States. Given that statistic, the AAAA clearly counts the dominant agencies among its members. As the industry's voice in Washington and state capitals, the AAAA takes an interest in any legislation that affects the industry, such as restrictions on advertising and tax issues.

HISTORY

Partly in response to growing concerns about false advertising and resultant demands for consumer protection, the AAAA was founded in 1917. Soon thereafter, in 1924, it published its code of Standards of Practice, which asked members not to produce false advertising. Because the AAAA did not have any means to enforce the code effectively, this effort at self-regulation did not solve the problem. However, the industry did not come under the scope of federal regulation until 1938 when the Wheeler-Lea Amendment to the earlier Federal Trade Commission (FTC) Act was passed. This amendment enabled the FTC to prohibit false or misleading advertising. It was not until the 1960s, though, that the advertising industry incurred a series of major legislative defeats. Between 1960 and 1972, Congress passed more than 25 laws regulating the industry. For example, the Cigarette Labeling Act of 1966 and the Public Health Smoking Act of 1970 regulated the advertising of cig-

arettes. Other laws protected children from harmful toys by prohibiting their advertisement, while still others protected consumers.

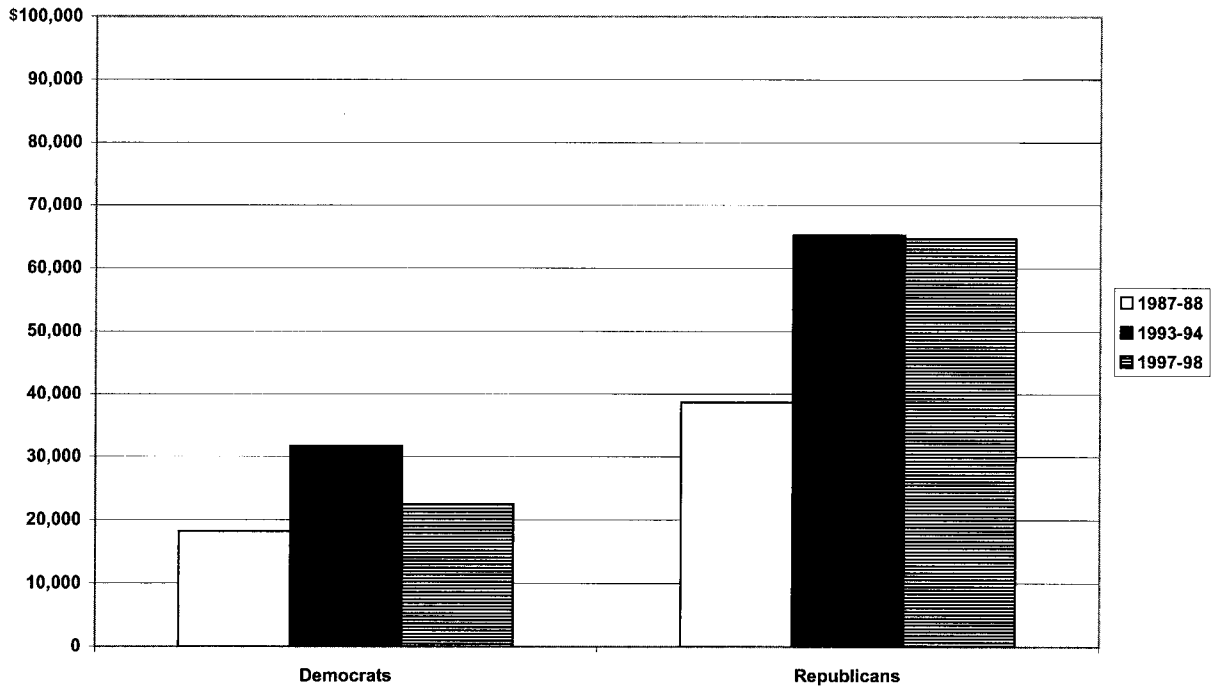
In response to this legislative surge, the AAAA coalesced with other organizations in an effort to prevent further regulations. The industry has been reasonably successful in this effort, even winning a relaxation of restrictions in some areas, such as medical advertising.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In its quest to protect the interests of advertising agencies from governmental regulation, the AAAA relies primarily upon "insider" tactics. It is a founding member of the State Advertising Coalition, which is a state lobbying group for the advertising industry. The AAAA enters into coalitions at the national level to further the interests of advertisers as well. Additionally, the AAAA seeks access to lawmakers through financial contributions to campaigns and based on its ability to provide information and expertise about the industry. Currently, the AAAA is working to preserve the full deductibility of advertising as a business expense, to prevent additional restrictions on alcohol and tobacco advertising, and to ease restrictions on auto-lease and airline advertising.

Like other trade associations, the AAAA hosts conferences and publishes a quarterly magazine for purposes of contributing to the professional development of its members. As an advocate of the industry, it promotes the value of advertising by way of various initiatives. The AAAA is also a founding member of the Advertising Council, which exists to conduct public service campaigns. With the help of the Advertising Council and others, the AAAA was instrumental in the creation of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America. Clearly, public service campaigns function not only to educate the citizenry, but also to improve the image of the in-

**American Association of Advertising Agencies
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

dustry. A favorable image, in turn, helps to decrease the likelihood of regulatory legislation. In the future, the AAAA will continue to fight against regulation and will monitor legislation affecting the commercial development of the Internet.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Directed by a board comprised of chief executives from member agencies, the AAAA has a budget of \$8 million and a staff of 90 individuals. The AAAA has a related political action committee (PAC), called Professionals in Advertising. The treasurer of this PAC, Harold A. Shoup, is the chief Washington lobbyist for the AAAA, and its members include the top executives of the major advertising agencies. In 1995–1996, this PAC had receipts of \$144,750 and expenditures of \$129,456. Its contributions for the past two election cycles were:

	Total	Democrat	%	Republican	%
1995–96	\$111,750	34,750	31	77,000	69
1997–98	\$86,899	22,499	26	64,400	74

Additionally, the AAAA contributed \$1,500 and \$21,300 in soft money to the Republican Party in the 1995–1996 and 1997–1998 election cycles, respectively. The AAAA paid a total of \$296,000 to lobbyists in the 1997 calendar year.

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ASSOCIATION OF TRIAL LAWYERS OF AMERICA

For 50 years the Association of Trial Lawyers of America (ATLA) has worked to promote justice and adequate compensation for injured persons, to safeguard victims' rights (such as the right to trial by jury), and to disclose information of critical importance to public health. ATLA has also sought to inform lawyers, to educate the general public, and, more broadly, to influence the modernization of the civil justice system in an age of technological development.

Established in 1946 as the National Association of Claimant's Compensation Attorneys (NACCA), it was the first bar association devoted to the defense of workers' compensation in the United States. In 1960, when the association admitted all personal injury lawyers, it was renamed the National Association of Claimant's Council of America. Four years later its membership was opened to those lawyers working in fields of admiralty, railroad, and tort practice, and it then became the American Trial Lawyers Association. The final change of name occurred in 1972, when ATLA added commercial litigation and environmental law sections. The association has continued to expand its membership to include lawyers working on family law, labor law, and military law.

ATLA is the world's largest trial association, with about 60,000 members worldwide, and has a network of U.S. and Canadian affiliates participating in diverse areas of trial advocacy. Its international membership extends to England, France, Sweden, Germany, Australia, and Japan.

HISTORY

ATLA was an initiative of Ben Marcus, a workers' compensation plaintiffs' attorney, and Samuel Horovitz, a labor lawyer. They were alike in their preoccupation with the incidence of 2 million victims of industrial accidents and the number of trials in which injured claim-

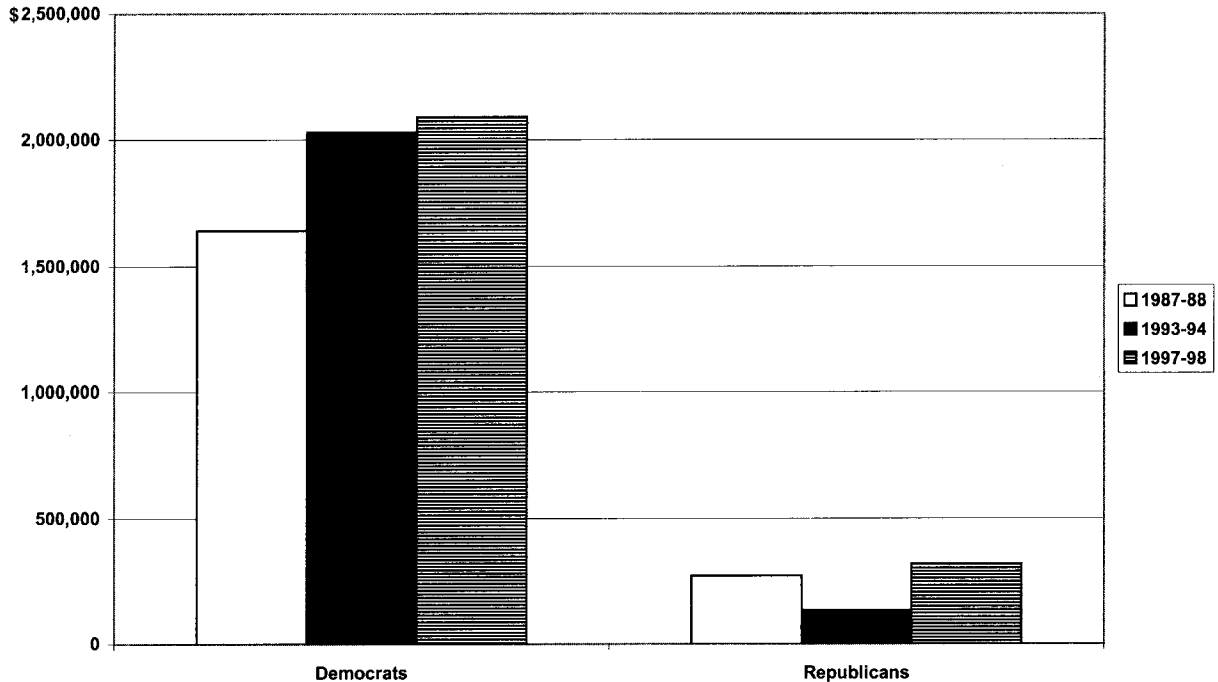
ants were badly prepared or stood alone—while their employers were much better represented by skillful and resourceful insurers, doctors, and investigators. They were clear about the need for more legal knowledge to serve clients successfully and the need to achieve adequate plaintiff representation.

Gathering nine additional sympathetic colleagues, the two lawyers created the NACCA, with Ben Marcus appointed as president. All members committed themselves to extend and strengthen the incipient association and to encourage mutual cooperation and communication among members. Their recruitment efforts included trips, conferences, publications, and the establishment of local branches. These initiatives proved to be fruitful: within the first 10 years the association had already extended its activities to 44 state branches and affiliates and its membership had jumped to approximately 5,000 members.

Judicial activities have been a fundamental part of the association's program, ranging from position statements to the submission of *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs. In civil trials, ATLA has long supported the preservation of the jury system to render verdicts rather than authorizing judges to determine guilt or innocence. Jurors may work less quickly and efficiently, ATLA members argue, but their common, everyday experiences enable them to identify more closely with plaintiffs and understand the value of losses and injuries in the real world.

ATLA has often differed from other bar associations, such as the Defense Research Institute (representing lawyers working in personal injury cases on behalf of firms and corporations) and the American Bar Association, on several issues regarding legal ethics, damages, and tort liability. More serious disagreements have occurred with respect to business organizations. Since the 1980s, for instance, ATLA has been actively opposed to the campaign led by insurance, manufacturing, and health industries seeking tort reform in Congress. More recently, in 1998, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce

**Association of Trial Lawyers of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

started efforts to fund a campaign meant to target the legal procedures available in cases of product liability lawsuits, class-action litigation, and contingency fees. Through lobbying and advertisements, the objective was to portray trial lawyers as frivolous in their suits, causing the rise of the cost of goods and preventing manufacturers from introducing new products to the market. (Trial lawyers today work on cases ranging from toy defects to medical malpractice.)

Education and professional learning have been given central importance since the association's early years. A law journal was conceived as ATLA's main communication vehicle in 1948. It was a semiannual publication with a first printing of 1,600 copies; it included articles and reviews of leading law journals, and was a law digest reporting all cases of workers' compensation; railroad, admiralty, and tort law; and analyzing and commenting on the most relevant cases. One of ATLA's founding members, Samuel Horovitz, was the first person responsible for the publication. The second editor was Roscoe Pound, a former dean of the Harvard Law School and a very prestigious jurist. The journal became a respectable source cited by courts and requested by law libraries and was the starting point for more expan-

sive publication efforts and the subsequent creation of a think tank.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In 1972 ATLA's headquarters were relocated from Boston, Massachusetts, to Washington, D.C.; there the association maintains a staff of 160, including 30 attorneys.

Since the first years of the association, its representatives realized that the provision of tools and information for successful trials solved only one part of the problem of injured persons. In their view favorable verdicts did not always result in fair compensation due to failure to account for inflation indexes or new conditions derived from social and economic changes. The conclusion was that "the law must be stable, and yet it cannot stand still."

ATLA has performed several legislative activities, including participation in debates, advocacy for the progressive development of the law, lobbying, and support

for the political campaigns of candidates to the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The association's concern with the administration of justice to injured persons and the achievement of fair compensations and awards for accident victims has persisted in its agenda, but several other issues, such as medical malpractice and consumer affairs (e.g., product liability, premises liability) have also been pursued. In these cases the Civil Justice Foundation, created in 1986, builds coalitions between trial lawyers and grassroots organizations. The foundation has awarded grants of more than \$700,000 to groups developing proposals and activities on behalf of injured consumers.

ATLA also has a think tank dating from 1956, the Roscoe Pound Foundation. Its mission is to stimulate the flow of ideas among lawyers, jurists, scholars, and consumer advocates, and it conducts appropriate research on legal issues and related scientific and medical information. The foundation today organizes forums for state and court judges and restricted roundtables for the analysis of particular problems. The Roscoe Pound Foundation also publishes the *Civil Justice Digest*, a quarterly, as well as several research papers and reports. Through its program of continuing education, ATLA organizes seminars and activities for paralegals and law students. More ambitiously, its National Board of Trial Advocacy develops activities to train and certify trial lawyers.

The association's library holds about 20,000 volumes, including books, periodical publications, articles, and a database of electronic resources, which are available to members only. ATLA publishes the monthly *TRIAL* magazine, *ATLA Law Reporter* (a research aid for lawyers), and a newsletter.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In lobbying activities ATLA spent a total of \$2,128,339 in 1997 and \$2,184,929 in 1998. In political campaigns ATLA's political action committee (PAC) is a successful fund-raiser, having received \$5,380,418 in the 1996 election cycle and \$3,976,180 in 1998. It favors Democrats over Republicans and is one of the three PACs spending the largest amounts in contributions to political candidates.

ATLA has a yearly budget of \$19.4 million; its resources come mainly from individual contributions and membership. The association is governed by a board of representatives from the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico; some international members are also included.

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FOOD MARKETING INSTITUTE

The Food Marketing Institute (FMI) is a trade organization serving more than 1,500 member companies. According to the FMI, this membership also includes more than 200 members from 60 countries. These companies operate approximately 21,000 food stores and supermarkets, whose posted sales exceeded the \$220 billion mark in 1996, more than half of all grocery-related sales in the United States. Similar to other food-related political action committees (PACs) and interest groups, like the National Association of Convenience Stores (NACS), the National Beer Wholesalers Association (NBWA), and the National Restaurant Association, the FMI lobbies against antitrust laws and tax increases on beer and soft drinks. A number of members of the FMI are PAC-sponsoring organizations, mostly large supermarket chains including Safeway, Stop and Shop, Shop Rite, Winn-Dixie, and Kroger. FMI members also include large department and convenience store chains including Walmart and Kmart. In addition to large chains and franchises, FMI membership includes organizations that represent local grocers. The FMI also represents approximately 30 state wholesale and retail food organizations, also referred to as the FMI Association Council. Some of these organizations include the California Grocers Association, Gulf Coast Retailers, Pennsylvania Food Merchants Association, and the Texas Food Industry Association. An organization that represents both local grocers and is also a member of the FMI Association Council is the National Korean-American Grocers Foundation.

In general, members are those individuals or groups who own or operate businesses that are responsible for acquiring food and food-related merchandise from farmers and producers and making them available for consumers. FMI members can include both wholesale and retail business owners. According to the institute, part of their mission includes the coordination of programs in research and education related to the food industry. The headquarters of the FMI, as well as the Food Marketing Institute PAC (FOODPAC), is located in

Washington, D.C. In addition to its headquarters the FMI also maintains five regional branches, located in Newport Beach, California; Moab, Utah; Edmond, Oklahoma; Atlanta, Georgia; and Libertyville, Illinois. FMI leadership is made up of a board of directors, who are owners of both wholesale and retail food distributors and supermarkets.

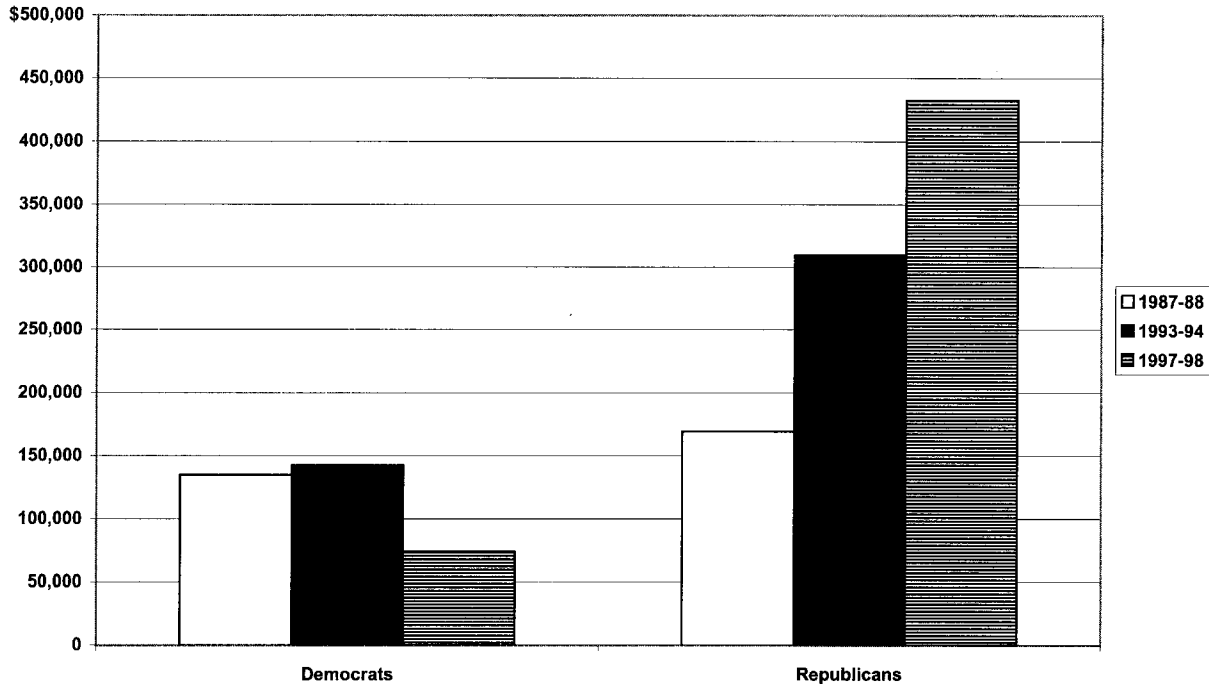
HISTORY

The FMI was formed in 1977 as the result of a merger between the National Association of Food Chains in Washington, D.C., and the Super Market Institute in Chicago. Among the original goals of the institute were to establish a national status for food retailers and wholesalers, and to advance research and promote services related to food safety. In 1996 the FMI created a new satellite foundation, the Food Marketing Institute Foundation (FMIF), whose primary purpose is to guarantee “quality and efficiency” in the food marketing business through charities, educational programs, and scientific investigations relating to food quality and food service. This goal, however, is similar to the FMI’s mission, namely, maintenance and efficiency of food service from producer to consumer. According to the FMI, the FMIF is a tax-exempt organization that is filed under Section 501(c)(3)—a specific Internal Revenue Service tax code that indicates a nonprofit business’s tax-exempt status.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The FMI’s major lobbying activities include opposition to antitrust laws relating to the sale of beer and other alcoholic beverages, retail pricing laws, legislation on

**Food Marketing Institute
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

consumer packaging, legislation requiring certain types of containers for particular beverages, the sale of pharmaceuticals, legislation on federal consumer packaging, and support for amendments relating to the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act and the Employees Retirement Income Security Act. The FMI claims to provide a large number of services for members, including food marketing research, education, industry relations, and public affairs. Based on their efforts to support amendments related to tax increases for store owners, minimum wage legislation, and laws related to recycling, FMI lobbyists tend to favor Republican Party members of Congress.

The research department of the FMI publishes five journals, newsletters, or reports—*Annual Financial Review*, *Facts About Store Development*, *The Food Marketing Industry Speaks*, *Operations Review*, and *Trends: Consumer Attitudes and the Supermarket*. This department is responsible for providing data related to food marketing and safety for members, the government, and the food marketing industry in general. The FMI asserts that the Food Information Service, which is affiliated with the research department, is the world's largest and most comprehensive library on food marketing, food distribution, and retail and wholesale services.

National and regional conferences and seminars are the FMI's primary vehicles for promoting educational programs. In addition to publishing guidebooks and training materials, the institute claims to "instill [an] awareness" of the social and economic environment of the food industry. It also claims to hold more than 50 annual conferences relating to a large range of food safety and service issues. Each May the FMI holds its annual International Supermarket Industry Convention and holds additional conventions, dealing with topics of concern to the food industry and technology.

Although claiming not to be involved in lobbying activity, the FMIF focuses on issues that relate to consumer education. The most current FMIF undertaking is to attempt to educate consumers on issues concerning the handling of food. In its Safeguarding Our Last Link campaign, the FMIF has been trying to raise more than \$10 million for educating its "last link"—the consumer—on "safe food-handling practices." Fight BAC™, another FMIF program aimed at educating the general public about food-borne illness, was created in collaboration with the federal government, the food industry, and several consumer groups.

Ethical practice, when considering the rights of the

employees or consumers, may not be adopted by all FMI members. Several businesses and organizations affiliated with the FMI, for example, have been involved frequently in illegal labor practices, such as paying workers below the legal minimum wage and possibly firing those wanting to form unions. Grocers who are involved in these disputes over employee exploitation often complain that their establishments would go out of business if they were to keep to the minimum wage and reduce the number of hours for all employees.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Since 1988, FMI contributions to GOP candidates have exceeded contributions given to the Democrats. In the 1987–1988 election cycle, \$169,468, or 56 percent of all contributions, which amounted to \$304,581, were granted to Republicans running for office. However, in subsequent election years, GOP contributions were approximately double the amount of Democrat contri-

butions. By the 1995–1996 election cycle the gap widened, again in favor of the GOP, whose FMI contributions amounted to \$376,453, approximately 85 percent of the total political contributions during those election years. The total amount of contributions to the Democrats in 1995 and 1996 (\$68,750) was less than half the amount given in the previous two-year election cycle (\$142,554). This dramatic increase in contributions favoring the GOP is most likely due to the Republican takeover of Congress in the previous election cycle.

DANIEL NESS

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FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE

The Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) is an organization that represents approximately 277,000 law enforcement personnel. With almost 2,000 local lodges nationwide, the FOP is considered to be the largest police organization in the country. The Grand Lodge of the FOP is located in Warwick, Rhode Island. One of the FOP's slogans, Police Representing Police, is indicative of its belief that no one knows the dangers of a police officer better than a fellow officer and that the FOP "knows police officers best." Although it maintains a nonpartisan and nonprofit status, the FOP has often rubbed shoulders with Republican Party politicians, many of whom favor capital punishment laws and support legislation that eliminates controls or bans on guns and other types of assault weapons, particularly for off-duty law enforcement officers. Although not considered a political action committee (PAC) in that it does not claim to siphon off funds allocated for membership benefits and educational purposes to contribute directly to the campaigns of political candidates running for office, the FOP's sheer size in terms of its membership and its involvement in Washington politics is considerable indeed, and thus is deemed worthy of mention as a potentially influential political interest group. Another factor that distinguishes the FOP from other political interest groups is its ability to sway the media in favor of the interests and beliefs of police and law enforcement personnel.

HISTORY

There are a number of parallels between the bureaucratization of the American urban police force and that of other urban service agencies or institutions. By the middle of the nineteenth century, fire fighting, medical treatment, public works (such as road maintenance and plumbing), and education were systematized by specialized and impersonal agencies that accomplished the

same work that individual households did decades earlier. The organization of police forces was a reaction on the part of urban business leaders, who wanted to quell riots, frequent skirmishes, and the rise in thefts, arson, and homicides within urban areas that local marshals, wards, constables, and night watchmen were unable to do by themselves.

From then until the years preceding the First World War, police officers often worked 12-hour shifts every day of the year. This allegedly caused much grievance among police officers throughout the country, so much so that two officers in Pittsburgh—Martin Toole and Delbert Nagle—formed the Fort Pitt Lodge No. 1 with 21 other officers and held the first meeting of the FOP on May 14, 1915. Since anti-union sentiment was at a peak at the time, Toole and Nagle designated the original group as Fort Pitt rather than the Fraternal Order or any similar title whose description implied unionization. From 1915 to the late sixties or seventies, the FOP served as a medium for voicing personal grievances of police officers, particularly those relating to wages, benefits, and the length of individual shifts. Thereafter, however, the FOP's agendas seemed to have become entrenched in more impersonal issues, such as amending gun-control laws and allowing law enforcement officers to carry concealed firearms outside their jurisdictions. These and other similar themes have been central to the FOP's lobbying efforts in Washington, where, to this day, it has played a major role in supporting certain members of Congress (mostly Republican) who have addressed and advocated the same issues.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Some of the FOP's key lobbying themes include an amendment (H.R. 59) to the Lautenberg Law, law enforcement officers' rights to due process, the right for

law enforcement officers to carry concealed firearms (H.R. 218), public safety officers' collective bargaining rights (H.R. 1093), and mandatory participation in retirement programs other than Social Security.

The Lautenberg Law (also known as the Domestic Violence Offender Gun Ban), which was passed in 1996, prohibits any individual, including on-duty law enforcement and military personnel, from possessing firearms if they have been convicted of being a suspect in a domestic violence incident. The FOP vehemently opposes the Lautenberg Law, arguing that even individuals that are charged with a misdemeanor charge of domestic violence "lose their Constitutional rights if they are prohibited from owning firearms." Furthermore, it argues that an individual's misdemeanor charge of domestic violence "carries with it the loss of the Constitutional right to keep and bear arms." Taking the issue further, in January 1997 a lawsuit was filed, *Fraternal Order of Police v. United States*, in which the FOP challenged the "unconstitutionality" of the Lautenberg Law. The major argument was that law enforcement officers who were charged with a nondomestic felony crime were granted the privilege of bearing arms, while those charged with domestic violence misdemeanors were stripped of this privilege. Accordingly, the FOP strongly supports amendments to the Lautenberg Law, particularly H.R. 59, which has been sponsored by Representative Bob Barr (R-GA) and supported by the National Rifle Association and other significant ultra-conservative or GOP-supporting PACs.

A second major theme in the FOP's political agenda is its staunch support for legislation that protects law enforcement officers' rights to due process. Claiming that a large number of jurisdictions nationwide do not protect the due process rights of law enforcement personnel, the FOP contends that officers are often dismissed from duty without explanation. In addition, it argues that a police officer's dismissal without warning diminishes that individual's chances of assuming subsequent posts in the law enforcement or public safety professions. The FOP is currently lobbying Congress to pass legislation that allows off-duty officers to engage in political activity, ensures that officers are notified of their dismissal and the allegations against them, ensures them the right to have counsel during an investigation, and would grant them seven other "basic rights."

A third high-priority theme in the FOP's lobbying efforts in Washington concerns its support for the Concealed Carry Law for Law Enforcement Officers (H.R. 218). This law would permit off-duty or retired law enforcement officers to carry concealed firearms outside their state or local jurisdictions. The FOP believes that

a police officer or law enforcement official, either on or off duty, should be allowed to carry firearms in the event that "there is a threat to peace or to public safety." In addition, this law would exempt what the FOP considers "qualified officers" from local or state statutes that currently prohibit the carrying of concealed firearms by off-duty or retired officers.

One of the few themes that the FOP is currently pursuing vigorously that remotely resembles the issues raised when the order was forming earlier in the century is that of police officers' and other public safety employees' right to bargain collectively. Two members of Congress, Dale Kildee (D-MI) and Bob Ney (R-OH), introduced the Public Safety Employer-Employee Cooperation Act, which would provide firefighters and law enforcement employees with collective bargaining privileges. Ironically, the law would prohibit strikes, lockouts, or the involvement of the National Labor Relations Board, and instead would utilize the procedures set forth by the Federal Labor Relations Authority as a means of settling disputes. However, the law would permit officers the right to form or join unions, guarantee them the right to bargain collectively, and exclude top-ranking or supervisory officials from joining a bargaining unit, while including midranking officials.

A fifth theme that has recently surfaced in the FOP's present lobbying agenda concerns the order's position on Social Security benefits. First, the FOP vehemently opposes any mandatory participation in Social Security for law enforcement and public safety employees. Second, the FOP is currently lobbying Congress to pass legislation that would eliminate the Windfall Elimination Provision, enacted in 1983—a law that they believe is responsible for the lowering of Social Security benefits of retired officers who assume second careers. In addition, the order is lobbying Congress to pass legislation that would increase the benefits of surviving spouses of law enforcement personnel.

Finally, for the past decade or so, the FOP seems to have been extremely successful in gaining sympathy from several forms of media, most notably large networks like ABC/Disney, that have televised cases involving the murder of police officers, even at the expense of possibly falsely incriminating innocent defendants. One of the most controversial cases within the past two decades involves Mumia Abu-Jamal, who is currently on death row for the murder of Daniel Faulkner, a Philadelphia police officer who died of a gunshot wound to the chest in 1982. Despite conflicting evidence supporting Abu-Jamal's innocence, the FOP has been continuously hurling invectives at the defendant's supporters and has egged on the hastening of legislation

in favor of capital punishment for all individuals convicted of murdering law enforcement officers. Furthermore, there is dispute concerning the judge, Albert Sabo, who presided over Abu-Jamal's case in 1982. Sabo, an FOP member, has put more people on death row—mostly African-American and Latino—than any other judge in U.S. history. In addition, prosecutors in the case placed more emphasis on Abu-Jamal's affiliation with the Black Panther Party, which they portrayed as a “hate group,” than on Faulkner's murder. Although Abu-Jamal's supporters have demanded his release and called for a new trial, the FOP gained the sympathy of ABC/Disney, which, in effect, presented a one-sided version of the Faulkner murder in favor of the FOP.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Unlike most of the other service groups discussed in this section, the FOP is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization, and most FOP lodges dissuade their members from participating in any type of union activity. A large number of lodges even prohibit union participation of their members. The FOP is a registered 501(c)(3) organiza-

tion, meaning that it is a civic, tax-exempt group. Moreover, the order contributes less than \$5,000 annually to any single political party. Despite its claim of nonpartisanship and not-for-profit status, the FOP has often siphoned off its income from membership dues, individual donations, or fund-raising activities for the purpose of educating individuals about the issues of political candidates, helping certain political candidates raise money, and even contributing funds to federal candidates themselves, even though nonprofit groups of this sort are prohibited from doing so.

DANIEL NESS

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CONVENIENCE STORES

The National Association of Convenience Stores (NACS) is a trade association with over 3,300 retail members. These individuals operate nearly 64,200 stores throughout the world, approximately 1,200 of which are associate members of the NACS. Unlike the Petroleum Marketers Association of America (PMAA), which caters to independent marketers, commissioned distributors, and retailers specializing in gasoline, heating, and diesel fuel, the NACS represents the convenience-store proprietor who sells gasoline and other petroleum products. In fact, gasoline sales at convenience stores accounted for 54 percent of all petroleum sales in the United States. The NACS claims that total convenience-store sales in 1998 exceeded \$164 billion, a \$12 billion increase from 1996. But this figure is suspect given the recent drop in tobacco sales in the United States—tobacco sales alone accounted for approximately 25 percent of convenience-store revenue. The NACS headquarters—along with its political action committee (PAC), the National Association of Convenience Stores PAC, or NACSPAC—is located in Alexandria, Virginia.

Although a good deal of NACS members' responsibilities, as well as the sale of certain products, overlap with those of business owners who belong to other interest groups, the NACS differs from other groups in a few important ways. One is that it primarily represents retail store owners and operators, while a number of other interest groups exclusively represent owners and operators of wholesale enterprises. A second major difference is that NACS members own or operate 19 to 20 stores each, on average, whereas members of other interest groups generally own one or two establishments with usually under 50 employees. In addition, the NACS claims that approximately 70 percent of all convenience stores are owned by members who manage single-store operations or stores which are part of a chain of 10 stores or less.

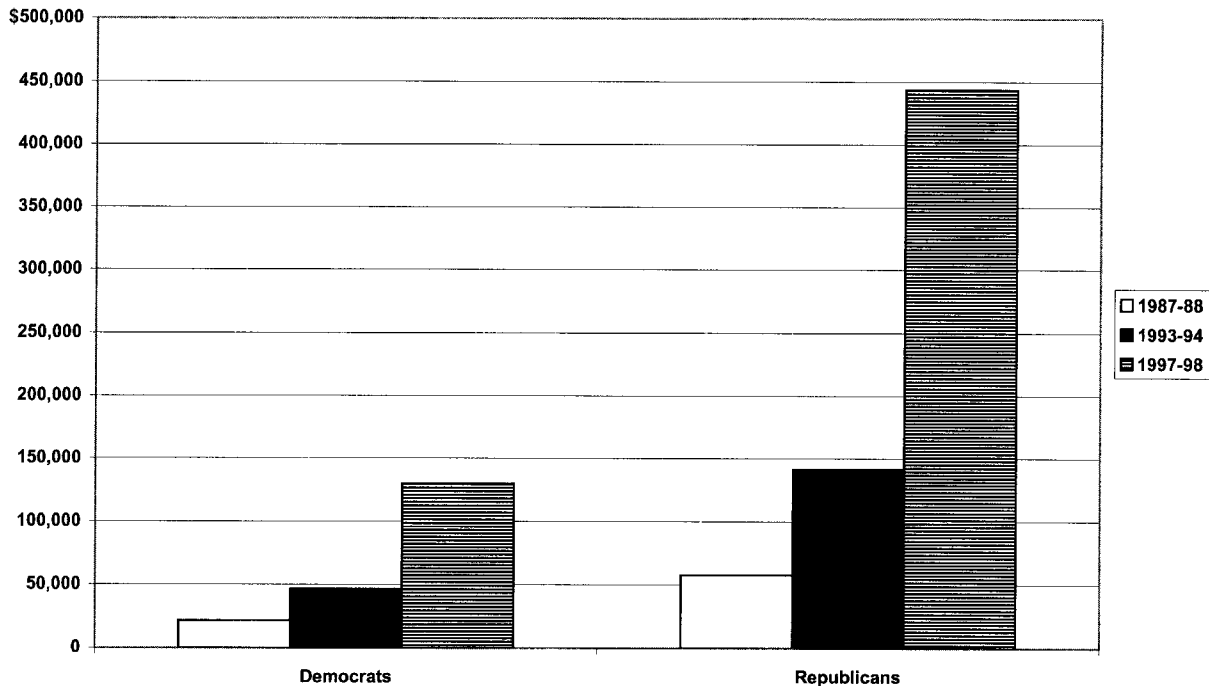
HISTORY

The NACS was established in 1961. At that time, convenience-store retailers sold merchandise running the gamut from candy and gum, frozen treats (like ice cream and flavored ices), and snacks and soft drink beverages to newspapers, cigarettes, and small toys and souvenirs. For nearly 40 years the NACS has used annual conventions and trade shows as events for attracting members. Over the years it has also run educational and public affairs programs as a means of promoting its interests in the national arena and in its Washington lobbying efforts. According to the association, the definition of convenience store today is a retail establishment that sells gasoline and related petroleum products, most types of fast foods, groceries (including most types of dairy products), cigarettes and other tobacco-related products (such as cigars and pipe tobacco), alcoholic beverages (including beer and wine coolers), soft drinks, snacks, newspapers, magazines, comic books, and other non-food-related items, which may include pharmaceuticals, over-the-counter medications, videocassettes, and toys. Since the 1980s convenience stores have also served as a popular venue for gambling, namely for the sale of tickets related to in-state and interstate lotteries.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Like other interest groups backing the Republican Party, the NACS opposes legislation that requires tax increases or new taxes of any kind. One proposal that the NACS is bringing to Congress is the repeal of an old alcohol tax, namely, the Special Occupational Tax (SOT). The SOT was established in the 1860s as a means of generating revenue during the Civil War. Prior to 1987 beer retailers were required to pay \$24 in

**National Association of Convenience Stores
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

SOT per store. After the passage of a 1987 law, the SOT increased more than tenfold to \$250 per store. Currently the NACSPAC and other similar PACs, like the National Restaurant Association PAC and the National Beer Wholesalers Association (NBWA) PAC, are urging the elimination of SOT on the grounds that defenders of the tax would like to banish the sale of alcohol in stores. A measure that is in favor of the elimination of the tax (H.R. 2735) is evidently receiving bipartisan support.

The NACS is a member of a coalition—Americans Against Unfair Family Taxation—that is pushing for the elimination of the estate tax that is taken upon the death of a business owner and was included in the Senate and House proposal for a nearly \$800 billion tax cut. Other PACs in the coalition include the Food Marketing Institute PAC, the National Beer Wholesalers Association PAC, and the Petroleum Marketers Association of America PAC.

While the NACS has supported the GOP to a large extent, not all of its issues run parallel with Republican politics. To illustrate, the NACS is in firm opposition to the Hyde amendment (H.R. 1501, Protecting Children from the Culture of Violence), which would make

it a felony punishable up to five years for a retailer or convenience-store employee to knowingly sell “explicit” and “violent” material to minors. According to Marc Katz, NACS vice president for government relations, this would place an extraordinary burden on retailers, expecting them to closely monitor any sale or rental of a picture, photograph, video, book, magazine, or audio material that, according to proponents of Representative Henry Hyde’s (R-IL) amendment, “contain[s] explicit sexual material or explicit violent material.” Another similar amendment, proposed by Representatives Bart Stupak (D-MI) and Zack Wamp (R-TN), would fine convenience stores and other similar establishments \$10,000 for selling or renting “violent and sexually explicit” videos that are not labeled as such. One of the NACS’s lobbying agendas, then, is to urge members of both houses of Congress to reject the Hyde amendment and other similar amendments that would force retailers and other store personnel to police the sale or rental of various merchandise to minors.

In contrast to their opposition to the Hyde bill, NACS leaders strongly support the regulation of sales of tobacco products to minors. In their program entitled No Ifs, Ands or Butts: Tobacco’s Not for Kids, NACS

chairman Fred Higgins and other NACS leaders proposed benchmarks that they hope would greatly curb or eliminate the sale of cigarettes and other tobacco products to individuals under 18 years of age. Some of these benchmarks include employee training, universal carding—which means that retailers would be required to ask for the identification of individuals who appear younger than 25 years of age and who wish to purchase tobacco products—and penalties against employees who sell tobacco products to minors. Ironically, however, the NACS is fearful of any amendment that would reduce the sale of tobacco products. In particular, the association is opposed to the Food and Drug Administration’s (FDA) full control over the sale of tobacco production and claims itself to be the only trade association to be filing a lawsuit against the FDA. The U.S. Supreme Court began oral arguments in the fall of 1999.

In the past few years NACS lobbyists have also supported legislation that would prevent convenience-store owners and retailers from being liable for damages in civil cases. In particular, the NACS supports the Small Business Lawsuit Protection Act, sponsored by Senators Spencer Abraham (R-MI) and Joseph Lieberman (D-CT). A related law, the Small Business Liability Reform Act of 1999, has two parts: Small Business Lawsuit Abuse Protection and Product Seller Fair Treatment. Lawsuit Abuse Protection would limit small-business exposure to joint liabilities in noneconomic situations and also would put a cap on punitive damages—a \$250,000 upper limit in penalties. Product Seller Fair Treatment would penalize the local distributors or retailers only if they were directly responsible for any injury or harm inflicted upon customers.

The NACS also rejects minimum-wage increases based on its belief that such legislation would cut the number of first-time or entry-level positions. NACS personnel also cite a study by the accounting firm Ernst and Young that posits that increases in the minimum wage can result in the loss of jobs for 6 percent of the nation’s entry-level workforce, and that the convenience-store industry can expect “to lose 25,000 jobs if [a] proposed wage hike is enacted.” NACS leaders also claim that first-time job opportunities “teach responsibility” and serve as a stepping stone to higher paying occupations. However, a large percentage of entry-level and first-time employees represent a seg-

ment of the population whose opportunities have diminished due to the imposition of a “glass ceiling”—an obstacle sometimes encountered by women and people of color that limits their professional advancement. Passing amendments on the minimum wage, then, is a major theme for most conservative PACs like the NACS.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NACS has supported the GOP ticket for a number of reasons. For one, Republicans generally support a repeal of tax increases on alcohol products. Given that the convenience store is a major alcoholic beverage supplier, the NACS, in addition to other interest groups, like the NBWA and the National Restaurant Association, supports a repeal of the SOT. Most Republicans also reject any legislation in favor of increasing the minimum wage.

The NACS’s contributions to political elections have been consistently pro-GOP. In every election cycle over the past decade, NACS contributions, which grew from \$79,550 in the 1987–1988 election cycle to \$370,939 in the 1995–1996 election cycle, favored Republican candidates over Democrats running for office. Throughout these years the NACS’s contributions to the Democrats seem to have remained fairly steady at around one-fourth the amount given to GOP candidates. In 1987–1988 the NACS contributed \$57,700, or about three-fourths of its finances for political elections (which totaled \$79,550), to GOP candidates. In the 1996 election year the gap widened in favor of the GOP, whose contributions from the NACS exceeded \$299,900—or more than four-fifths of its total political contributions for that year.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

The National Association of Retired Federal Employees (NARFE) is a membership organization with more than a half a million members, who are both current and retired federal employees. NARFE's raison d'être is to lobby Congress as well as executive branches of government to ensure the payment of civil service retirement annuities and the granting of other benefits for the more than 2 million retired federal employees. Moreover, NARFE has made attempts to use various forms of media to encourage public recognition and appreciation of government service. NARFE has also created a partnership with the Office of Personnel Management, a center that shares information with NARFE members and others about retirement benefits.

Membership in NARFE is open only to those individuals who are former federal employees and who have no right to a deferred retirement annuity, current federal employees who have been working in their present position for at least five years, or former members of Congress. NARFE members are either past or current employees of a wide array of different government services; the majority are represented by the Civil Service Retirement System and the Federal Employment Retirement System. Other federal agencies that represent NARFE members include the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement System, the Federal Judiciary Retirement System, the Foreign Service Retirement System, the Tennessee Valley Authority Retirement System, and about 40 other federal government agency retirement programs. In addition to the 1,710 local NARFE chapters throughout the United States, there are 50 state NARFE federations, a federation in the District of Columbia, as well as federations in Panama, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. NARFE headquarters, along with the National Association of Retired Federal Employees political action committee (NARFEPAC), is located in Alexandria, Virginia. NARFE's monthly magazine, *Retirement Life*, attempts to keep members informed of issues that may affect their federal retirement

annuities and matters concerning health and other benefits.

HISTORY

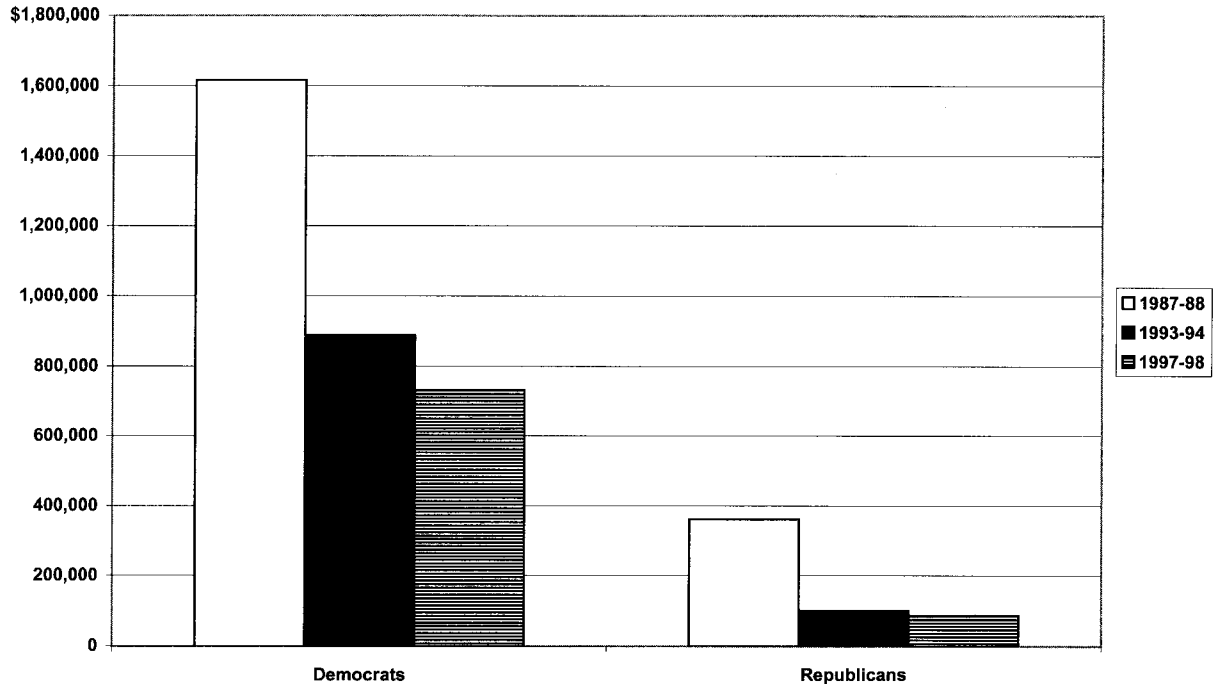
NARFE was established in 1921 by 14 federal workers. After the First World War automation eroded the control of production by skilled workers, thus limiting the power of unions and other labor organizations. The creation of NARFE was due in part to the deterioration of workers' rights as well as to unfair and despotic corporate and federal practices. Since its founding, it has been the only interest group in the country that is specifically geared to protecting the interests of federal employees, especially in terms of retirement benefits and pensions. NARFE leaders have lobbied Congress not only to support federal retirement legislation but to oppose any laws that would remotely affect benefit packages for both federal employees and employees who belong to related organizations.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In general NARFE ensures the entitlement of benefits and pensions for retired federal employees. The association will endorse and contribute to any candidate who supports and advances its interests. More Democrats than Republicans have recognized and followed through in carrying out a large number of NARFE's goals.

NARFE's leadership is determined during each of its biennial national conventions. Between conventions the association is governed by four national officers—president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. These officers, along with ten national field vice presidents,

**National Association of Retired Federal Employees
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

represent different geographic areas. NARFE maintains a staff of approximately 70 employees to support the elected officials. The major offices of the association are Legislative, Membership, Budget and Finance; Retirement Benefits; Public Relations; Office Operations; and the office that publishes *Retirement Life*, the official publication for NARFE members.

In addition to legislative representation in all levels of government, NARFE membership includes the services of its Office of Personnel Management; health, life, and auto insurance; travel services; and NARFENET, which allows members to obtain relatively easy access to the Internet.

NARFE’s impact on the passing of various forms of legislation is mostly a result of its employment of “outside” lobbying strategies. “Inside” strategies are mostly lobbying tactics that refer to an organization’s or PAC’s ability to lobby before Congress quietly, or without including members or creating grassroots campaigns. “Outside” tactics, on the other hand, are used by interest groups and their PACs as a means of fostering a growing, supportive, and involved membership to lobby Congress and to participate in grassroots efforts that support their issues. Although NARFE has used

both types of tactics as part of its lobbying activity, it is one of the few Democrat-supporting interest groups that profits by using its membership (more than 500,000) for political and lobbying purposes.

The provision of health insurance and other health-care benefits, NARFE claims, is one of the essential and valuable benefits for federal employees and annuitants. NARFE’s steadfast support for the patient’s bill of rights is another significant factor contributing to its overwhelming endorsement of Democrats for Congress. This legislation, introduced by Senate Democratic Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD), would guarantee patients access to emergency services, medical specialists, and a fair appeals process when healthcare providers deny healthcare to patients. This bill would also hold health maintenance organizations (HMOs) accountable for decisions that would ultimately harm the patient. The Republican Party (GOP) has vehemently opposed this measure and has adopted its own version of healthcare that benefits only a select number of constituents.

NARFE has also tried to encourage the passing of laws supporting the cost of living adjustments (COLAs), which protect federal annuities from inflation. As a token of political debate, COLAs have been used by

NARFE's adversaries as a means of propaganda in allegedly misleading the public in perceiving federal employees as having generous incomes and large retirement packages. NARFE lobbyists have been using the media as vehicles for changing public perception of federal employees—in particular, workers who struggle for fair wages and adequate retirement benefits. NARFE has also been an opponent of source taxing—the taxing of a federal retiree who relocates to another state.

NARFE's mission benefits not only current and retired federal employees. Another agenda related to their central mission is the raising of funds for research in various diseases. In recent years much of the funds that were generated for this purpose went to research into Alzheimer's disease and other related debilitating illnesses.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Based on several forms of legislation over the past decade, like the patient's bill of rights backed by most Democrats, it is not surprising that NARFE's election contributions have been allocated primarily to Demo-

cratic challengers and incumbents. Along with the National Association of Social Workers and the Association of Trial Lawyers of America, NARFE has consistently endorsed and contributed to Democratic candidates running for office. Of the \$1,243,350 in political contributions in 1996, 83 percent was contributed to the Democrats (\$1,035,950), while NARFE's contributions to GOP candidates totaled \$205,400. For the past decade NARFE's financial support for GOP candidates was always below 24.5 percent of its political election contributions, while Democratic candidates running for office always received at least 75 percent of NARFE's political election contributions.

DANIEL NESS

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) is a professional association of more than 155,000 certified or registered social workers. Most members have earned college degrees, anywhere from the baccalaureate to a master's degree or doctorate. The NASW's leaders lobby both houses of Congress to push for legislation that promotes and fosters all types of social services, including welfare and various income maintenance programs. In addition, they seek to pressure Congress to ensure that antidiscrimination laws are strictly enforced. As the largest membership organization of social workers in the world, the NASW is involved in all aspects of social services, including in-school social work services, on-the-job counseling, and work with senior citizens.

Unlike most of the other interest groups in this section, the NASW is highly concerned with issues dealing with the social, physical, and psychological well-being of all people, specifically aimed toward empowering those who are oppressed, vulnerable, or living in poverty. One of the key elements that distinguishes the NASW from other service interest groups is its strong belief that education and prevention are more valuable and efficient methods for solving social and psychological problems that face society than forms of punishment, like incarceration or probation. In particular, the NASW advocates programs that seek to find long-term solutions to the various existing social or economic barriers. The NASW has 56 chapters, with at least one chapter in each of the 50 states. Two of the more populous states, New York and California, have two chapters each, and there are three additional chapters—an international chapter, a Virgin Islands chapter, and another in Puerto Rico. The NASW's headquarters, along with its political action committee (PAC)—the National Association of Social Workers Political Action for Candidates Election (PACE)—is located in Washington, D.C.

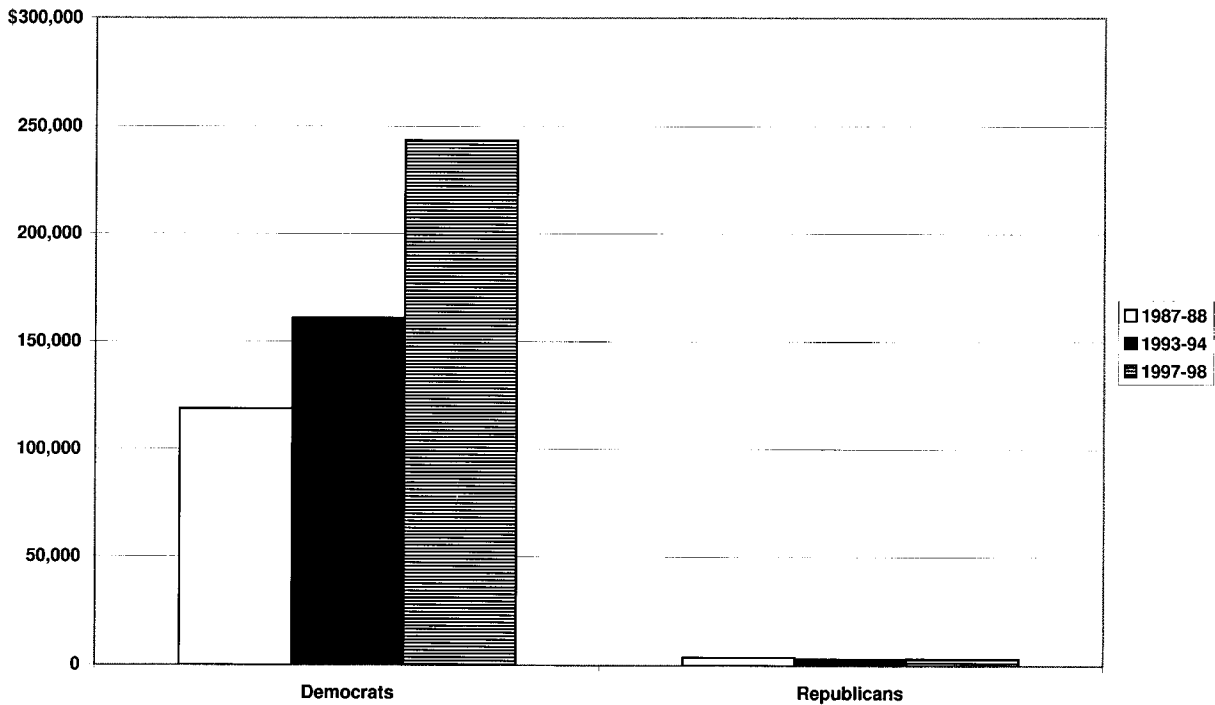
HISTORY

The NASW was founded in 1955, after the merging of seven social worker organizations. Its initial lobbying efforts were geared to influence legislation that would help create or sustain programs relating to the mental health of all individuals. Moreover, the NASW has always been deeply concerned with issues relating to poverty as well as other factors leading to a number of different mental health concerns. Another NASW agenda in its early years was to convince the general public that social work is an indispensable profession, due both to the many ways in which it applies methods in psychology and other social sciences to counseling and therapy as well as to the fact that it seeks lasting solutions to various societal problems. As a result, the NASW has sought candidates who are concerned not with prosecuting and incarcerating individuals, but with rehabilitating or educating them.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

As it states in the preamble of the NASW's Code of Ethics, "The primary mission of the social work profession is to enhance human well-being and help meet the basic human needs of all people, with particular attention to the needs and empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty." The NASW's important lobbying agendas, then, are to support and encourage legislation that fosters the social and psychological well-being of the individual within the context of society. Members of the NASW are concerned with sustaining programs for individuals of all ages, ranging from infant and daycare centers to retirement programs and geriatric care. In particular, the NASW's leaders lobby Congress on issues supporting

**National Association of Social Workers
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

Head Start programs, social services in the public schools, increases in the minimum wage, on-the-job counseling and therapy programs, benefits for retired employees, and programs for the elderly. They oppose issues relating to the use of educational vouchers, juvenile crime bills that sanction punishment by incarceration, and other forms of legislation that would cut funding for social services.

The well-being of children in general and ongoing funding for institutions of primary and secondary education have always been critical and sensitive issues for the association's lobbyists. Central concerns in this area include cuts in spending on various social services within the public schools, the rise in school violence in the 1990s (most likely in reaction to recent incidences in suburban schools), and other legislation that would pose dangers to children. The NASW supports legislation that will enhance the social and academic potential of all students, particularly students whose families fall well below the poverty level or who are at risk for other reasons. One such form of legislation is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), which has cited social workers and their services in contributing to the success in school programs throughout the country. The

NASW has determined its priorities concerning the reauthorization of ESEA. The association maintains that its contributions fall under four titles of ESEA. These titles include Helping Disadvantaged Children Meet High Standards (Title I); the Dwight D. Eisenhower Professional Development Program (Title II); Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities (Title IV); and Programs of National Significance: Elementary School Counseling Demonstration Program (Title X).

Under Title I NASW members seek to use preventive measures as a means of helping students graduate each level of schooling. Some of these measures include helping students avoid teen pregnancy and develop self-discipline, helping parents play a greater role in their children's education, and enabling teachers to enhance their students' education, including the reporting of child abuse, drug abuse, or neglect. Under Title II social workers would have the responsibility of providing resources and other professional development activities for teachers as a means of enhancing student outcomes. Under Title IV social workers are in a unique position in helping school personnel and students either prevent or cope with acts of violence as well as providing them with methods to reduce or eliminate the abuse of drugs

and alcohol. Under Title X the NASW has cited several sources that confirm that the implementation of conflict resolution, negotiation, and decision-making skills as early as elementary school will greatly reduce the chances of acts of violence in the future.

In response to its core belief that education and prevention should prevail over punishment and incarceration as ways to overcome various social dilemmas, the NASW has consistently condemned the Violent and Repeat Juvenile Offender Act of 1999, sponsored by Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-MS). According to the NASW, the passing of this legislation undermines the disproportionate number of minority youth who are involved in juvenile crime and who are often incarcerated and tried as adults. The NASW has argued its case by referring to a study in California that demonstrated that minors of color were more likely to receive harsher punishment and stiffer sentences than white offenders who committed the same type of crime. Moreover, nothing in the bill alludes to measures of prevention, nor does it make firearms less accessible to children. According to the NASW, then, the juvenile crime bill is a harmful form of legislation that will pose great dangers to children of all ages.

In support of strengthening the institution of public schools, the NASW, like the American Federation of Teachers, is a strong opponent of educational vouchers, a topic that has become among the most controversial issues in the area of education. Both Cleveland and Milwaukee are in the process of adopting plans for public school students to obtain vouchers as a means of attending private schools of their choice, including parochial schools. In addition, the state of Florida has passed legislation that would provide educational vouchers to any child attending a “failing” public school. Voucher plans are also under way in New York City, where donated funds in the amount of \$12 million have been allocated toward the use of vouchers for students to attend Catholic schools. Opponents have argued that the implementation of educational vouchers would strip state and federal funding of public schools, thus creating stronger ties between religious schools and local, state, and federal governments and possibly violating the constitutional separation between church and state. The provision of school vouchers is essentially a reaction, on the part of Republican Party politicians in particular, to failing public schools—mostly in urban areas—whose status as failing is based almost entirely on students’ low achievement on standardized tests. The NASW opposes the concept of educational vouchers because it gives the erroneous impression that student failure in school is based solely

on test scores and not on one’s economic or social circumstances. Opponents of educational vouchers, then, do not necessarily hold public school administrators accountable; instead, they put the blame on severe socioeconomic conditions of students and their families and the lack of federal funding of public, particularly urban, schools.

Unlike the majority of the other service interest groups in this section, the NASW strongly supports the Fair Minimum Wage Act of 1999, sponsored by Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Representative David Bonior (D-MI). The NASW supports an increase of the minimum wage—from \$5.15 to \$5.65—because, as the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 stated, the minimum wage was enacted to provide a “minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being for workers.” Under the current minimum wage, a full-time worker earns \$10,712 per year. With a family of three—worker, spouse, and one child—this amounts to more than \$3,000 below the poverty level. So, in addition to the population of unemployed, there is an increasing number of workers receiving minimum wage pay and their families who are attending soup kitchens, food pantries, and shelters for the homeless. Unlike the opponents of minimum wage increases, the NASW argues that moderate increases in the minimum wage, for the most part, do not lead to the loss of entry-level or first-time positions. The NASW has cited studies undertaken by the U.S. Department of Labor that show an increase in the number of teenagers, women, African Americans, and other people of color employed in entry-level positions between September 1996 and January 1998.

In summary, the NASW’s election strategy for candidates running for Congress includes several elements. First, one of its most important strategies in the years ahead is to mobilize its membership by creating close ties between members and regional chapters as well as a strong link between the chapters and NASW headquarters. Another important endeavor is to support any incumbent or challenger social workers running for Congress. The NASW also plans to allocate, at the very least, \$200,000 toward candidate contributions for each election cycle. In addition, the NASW decided to limit PACE contributions to 100 candidates who will be the strongest defenders of the goals of social workers. Finally, NASW leaders are seeking to form coalitions that will work toward restoring Democratic control of Congress.

FINANCIAL FACTS

With the exception of the National Association of Retired Federal Employees and the Association of Trial Lawyers of America, the NASW is one of the few organizations in this section on service interest groups that has given its overwhelming support—including financial contributions—to the Democratic Party. This is not surprising, given that the GOP has generally failed to support mental health programs or programs for the poor in previous years. Of the 18 candidates running for U.S. Senate and endorsed by the NASW (with an allocation of \$93,500) in the 1998 elections, 14 won seats. In addition, with \$128,500 allocated for House candidates, 58 of the 82 NASW-sponsored candidates were elected to the House of Representatives.

In the 1995–1996 election cycle, \$168,550, which was 98.5 percent of the NASW's \$171,550 financial contributions, helped support Democratic candidates while only \$2,500 was given to GOP candidates. In fact, of all the service interest groups mentioned in this section, the NASW has contributed the least to the GOP—

less than 2 percent in the 1996 elections. This overwhelmingly Democratic support is not surprising, given that Democrats, much more than the Republicans, have worked to promote most types of social service reforms. Although the NASW's revenue has increased steadily over the years—from a little more than \$200,000 in the 1988 elections to more than \$1 million by 1996—contributions to elections remained fairly stable, anywhere between \$178,746 in 1992 and \$122,490 in 1998. Contributions to the GOP during these years always remained extremely low—below the 2.5 percent mark—and will most likely remain that way in future election cycles.

DANIEL NESS

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NATIONAL AUTOMOBILE DEALERS ASSOCIATION

The National Automobile Dealers Association (NADA) is a trade organization with more than 19,000 members. Nearly all these individuals are franchised auto dealers of both foreign and domestic automobiles and trucks; the more than 40,000 franchises specialize in both domestic and imported new cars and light, medium, and heavy-duty trucks. Of particular concern to NADA is legislation that would affect the sale of both domestic and foreign vehicles, excise taxes, particularly on luxury automobiles, laws on international trade, federal and state laws that pertain to highway and vehicle safety (such as the inclusion of airbags or the restriction of certain vehicles on various roadways), and legislation that may regulate environmental factors like fuel emissions and fuel consumption. NADA is also an ardent lobbying association especially in times of international crises, when the federal government may seek measures to impose a tax on the sale of various vehicles. The home of NADA headquarters, in addition to its political action committee (PAC)—Dealers Election Action Committee of the National Automobile Dealers Association—is located in McLean, Virginia, one of the outlying suburbs of Washington, D.C.

In addition to lobbying for NADA, some of the association's representatives, like those of a handful of other trade associations, also serve on the board of directors of the American Society of Association Executives, a conservative interest group consisting of approximately 22,000 members, whose PAC largely lobbies on issues relating to federal tax legislation affecting deductibility of trade associations' lobbying expenses, the imposing of taxes on unrelated business income, and restrictions on the inclusion of members in lobbying efforts on behalf of trade associations.

NADA has a number of membership benefits, including a \$3.4 billion trust fund, entitled the National Automobile Dealership Retirement Trust, which provides dealers and a number of their employees with pension and retirement plans. In addition, the National Automobile Dealership Insurance Trust (NADIT) provides the families of dealers and their employees with

group insurance plans. NADIT assets total more than \$2.7 billion.

HISTORY

NADA was established in 1917 by a group of about 30 automobile dealers in Chicago in reaction to a 5 percent tax increase in the factory price of all vehicles. This tax increase was most likely the result of federal legislation that used tax revenue for war expenses during the First World War. According to NADA, early members argued that Congress did not consider automobiles as a worthy form of transportation, and they supposedly attempted to convince Congress to "change their views" about the private use of automobiles. The dealers from various localities collaborated and formed an association in Washington, D.C., whose primary agenda was to sway Congress into viewing automobiles not as luxurious commodities, but as mass consumer goods, which could make a vital and strong contribution to the economy.

Another important task for early NADA dealers was to increase its membership. In attempting to do this, they sent invitations to nearly 100 auto manufacturers. By 1919, two years after its formation, the first federal legislation sponsored by NADA had been passed—the National Motor Vehicle Theft Law. This bill made it a federal offense for someone to steal an automobile and transport it across state lines.

By 1928 NADA membership dues were changed from a fixed amount to a sliding scale, depending upon a dealership's gross sales in the previous year. However, an increasing number of members of NADA were unable to afford the dues even on a sliding scale. By 1932 the association had nearly folded as a result of the Depression, and NADA leaders searched for ways to keep the association afloat financially, including moving the headquarters to a location where the rent was not to exceed \$50 per month. By 1935, after trimming back

several benefits, like cutting the number of issues of the NADA newsletter, the association was once again able to survive and even increase its membership. NADA headquarters moved from St. Louis, Missouri to Detroit, Michigan in 1936 and to Washington, D.C. in 1941.

Issues during the early 1940s included the rationing of gasoline during the Second World War and a freeze on auto manufacturing and delivery. According to the March 1942 Census Bureau Report, of all the common types of businesses, automobile and truck dealerships suffered the most during the war years or during political and international crises. In the same year President Roosevelt allowed a large percentage of NADA dealerships to sell the government their cars and trucks—vehicles that would then be subject to rationing. By 1944 one needed to apply to the federal government in order to purchase one of the remaining 60,000 new automobiles. By 1949, four years after the end of the Second World War, NADA membership had soared from below 10,000 to nearly 35,000 individuals.

Despite seemingly prosperous times for NADA and automobile dealerships in general after the Second World War, dealers were slapped with additional taxes as a means of supporting the Korean War, specifically, a 7 percent excise tax on new cars. U.S. automobile dealers were hit again in the 1960s, when U.S. consumers were introduced to foreign-made vehicles from England, France, Germany, Italy, and Sweden.

In addition to NADA crises during times of war, members of the association also claim to struggle when various forms of legislation relating to the environment are mandated and also during oil embargoes. When the American International Automobile Dealers Association was founded in 1970, NADA claims to have foreseen difficulties because the public would have the “false perception” that NADA dealers sold only domestic automobiles. The Clean Air Act of 1970 was a second issue on NADA’s plate. Leaders complained that this bill would contribute to the dramatic cutting of car and truck sales. Since the 1970s one of the central themes has been legislation that puts quotas on the number of new “gas guzzling” vehicles, as a means of controlling emissions.

In 1979 NADA officials lobbied Congress and emphasized dire financial conditions, in the hope that either Congress or President Jimmy Carter would adopt a plan that would increase car and truck sales. In response Carter increased the Small Business Administration loan guarantee fund on behalf of car and truck dealerships. In 1993, after 25 years as NADA’s executive vice president, Frank McCarthy said that in the preceding quarter-century, “we’ve been through some chal-

lenges . . . two oil embargoes and one recession. . . . But people’s love of the car—that’s the strongest thing.” This statement demonstrates not only NADA’s status as a trade association but also its ideological beliefs as it relates to material objects, similar to the manner in which the National Rifle Association (NRA) reveres firearms.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

NADA claims that it fully supports the use of safety measures, especially the use of seat belts and child safety seats. Although backing the use of passive restraints, such as airbags or automatic safety belts, NADA has expressed its interest in allowing car and truck buyers to decide on the use of these automobile occupant protection devices by providing on/off switches instead of on-demand activation. However, the association challenged the U.S. National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, which mandated the installation of dual airbags in all cars and trucks by 1998.

NADA lobbied Congress to urge legislation to pass an amendment that exempts teenagers under 18 years of age from being prohibited from driving a motor vehicle while on the job. Undoubtedly as a means to increase sales on cars and trucks, NADA supported H.R. 2327, which would allow young teens of 16 to 17 years of age to drive automobiles if they were engaged in part- or full-time employment. In opposition to NADA, the Department of Labor fined 59 new-car dealerships nearly \$200,000 for violating child labor laws. These violations were in reference to teen employees working as lot attendants who had driven automobiles as part of their responsibilities at their place of employment. Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, minors are prohibited from driving motor vehicles while on the job; however, they may be exempt under certain conditions, for example, during an emergency. This law was changed, possibly with the influence of NADA, and in 1998 President Bill Clinton signed H.R. 2327, sponsored and introduced by Representatives Larry Combest (R-TX), Matthew Martinez (D-CA), and Gene Green (D-TX), which permits teenagers who are 17 years of age to perform a minimal amount of driving during work time. One stipulation, however, is that the employee must not drive over a 30-mile radius and must not be driving more than 20 percent of the time.

Another current lobbying activity in which NADA

is involved includes title branding legislation. Title branding refers to the indication on the automobile's title whether or not it had been "salvaged" or "junked." Legislation has been passed, and supported by NADA, that would require dealers to disclose information about a vehicle, like title branding, before it is sold. Trent Lott (R-MS), the House majority leader and key sponsor of the bill, vowed that he would try to urge Congress to pass this legislation in the 106th Congress, since it was not passed in the preceding Congress.

In addition to these efforts, NADA is one example of an interest group and PAC that may have federal impact on state policy-making. As a means of preventing certain states from following legislation of others, an interest group may lobby actively or passively in ensuring that certain legislation does not become enacted into law. For example, NADA moved quickly when California passed laws regarding vehicle emissions regulations and some northeastern states announced they would consider similar legislation. NADA held "passive" meetings at its headquarters in McLean, Virginia, to plan ways to dissuade other states from following in California's footsteps.

FINANCIAL FACTS

With the exception of the Association of Trial Lawyers of America (ATLA), NADA, with 1995–1996 contri-

butions totaling \$2,351,925, is the highest supporter in political elections among the interest groups discussed in this section. However, in stark contrast to ATLA, which has contributed nearly all of its political funds to the Democrats, records showing recent NADA financial contributions, particularly within the last decade, indicate that the association supports Republican Party candidates, both incumbents and challengers. Its contributions to political elections have been much higher than those of other PACs and interest groups. By the end of the 1988 elections NADA's political contributions totaled \$1,202,420, approximately \$730,500 of which was given to Republican candidates. By the end of the 1995–1996 election cycle, GOP candidates received an astonishing \$1,912,925, while Democrats who were running for office received less than one-fourth that amount (\$428,000).

DANIEL NESS

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NATIONAL BEER WHOLESALERS ASSOCIATION

The National Beer Wholesalers Association (NBWA) is a trade organization with more than 1,800 member beer wholesale companies who distribute beer and other malt beverages to restaurants, convenience stores, drugstores, supermarkets, liquor shops and outlets, and other retail venues nationwide. Ronald A. Sarasin, a former member of the House of Representatives, is the NBWA's current president. The NBWA trade association and political action committee (PAC) headquarters is located in Alexandria, Virginia, a stone's throw from Washington, D.C., where it lobbies Congress on a number of issues, the most prominent of which involves excise taxes on malt beverages.

According to the NBWA, the association represents individuals who work for more than 2,900 licensed independent beer wholesalers who are affiliated with one or more of the 1,800 member beer wholesale companies. The beer industry is said to be a three-tier system: the beer wholesalers belong to the second tier, while the first tier is represented by the breweries, and the retailers are considered to be the third tier. This means that the wholesalers conduct their business as a go-between, acquiring beer and other malt beverages from the breweries and delivering and selling the merchandise to liquor and convenience stores, supermarkets, restaurants, and other retailers. This three-tier system eliminates direct contact between local or regional breweries with retail outlets for reasons that include preventing sole domination of one brand of beer, generating tax revenue, promoting moderate consumption of beer and other similar beverages, and challenging state and local jurisdictions over drinking laws that concern age limit and retail regulations regarding the sale of beverages. The NBWA also claims that, with the three tiers combined, the beer industry grosses annually approximately \$175 billion and provides nearly \$14.2 billion of its total revenue to local state and federal governments and \$2.6 million for employees. (This last figure is erroneous, given that a single beer wholesale distributor company's annual direct payroll is slightly in excess of \$1 million.

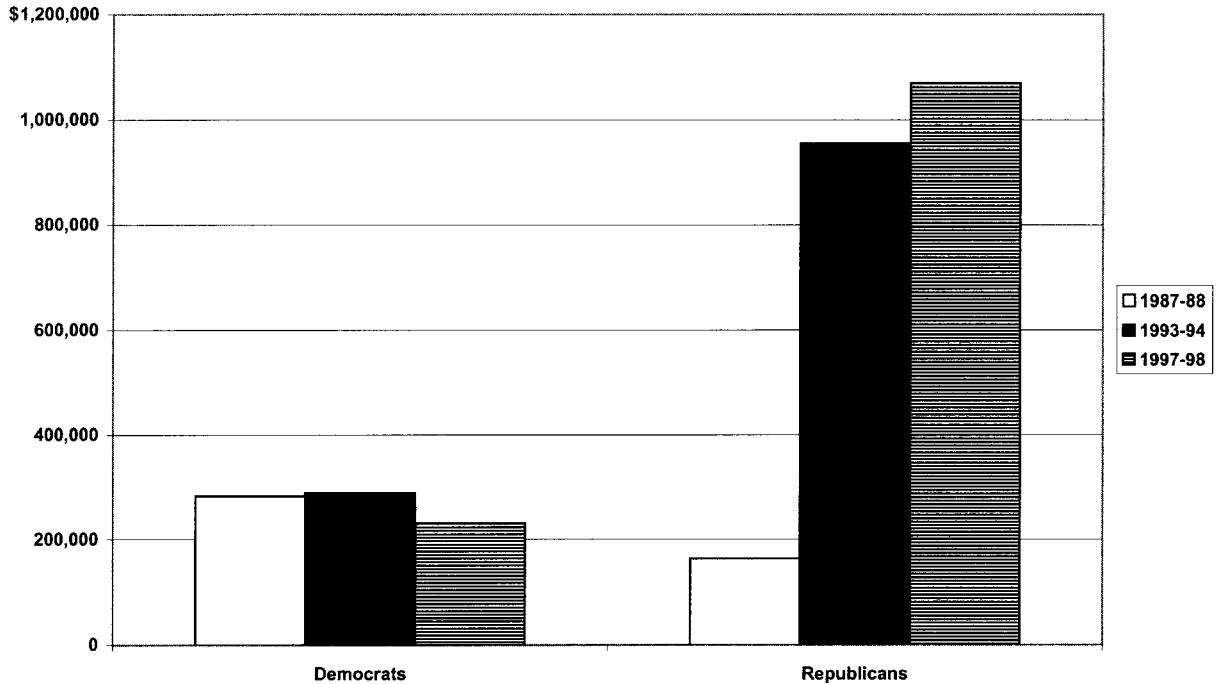
A more accurate total payroll would be at least \$1.95 billion for the 1,800 member companies.) Beer wholesale company owners' and operators' salaries vary greatly, and the data on owner earnings are inconsistent. The NBWA seems to keep the figure low—around the \$100,000 mark. But more objective sources say that owners' personal incomes are anywhere from \$75,000 to more than \$1 million annually.

As described below, the NBWA, along with the National Federation of Independent Business was one of the single-most influential PACs that helped the Republican Party take control of the 104th Congress. Moreover, in the 1995–1996 election cycle, the NBWA contributed an astounding \$1,324,992 to political elections, the third highest contributing PAC in this section on service interest groups—behind the Association of Trial Lawyers of America and the National Automobile Dealers Association (NADA)—more than four-fifths of which supported Republican candidates. After the NADA, the NBWA is the second largest contributor to the GOP. Also, the NBWA has the fourth largest trade association PAC, which contributed to 40 candidates, mostly GOP, in the 1994 congressional elections.

HISTORY

The NBWA was founded in 1938. In its early years the NBWA focused nearly all its attention on state and local governments and jurisdictions. This is because, after federal prohibition on alcoholic beverages was repealed, states themselves were given complete autonomy and responsibility for controlling the consumption of alcohol, authorizing age restrictions, and regulating its transportation between or within state boundaries. Central issues during this time included increasing taxes on beer and the raising of age limits on the consumption of alcohol. The NBWA's transition from local to federal lobbying efforts took place in the 1980s while Ronald Reagan was in office and Elizabeth Dole served as sec-

**National Beer Wholesalers Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

retary of transportation. In this period federal authorities raised the mandatory drinking age from 18 to 21 in an attempt to curb the number of fatalities occurring on U.S. roadways. Then, in 1990 George Bush and the Democratic-controlled Congress doubled the tax on beer and other malt beverages. The NBWA’s vice president of public affairs, David Rehr, a staunch supporter of the National Rifle Association, the Christian Coalition, and other interest groups supporting the GOP, claims that the 1990 tax increase on beer cost the industry 38,000 jobs and curbed beer purchases.

Since joining the NBWA in 1992, Rehr has encouraged NBWA brewers and wholesale company employees to challenge any bills or legislation that would lead to tax increases on beer. The first such occasion was in 1993, when the administration of Bill Clinton recommended a tax increase on beer as a means of reducing the national deficit. The NBWA’s attacks on proponents of beer tax hikes and “anti-small-business” legislation have been widespread and were influential in favor of Republican candidates in subsequent election cycles. Despite its overwhelming backing of the GOP, the NBWA has supported some Democratic candidates, like Dick Gephardt of Missouri and Vic Fazio of Cali-

fornia, whose congressional districts have large breweries.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Despite its relatively low membership of approximately 18,000—when compared with that of the NFIB and other similar interest groups with over a half a million members—perhaps one of the most significant factors of the NBWA’s success is the association’s ability to involve not only its members, who are wholesale distributor-owners and operators, but their employees as well. Since the Clinton election and the subsequent appointment of David Rehr as the association’s vice president, the NBWA’s agenda was clearly defined and outlined, in part, to generate member antipathy toward most congressional Democrats and opponents of small-business and beer wholesalers in general. The NBWA themes that have prevailed from earlier generations and still are on the plate to this very day include the support of a federal excise tax rollback on beer and malt beverage

products and restrictions on beer and liquor advertising. Some of the more recent themes include opposition to recycling, workplace safety regulations mandated by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and support for prohibiting the sale of wine and beer by phone or mail or through the Internet. In total, there are approximately 25 items that the NBWA lobbyists bring to the floor when pressuring and attempting to sway Congress.

In numerous attempts throughout the years to curb federal regulations on alcoholic beverages, the NBWA has strongly supported measures relating to the rolling back of the federal excise tax. The NBWA argues that, although federal taxes had been imposed to help support the Civil War, current members of Congress who wish to enact legislation that would increase the tax on beer are those who would like to see a decrease in the amount of beer consumed in the United States. NBWA support of a tax rollback on beer is the direct result of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, legislation that Congress passed on January 1, 1991, which doubled the amount of federal tax from \$9 to \$18 for each 31-gallon barrel of beer—the equivalent of \$1.30 per case of beer. The NBWA is currently supporting incumbent members of Congress and future candidates who will urge repeal of the Omnibus Act.

One of the central issues that has made headlines in recent years concerns the domination of beer and liquor wholesalers as they support regulations to prevent the selling of beer and wine over the Internet or by mail or phone. Beer wholesalers want to bar consumers from purchasing mostly wine and beer by mail, phone, or the Internet because this would allow consumers to bypass beer and liquor wholesalers and purchase alcoholic beverages from breweries, distillers, or retailers at cheaper rates. In demonstrating their power, beer wholesalers support members of Congress who advocate the “three-tier” system. The applicable bill (H.R. 2031), also known as the Scarborough Bill, was introduced by Representatives Joseph Scarborough (R-FL), James Sensenbrenner (R-WI), and Christopher Cannon (R-UT). The outcome is laws that essentially prohibit interstate sales of liquor and malt beverages in at least 30 states as well as a law enacted in five states that make it a felony

to purchase cases of liquor—beer or wine—via mail, telephone, or the Internet. The NBWA has not yet come forth in directly supporting the Scarborough Bill. Nevertheless it is fairly certain that a number of its members have supported this measure.

FINANCIAL FACTS

During the 1987–1988 and 1989–1990 election cycles, Democratic candidates benefited from NBWA contributions, and much of this Democratic support was supposedly a consequence of several measures by the Republican executive branch to curb the consumption of alcohol by imposing federal taxes and raising the drinking age in all 50 states from 18 to 21. For example, by the 1988 elections, a little less than two-thirds of all NBWA contributions had gone to the Democrats (\$282,752), while contributions to Republican candidates totaled \$163,549. Support for the Democrats, however, would not last too much longer; by the time Clinton assumed office, financial contributions to GOP candidates were nearly double that given to the Democrats. And by the 1995–1996 election cycle, contributions to the GOP (\$1,100,092) exceeded those given to Democratic candidates (\$219,990) by nearly \$1 million, or 83.5 percent of total congressional election contributions. Furthermore, the NBWA contributions for political elections nearly tripled within that period, from \$446,301 in 1988 to \$1,324,992 in the 1995–1996 election cycle.

DANIEL NESS

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NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS

The National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB) is a membership organization that represents more than 600,000 small-business owners. Research on political action committees (PACs) indicates that the NFIB, perhaps more than any other service interest group mentioned in this section, has been one of the key players, along with the National Rifle Association, the Christian Coalition, and the National Beer Wholesalers Association, in helping the Republican Party gain control of both the House and the Senate in the 1994 elections. The small-business enterprises represented by the NFIB range from single-person establishments to businesses with hundreds of employees. Altogether, there are over 7 million employees working for these small businesses, and the posted sales by these companies exceed \$750 billion. The NFIB's national headquarters, along with its PAC, SAFE Trust, is located in Washington, D.C., where it plays a pivotal role as a conservative lobbying organization. In addition, the NFIB carries out its administrative tasks at its central office in Nashville, Tennessee, and maintains legislative centers in virtually every U.S. state capital.

Like most trade associations and corporation PACs, the NFIB's lobbying strategies are at times low-key, primarily working behind the scenes with Congress to encourage the passing of legislation that benefits the enterprises that their members own or operate—namely, small businesses. At other times, however, the NFIB has implemented additional strategies during election cycles—the 1993–1994 cycle in particular—as a means of enhancing the possibilities of the election of GOP candidates. During that time, and also in the more recent congressional elections, the NFIB mobilized its more than 600,000 members to work in collaboration with other Republican interest groups and members of Congress in a successful attempt to win GOP Senate and House seats.

The NFIB essentially employs two sets of strategies when lobbying Congress: it will either work surrepti-

tiously, trying to convince members of Congress to support its current objectives and future agenda, or, as a membership organization, it will draw on its large membership to the fullest extent, asking members to contact their congressional leaders through toll-free numbers or the Internet as a means of carrying out the NFIB agenda. In terms of membership, the NFIB claims that 90 percent of its membership is made up of small-business owners and operators, generally having anywhere from one to 20 employees. However, this is not always the case: although large corporations are generally not associated with the NFIB, a large segment of its membership includes owners of companies that in some cases employ hundreds of workers. In fact, although it is a nonprofit business association representing the “Main Street” business, the NFIB employs 800 people and supposedly maintains an operating budget of over \$70 million—hardly a “Main Street” business itself. The NFIB members pay dues on a sliding scale, ranging from \$100 to \$1,000, depending on their annual gross earnings.

HISTORY

Founded in 1943, the NFIB established itself quickly as a membership organization representing the interests of small-business owners and operators. Within the first two decades of its existence the NFIB developed connections within certain states by heading to particular state capitals and lobbying government officials. By the end of this period the NFIB's membership reached nearly 500,000 individuals, and it seemed to remain at that level for several years. Interestingly, however, the NFIB played a somewhat limited role in Washington politics; only within the last five years or so has it risen to a high level of prominence in terms of its overwhelming influence on GOP success in political elections.

The NFIB established its own PAC—the National

Federation of Independent Business/Save America's Free Enterprise (SAFE) Trust—in 1977 and contributed almost \$10,000 to 54 candidates running for Congress. In 1982, the NFIB and its PAC, SAFE Trust, established its first five state PACs, and, although they were influential to some degree, they really did not gain much momentum and remained relatively innocuous for nearly a decade. By the 1993–1994 election cycle, however, the SAFE Trust war chest grew exponentially and surpassed \$300,000 in contributions, which had been specifically earmarked for political candidates. During this period, from the late 1970s to the present time, NFIB membership grew by more than 100,000. In the 1996 elections the NFIB, along with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Restaurant Association, and the National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors, established The Coalition—Americans Working for Real Change, which served to counteract support by the AFL-CIO for Democratic candidates. During that election the coalition targeted 37 campaigns nationwide by using soft money to air television commercials in favor of Republican candidates.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Since its inception the NFIB has stressed the importance of small business in the United States, claiming that lawmakers have undermined the economic significance of “Main Street” businesses and, instead, concentrated on big business, Wall Street, and the global market. “Main Street,” or “Mom and Pop” businesses, the NFIB claims, are the backbone of the nation's economy, reporting gross sales of close to three-quarters of \$1 trillion. The NFIB also claims that small-business owners earn \$40,000 on average.

Not surprisingly, the NFIB vehemently opposes any legislation that would require a tax increase for small businesses. The federation urges Congress to impose fewer business regulations, lower taxes, and adopt a “free-market approach to healthcare.” To be sure, the Clinton healthcare plan that was up for consideration prior to the 1994 elections served as a catalyst for the NFIB; the federation's administration mobilized its members in an all-out campaign to kill the Clinton healthcare bill, arguing that it would be a damaging blow to small business. The measure was eventually defeated by Congress.

Like other business-related PACs and interest groups in this section, the NFIB strongly opposes increases in the minimum wage. Any increase, according to the NFIB leadership, would impose a burden on all small-business owners by forcing them to lay off so-called low-skill or first-time employees. Despite the NFIB's opposition to the minimum-wage bill, H.R. 3448, that raised the minimum hourly wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15, the rather large small-business community did receive some perks, including an amendment that provided over \$10 billion in tax relief.

The NFIB's success is undoubtedly due to its grass-roots communications network, which allows members to have easy access to its leaders and administrators. Furthermore, the federation claims to have over 1,000 members in each congressional district, and in any district small business is said to be the largest employer. The NFIB's networking efforts are successful due to the 4,000 to 5,000 activists throughout the country, who communicate to NFIB leaders through e-mail and faxes on behalf of the members. The NFIB also encourages its members to communicate with leaders through a toll-free number.

The 1996 race for a Senate seat in Colorado is an example of the NFIB's recent impact—through grass-roots campaigning, the use of SAFE Trust contributions, and the group's internal communications—on the election of GOP congressional candidates who have won their contests by extremely narrow margins. In that election, Democrat Ted Strickland lost to the Republican and NFIB-backed candidate Wayne Allard, who had won an open seat in the House of Representatives in 1990. Allard beat Strickland by a 5 percent margin (51 to 46). To illustrate the federation's support of Allard, the NFIB sent members 10,709 foldouts—which are suitable for presentation in storefront windows—13,240 volunteer letters, and \$9,500 in SAFE Trust contributions. Nearly \$5,000 of that sum was an in-kind contribution, which promoted Allard's election through television commercials. Nearly 54 percent of Allard's contributions, approximately \$200,000, was PAC money, and 5 percent of this total was SAFE Trust contributions. Moreover, the NFIB held two press conferences on Allard's behalf and attempted to gain momentum by arousing the anti-Democratic sentiment of small-business owners (and big-business owners, too) with a “Walk Down Main Street” event that included NFIB members. In addition, the NFIB played a pivotal role in electing Republican candidates in three other states—Arizona, Illinois, and Kentucky—who won by the extremely narrow margin of less than 1 percent.

The NFIB president, Jack Faris, sees the federation

having even a greater impact in politics than either of the two major political parties. Faris attracted the attention of some Clinton White House businessmen, like Erskine Bowles, as a means of counteracting Democratic efforts to court small business. Instead of 2,000 small-business owners and operators playing a role in the 1996 general elections, Faris predicts that, by the 2003–2004 election cycle, the NFIB will have the backing of 20,000 members actively contributing to the campaigns of GOP candidates.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Since its founding the NFIB has supported GOP candidates. Between 1987 and 1994 the NFIB's contributions to political elections never exceeded \$317,000. When SAFE Trust was created, the NFIB contributed \$9,688 to 54 congressional candidates, most of whom were Republicans. In the 1989–1990 election cycle, the NFIB contributed \$282,067 of its \$316,710 allocated for political contributions—almost 89 percent—to the GOP. Between 1987 and 1994, contributions to the Democrats remained extremely low, anywhere between 10 to 15 percent of all contributions. In the 1995–1996 election cycle, however, contributions skyrocketed to an astonishing \$1,065,543. Moreover, in 1996 more

than 25,000 members contributed in excess of \$2 million to SAFE Trust, the federation's PAC, approximately \$1.1 million of which went directly to finance GOP campaigns. In comparison, contributions of this type in 1994 amounted to \$252,175, and there were allegedly few, if any, SAFE Trust contributions from members. Furthermore, Democratic contributions in the 1996 election year diminished even more; they received only 8 percent of all political contributions.

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NATIONAL FUNERAL DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION

The National Funeral Directors Association (NFDA) is the largest organization representing funeral directors, embalmers, and other individuals whose profession involves funeral or burial services. The NFDA's more than 15,000 members are mostly funeral directors and embalmers, and amount to about one-third of the total number of funeral directors nationwide. With nearly 22,000 funeral homes throughout the United States, there are currently almost 90,000 funeral home employees who are involved in other aspects of funeral home responsibilities, such as crematorium work, burial procedures and services, and mausoleum construction.

Like some of the other service PACs, or political action committees (the National Federation of Independent Business Free Enterprise PAC, in particular), the NFDA's PAC—the National Funeral Directors Association of the United States Inc. PAC (NFDA-PAC)—has been active in its efforts to lobby Congress to support funeral directors, most of whom are small-business owners or operators with anywhere from one or two to 10 employees. Despite its active presence in Washington politics, the NFDA is one of the few service interest groups whose headquarters is located outside the U.S. capital and its surrounding environs. Milwaukee and Brookfield, Wisconsin, have been the NFDA headquarters since its founding nearly 120 years ago. It currently employs a headquarters' staff of approximately 40 individuals. However, the NFDA maintains a government relations office in Washington, D.C., as a means of promoting its lobbying efforts. In addition to either promoting or blocking certain types of legislation, like federal tax increases, for example, the individuals elected to represent the NFDA seek to establish a "national identity" for funeral-related professions, form partnerships with individual state governing bodies, and

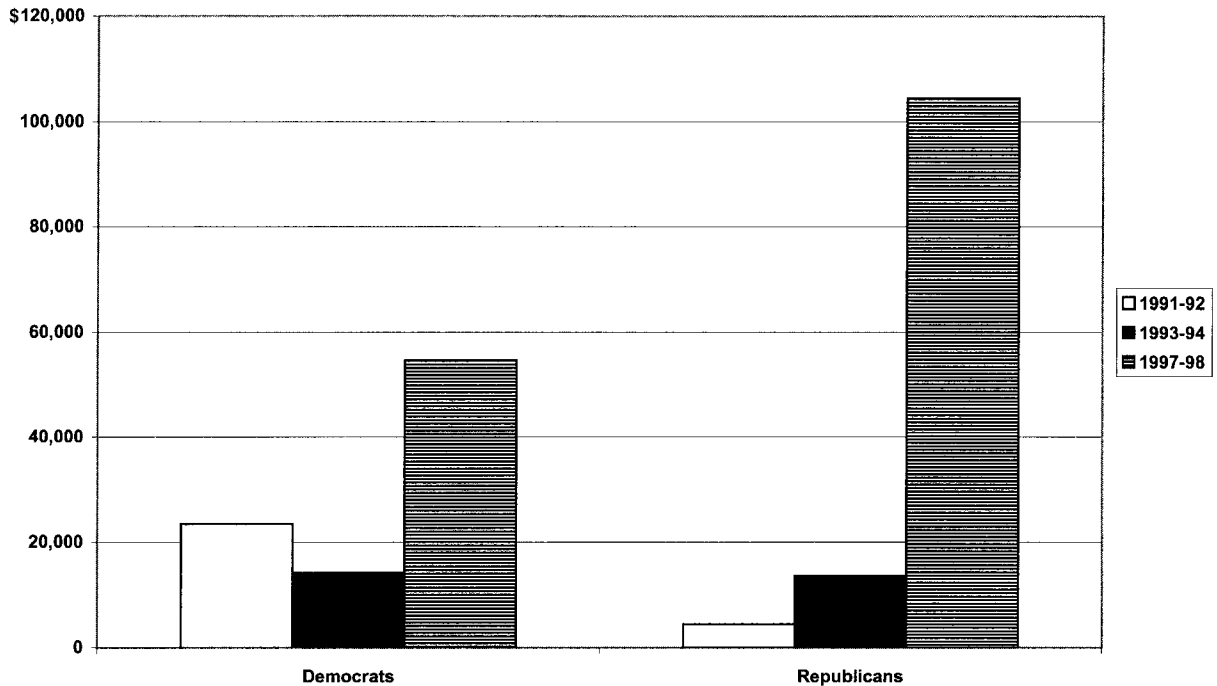
increase the number of services for individual members.

HISTORY

Founded in 1882, the NFDA is the oldest interest group discussed in this section on service interest groups. At the time the NFDA was formed, several other institutions and professions, such as police groups and volunteer firefighters, changed from disparate entities that served only local urban or rural communities on an ephemeral basis to consolidated and, for the most part, bureaucratic systems that attempted to serve larger populations. These groups became systematized because a number of business leaders and the elite argued that police forces were needed to quell disturbances and attempt to prevent the alleged increase in crime that they say could not be handled by individual watchmen alone. Similarly, funeral personnel were needed in greater numbers to handle funeral and burial services for a country whose population increased substantially during the late nineteenth century. This steady rise in the U.S. population, an increase in the number of individuals entering mortuary science programs, as well as minor fluctuations in the death rate are some reasons contributing to the NFDA's presence as a PAC in the special interest group community.

For the first 90 years of its existence the NFDA followed racist tactics, treating white and black clients differently. In fact, most of the NFDA's members only accommodated white families in bereavement, and it was not until 1973 that blacks received the same funeral services as did whites. In that year Wilbert Jean Oliver's federal lawsuit made it mandatory that funeral homes and funeral service enterprises nationwide provide equal services for all regardless of ethnic background.

**National Funeral Directors Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1991–1998.

Oliver was a civil rights activist who advocated for equal burial services for all races.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The NFDA’s governing body is composed of three branches: a nine-member executive board; a policy board, whose members are delegates from each of the 50 states; and a house of delegates, serving as a legislative branch of the NFDA, whose officers are determined by the number of NFDA members in each state. Although the increase in population has kept the funeral home business occupied, the death rate has decreased to some degree since the 1960s, most likely as a result of new innovations in medical research. However, the NFDA’s elected officials predict that the association will attract many more members in years to come, for they calculate that a much higher percentage of the U.S. population will be senior citizens by the year 2015.

According to NFDA statistics, nearly 85 percent of all funeral homes affiliated with the association are family-owned or -operated businesses. In addition, the

association claims that approximately three-fourths of all NFDA member funeral homes are located in small cities or towns and villages located in rural regions. Given the overwhelming percentage of small, family-operated funeral homes, NFDA lobbyists monitor members of Congress whose legislative proposals may deeply impact the economy of small businesses. Some of the NFDA’s key and current lobbying themes include the repeal of any amendments that favor increases in federal tax and opposition to government regulations concerning health and safety codes, the imposition of which would most likely require the hiring of additional employees.

The NFDA also has supported other trends in the industry in recent years. The association, for example, has seen an increase in the number of prepaid and planned funerals, as well as an increase in the number of after-care programs for bereaved family and friends of deceased individuals. Moreover, it accommodates people “with differing funeral customs” and those who are not accustomed to “traditional funeral” services. The association also claims an increase in the number of women and people of color who are active members or who are currently enrolled in mortuary science pro-

grams or in the process of obtaining directing or embalming licenses.

In terms of education, the NFDA allocates some of its funds for the purpose of providing scholarships for those wishing to enter the profession. However, as with other professions that require that the individual earn a license in order to enter practice, states differ dramatically in terms of the requirements needed for becoming an embalmer, funeral director, or any other type of profession involving funeral or burial services. In Nebraska, for example, one must earn a baccalaureate and take required courses in English, accounting, chemistry, biology, and psychology before being eligible for a license, while in the bordering state of Colorado, there are no current licensing requirements whatsoever. Approximately half the states, however, require the minimum of a high school diploma and two years of college, as well as some continuing education credits while in practice, and almost all of the states require that the license applicant assume an apprenticeship or internship either before or after a degree is earned. The NFDA's local or state agenda is to regulate more standard procedures in order for one to obtain directing or embalming licenses.

As a means of finding ways of increasing revenue, NFDA elected officials seek to provide a large array of products and services for its members. The association offers educational services, which inform new or veteran funeral directors and embalmers about current trends in prices (the national average cost of a funeral service is currently \$4,600 to \$5,000), competition with nearby homes, marketing tips, and cost-cutting ideas. Other membership services include a Funeral Service Credit Union, which makes available to members loans of up to \$62,000; a Group Music License, which allows members to obtain copyright licenses at a one-third reduced rate; property and casualty insur-

ance programs; health, dental, and disability insurance plans; retirement plans; and reduced admission to Disneyland or Disney World.

FINANCIAL FACTS

During the 1991–1992 election cycle, the NFDA's financial contributions totaled \$28,000, but by the 1995–1996 election cycle their contributions dropped to \$18,300. Moreover, they seem to favor the party that controls Congress at any given time. For instance, the NFDA favored Republican Party candidates in 1996 for the first time—the Republicans had gained control of both the House and Senate two years earlier. In the 1991–1992 election cycle, the NFDA contributed \$23,500 to the Democrats, while GOP contributions amounted to only \$4,500. Support for the Democrats in the 1995–1996 election cycle, however, dwindled considerably—they received only \$3,000, a drop of more than \$20,000 from the previous presidential election—while financial support for the Republicans soared to more than \$15,000. By the 1997–1998 election cycle, NFDA contributions to Republicans far outweighed those to Democrats.

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NATIONAL RESTAURANT ASSOCIATION

The National Restaurant Association, whose membership exceeds 20,000 individuals representing over 100,000 food-service companies, is a major conservative political interest group and political action committee (PAC) in Washington, D.C. Members include fast-food enterprises; numerous restaurant chains; school, college, university, and hospital food services; cafeterias; military clubs; and numerous other companies involved in the consumption of food and beverages, away from home. (The National Restaurant Association’s web site, however, claims that the organization has 30,000 members representing over 175,000 restaurants, chains, and food establishments. See www.restaurant.org.) Some of the PAC-sponsoring corporations or subsidiaries that are members of the National Restaurant Association include Burger King USA, Kentucky Fried Chicken, The Olive Garden, and Morisson’s Hospitality Group. Their primary interest is to satisfy food company employers, restaurateurs, owners of cafeterias, and CEOs of major school, university, and hospital food corporations through encouraging tax breaks and monitoring Congress in order to keep the minimum wage low.

HISTORY

In 1919 the National Restaurant Association was formed after a group of restaurant owners had collaborated on an effort to mobilize a larger number of fellow restaurateurs throughout the country. Issues among restaurant and cafeteria owners in the early period were similar to those of other trade organizations—primarily those regarding tax hikes imposed on certain foods and beverages as well as increases in the minimum wage. Another National Restaurant Association concern promoted throughout its 80 years in existence, but not necessarily directly related to political lobbying, is the fostering of educational programs related to the food and

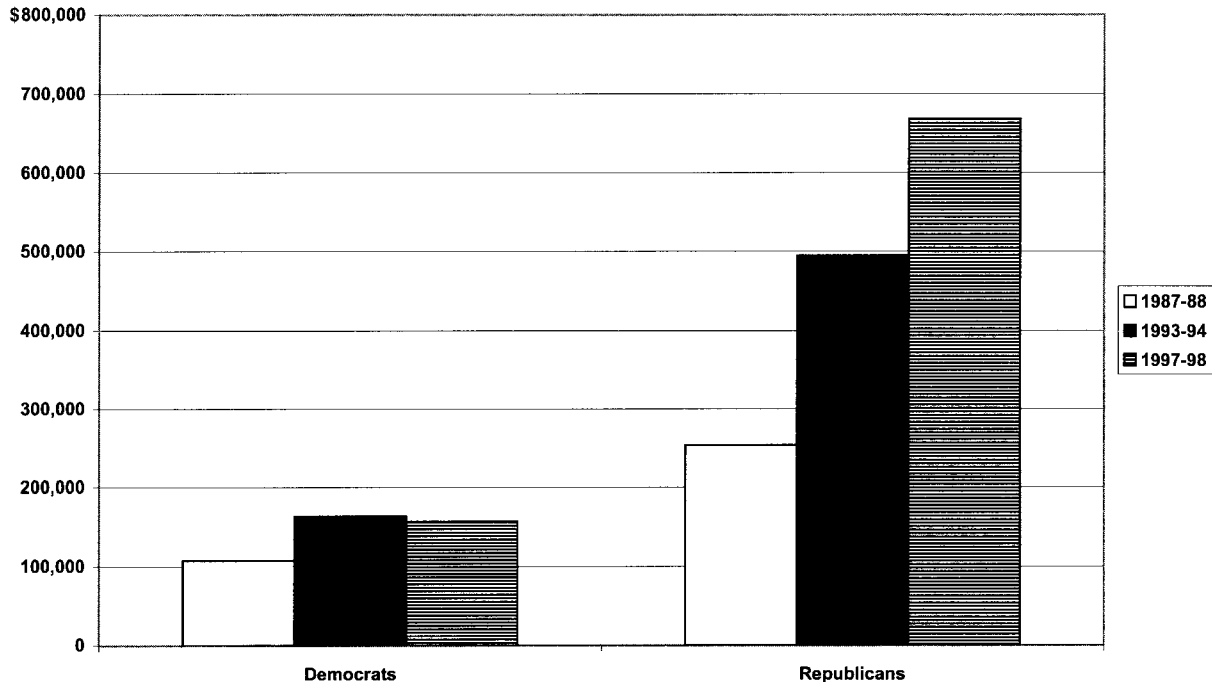
hospitality industry. Each year the National Restaurant Association’s educational programs allocate a certain portion of their revenue toward awards and scholarships relating to college programs in culinary arts and hospitality.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The National Restaurant Association was a crucial player in the 1996 elections. Given that the Republican Party shared similar interests and beliefs, such as a low minimum wage and tax breaks for both small and big business, the National Restaurant Association played a key role in helping the Republicans gain control of the 104th Congress. With a donation of \$1 million in May 1996, the National Restaurant Association was the largest contributor to The Coalition—Americans Working for Real Change, an alliance of more than 30 business organizations that attempted to frustrate the campaign of the AFL-CIO, a labor federation, in assisting the Democrats’ control of both houses of Congress. Other key conservative organizations that formed the coalition include the National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB), the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors.

Changes in the minimum wage have also posed a great challenge for the National Restaurant Association lobbyists. In general, its spokespersons have always opposed minimum-wage increases and the withholding of tax from tip earnings. Because fast-food outlets are one of the several types of food-service businesses represented by the National Restaurant Association, the PAC’s lobbyists have always been critical of any move to increase the minimum wage. According to the association, increasing the minimum wage may force restaurants and other food-service businesses to cut

**National Restaurant Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

entry-level jobs, thereby making it difficult for first-time and so-called low-skilled employees to enter the workforce. Furthermore, the National Restaurant Association favors full tax deductions for business-related meals. Its lobbyists argue that restrictions on such deductions burden business personnel (small-business people in particular), who presumably are able to make business transactions only during mealtimes. The recently passed Small Employer Tax Relief Act of 1999 will help National Restaurant Association advocates and GOP members as it increases tax-deductible meals from the present 50 percent deduction to 80 percent for small food businesses.

The National Restaurant Association opposes any legislation that would lower the Blood Alcohol Concentration (BAC) level. To illustrate, they are firmly against Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's (D-NY) effort to withhold highway safety funds from states that do not comply with the .08 BAC level. According to leaders of the association, a lower BAC threshold would lower alcohol consumption and thereby lower revenue from sales of alcoholic beverages in restaurants and other food-service establishments. While most states are currently holding the legal BAC standard at .10 percent,

recent studies in alcohol-related accidents have shown that impairment in reaction time, tracking ability, concentration versus divided attention performance, information processing, vision, perception, and psychomotor performance can be significant at a BAC level of .05 percent, and, in some instances, may be apparent at a level of .02 percent.

The association is also against any laws that ban smoking in restaurants and cafeterias on a national level. As a PAC, the association opposed a 1998 Senate bill that would have prohibited smoking in fast-food establishments throughout the country. In the summer of that year the bill was not passed; whether the National Restaurant Association PAC was partially responsible is questionable.

The National Restaurant Association is opposed to any legislation that forces employers to offer employees mental health benefits in addition to accident or sickness insurance and to provide employee access to specialists like acupuncturists and homeopaths, and to legislation that makes employers liable in the event of medical malpractice. The association's leaders were pleased when the Senate passed the GOP version of healthcare reform and dismissed Senator Edward Kennedy's (D-MA)

patient's bill of rights. They claim that Kennedy's plan would have forced businesses to provide the above-mentioned medical services.

In contrast, the association has voiced its opposition to the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993—which grants individuals working for companies with 50 or more employees the opportunity to take 12 weeks of unpaid leave of absence for family or medical reasons—as well as any possible addition to the act. These additions would include companies with fewer than 50 employees, partially paid leave, as well as pension benefits while an individual is on leave.

Finally, other major concerns of the National Restaurant Association seem to be directly related to the possibility of lawsuits filed against food-service operators and restaurateurs. One such situation involves the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and its role in the ergonomics standard: ensuring that restaurant employers identify potential hazards or hazard areas so as to minimize employee injury or fatality. The National Restaurant Association supports the Workplace Preservation Act (H.R. 987), introduced by House member Roy Blunt (R-MO), which would force OSHA to hold its ruling so that Congress can be briefed on the results of an ergonomics study conducted by the National Academy of Sciences. Furthermore, in another scenario of possible lawsuits brought against the association's members, the National Restaurant Association firmly opposes the Copyright Damages Improvement Act, which forces restaurants and other similar businesses to obtain permission for every copyrighted musical work played. Failure for restaurants to do so carries stiff fines, and the National Restaurant Association claims that such penalties may cause small food businesses to go under.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The National Restaurant Association's contributions to political elections skyrocketed over 243 percent in the

10-year period from 1987 to 1996. It is important to note, however, that like those of the NFIB, the National Beer Wholesalers Association, the National Automobile Dealers Association, and a host of other conservative PACs, the National Restaurant Association's financial contributions to the GOP have been far greater than those given to Democrats. In the early part of this period GOP contributions were slightly more than those to the Democrats, or two-thirds of total contributions. Over this 10-year period, while National Restaurant Association contributions to the Democrats dropped slightly (from \$107,500 to \$100,050) contributions to the Republican Party increased nearly threefold, from \$253,800 in 1987–1988 to \$765,069 in 1996. In the 1995–1996 election cycle, for example, 88.5 percent of the National Restaurant Association's contributions went to GOP candidates for Congress, while in the previous election cycle, Democratic contributions amounted to \$164,122, or 25 percent of the \$658,844 total—still, however, favoring the GOP. Overwhelming GOP support does not seem surprising, given their strong ties to and their collaboration with the NFIB, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and nearly 30 other groups joining together to challenge the AFL-CIO campaign against a GOP Congress.

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PETROLEUM MARKETERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The Petroleum Marketers Association of America (PMAA) is a federation with a membership exceeding 10,000 individuals who are independent marketers, commissioned distributors, and retailers specializing in gasoline, heating, and diesel fuel. The PMAA has 43 state and regional chapters throughout the country. Approximately 50 percent of the gasoline, 60 percent of the diesel fuel, and 80 percent of the home heating oil consumed annually in the United States is sold by PMAA members. In addition, members of the PMAA supply gasoline to more than 16,000 stores nationwide; approximately 9,000 of them are convenience stores. The PMAA headquarters is located in Arlington, Virginia, and the PMAA political action committee (PAC) is an ardent lobbying group in Washington, D.C., which overwhelmingly supports Republican Party candidates running for office. The PMAA is sponsored by several multimillion-dollar corporations, including Mobil, Exxon, Shell, and such non-petroleum companies as Coors, R. J. Reynolds, and Hubbell Lighting Co.

Comparable to other trade interest groups—the National Beer Wholesalers Association (NBWA) is a good example—PMAA companies serve as a second tier in a three-tiered system, the first being the oil or petroleum refineries and the third being the retail stations, convenience stores, and outlets. As stated in its bylaws, the primary goal of the PMAA is to “preserve the private enterprise, risk reward system, to prevent undue economic concentration, to ensure a favorable competitive climate in petroleum distribution, and to encourage an adequate supply of petroleum products.” PMAA’s PAC, the Petroleum Marketers Association of America Small Businessmen’s Committee, is also located in Arlington.

HISTORY

The federation was founded in 1909 as the Independent Petroleum Marketers Association (IPMA). Its first president, Thomas L. Hisgen, was a strong opponent of the Standard Oil Company, which he claimed was anticompetitive toward smaller petroleum and oil companies and suppliers. Hisgen openly expressed his views, especially during his run in 1908 as an Independent presidential candidate against Republican William Howard Taft, the twenty-seventh U.S. president, and William Jennings Bryan, who was running on the Democratic ticket. Despite Hisgen’s ardent efforts to strengthen smaller petroleum companies, the IPMA did not last for more than two years. The breakup of the Standard Oil Company in 1911 and the subsequent creation of local and regional petroleum and oil marketing associations led to the collapse of the IPMA. It resurfaced in 1940 as the President’s Council of Petroleum Marketers Associations and, after the Second World War, was modified and renamed again with the designation of the National Oil Jobbers Council. In 1984, more than 40 years after its revival, the organization was renamed the Petroleum Marketers Association of America.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Like the National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB), a federation whose constituents overlap in membership with other conservative federations (in-

cluding the PMAA), the PMAA has benefited greatly from the GOP takeover of Congress. Similar to NFIB members, PMAA members are, for the most part, small-business or family-business owners who serve the petroleum and oil needs of their local communities and districts. These trade interest groups are also similar in the ways in which they lobby before Congress. Although the NFIB's membership far exceeds that of the PMAA, both organizations use insider and outsider methods as a means of lobbying. An insider method is one in which a particular interest group will make use of its PAC and lobby quietly before Congress. An outsider method, in contrast, is one in which a particular interest group will use its membership (and even employees of members—a tactic used by the NBWA) as a way of making its agendas and issues heard before Congress. Using the outsider approach, an interest group will make available toll-free telephone numbers and Internet access, so that members themselves can contact congressional leaders on behalf of the interest group. In numerous cases interest groups urge members to make frequent calls and "jam" phone lines to get their points across.

The PMAA is divided into six committees within each of its 43 regions. These committees are the Motor Fuels Committee, Heating Oil Fuels Committee, Lube Oil Committee, Member Services Committee, Legislative Affairs Committee, and Brand Chairman's Committee, all of which review the central issues within their region and make recommendations to the PMAA board of directors, the principal governing body of the organization. The PMAA board elects a 22-member executive committee, which then brings its lobbying issues to Washington.

The PMAA's lobbying tactics can be described as aggressive and, often, intolerant and discriminatory in terms of accusing others, particularly nonmembers or ethnic groups, of maintaining double standards. A case in point is the PMAA's opposition to what it calls Tax Treatment of Native Americans. PMAA leaders have accused Native American store owners and petroleum service proprietors of not remitting excise taxes on petroleum and petroleum products to the states in which they do business, and they are currently taking this issue up in Congress. But the PMAA is by no means innocent in its handling of legislation. PMAA leaders are attempting a counterattack through a grassroots effort in swaying Congress to believe that Native American owners are evading tax laws. Such stereotyping and accusations that lack evidence often lead to further unwarranted discrimination against Native Americans and their businesses.

The PMAA is also in competition with other power industries, such as natural gas, electricity, and nuclear power, and lobbies Congress to favor companies that provide oil heating. This overwhelming support for oil heat has been promulgated by the establishment of the National Oil Heat Research Alliance. Although the PMAA successfully brought the issue of the future of the oil industry to the congressional floor, the Senate did not pass any bills to support one particular form of heating over others.

PMAA leaders and lobbyists also get involved in areas entirely unrelated to petroleum and oil issues. For example, they have demonstrated their opposition to regulations enforced by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) on the sale of tobacco products to minors by retailers and "legitimate business people." The PMAA and similar interest groups continue to flout FDA regulations that may prevent teen smoking by arguing that such regulations are directed to increase taxes rather than to curb tobacco use.

The association also expresses its antipathy toward the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and its regulations imposed on distributor or go-between companies. The PMAA strongly opposes any legislation that defends OSHA's mandate on penalties related to workers' injuries. Furthermore, the PMAA has struck down guidelines imposed by OSHA that require petroleum establishments to hire at least two clerks during night shifts. The PMAA's sentiment toward OSHA is similar to that of other interest groups, particularly those that represent distributors, middlemen companies, and small businesses.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Over the past decade the PMAA's contributions to elections increased by nearly \$100,000, from \$182,700 in the 1987–1988 election cycle to \$275,888 in the 1995–1996 election cycle. While contributions to GOP candidates, both incumbents and challengers, always exceeded the amount contributed to Democrats running for office, the PMAA's contributions to the Democrats plummeted, especially after the Republicans gained control of the 104th Congress. The gap seemed to be closing in the 1991–1992 election cycle as contributions to Democratic candidates neared the \$100,000 mark and contributions to candidates on the GOP ticket exceeded those contributed to Democrats by \$60,000. In the 1995–1996 election cycle, GOP candidates received \$239,188, while Democrats re-

ceived only \$35,000, or 13 percent of the PMAA's contributions.

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UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The United States Chamber of Commerce is the largest business association in the world. It is also one of the most prominent interest groups in the nation, representing some 3 million companies, 3,000 state and local chambers of commerce, 775 business associations, and 85 American chambers of commerce abroad. Since its creation in 1912, the association’s main goal has been the promotion of business interests and free enterprise in the United States and around the world.

Today, the United States Chamber of Commerce remains an influential and complex umbrella organization with large resources available to help pursue its goals. It has lobbyists and policy experts working to advance legislation favorable to business; a litigation center representing the chamber and its members in court; a public policy think tank that develops research on current and prospective trends related to business interests; a grassroots network of 50,000 activists; a publication and media relations program; and a modern system of information available to members. The chamber also has an international division that monitors global commercial issues and promotes new opportunities for American products and services worldwide.

HISTORY

Whereas trade associations are made up of members from specific industries or sectors of society, chambers of commerce are recognized by geographic location and serve the interests of local business communities. The first chamber of commerce in the United States was organized in New York in 1768; by 1870, the number of state and local chambers had jumped to 40. Several of these groups joined the United States Chamber of Commerce when it was established in 1912.

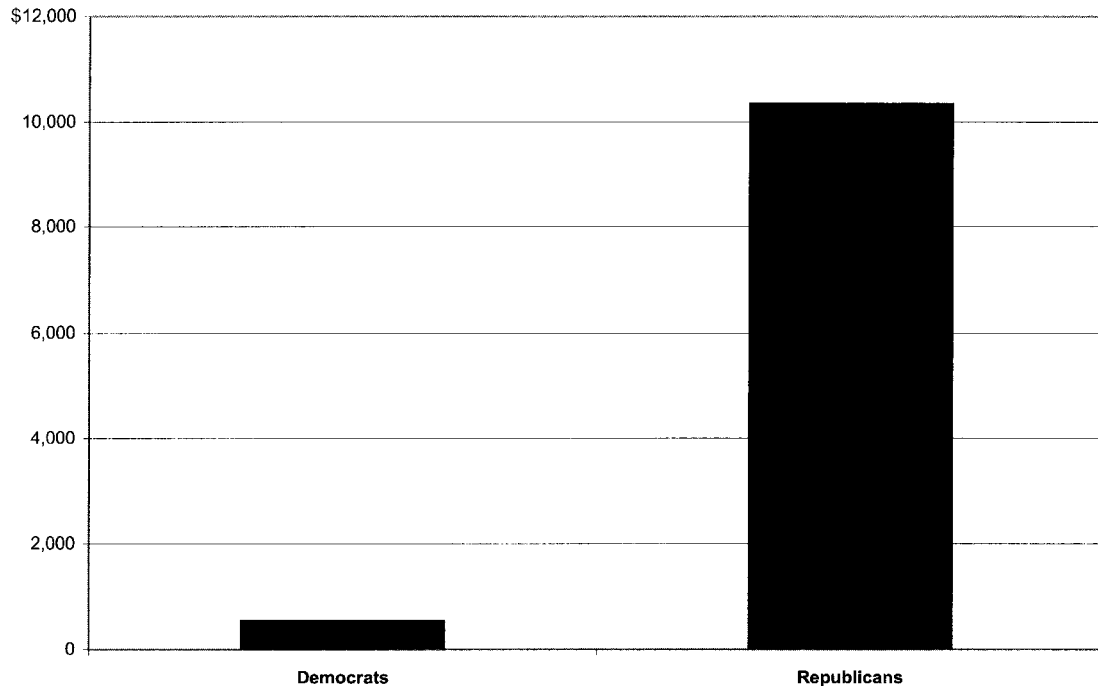
The creation of a national chamber of commerce in the United States can be linked to the growth and ex-

pansion of American firms in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The widespread use of electric power, heavy machinery, and scientific management boosted production and gave rise to new industries and massive corporate enterprises. Trains and newly invented automobiles sped product distribution and helped create a large, national market. As commerce grew, business leaders sought new ways to articulate their interests and influence both government policy and public opinion.

During his presidency from 1909 to 1913, William Howard Taft urged minimum regulation of business and greater government cooperation with the private sector. He also urged formation of a national group that would represent the entire business sector and maintain regular communication with the government. People like Edward A. Filene, an entrepreneur who had introduced creative methods of retail distribution in Boston, Massachusetts, also saw the need for such an association and helped organize the United States Chamber of Commerce. Given the tremendous level of competition that the industrial boom caused during these years, the association’s first activities concentrated on building consensus among entrepreneurs to standardize trade practices. These practices included drawing the line between lawful and unlawful activities, ethical and unethical dealings, and addressing such issues as the mislabeling and misrepresentation of the quantity and quality of goods and services. In 1924, the chamber published a general proposal on fair practices and profits, explicitly citing several principles that member groups had already accepted. Within the next few months, 270 business and trade associations ratified the chamber’s proposal. This was an important step in the promotion of competitive stability and a cooperative business environment.

Throughout its history, the chamber has concentrated on legislation and government actions. It has analyzed thousands of bills and regulations, worked with congressional committees, and developed lobbying ac-

**U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Political Action Committee Contributions, 1997-1998**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1997-1998.

tivities to shape legislation favorable to business. The chamber has also held meetings, conferences, and special events to maintain communication and close relations with members of Congress and administration officials.

Global events and economic changes have prompted the United States Chamber of Commerce to advocate different policies at different times. In 1917, the upheavals caused by the First World War led the chamber to switch from opposing government intervention in the economy to supporting creation of the War Industries Board. This agency helped rationalize production and regulate industrial activity nationwide. During the Great Depression in the 1930s, the chamber backed the National Recovery Administration, a New Deal agency created to regulate trade practices and spur economic growth.

When the economy boomed after the Second World War, the United States Chamber of Commerce reverted to its original aims, advocating reduced government interference and little federal regulation of business. The organization's rhetoric took on a more ideological bent in the 1950s. Free enterprise, the chamber argued, provided a bulwark against communism and totalitarianism.

The organization expanded and soon branched into new fields. In the 1960s it created the National Chamber Foundation, a think tank devoted to funding research, educating the public, and promoting a favorable image of business. The National Chamber Litigation Center (NCLC) was established the following decade to challenge government agencies and oppose interest groups on cases involving environmental damage, product liability, class action matters, and contingency fees. The chamber also formed a political action committee (PAC) to back pro-business candidates. Today this PAC is one of the wealthiest, most influential PACs in the country.

The rise of the environmental movement in the 1960s had spurred the formation of many new interest groups, resulting in the enactment of numerous laws and regulations aimed at fighting pollution, protecting land and water, and improving the quality of life. Litigation exploded, often placing business on the defensive. The NCLC has fought many cases relating to environmental issues, consumer safety, and workplace conditions. In the 1980s the chamber began championing tort reform and initiatives designed to limit legal recourse on such suits. More recently, the chamber has argued that such

suits force manufacturers to raise the price of goods and prevent them from introducing new products to the market.

The organization also sponsors the Grassroots Action Information Network (GAIN) to mobilize local, national, and international business groups around specific issues. Although the United States Chamber of Commerce has been in existence for almost a century, it has seldom joined forces with other groups. In 1973, the chamber issued a joint letter with the National Association of Manufacturers for the first time in its history. Such efforts will likely become more frequent. In the 1990s, the chamber formed alliances with other associations on such issues as healthcare, patients' rights, and potential Y2K computer liability suits.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The United States Chamber of Commerce has a staff of 1,200 and is headquartered in Washington, D.C. The chamber is governed by a board of directors composed of 65 corporate executives. The board normally follows recommendations of the staff but has considerable autonomy to make decisions.

The United States Chamber of Commerce has a broad base: approximately 96 percent of its members are small businesses with less than 100 employees. Large corporations, however, tend to dominate the group's positions and opinions. The chamber's most recent efforts include strengthening the organization as a vigorous force for economic growth in the United States and abroad; advocating entitlement reform and reduced government spending; fighting business tax increases and various healthcare regulations; and helping rebuild the country's transportation system and finding skilled workers.

The chamber will also continue lobbying for free trade at the international level, particularly among recently liberalized economic systems. Between 1996 and 1999, a dozen American chambers of commerce were

established in former communist countries and republics of the former Soviet Union, including Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia, Azerbaijan, and Ukraine. The United States Chamber of Commerce also has several affiliated organizations fostering economic growth and democracy in more than 40 countries. These organizations support education, workforce preparation, and the interests of business.

The United States Chamber of Commerce publishes books, reports, newsletters, statistics, and electronic bulletins. It has a video production studio, a rich web site with information open to the public and areas restricted to members only, and a reference library with 10,000 volumes.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The United States Chamber of Commerce has a yearly budget of \$70 million. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, the chamber's lobbying expenditures reached \$17 million in 1998, up from \$14.2 million in 1997.

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SECTION THREE

MEDIA, ENTERTAINMENT, AND INFORMATION



The information, media, and entertainment industries have advanced their interests in the national and state governments for over a century. Because the dissemination of information is essential to the proper functioning of a democracy, these industries have been endowed with a persuasive rationale on which to base their claims for preferential treatment. Legislators, well aware of the enormous power wielded by these industries over their own careers, have often responded favorably. Indeed, the government has facilitated the commercialization and profitability of these industries in numerous enactments, such as postal subsidies and exemptions from the minimum wage. In recent years, the ownership of the news and entertainment industries has become increasingly concentrated and entangled through mergers, which have been made possible by changes in national laws. As might be expected, these industries are represented primarily by well-financed trade associations. While these associations dominate the field, there are also watchdog groups that complain about the increasing concentration of ownership and competing groups that wish to retain non-commercial sources of information.

The current issue of the greatest concern to the information and entertainment industries is unquestionably copyright law, as technological developments, such as the Internet, have contributed to the potential for piracy—which, in turn, decreases profitability. These industries are seeking both legislative and technological solutions to this threat. Additionally, they have objected to governmental attempts at censorship and the restriction of tobacco and alcohol advertisements. In advancing their position on these issues, the industry's trade associations engage in traditional forms of lobbying,

such as contacting legislators and contributing to campaigns. They focus their efforts not only on Congress, but also on those government agencies such as the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) that have jurisdiction over them. The groups that object to the power of this media lobby are more likely to employ outsider tactics, such as organizing and educating the public.

AREAS OF INTEREST

In the nineteenth century, the information industry utilized the medium of print. Given this fact, trade associations were primarily interested in retaining special, low-cost postal rates. Early in the twentieth century, advertising emerged as the major source of revenue for newspapers and other forms of media. As a result, the media's interest groups became advocates of this industry, as did the corporate world, opposing all restrictions on advertisements. As new technologies were introduced, such as radio broadcasting and film, the media's trade associations added to their interests. Broadcasters required regulation to avoid chaos on the airwaves and thus spearheaded the call for governmental action. With the use of these new technologies for entertainment purposes, the public and its representatives increasingly demanded censorship. The media's trade associations resisted these demands, preventing the censorship of films, and later, bans on offensive lyrics in recordings.

In the early years of the Depression, a reform movement calling for a noncommercial system of broadcasting coalesced. In response, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) fought to ensure that the landmark

Communications Act of 1934 protected the commercial system of broadcasting. This act established the FCC and consolidated the regulatory authority over all interstate and foreign communication by wire and radio. Henceforward, the commercial nature of the system was never questioned. At times, there were claims of “excessive commercialization,” but the broadcast industry took it upon itself to resist any governmental regulations aimed at reducing commercialization, and it did so with success. Speaking in much softer tones than the trade associations, those representing the noncommercial world of information, such as educational institutions, have sought to obtain public funds for research and educational purposes without challenging the commercial nature of the system.

After the development of cable television and the rise in popularity of recorded music around mid-century, the trade associations’ interest in copyright law intensified. Often, the various trade associations found themselves at odds over this issue. For example, the film industry desired copyright protection against the broadcasters’ use of its products, while the broadcasters sought relief from the cable industry’s interception of their signals. As users of recordings for entertainment purposes, hotels and casinos were not necessarily supportive of copyright protection at all. In addition to this issue, the entertainment industries, particularly hotels and casinos, have demonstrated a consistent interest in labor regulations, such as the minimum wage.

CURRENT CONTEXT

Over the past few decades, the information industry has become increasingly commercialized and entangled with the entertainment industry. Indeed, the United States has become an entertainment culture, with Hollywood the prime socializing agent for recent generations. Newscasts have adapted to this culture and are often designed to capture the interests of selected viewers, not to inform them. “Selected” viewers are those with money in a society characterized by a growing gap between the rich and poor. Because advertisers, which provide the major source of revenue for the information industry, are interested in speaking only to customers with disposable income, newspapers and news programmers seek to attract this type of audience and gear their stories accordingly.

Such a strategy fits perfectly with the interests of the media. In fact, the interests of the advertising and media industries are in harmony, as both are dominated by

small numbers of corporate giants. Currently, there are approximately 10 vertically integrated conglomerates and between 30 and 40 large supporting corporations that define the global media industry. In each of the sectors, such as recording and movie production, oligopolies are present and make entry difficult. Competition among the members of the oligopolies is not fierce, as it has been softened by joint ventures and ties of cross-ownership. The trend toward concentration of ownership is expected to continue, given the profit incentives created by vertical integration and technological developments. A vertically integrated firm, exemplified best by Walt Disney, has ownership of both content, such as movies, and delivery mechanisms, such as television stations. Because of their ability to cross-sell products, these firms have a significant profit advantage over those not so integrated. For example, if a Disney movie fails at the box office but its Disney-owned recordings sell, the company can post a net gain. In comparison, an independent movie producer would depend solely on box-office revenues. This dynamic creates an incentive for more mergers. The digital revolution, which is erasing the distinction between forms of media, is also paving the way for further concentration of ownership. Ultimately, all forms of data, including music, will be produced and stored in interchangeable digital bits and will be instantaneously accessible. Already, cable and telephone companies have combined as their services have “converged,” meaning one has the capability to perform the other’s functions.

However, the consolidation of the information and entertainment industries could not have occurred without the government’s acquiescence and support. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the government has adopted a deregulatory stance toward the communications industry, relaxing its limits on ownership restrictions. This trend culminated in the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which has been dubbed the “Magna Carta” for communications corporations. Replacing the 1934 Communications Act and eradicating many of the FCC’s limits on ownership, this act deregulated the communications industry by removing barriers to consolidation. In so doing, it ensured that the profit motive would shape the structure of the communication system for years to come. Moreover, this trend in deregulation is not limited to the United States, but is global in scope.

Whereas the political context has been a friendly one for the commercial media, it has been a different story for noncommercial sources of information. Indeed, funding for higher education was cut significantly at both the national and state levels throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. When the Republicans took control of

Congress in 1995, the higher education community feared drastic cuts. As a result of the elimination of the federal deficit and other political developments, such cuts did not come to pass. However, federal funding for research, such as the National Endowment for the Humanities and for the Arts, was substantially reduced as was funding for public broadcasting systems.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

The commercial media are represented by trade associations, each of which extends membership only to those in a particular industry, such as book publishing, and perhaps to those who service or supply that industry. The trade associations reflect the ownership structure of their industries and thus tend to be dominated by the media conglomerates. While not nearly as powerful, there are also watchdog groups, which have individual members. Their mission is partly an educative one, as they attempt to uncover bias in reporting. The higher education community is represented by numerous groups that function somewhat like trade associations, limiting their membership to certain types of institutions and advocating on their behalf, and an umbrella organization, inclusive of both these associations and institutions.

With the exception of the Newspaper Association of America, the commercial media's trade associations have affiliated political action committees (PACs) formed to contribute funds to candidates. In addition, the nonprint trade associations, excluding the National Cable Television Association, make "soft-money" contributions to the political parties. Soft money consists of funds donated to parties that cannot be used to campaign for particular candidates, though the line between party advocacy and candidate promotion is virtually impossible to draw. Excluding the public watchdog groups, all of the associations pay substantial sums to outside lobbyists. The commercial groups were more generous to Republicans than to Democrats in the 1997–1998 election cycle. This bias developed in the aftermath of the Republican takeover of Congress and is indicative of the pragmatic orientation of trade associations. They contribute to advance their own interests, not ideological agendas, and are thus willing to work with those in power.

The various trade associations speak on behalf of powerful members, who contribute to campaigns and parties on an individual basis. For example, although the Motion Picture Association of America contrib-

uted \$89,118 in PAC contributions in 1997–1998, its members' PACs donated more than \$789,000. In this situation, the parts are greater and more powerful than the whole—not just in the aggregate, but in some cases, individually. Because the individual members have ownership interests in several sectors of the media industry, they might not always be speaking from the same perspective as the trade associations. However, the clout of trade associations is probably enhanced by the political participation and contributions of their members. The media's interest groups can also capitalize upon their prestige and connections in a way that few other lobbies can.

CURRENT ISSUES

In recent years, the powerful commercial lobby has been seeking to extend copyright protection into cyberspace by winning the ratification of, and enforcing legislation for, the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) treaties. The WIPO treaties will facilitate the development of the Internet as a commercial medium. Groups representing the noncommercial sector, especially librarians, have raised concerns that copyright laws, in some forms, could limit access to information. The copyright issue is of monumental significance to the commercial media because it strikes at the heart of their revenue-generating potential. If an industry cannot control the sale of its product, then its profitability and thus future are in jeopardy.

Both the commercial and noncommercial media have been united in opposition to recent legislative efforts to censor information on the Internet. The commercial groups, which depend upon advertising as a major source of revenue, voice strong opposition to any restrictions on it, such as those on alcohol and tobacco. However, these groups can find themselves divided over this issue at times. For example, magazines benefit from the prohibition of tobacco ads on television. Because of the importance of their relationship with advertisers, though, the commercial groups are unlikely to support restrictions publicly even when they are in their interest. In light of the tobacco settlement talks, this issue remains on the agenda. Additionally, the print media have an interest in postal rates, while publishers and colleges monitor educational funding on a continual basis.

Public advocacy groups, such as Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), are concerned about the concentration of ownership in the media. The policies

that govern the news and information industries have been formulated with little input from the public and virtually no concern for the needs of a democratic society. Because these issues have low priority, legislators have been happy to accommodate the demands of the trade associations. FAIR has thus sought to educate the public about these issues and, as a result, to mobilize public opinion. The commercial groups have been less likely to concentrate on public relations, but there are exceptions. The gambling industry, in particular, is currently working to transform its image so as to create a more favorable political climate.

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

In pursuit of their interests, the information and entertainment industries engage in various forms of lobbying. Historically, the commercial media disagreed about the propriety of making financial contributions to campaigns. The broadcast industries supported this tactic well before the print industries, which still demonstrate some reluctance to donate to campaigns. Indeed, while all the trade associations tend to employ financial contributions as a lobbying strategy to some degree, the entertainment and broadcast industries continue to place more reliance on this strategy than the print industries. The umbrella organization for higher education, the American Council on Education (ACE), and the media watchdog groups do not make financial contributions to campaigns or parties.

Whether they rely heavily on financial contributions or not, all of the major trade associations employ “insider” tactics in their quest to influence public policy. Insider tactics refer to traditional forms of lobbying, which include contacting officials formally and informally, providing information and expertise to aid in the law-making process, and building coalitions with like-minded interests. Such tactics make sense when issues are not a priority and legislators are willing to accommodate the interested parties, as is the case with communications law. Of course, the commercial media have the capability to exercise a tremendous influence over public opinion. This power undoubtedly adds to the clout of the media’s lobbyists, given the potential ramifications for politicians who challenge this interest. More subtly, the commercial media can utilize this power to ensure that pertinent legislation retains a low level of importance. The landmark Telecommunications Act of 1996, for example, was covered as a business

story with little to no analysis of its effects on public discourse in the mainstream press.

In addition to lobbying Congress and utilizing the courts to advance their agenda, the media’s trade associations, especially the NAB, have exerted considerable influence over the FCC. Established in 1934, the FCC has frequently capitulated to the demands of broadcasters. Its members, in fact, typically have management backgrounds in the broadcast industry. Because of their respective powers over foreign trade and advertising, the FTC and the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) have been the focus of the trade associations at times as well.

The public advocacy groups, and to a lesser extent, ACE are more inclined to invoke “outsider” tactics. Such tactics include protests, advertisements, and other educational activities designed to win public favor, which, in turn, is utilized to pressure lawmakers. While the trade associations do not attempt to organize the public via protest activities, they occasionally employ outsider tactics if they are in their interest. For example, the cable industry ran advertisements in 1992 to oppose a regulatory bill. The rare usage of outsider tactics by trade associations is a testament to the effectiveness of their “insider” game. More often than not, they are able to ensure that issues retain a low visibility and are resolved in their mutual interests.

In the future, the ownership structure of these industries might impact the role of the trade associations, as their most prominent members will increasingly be subsidiaries of larger media conglomerates. If the trends of convergence and industrial consolidation continue, the industry might rely more upon the lobbying efforts of individual competitors than it does now. However, trade associations might nonetheless be retained, as they have the advantage of speaking on behalf of a function that garners respect and is essential to democracy.

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ACCURACY IN MEDIA

Accuracy in Media (AIM), headquartered in Washington, D.C., acts as a watchdog of the news on behalf of conservative interests. Membership is available on an individual basis only. Currently, AIM boasts a membership of approximately 28,000. Given its ideological orientation, AIM is interested in exposing liberal bias in the news media. However, AIM goes well beyond criticism and analysis of news stories, offering conspiracy theories about political and other events, such as the suicide of Vincent Foster, a White House aide in the Clinton Administration. For this reason, critics often ridicule its name.

HISTORY

AIM was founded by Reed J. Irvine in 1969, the year in which Richard Nixon assumed the presidency. The conservative backlash against the domestic programs and rights established in the 1960s was in its burgeoning stages at this time. AIM has been clearly in the spirit of that reaction and has drawn its strength from the conservative movement in the United States. Its charges of liberal bias in the media aired in the mainstream press in the 1980s, when both public debate and policy turned rightward—developments that could be considered successes of AIM despite its limited responsibility for them.

AIM has adjusted to changing technological developments throughout its history, as it now maintains a web site and an electronic forum, AIMNet. The latter, established in 1990, enables subscribers (of which there are 200) to access news articles and phone numbers of media organizations. Users can and frequently do call these organizations to express their frustrations with the media. In part, AIM was energized by the election of Bill Clinton to the presidency in 1992, since he provided a target for AIM members. Clinton is often at the center of conspiracy theories about his aide Vincent Fos-

ter and about the TWA flight 800 crash off Long Island, New York, in 1996.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

With a loyal membership and conservative funding, AIM will continue to highlight what it considers to be liberal bias in the media. As the media industry continues to become more concentrated in the hands of a few corporations, however, its charge of a liberal bias will most likely be supported by less and less evidence. Critics on the left accuse AIM's conservative supporters of fabricating a myth about a liberal media to distract the public from pondering the conservative biases of a corporate-owned media. If that charge is true, AIM will have more to do as the media's consolidation continues. Of course, many of the individual members of AIM undoubtedly perceive a liberal bias in the media. Scholars have observed that news organizations attempt to adopt centrist positions, particularly on social issues, to avoid alienating any portion of the upper-middle-class market. Determined to maximize revenue, news organizations need to retain this constituency in its entirety to attract advertisers at premium rates. However, to those on the extreme right, the adoption of centrist positions can appear liberal. As the search for global profits intensifies in the media industry, the incentive to avoid offending potential audiences will, if anything, become stronger. Hence, we can expect those on the right to patronize organizations such as AIM.

FINANCIAL FACTS

AIM has a budget of approximately \$1.6 million and a staff of 13. Since annual dues are only \$35, a substantial

portion of AIM's funding is supplied by contributions from corporations and conservative foundations. Wealthy individuals have also made hefty donations, such as the conservative Richard Mellon Scaife, a right-wing founder of conservative movements and heir to the Mellon oil and banking family. In the late 1990s, Scaife endowed a professorship at Pepperdine University Law School for independent prosecutor Kenneth Starr. Given its mission, AIM does not have a political action committee, nor does it make soft-money contributions to either party. Indeed, the organization does not concern itself with lobbying the national or state governments and thus does not at all partake in the "insider" game familiar to trade associations. Instead, AIM seeks to increase public awareness of what it perceives as a liberal bias in the media. If AIM can persuade a significant percentage of the public about such a liberal bias, then it can exert pressure on media outlets to place more of a conservative spin on issues. The resultant change in coverage, in turn, would act to push public policy in a conservative direction.

To achieve these goals, AIM engages in a number of activities. It publishes a semimonthly newsletter, *AIM Report*, that exposes instances of bias. The newsletter has

a circulation of 9,000 and does not accept advertisements. Additionally, its leaders write weekly columns, published in approximately 100 newspapers, and broadcasts a daily, three-minute radio commentary, *The Media Monitor*, for the same purpose. The program is broadcast on approximately 200 stations around the country. The organization sponsors speakers and produces and sells films and tapes, also to the end of demonstrating liberal bias in reporting. To publicize its agenda, AIM hosts three or four conferences a year. In October 1998, those attending AIM's conference discussed the crash of TWA flight 800 and the fate of government whistle-blowers. In all its activities, AIM seeks to perpetuate the idea of a "liberal media" by "educating" the public toward its point of view.

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AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

As centers of research and education, the colleges and universities of the United States play a vital role in the production of information and knowledge. Higher education is a \$100 billion industry, with an estimated 14.3 million students attending over 3,600 colleges and universities. Although this industry is represented in Washington by over 200 associations, the six largest, known as the Big Six, garner the most attention and wield the most influence. One of these six, the American Council on Education (ACE), serves as an umbrella association for the higher education community. It represents all accredited colleges and universities, whether public or private, and other national and regional higher education associations, inclusive of the five major ones. The Career College Association, which represents for-profit or proprietary institutions of higher learning, belongs to the ACE as well, despite the fact that most of its members are not accredited and therefore not eligible for institutional membership. Because the ACE represents both institutions and associations, it can sometimes be torn between the role of an autonomous entity acting on behalf of its institutional membership and that of a facilitator attempting to forge a consensus among the many diverse groups that represent the higher education community. It tends to emphasize the latter role since the ACE is unchallenged in this function. As the unifying voice for higher education, the ACE has an interest in several issues of national policy, such as research grants, student aid, and affirmative action.

HISTORY

The ACE traces its origins to 1918, when eight educational associations formed the Emergency Council on Education in response to the drop in enrollments experienced during World War I. Later that year, when the war ended, the Council was given permanent status

and its current name. At that time, its members decided that there would be a continuing need for a liaison between the federal government and higher education. However, there were very few federal issues of concern to the higher education community until World War II. Perhaps because of its sparse agenda, the ACE represented the interests of lower schools in the 1930s and 1940s. The close of World War II marked the beginnings of substantial federal involvement in higher education, as the G.I. Bill was passed and more federal dollars were directed at research. Fearful that the G.I. Bill would inundate colleges with unqualified students, the ACE initially opposed it. Soon, though, the ACE recognized the benefits of this and other pieces of federal legislation.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Washington insiders considered the ACE to be an ineffective lobby. Yet its shortcomings were of little consequence since prosperity and expansion in higher education marked these decades. In response to Russia's launch of the first artificial satellite, Sputnik 1, federal money was pumped into research. What is more, in 1965, Congress passed the Higher Education Act (HEA), which provided institutional funding and introduced federal grants, loans, and fellowships on an unprecedented scale. The ACE finally paid the price for its inept lobbying in 1972 when the HEA came up for reauthorization. In the amended legislation, Pell Grants, which are awarded to students directly, were introduced as substitutes for institutional funding, which the ACE and its members preferred. Because the ACE was blindsided by this issue and was coordinating the higher education community's efforts, it took most of the blame for the political failure of safeguarding institutional funding. Responding to the flood of criticism in the aftermath of this legislation, the ACE made enough improvements in its lobbying efforts to fare reasonably well in the 1980s. With threats of substantial cuts in funding for higher education at the federal and state levels, the ACE was mainly concerned

with damage control. It prevented the elimination of federal programs for student aid and faculty research.

When the HEA was reauthorized in 1992, the ACE was not so fortunate and once again had to confront a failure. Concerned about high default rates in student loans and institutional abuses, Congress decided to strengthen the system of accreditation through the creation of state review boards, called “State Postsecondary Review for Entities” (SPREs). Colleges and universities were incensed, arguing that these were a threat to academic freedom. Obviously, such hostile legislation did not reflect favorably upon the lobbying effectiveness of the ACE. However, the ACE mobilized in response to this legislation, encouraging its members to voice their opposition and thereby keep the issue on the legislative agenda. As a result, Congress rescinded the funding for SPREs in 1996. This outcome was a significant triumph for the ACE. Indeed, the ACE had much to celebrate in the late 1990s. Despite the Republican takeover of Congress in 1995, there were increases in the funding for student financial aid in 1996 and 1997. In addition, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts, both of which provide funding for research, survived Republican plans to eliminate them, though their funding was drastically cut.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Despite its refusal to donate to candidates, the ACE is heavily involved in lobbying activities. The main focus of those activities is Congress, although the ACE represents higher education in front of federal agencies and the courts as well. Without contributing a dime, representatives of the ACE can still obtain access to congressional members because of the prestige of higher education, the number of schools and their resultant economic impact, and the geographical distribution of schools. Institutions of higher learning are found in every congressional district. Perhaps because of its privileged position, the ACE historically adopted a cautious approach to lobbying and utilized “insider” tactics. For example, lobbyists for the ACE would contact legislators on formal and informal bases, testify at congressional hearings, send letters and encourage others to do so, and otherwise attempt to shape legislation and regulations. When the Republicans captured a majority of congressional seats in 1994, however, the ACE employed additional tactics in its lobbying efforts that were more typical of nonprofit and “out-

sider” groups. Funding for higher education was gravely threatened at this time given the verbal assaults launched at it by Republican leaders. To make matters worse, the ACE and other higher education associations had much stronger alliances with the Democrats than the Republicans. As Constance Ewing Cook has documented in *Lobbying for Higher Education: How Colleges and Universities Influence Federal Policy*, the ACE began to engage in grassroots lobbying and to run advertisements in the media to build support for threatened programs and thereby to pressure Congress to retain them. Because of higher education’s natural allies, such as faculty, students, and employees, grassroots tactics have the potential to be quite potent if fully exploited. Besides these tactics, which caused the cautious organization some fear, the ACE coalesced with other organizations on an ad hoc basis to strengthen its political voice. Given that these new tactics helped the ACE not only to reduce the damage inflicted by the Republican Congress in 1995–1996, but to extract gains, it continues to utilize them. The ACE is concerned that the presidential budget favors elementary and secondary over higher education. Obviously, it will lobby for more money and demand that greater attention be paid to higher education.

To help substantiate its positions and to serve as a resource for its members, the ACE has established a Center for Policy Analysis. The Center has embarked on projects that aid in the educative and organizational goals of the ACE. For example, the Center’s Forum for Higher Education and Democracy has initiated a series of meetings entitled, “Listening to Communities.” The stated purpose of these meetings is to explore the role of higher education in civic life and the ways for the community and institution to prepare students for the responsibilities of citizenship. However, they serve the dual purpose of including members of the local community in the educational endeavor and thus identifying them with the school. Such involvement would make members of the community more likely to rally in support of the school if it were under threat. To keep members abreast of its programs and pertinent legislative developments, the ACE also publishes a biweekly newsletter, *Higher Education and National Affairs*, and hosts conferences and meetings.

Although the higher education community has experienced failure in its lobbying efforts on more than one occasion in its history, it has not adjusted the organizational structure of its major lobbying associations. Indeed, the dominance of the Big Six and the role of the ACE as an umbrella organization have remained constant for decades. With no competitors, the ACE is likely to continue its roles of consensus builder and federal advocate

for higher education. There will surely be strong incentive for the higher education community to represent itself effectively in Washington, given the growing significance of federal policy and funding in this area.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ACE is a large organization, with approximately 175 employees and a budget of over \$30 million. Its policies are established primarily by the association's leaders in conjunction with active college and university presidents, though all member institutions approve critical decisions. Because of its nonprofit tax status, the ACE is prohibited legally from making lobbying its principal activity. Yet the stakes in federal policy decisions are enormous for the higher education community since 15 percent of the total revenues of colleges and universities come in the form of federal dollars. Given these stakes, the ACE paid \$171,066 to lobbyists in 1997. In total, the higher education community had lobbying expenditures of over \$26 million in that year. The ACE does not have a political action committee

(PAC) and therefore does not contribute to political candidates. Like print journalists, college educators have been hesitant to sacrifice their independence and tie their fortunes to particular candidates. Indeed, the higher education community was formerly reluctant to engage in lobbying of any kind. To be sure, there are some members of the ACE that have formed PACs. The ACE, which is a loose confederation of sovereign associations and members, has no control over the separate political strategies employed by its members.

JULIE M. WALSH

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ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN PUBLISHERS

The Association of American Publishers (AAP), with offices in New York and Washington, D.C., is the trade association for publishers of books, journals, and other similar products. The U.S. book industry, which posted revenues of \$21.3 billion in 1997, has by no means been exempt from the trend toward concentration of ownership in the media industry. Indeed, the industry is dominated by giants, such as Viacom, Hearst, and Time Warner, and has very few major independent publishers left. Not surprisingly, the AAP's membership consists increasingly of subsidiaries of these larger media conglomerates. The AAP has approximately 200 members, which are divided into full, associate, and affiliate categories. Full membership is limited to those with significant investments in an ongoing publishing business, while associate membership is available to nonprofit university presses and organizations. Those who service or supply the publishing industry are eligible for affiliate membership. As might be expected, the AAP seeks to expand the market for American books and other published works. To facilitate the health and growth of publishing, the AAP concerns itself with myriad issues, such as the protection of intellectual property, the defense of free speech and press, public funding for education and libraries, postal rates, and tax policies.

HISTORY

The AAP was founded in 1970 when the American Book Publishers Council and the American Educational Institute merged. In that year, the organization initially listed its interests as two postal reform bills, but later, as all legislation affecting the book publishing industry. The formation of this organization was a milestone for the industry, as it marked the first time that general and textbook publishers joined forces. Previously, the book publishing industry had been divided and inert. The in-

dustry was energized in the 1960s by the explosion in college enrollment and the influx of federal funds for schools and libraries in response to the superiority of the Russian space program. There were a series of mergers in the 1960s, as the once neglected industry became attractive to investors. It was at the close of this promising decade for publishers that the AAP was formed.

The AAP successfully defended the legality of yet another wave of mergers that swept the industry in the late 1970s. At that time, the Authors League and some members of Congress argued that these mergers were destroying the cultural commitment of publishing subsidiaries and reducing the potential earnings of authors. While the government investigated and even objected to some of the mergers, it did not create obstacles to further mergers in the publishing industry. As a result, another wave of mergers took place in the 1980s in which a number of foreign companies acquired American publishing houses.

The AAP has been successful in its campaign to strengthen copyright protection as well. Its most significant achievement came with the Copyright Act, which took effect in 1978 after years of debate among librarians, educators, authors, and publishers. In a gesture to librarians and educators, the law allowed for "fair use" of copyrighted material. However, this use was limited. To the relief of publishers, Congress proposed the establishment of legislation to ensure fair compensation to the owner of copyrighted material when copying exceeds fair use. Initially, fair use was defined narrowly to include the photocopying of a page for teaching or research purposes and the use of quotations in other published works. Although the definition of fair use has been subject to slight modification, the Copyright Act was a positive development for the industry. More recently, the AAP has been concerned with copyright problems posed by the Internet. It thus claimed another victory when President Bill Clinton signed the No Electronic Theft Act into

law. This law closed a loophole in the Copyright Act that had prevented criminal prosecution for copyright infringement if there was no financial gain for the infringer. The AAP has achieved success in its legal fight against censorship on the Internet as well. For example, it was among the sponsors of a court case challenging a decency provision in a New York state law that was declared unconstitutional.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In its lobbying activities, the AAP undoubtedly benefits from the political clout of its member organizations. Indeed, the lobbyists of AAP members occasionally meet at the AAP's Washington office to discuss legislative strategies. The AAP is willing to form coalitions with other interest groups to advance its interests as well. Despite its own limited contributions to candidates, then, the AAP is nonetheless able to engage in the "insider" lobbying game. This approach is certainly evident in the choice of its current president, Patricia Schroeder, as she was a long-time member of Congress. The primary focus of the AAP's lobbying activities is protection of copyrighted material. More specifically, the AAP, together with other industries, seeks implementing legislation for the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) treaties. The AAP is active in lobbying efforts to extend the terms of copyright protection and to stave off legislative efforts to protect online privacy rights. The copyright issue is critical to the AAP because of the increasing use of the Internet.

However, the AAP does not limit its lobbying activities to the matter of copyrights. It is active in its opposition to any attempts to censor information on the Internet. The AAP also supports selected forms of educational funding, such as "America Reads" legislation and the Reading Excellence Act, both of which provide support to develop reading skills. Because a large percentage of books are shipped and sold via the mail, the AAP is also active in its opposition to increases in postal rates. Like other trade associations, the AAP hosts an annual meeting, publishes a monthly journal, compiles data about the industry, and offers managerial and technological advice to members. Perhaps because of the nature of the industry's product, the AAP aims its educational activities at the general public as well. For example, it works to promote reading and literacy in the United States via the sponsorship of activities, such as "Get Caught Reading" Month aimed at those between

the ages of 18 to 34. Obviously, increases in literacy and reading are to the benefit of the publishing industry.

Publishing companies are increasingly components of larger media corporations that have holdings in movies, newspapers, and television stations. This structural change in the industry might very well have ramifications for the AAP. The traditional allies of the AAP, such as librarians and educators, might be displaced by the new partners of its members, namely, entertainment conglomerates. As always, the AAP will continue to fight for copyright protection. Yet, aligned as it is with entertainment interests, the AAP might be less sympathetic to the concerns of librarians that a fee for each patron's use of an electronic book would be tantamount to charging patrons for browsing in the stacks. However it is finally resolved, the negotiation of a new arrangement with librarians over purchases in an electronic world is guaranteed a spot on the AAP's future agenda.

FINANCIAL FACTS

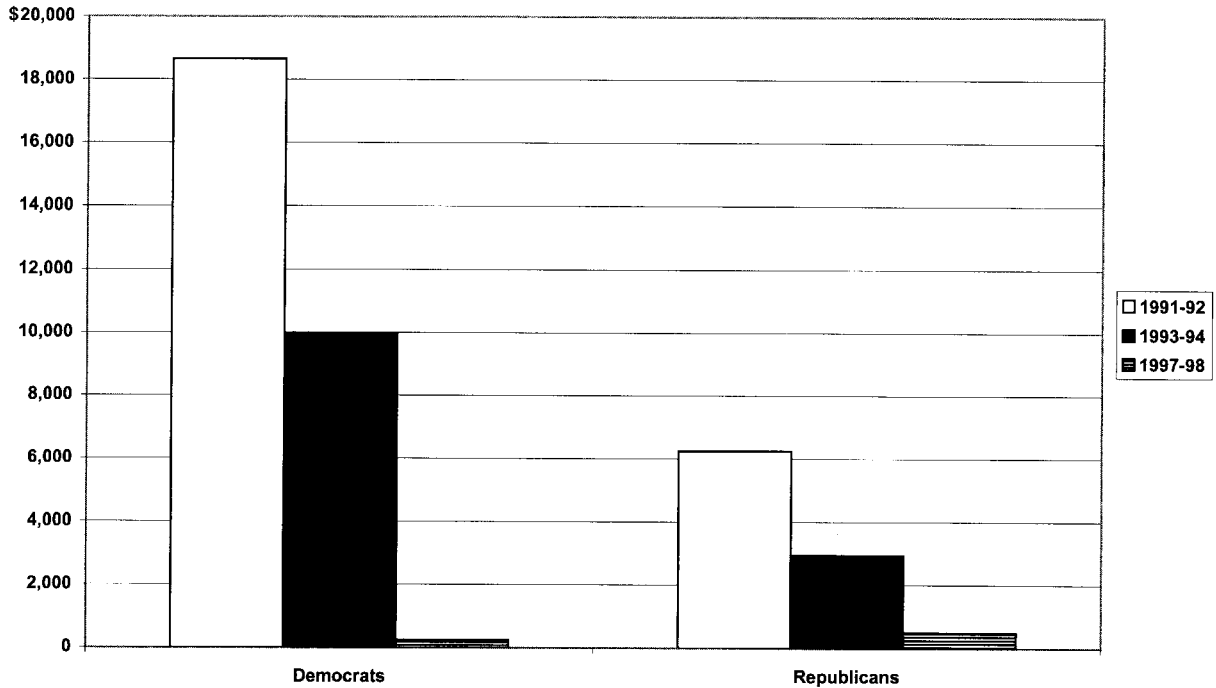
The AAP pursues these interests with a budget of \$5 million and a combined professional and support staff of 38 individuals. The policies of AAP are set by its Board of Directors, which is composed of 20 individuals who are elected by full members for four-year terms. Like other trade associations, it has a political action committee (PAC). In the 1995–1996 election cycle, its PAC had receipts of \$7,950 and expenditures of \$6,954. Its political contributions for the past two election cycles were:

	Total	Democrat	%	Republican	%
1995–96	\$6,550	2,450	37	4,100	63
1997–98	\$ 750	250	33	500	67

In the 1993–1994 election cycle, the AAP had contributed almost twice as much money and had given over 75 percent of it to Democratic candidates. Its partisan distribution most likely changed in response to the Republican takeover of Congress, a development that demonstrates its pragmatic orientation. The relatively small dollar figures contributed in 1997–1998 might be indicative of the print industry's traditional reluctance to contribute to political campaigns, for the AAP paid \$380,000 to lobbyists in 1997 alone.

JULIE M. WALSH

**Association of American Publishers
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1991–1998.

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FAIRNESS AND ACCURACY IN REPORTING

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), based in New York City, is a watchdog organization that advocates media access for those constituencies in American society that do not have the wealth to purchase their own channels of communication. It has approximately 19,000 members, all of whom are individuals. With a special interest in media practices that ignore the public interest, peace, and minority viewpoints, FAIR seeks to expand the boundaries of public discourse by including more perspectives. It champions the rights of free speech and press contained in the First Amendment and thus does not aspire to prevent the public presentation of views opposed to its own. Because FAIR advocates the inclusion of alternative voices and criticizes the growing concentration of corporate power in the media, it is considered a liberal advocacy group.

HISTORY

FAIR was founded in 1986 by Jeff Cohen, who remains its director, and a few others. ABC and Capital Cities merged in 1985, and the decade saw an assault on all regulatory measures intended to police the communications industry for the sake of the public interest. For example, the Equal Time and Fairness Doctrines, which made the broadcasting of alternative perspectives more likely, were under attack and were revoked by the decade's end. The Federal Communications Commission, under the conservative leadership of Mark Fowler, relaxed ownership limits on media outlets in the 1980s as well, a development that paved the way for more mergers. Accuracy in Media, financed by conservative groups, was charging the media with liberalism and its accusations were receiving a hearing. Given this environment, Cohen saw the need for a media watchdog group that was concerned about corporate bias and the

effects of the growing concentration in ownership of the media.

Since its inception, FAIR has published a number of articles and anthologies that have been well received. For example, the *Fair Reader: Press and Politics in the 1990s* and *The Best of Extra!* have been praised for the quality of their research and investigative reporting. FAIR has also had success in its public campaign to expose distortions and hatred on talk radio, particularly Rush Limbaugh's nationally syndicated show. Highlighting the falsity of Limbaugh's statements and the mainstream media's inattention to this fact, FAIR has received favorable coverage in the *Washington Post* and *Media Culture Review*.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

FAIR dedicates itself to researching and exposing the exclusion of viewpoints and distortions in the mainstream press. To this end, the organization conducts extensive research focused on the output of the media and publishes its findings in several forums. Recent issues that have attracted the attention of FAIR include the commercialization of the Internet, the corporate takeover of public television, hatred and distortions on talk radio, and the growing concentration of the media industry in the wake of the Telecommunications Act of 1996. In the media's coverage of all of these issues, FAIR has documented an inattention to the general public's perspective and interests. The increasing concentration of the media and the surrender of public television are of the utmost concern to FAIR because they are perceived to be the root causes of conservative bias. However, FAIR is deeply committed to exposing racial, gender, and class biases in reporting, as evident in its establishment of women's, labor, and racism watch desks. These are specialized research and advocacy desks

that work with activists and media professionals on these areas of bias.

FAIR publishes its findings six times a year in the form of a newsletter, *Extra!*. Because this publication criticizes corporations and their capacity to censor news via their leverage over advertising dollars, it does not accept this form of revenue. Additionally, its leaders host a weekly radio show, *Counterspin*, and write an op-ed column, *Media Beat*, to publicize the biases of the mainstream media. The former is broadcast on more than 100 stations, though most are college, community, or public in nature. FAIR's goal is to break the pattern of exclusion by entering into a dialogue with media programmers, reporters, and editors. In a sense, FAIR assumes that the exposure of bias will lead journalists to remedy the situation. FAIR publicly applauds hard-hitting journalism so as to reward those who take the risk to publish it. FAIR's conferences, which are organized around a particular theme, appear to be set up with the assumption that journalists will respond to both criticism and praise.

As a membership organization, FAIR also seeks to bring pressure on the media via activism. It provides its members access to a kit, which offers a step-by-step guide to personal involvement in media activism, and it publishes *Extra Update!*, which is geared toward activists, on a bimonthly basis. To further facilitate personal involvement, FAIR identifies and provides links to local media activist groups at its web site as well as information about national demonstrations. Additionally, the organization hosts an online discussion group for media activists and other interested parties. In so doing, FAIR adopts the techniques of "outsider" interest groups, which typically rely upon grassroots and educative strategies. In FAIR's case, its intended target is not only the government, but also the media.

FAIR's successes come with much hard work and effort in the forms of research and advocacy. As the media become increasingly concentrated and vertically integrated, FAIR will certainly have a plethora of examples of bias to unveil. In a sense, the government's acquiescence to the concentration of the media industry

represents a failure for FAIR. It was unable to rally the public to protest the Telecommunications Act of 1996. In the future, FAIR—as has recently been the case—will have to focus on the root causes of bias and attempt to persuade the government to address them. This is, of course, a herculean task given the power wielded by the media lobby in Washington, not to mention its hold on public opinion. However, without action and legislation to change the structure of the media industry, FAIR will become a marginal group despite the fact that it represents the general public's interest. FAIR, of course, recognizes the need for and advocates structural reform of the media.

FINANCIAL FACTS

For the fiscal year ending in June 1998, FAIR had total revenues of \$1,097,927, with the bulk of them coming from two sources. Direct public support in the form of grants accounted for 74 percent of total revenues, while subscriptions and sales of its publications comprised 23 percent. Expenses in fiscal 1998 totaled \$820,647, with the greatest amounts spent on program services. FAIR employs a professional staff of approximately 10 people. Because FAIR exists to condemn the influence of wealth on the media and the government, it should not be surprising that it does not contribute to political candidates via PACs or soft money. FAIR is not engaged in lobbying activities and thus spends no money for that purpose either.

JULIE M. WALSH

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MAGAZINE PUBLISHERS OF AMERICA

With offices in both New York City and Washington, D.C., the Magazine Publishers of America (MPA) is the trade association for consumer magazines. The organization represents approximately 200 U.S.-based companies and 75 international companies. To be eligible for full membership, a company must publish at least four issues of a magazine annually. The magazine industry, like other sectors in communications, has grown increasingly concentrated, with approximately 160 magazines of 22,000 accounting for 85 percent of all revenues. Historically, the MPA has been the voice of the larger publishers, such as Hearst and Time Warner. However, a substantial portion of its members publish specialized magazines. The organization offers associate membership to about 90 companies that are providers of the industry. As an advocacy organization for magazine publishers, the MPA monitors state and national legislation affecting the industry, concerning such issues as postal rates, the deductibility of advertising costs, and copyright laws.

HISTORY

The MPA was founded in 1919, when the industry was poised for a post-World War I growth spurt. In the early years of the century, the reporting in magazines and newspapers began to diverge. While newspapers recounted events, magazines assimilated information and the perspective of the author. In the aftermath of World War I, the industry experienced a significant expansion fueled by a growth in advertising. Perhaps because of its increasing size and power, the industry became the object of governmental attention in the 1920s. The MPA was thus formed in time to combat governmental efforts at censorship and attempts to interfere with distribution. Throughout its long history, the MPA has changed its name several times. It began as the National Association of Periodical Publishers and was later the National Pub-

lishers Association, the National Association of Magazine Publishers, and the Magazine Publishers Association before assuming its current name in 1987.

Decades before the establishment of the MPA, in 1879, Congress authorized special low postal rates for mailings of magazines to subscribers. The preservation of these special or second-class rates and the prevention of gradual increases of them became one of the primary tasks of the MPA. Beginning as early as 1910, there were sporadic attempts to eliminate or to increase these special rates. Until contemporary times, the MPA has been successful in minimizing increases to these rates. For example, in the 1940s and again in the early 1960s, the MPA and its members convinced Congress that a substantial increase in these rates would eliminate all profits and signal the death knell of the industry. In other words, the reduced rates were still necessary to further the goal of the initial legislation in 1879, which was to ensure the dissemination of information. The tide turned against the MPA on this issue in 1988, as second-class rates increased 55 percent in the next seven years. In the early 1990s, the Postal Service granted a concession to the magazine industry via its policy of work-sharing. If publishers efficiently prepared and sorted their magazines, then there would be a corresponding reduction in postal rates. Unfortunately, many magazines with small circulations could not qualify for these reductions because their volume precluded them from meeting the efficiency standards of the Postal Service. In effect, this concession helped large-circulation magazines at the expense of small ones. Indeed, many small magazines have failed in recent years. Because the MPA's members are mainly large-circulation magazines, they were more than likely pleased with work-sharing. However, the MPA undoubtedly considers the astronomical increase in rates during these years a failure.

The MPA has had more success throughout its long history in challenging governmental efforts at censorship. For example, the Post Office's attempts to revoke the second-class mailing privileges of *Esquire* in 1943 and

Playboy in 1955 were challenged successfully in the courts. Because of its willingness to engage in some form of self-policing, the MPA has been able to prevent significant regulation of the industry's sales practices as well. As early as 1940, the MPA, in cooperation with others, established and maintained a Central Registry for the purposes of enforcing a code of sales practices acceptable to various Chambers of Commerce and Better Business Bureaus. Perhaps of greater significance than its legislative victories, the MPA has been instrumental in the industry's efforts to survive and flourish in the face of threats from radio and later, television broadcasting. Based on its extensive research, the MPA was able to market the concept of targeted audiences to advertisers and thus create a niche for the industry.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In its efforts to play the "insider game" of lobbying in Washington, the MPA is certainly not injured by its members' separate contributions. The MPA participates in formal and informal coalitions with other interest groups to bolster its influence as well. For example, the MPA is a founding member of the Ad Tax Coalition, which fights efforts to eliminate or reduce the business deduction for advertising costs and whose members include the National Association of Broadcasters, the Newspaper Association of America (NAA), and the American Association of Advertising Agencies. Demonstrative of the importance of advertising to the magazine industry, the MPA is also a founding member of the Freedom to Advertise Coalition, which opposes any restrictions on commercial speech. Additionally, the MPA belongs to the Media Coalition, which resists any encroachments upon editorial freedom, and the Mailers Council, whose goal is to reduce mailing costs.

As might be surmised by its membership in these coalitions, the MPA focuses its lobbying efforts mainly on postal issues, advertising regulations, and the protection of editorial freedom and intellectual property. Because the magazine industry is so dependent upon the U.S. Postal Service to deliver its products to subscribers in a timely and efficient manner, the MPA pays close attention to any legislation that affects postal rates and/or the organization of the Postal Service. The MPA was pleased with the Postal Rate Commission's recommendation to increase the average rate for magazines by 4.6 percent in 1998 because that sum was substantially below the rate of inflation since the last adjustment in 1995. While mailing costs are a substantial expense for

magazine publishers, advertisements comprise a major portion of their revenue. As a result, the MPA has been active in its opposition to legislative restrictions on tobacco advertising. Recently, the MPA, teaming with the NAA, lobbied the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to recognize the benefits of print advertising over that of television for prescription drugs. In August 1997, the FDA expanded the ability of prescription drug manufacturers to advertise on television and radio. In defense of its final product, the MPA has additionally lobbied against editorial restrictions of any kind, including those limited to the Internet.

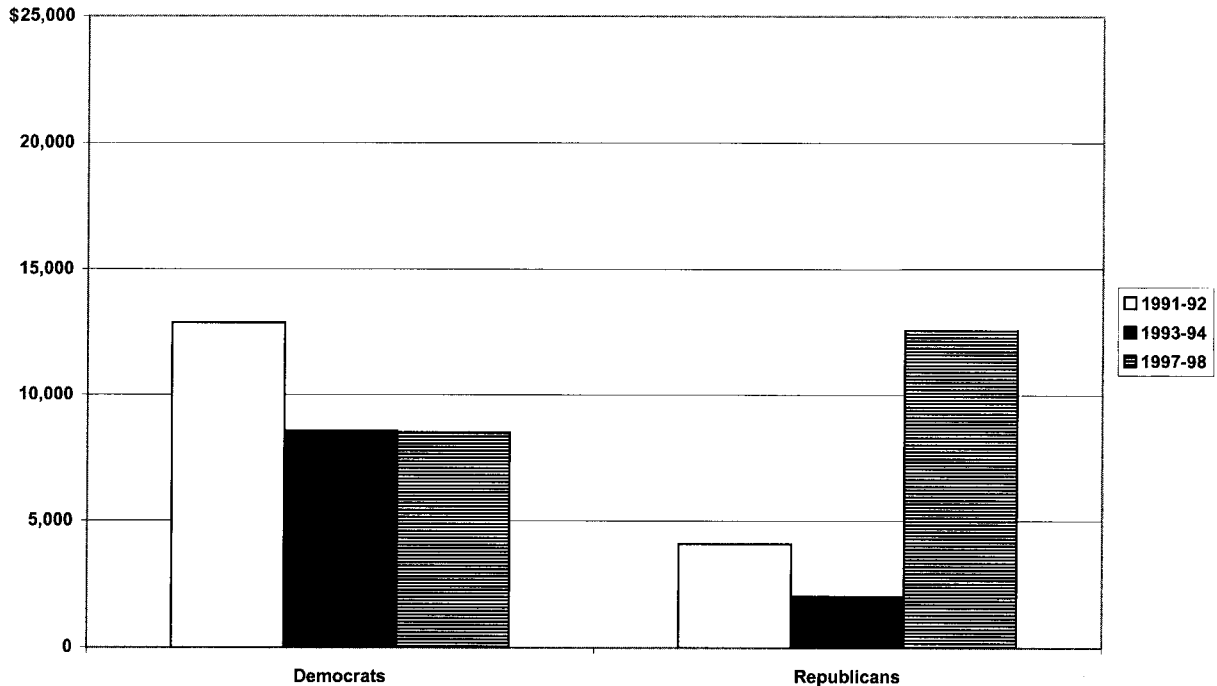
The MPA, which is much more than a legislative advocate, aids in the professional development of its members and the industry by sponsoring numerous workshops and seminars. To ensure that its members are educated about developments in the industry, the MPA runs an Information Center and publishes a monthly newsletter. The MPA further advocates the interests of its members by engaging aggressively in advertising and consumer marketing. In response to complaints by the Federal Trade Commission about the aggressive tactics of subscription telemarketing agents, the MPA averted government regulation via a self-policing effort. The MPA works to advance the interests of its members in a myriad of other ways as well. What is more, its affiliate, the American Society of Magazine Editors, is also active in promoting the interests of the magazine industry.

Increasingly, large magazines are becoming holdings of conglomerates with additional ownership interests in newspapers, cable, and book publishing. This ongoing transformation in the structure of the communications industry will most likely affect the MPA's mission in the future. Because the Internet has implications for magazines, newspapers, and books, the protection of materials via copyright might feature more prominently on the MPA's agenda in the future. Indeed, electronic magazines are especially attractive to publishers in light of their ability to eliminate reliance on the Postal Service for delivery and all concerns about environmental issues. For the immediate future, however, postal rates and regulations on tobacco advertising promise to occupy the MPA's agenda.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The MPA has a staff of about 30 people and a budget of approximately \$10.7 million. Like other trade associations, the MPA has a political action committee

**Magazine Publishers of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1991–1998.

(PAC) that contributes to candidates. In the 1995–1996 election cycle, its PAC had receipts of \$17,500 and expenditures of \$20,000. In the prior two election cycles, its political contributions were:

	Total	Democrat	%	Republican	%
1995–96	\$15,750	2,750	17	13,000	83
1997–98	\$21,000	8,500	40	12,500	60

This partisan distribution represented a stark break from the past two election cycles when the MPA gave over 75 percent of its contributions to Democrats. Clearly, the change coincided with the Republican takeover of Congress and is indicative of the MPA’s pragmatic orientation. In the 1995–1996 election cycle, the MPA made soft-money contributions to the Democratic Party in the amount of \$1,500 as well. Additionally, the MPA paid \$420,000 to lobbyists in 1997. In this same year, the MPA spent a total of \$1,708,900 on its government affairs office, an amount that represented 15 percent of its total expenditures. While the

MPA devotes a considerable portion of its resources to government affairs, it does not contribute huge sums of money to politicians. In its restraint, it perhaps displays evidence of the print industry’s traditional reluctance to donate to politicians. Yet, on the other hand, the most powerful members of the MPA contribute separately and heavily.

JULIE M. WALSH

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MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

With headquarters in Washington, D.C., and offices in Los Angeles, the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) is the trade association for the nation's major motion picture and television production companies. Because the motion picture industry has an oligopolistic structure, the MPAA has only eight members. Communication and decision making can thus be done on an informal basis. It should be noted, however, that the MPAA itself is not small; it has 120 staff members. Yet, unlike other large trade associations, whose members can find themselves at odds with one another, the MPAA is often able to present a united front and, as a result, is a formidable power in Washington. The MPAA serves as an advocate for the motion picture, home video, and television industries in the legislative arena on issues such as copyright protection, antipiracy enforcement, and censorship. Since the movie industry is global in its reach, the MPAA has a related association, the Motion Picture Export Association (MPEA), which represents the industry abroad with nine offices on five continents. Jack Valenti serves as the president of both associations.

HISTORY

The MPAA traces its origins to 1922, when leaders of the emergent studios united to confront what was becoming a hostile environment for the film industry. By that year, no less than six state governments had adopted censorship regulations, in addition to various municipalities that had established boards of censorship. What was worse, several notable scandals had rocked Hollywood in the early 1920s. Worried that more states and perhaps even the national government would opt for censorship regulations, industry leaders formed a trade association and named Postmaster General Will Hays to lead it. Hays, who ran Harding's successful presidential campaign in 1920, had an outstanding reputation and

was thus well-suited to the task of improving the industry's image. When initially formed in 1922, the industry's trade association was called the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America. It retained that name until 1945, when it became the MPAA. At that time, its foreign department, which had been responsible for lobbying efforts abroad, became a separate organization, the MPEA. The MPEA was organized as a legal cartel under the provisions of the Webb-Pomerene Export Trade Act of 1918.

In its early years, the MPAA aimed to improve the public image of the industry and stave off the threat of outright censorship. As it turned out, this goal became a long-term one for the organization and one at which it had much success. Initially, Hays established a public relations committee, which was to be a forum for religious and civic leaders to discuss means to improve the content of motion pictures. Given an outlet to express their views, these critics of the industry were appeased for the remainder of the 1920s. In the face of renewed criticism, the MPAA adopted a more rigorous form of censorship, the Hollywood Production Code, in 1930. When pressure mounted in 1934 for its enforcement and strengthening, the MPAA established the Production Code Administration and named Joseph Breen to lead it. This department would examine all scripts and pictures, and only those movies gaining its seal of approval could be shown in affiliated theaters. The establishment of this office was a significant triumph for the MPAA, as it enabled the industry to prevent a planned boycott by the Legion of Decency, which was a formidable Catholic organization that had the potential to affect the industry's bottom line. Of more significance, the Production Code Administration enabled the industry to avert the threat of government censorship.

The Production Code Administration began to lose its power in the late 1940s and 1950s. Several developments—one of which was a legal victory for the industry—contributed to its demise. In 1952, the Supreme Court extended the protections of the First

Amendment to film, signaling the death knell for censorship. Television and foreign films entered into competition with American film producers in this period as well. For marketing purposes, filmmakers now had incentives to produce movies that had material forbidden on television. As filmmakers followed their financial interests instead of the directives of the administration, the industry once again feared a public reaction and the possibility of government regulation. Under the leadership of Jack Valenti, the MPAA thus established the ratings system in 1968. Once again, the MPAA was successful in appeasing critics and thwarting censorship. The MPAA continues to fight efforts at regulation with much success. Because filmmakers provide much of the programming for television, the MPAA, under the leadership of Valenti, denied the need to curb violence on television in 1993. The MPAA ultimately lent its support to television ratings in 1996, with the caveat that it be done by the industry, not the government. The issue that provided the impetus for the birth of this trade association thus continues to have relevance despite a string of successes in this area.

Perhaps because of its rhetorical commitment to free speech, the MPAA's response to charges of communism by the House Committee on Un-American Activities was not its finest hour and was maybe even its greatest failure. Responding to congressional and public pressure, the MPAA, under the leadership of Eric Johnston, created the infamous black list, whereby those considered disloyal were denied employment in Hollywood. The black listing proceeded through 1951, 1952, and 1953. In this case, the industry clearly and unequivocally placed profits ahead of free speech. The early 1950s were, in fact, a time of economic uncertainty for the industry. In 1948, the landmark *Paramount* case had broken the industry's oligopolistic control of both theaters and producer-distributors. Prior to this case, the leaders of the industry cooperated to eliminate any independents within the industry by refusing to show their films. This vertically integrated oligopoly was attacked by the Justice Department as early as 1938. However, it was not until the *Paramount* case that the vertical oligopoly was broken, signaling a defeat for the industry.

The industry adjusted to the new legal environment quickly. After a brief boycott of television, the major studios learned to utilize the networks as a subsidiary market for licensing films. This arrangement led to some political confrontations in the 1970s when the networks began to produce their own feature films. The Federal Communications Commission instituted Prime-Time Access and Financial Interest and Syndication Rules in 1971, both of which were favor-

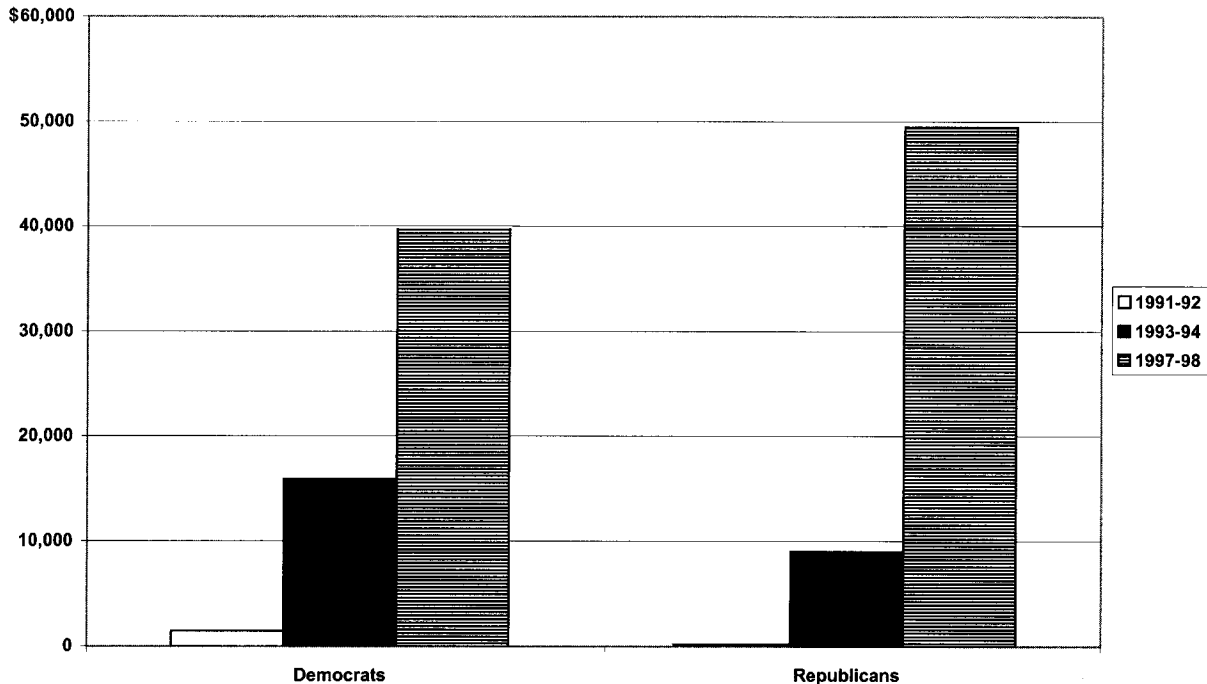
able to the film industry. Prime-Time Access rules placed a maximum on the number of hours that networks could run their own programming, thereby opening the market for studios. The Financial Interest and Syndication Rules removed the networks from the syndication industry and prohibited them from obtaining profit shares in the programming they obtained from independent suppliers. Instead of pursuing a legal challenge to these rules, the networks entered into consent decrees in the late 1970s that accommodated both the film and broadcast industries.

The MPAA has waged political battle with cable operators as well, as it objected to a 1976 law that allowed them to retransmit signals without cost. More recently, the MPAA found itself aligned with the cable industry when Congress passed the Cable Television Consumer Protection and Competition Act of 1992, which gave broadcasters the right to charge cable operators for the use of over-the-air signals, but neglected to require broadcasters to share those revenues with the film industry that creates the programs. Desiring a free market system in which each cable operator negotiates with program providers for retransmission rights, the MPAA was unable to block passage of even this objectionable bill. Thus, the MPAA has had a few setbacks. Yet on balance, the MPAA has been an extraordinarily effective voice for the industry. If the accomplishments of the MPEA were considered as well, the track record would be more impressive. Suffice it to say that the MPEA has been so successful in its foreign lobbying that it is at times referred to as the "little State Department." Because the members of the MPAA depend upon foreign revenue, the success of the MPEA is intricately related to that of the MPAA.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Such pragmatism is the mark of an association engaged in the "insider" lobbying game, as the MPAA is. The MPAA relies upon its connections and financial contributions to gain access to lawmakers. Enhancing the MPAA's clout, its eight members donate heavily to candidates on an individual basis. What is more, lawmakers recognize the significance of the film industry globally as an exporter of American ideology and products. Recently, the MPAA and its affiliated organization, the MPEA, have capitalized on this privileged position to express support for treaties protecting intellectual property, such as those of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). The industry remains poised to

**Motion Picture Association of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1991–1998.

guard against legislative efforts at censorship as well. Coming under fire for its violent and sordid fare in the wake of school shootings and controversy over studies about adolescent sexuality, the film industry has denounced studies that link violence in film and aggressive behavior. The MPAA has thus far had success in thwarting efforts to censor films.

The MPAA oversees the movie ratings system, as the symbols used by that system are federally registered certification marks of the MPAA. However, the Ratings Board is structured as an independent body so as to be immune from industry pressure, though its critics charge otherwise. The chairperson of the board is in fact selected by Valenti, the MPAA president. The ratings system is intended to stave off attempts at censorship and improve the public image of the industry. Closely related to its concerns about copyright protection, the MPAA directs an antipiracy program as well.

Looking ahead, the MPAA will become even more dependent on international markets, as the film industry is certainly not exempt from the trends of vertical integration and globalization that have swept the communications industry. Deferring to these trends, the FCC lifted Prime-Time Access and Financial Interest

and Syndication Rules in the mid 1990s. The networks were thus able to act as gatekeepers, deciding what to air and at what price. Surely, this legal environment provides an advantage for those studios—such as Disney, that own an over-the-air outlet—and thus provides an impetus for vertical integration. Ten years ago, the MPAA's membership was comprised of independent American film studios, whereas now most of its members are under foreign ownership or are subsidiaries of larger corporations. The MPAA, like other trade associations in the communications industry, will have to adjust to a universe in which the interests of media outlets, such as broadcasters and cable operators, are increasingly one with their own.

FINANCIAL FACTS

As a legislative advocate for the industry, the MPAA spends a substantial amount of money on lobbying. In calendar year 1997, for example, the MPAA paid \$600,000 to lobbyists. Like other associations, the MPAA also has its own political action committee

(PAC), which has shown steady increases in its contributions over the last few election cycles. In the 1991–1992 election cycle, the PAC had contributions of \$1,500 compared to \$89,118 in the 1997–1998 cycle. This increase is undoubtedly attributable to congressional consideration of the landmark Telecommunications Act of 1996 and forms of censorship, such as the V-chip. In the 1995–1996 election cycle, its PAC had receipts of \$76,478 and expenditures of \$80,608. In the prior two election cycles, its political contributions were:

	Total	Democrat	%	Republican	%
1995–96	\$65,612	31,932	49	33,680	51
1997–98	\$89,118	39,771	45	49,347	55

This partisan distribution represented a break from prior years, as the MPAA was formerly known for its

Democratic bias. Once the Republicans took control of Congress in 1995, the MPAA adjusted to the new configuration of power and altered its giving habits. Continuing the new pattern, the MPAA also gave \$4,000 in soft money to the Republicans in 1998.

JULIE M. WALSH

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS

Based in Washington, D.C., the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) is perhaps the leading voice for the radio and television broadcasting industries. The association's 7,500 members consist primarily of radio and television stations licensed in the United States and its territories. Associate membership is offered to individuals and companies that offer products and services to the electronic media industries. While the NAB provides its members with information about market and industry trends, its primary mission is to monitor legislation and regulations at all governmental levels that could impact the broadcast industry.

HISTORY

The NAB traces its origins to 1922 when a group of radio station operators and radio receiver manufacturers joined together to pursue common interests. At the time, there was little government regulation over radio as well as a brewing battle over the allocation of spectrum. Under the leadership of its first president, Eugene McDonald, the NAB proposed and supported the formation of an independent commission to regulate the industry. Commercial broadcasters supported regulation because of the growing number of radio stations, which led to interference in the airwaves. In this first campaign, the NAB met with success: a temporary commission, the Federal Radio Commission, was established in 1927 and a permanent one, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), in 1934. Throughout its long and quite successful history, the NAB has changed its name and has also absorbed other associations, namely, the Television Broadcasters Association (1951), the Day-time Broadcasters Association (1985), and the National Radio Broadcasters Association (1986). The organization itself was formerly called the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters.

The 1934 Communications Act was landmark leg-

islation for the media industry, essentially defining the governmental role for years to come. Indeed, it remained the most significant law until the Telecommunications Act of 1996 and even since that, it has retained much relevance. Prior to the passage of this act, the issue of commercialism was on the table, with an organized broadcast reform movement tapping into public disdain for the increasing commercialization of radio. The debate over commercialization, to the extent that it occurred in 1934, focused on the Wagner-Hatfield amendment to the act. Calling for the revocation of broadcasting licenses within 90 days, the reallocation of 25 percent of all frequencies to nonprofit groups, and an allowance whereby nonprofit stations could sell air time to defray their expenses, this amendment would have been a major victory for the reformers or those seeking to limit commercialization. Needless to say, the broadcast industry and thus the NAB were opposed to the amendment since it would reduce commercial revenue by as much as 25 percent and extend the reach of regulation. The amendment was defeated with a recommendation that the newly created FCC study the issue, a clear victory for the NAB. From this point forward, organized opposition to commercialism was replaced with weaker voices complaining about "excessive" commercialization only.

Successful in its bids for a regulatory body and commercial structure, the NAB then adapted well to this framework. Perhaps its most significant victory came in 1963, when the NAB defeated the FCC's attempt to restrict commercial advertisements in the broadcast industry. At this time, the FCC proposed the adoption of rules that would require all broadcast stations to observe the limitations on advertising time as set forth in the NAB's radio and television codes. Despite the fact that the FCC was asking only that the industry adhere to its own standards, the industry, represented by the NAB, mounted a successful campaign to defeat the enforcement of any standards. The NAB focused its lobbying efforts on the House of Representatives, which ulti-

mately passed an amendment that prevented the FCC from limiting advertising time. Gently reminding legislators that less profitable stations would not be able to fund local news, which would threaten their ability to send messages home, the NAB was able to convince congressional members to identify their interests with those of the broadcast industry. Although no action was taken on this bill in the Senate, the FCC got the message and refrained from making any general rules in this area. The episode was a clear victory for the NAB and a severe blow to the power and prestige of the FCC. When Congress passed the Public Broadcasting Act in 1967, which paved the way for public stations, it had the acquiescence of the NAB. By this time, commercial broadcasters had dropped resistance to a public system, based on the theory that it would do unprofitable cultural and public affairs programming, thereby relieving them of the responsibility. What is more, the NAB succeeded in persuading Congress to drop a sales tax on radios and televisions, which was originally going to provide the funding for the public system.

The NAB has additionally ensured that the interests of its members were served well by technological advances and the regulatory responses to them. For example, in 1962, the NAB was able to rebuff a major threat from UHF technology by lending its support to a legislative compromise that protected VHF interests as much as possible. Likewise, the NAB and the industry were successful in convincing the FCC to slow the expansion of cable in the 1960s and early 1970s. Court rulings in the late 1970s paved the way for cable's expansion and thus could be viewed as a defeat for the broadcast industry.

The NAB has waged and continues to mount successful bids to limit the regulatory reach of the FCC in substantive broadcasting as well. A major victory on this front came with the demise of the Fairness Doctrine in the late 1980s. This doctrine required broadcasters to present balanced views of controversial issues. The NAB charged that rules such as this and the Equal Time Provision, which required stations that granted or sold air time to any one political candidate to grant or sell others equal time, implied second-class status for broadcasters compared to print journalists, who had no such guidelines. After the FCC repealed these rules, the NAB lobbied Congress successfully to prevent their return in the form of legislation.

In the early 1990s, the NAB suffered a minor defeat when the Children's Television Act was passed. This law placed limits on advertising time and noted that broadcasters had a duty to meet children's educational and informational needs. However, the act provided

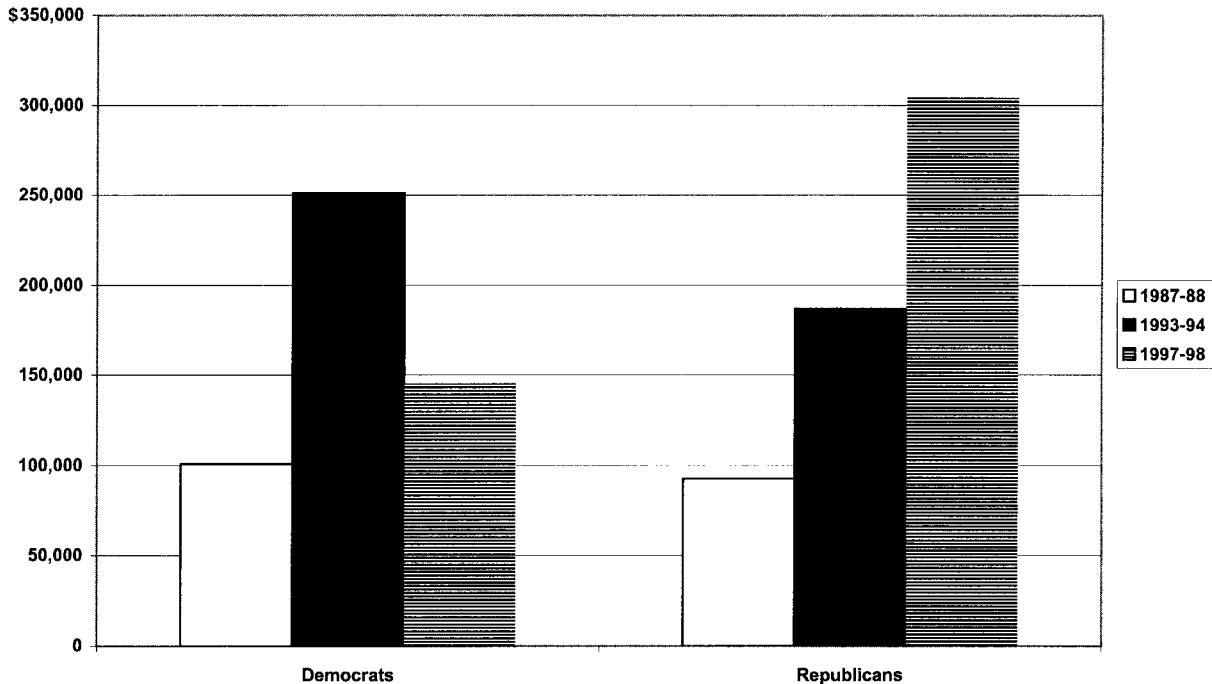
only vague standards and failed to ban product-based programs, features that minimized the scope of this legislative loss to the industry. The NAB posted an unconditional victory in its effort to defeat a proposal for a Public Broadcasting Trust Fund in 1995. The fund would have been partially supported by a tax on commercial stations.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In light of the dollar sums involved, it is evident that the NAB is heavily involved in the "insider game" of lobbying. At one time, the NAB expressed reluctance about joining the political action committee (PAC) "game." Indeed, when the formation of a PAC was initially discussed in 1972, the Board of Directors would not allow the discussion to be recorded in the minutes. Given the current stakes of federal policy, the NAB is less circumspect about seeking access to lawmakers via contributions. Members of Congress may, in fact, be particularly susceptible to the pleas of the broadcast industry not only because of the substantial sums spent on lobbying, but also due to their reliance on broadcasters for exposure to their constituents. Typically, several members of Congress attend the NAB's annual convention in Washington, D.C. Although the FCC is specifically charged with the regulation of the broadcast industry, the NAB has long recognized the influence of Congress over that body and has waged successful lobbying campaigns to thwart regulations by focusing its efforts on Congress. That is not to say that the NAB does not lobby the FCC. To the contrary, the NAB exerts a considerable influence over both the FCC and Congress by providing information about proposed policies and technological developments. It further promotes ties with the FCC by inviting the committee's chairperson to speak at its annual convention.

In recent times, the NAB has had a host of issues on which to concentrate its lobbying efforts. For example, it has fought attempts to require that broadcasters provide free or discounted air time to political candidates and resisted legislative efforts to limit the tax deductibility of alcohol advertising. Additionally, the NAB has been a voice for the broadcast industry at a time when laws are being rewritten to accommodate technological changes. Exemplary of its efforts in these areas are its campaign to secure the spectrum that television broadcasters will need to make the transition to digital technology and its success in defeating both new spectrum user fees and the application of new performance rights

**National Association of Broadcasters
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

to radio stations. The association counts the 1996 Telecommunications Act and the 1992 Cable Act among its recent legislative victories. The 1992 act granted permission to broadcasters to charge cable operators for the retransmission of local signals, which had previously been grabbed out of the air for free. The 1996 act not only relaxed limits on the ownership of networks, but also guaranteed existing television broadcasters first opportunity to obtain spectrum for a new generation of digital broadcasts and extended the terms of radio and television licenses. In addition to its lobbying activities, the NAB assists members in meeting their public and community service requirements and engages in some educational activities.

In sum, the NAB has a long history of involvement in the legislative process and too many legislative achievements to chronicle here. It has been an extraordinarily effective voice for the industry. Indeed, one major threat to the future of the NAB has come as a result of its own success. As its membership increases, the NAB could find that its own members' interests might conflict. Some members, most significantly the Big Three networks, have already formed separate associations to represent their interests more specifically.

Despite the creation of more specialized interest groups, the NAB remains an authoritative voice for the broadcast industry, which has flourished in recent years. After dire predictions about the industry's inability to survive a world dominated by cable, the broadcast industry posted record profits in the mid 1990s. This medium retains its popularity partly because it alone can reach a mass audience at minimal cost per viewer, a very attractive feature for advertisers. If the industry remains profitable, its voice is sure to remain powerful. In the future, the NAB will closely monitor technological issues affecting television, such as spectrum allocation for digital television, and legislation impacting the ownership structure of the broader entertainment industry. As vertical integration continues to sweep this industry, the NAB will look to advance the financial interests of broadcasters.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NAB employs a staff of approximately 165 people and has an operating budget of \$27 million, numbers

that clearly demonstrate its significance. Indeed, for the calendar year 1997, the NAB was ranked 45th in spending for outside lobbyists, with expenditures of \$4,680,000. Its political action committee (PAC) had receipts of \$739,226 and expenditures of \$664,204 in the 1995–1996 election cycle. Its contributions in the last two election cycles were:

	Total	Democrat	%	Republican	%
1995–96	\$430,910	122,750	28	308,160	72
1997–98	\$450,103	145,560	32	304,543	68

The NAB’s Republican bias was evident in its soft-money donations in 1997–1998 as well, since it gave \$26,000 to that party and only \$2,196 to the Democratic Party. However, this disparity should not be interpreted as an indication of an ideological agenda on the NAB’s part. The NAB is pragmatic in its orientation, a fact that is best detected in its allocation of contributions in the

1993–1994 election cycle when Democrats controlled Congress. In that cycle, 57 percent of its \$437,990 in contributions was given to Democrats, with the remainder donated to Republicans.

JULIE M. WALSH

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NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSOCIATION

The National Cable Television Association (NCTA), located in Washington, D.C., is the nation’s largest cable trade association with approximately 3,075 members. Its membership consists primarily of cable systems, but also includes cable program networks and businesses that supply and service the industry. Indicative of its significance, the NCTA speaks on behalf of cable systems that serve more than 80 percent of the country’s 64 million subscribers. While the mission of the NCTA is to advance the interests of the cable television industry before the national and state governments, it additionally provides its members with media services and research, publications, and scientific and technological assistance. The NCTA is guided by a board of directors, comprised of chief executive officers of its members’ companies, and organized into working committees that address issues affecting the industry. It employs a staff of approximately 92 individuals.

HISTORY

The NCTA was founded in 1952, four years after the birth of cable television. It was formerly called the National Community Television Association. Cable television’s birth resulted from a Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ruling that placed a freeze on the licensing of broadcast stations in 1948. Because of the freeze, many rural communities had no or very poor reception. Retailers of television sets in these areas erected “community antennas” on hilltops to receive broadcast signals and then retransmitted the signals through a cable that fed homes in the areas of poor reception. By 1950, the first pay-cable service was instituted. The FCC’s freeze lasted until 1952 when it announced a new frequency allocation plan. It was in this year that the NCTA was formed, perhaps in recognition of the burgeoning industry’s debt to federal regulation. The new allocation rules provided

viewers with few options, a consequence that enabled cable to entice viewers with more choices in programming. Initially, the broadcast industry welcomed cable as a means to expand its market into rural areas. However, once the cable industry moved into cities solely to increase the number of stations available, it transformed itself from a partner of the broadcast industry to a competitor. Facing competition as formidable as the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), it is not surprising that cable companies formed a trade association.

Indeed, the NAB immediately sought relief from the FCC. The cable industry was allowed to develop for about a decade—not because of the newly formed NCTA’s clout, but because the FCC deemed the industry weak, engaged primarily in local retransmission. The cable industry had a slow start, as it took 15 years to connect the first million subscribers. As it began to grow more rapidly in the 1960s, the FCC responded to the concerns of broadcasters, not to the interests of the cable industry. In 1962, the FCC required cable carriers to demonstrate that they would provide only local signals. Much more detrimentally for the NCTA and cable industry, the FCC announced major restrictions on cable in 1966. Reversing its earlier declaration about a lack of jurisdiction over cable, the FCC required an effective halt to distant signal importation into the nation’s top 100 markets. This freeze was a major defeat for the emergent cable industry, drastically reducing its rate of growth for the next decade.

Although the FCC lifted the ban in 1972, it simultaneously imposed very restrictive rules on the cable industry. Once again, the interests of broadcasters were elevated over those of the cable industry. Cable companies were required to carry all local broadcast signals, were restricted in the number of distant signals they could import, and were greatly limited in their ability to offer movies, sporting events, and syndicated programming. Fortunately for the cable industry, however, these rules had a very short life. Indeed, concerted efforts

by the NCTA at all governmental levels led to a gradual relaxation of cable restrictions throughout the decade. Aided especially by favorable Supreme Court decisions, the industry was poised for a major growth surge by the end of the 1970s. For example, Home Box Office, launched in 1972 as the first subscription television service, challenged the most restrictive of the FCC's rules and was able to get them struck down as unconstitutional. In fact, by 1979, the Supreme Court had virtually eliminated the jurisdiction of the FCC over the cable industry with the exception of those matters affecting the use of broadcast spectrum.

Congress had also responded somewhat to the concerns of the NCTA in 1976 when drafting copyright reform legislation. To be sure, the law advanced the interests of the broadcast industry by requiring cable operators to pay royalties for the importation of distant signals. However, it additionally accorded cable systems a "compulsory copyright license," allowing them to retransmit broadcast signals without permission, and the law allowed for the retransmission of local signals without royalty payments. The NCTA, then, was beginning to achieve some recognition in Washington, as legislators were now acknowledging its concerns.

In 1984, the NCTA and the cable industry were able to claim their first unequivocal success on the legislative front when Congress passed the Cable Communications Policy Act. Considered in the wake of a long debate between the National League of Cities and the cable industry, the law favored the interests of the latter as it deregulated rates for all cable systems facing "effective competition" from regular broadcasting stations. This provision essentially relieved cable systems of municipal rate regulation and, accordingly, allowed for a surge in cable's growth. There were, to be sure, other provisions in the bill that were not in cable's interests, such as public and leased access provisions, both of which would negatively affect cable's profits. Yet because of lax enforcement and confusion over language, these provisions were weak in their overall impact.

These gains were reversed in 1992 when Congress moved to reregulate the cable industry with the passage of the Cable Television Consumer Protection and Competition Act. This law returned some of the power that local governments once possessed to regulate cable rates and mandated the FCC to set a standard rate for the most basic level of service offered by those cable operators that lack competition. What was worse in the NCTA's eyes, the law aimed to ensure cable's competitors, such as home satellite dishes, better access to cable-owned programming. This provi-

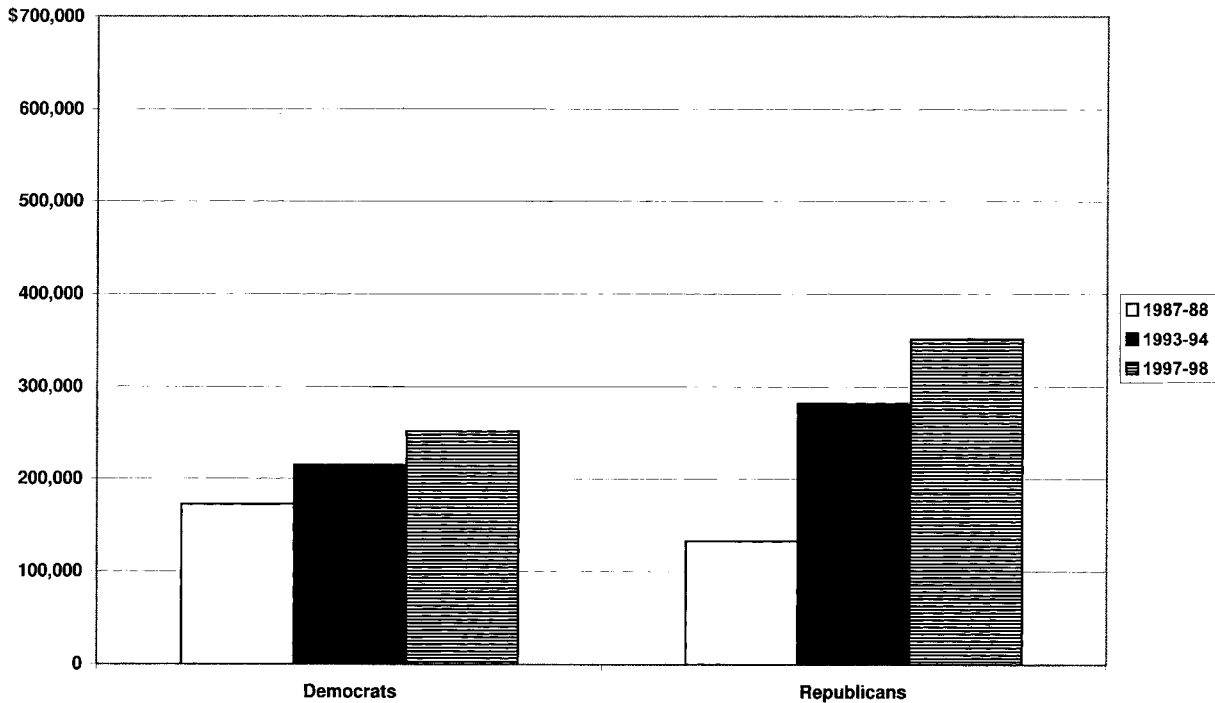
sion especially attracted the ire of the NCTA, which perceived it as dictating to whom and on what terms cable operators could sell programming. However, the NCTA focused its attack on a provision that allowed broadcasters to charge cable operators to retransmit local signals, effectively erasing a benefit of the 1976 law. Arguing that such a provision would boost, not lower, cable rates, the NCTA attempted to rally public support against the law. Despite political action committee (PAC) contributions of nearly \$512,000, an amount greater than all other cable interests and the NAB, and a public relations blitz, the NCTA was unable to stop this act from becoming law. Indeed, the Democratic Congress overrode President George Bush's veto, for the first time in his presidency, to pass this act. Its passage marked a significant defeat for the NCTA and was exceptional in its reversal of a deregulatory trend in the communications industry.

The cable industry was given regulatory relief four years later with the passage of the historic Telecommunications Act, which deregulated rates for virtually all cable television packages. The law additionally enabled telephone companies to provide cable and video programming and generally relaxed barriers for consolidation within the telecommunications industry, inclusive of cable operators, phone companies, and broadcasters. To be sure, selected regulations pursuant to the 1992 law remained in place, but the NCTA could count the 1996 act as a success.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

For the most part, the NCTA engages in the "insider game" of lobbying, contributing to campaigns, attending fund-raisers, and providing information to legislators. Its PAC targets contributions to those with committee jurisdiction over issues affecting the industry, a practice that denotes sophistication. Because cable television is subject to state and local jurisdiction in that its systems must be constructed on public streets, the NCTA pays attention to state legislators as well as congressional ones. The NCTA has also been willing to support its members in court cases challenging laws that disadvantage the cable industry in favor of broadcasters or others. On occasion, the NCTA and the cable industry additionally have tried their hands at what some label "astroturf" lobbying, which is an attempt to create the illusion of grassroots support for an issue. In 1992, for example, the NCTA sponsored an advertising campaign to encourage subscribers to contact

**National Cable Television Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

Congress and express their disapproval of pending legislation. That tactic is rather unusual, though, as conflict about legislation affecting the industry typically has low importance. With the expiration of the FCC's authority to control cable markets on March 31, 1999, the NCTA will undoubtedly continue to fight against proposals in Congress to cap cable rates, increase competition, or reinstate the FCC's jurisdiction over the issue. Like other trade associations, the NCTA provides information about the industry and attempts to aid in its professional development as well.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 together with developments in technology have worked to erode distinctions among media industries. The digital revolution, in particular, has eliminated technological barriers dividing media from telephony, and both from computers. Ultimately, all forms of data will be stored in interchangeable digital bits, which, when combined with satellite and fiber-optic communications networks, will become the basis for an information superhighway. Already, cable and telephone services have converged, as each is capable of offering the other's services. Given this technological reality and the opportunity in the law, cable and telephone

companies have thus merged in several instances. These combined entities are in an excellent position to develop and sell Internet services to their existing customers. Although they will surely face competition in the Internet market, the power of those in the cable industry positions them well to emerge as competitors in other communications markets. The cable television industry has traversed from a collection of locally owned franchises to large multiple-system operators to combined telephone-cable operators. As one voice of this increasingly concentrated and powerful industry, the NCTA will monitor such issues as the Internet and potential restrictions over vertical integration in media markets. Its voice will be reinforced by the powerful lobbies representing the telephone industry.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Like many trade associations, the NCTA has established a political action committee (PAC). In the 1995–1996 election cycle, its PAC had receipts of \$618,053 and

expenditures of \$641,640. Its political contributions in the past two election cycles were:

	Total	Democrat	%	Republican	%
1995–96	\$547,346	174,870	32	372,476	68
1997–98	\$602,968	249,388	41	353,580	59

Interestingly, the NCTA’s PAC contributed greater amounts to the Democrats in the 1991–1992 election cycle and those preceding it, a pattern that exposes its pragmatic orientation since the Democrats were in power at that time. However, the PAC donated more to the Republicans than the Democrats in the 1993–1994 election cycle, before the Republicans had captured Congress. That switch might be explained by the NCTA’s anger with legislation passed by the Democratic Congress in the 1991–1992 cycle in spite of its heavy spending. As with other powerful interest groups, PAC spending represents only one portion of the

NCTA’s lobbying budget. For example, in 1997, the NCTA spent \$3,360,000 on lobbyists, placing it among the top 100 spenders of all those lobbying in Washington. Given these sums, the NCTA is clearly an important player in the policy-making process.

JULIE M. WALSH

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NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Based in Vienna, Virginia, the Newspaper Association of America (NAA) is the major trade association for the \$51 billion newspaper industry. It has over 1,500 members who together account for 87 percent of U.S. daily circulation. Although the NAA represents a significant number of independent newspapers, most of its members are part of national chains, such as Gannett and Knight-Ridder, and/or larger media conglomerates. Like the other sectors of the media industry, the newspaper business is increasingly under the control of media conglomerates. Indeed, newspapers suffer from a lack of competition on two fronts. Less than 2 percent of American cities now have more than one daily newspaper in competition and over 75 percent of these monopolistic dailies are owned by large chains. As an advocate of this concentrated industry, the NAA concerns itself with five major areas of interest—marketing, public policy, diversity, industry development, and newspaper operations. Representing the industry in Washington, the NAA attempts to foster a positive business environment for newspapers. More specifically, it focuses upon issues such as postal rates and reorganization, copyright protection of online materials, and tax issues, all of which affect the fortunes of the newspaper industry.

HISTORY

The NAA was formed in 1992 by the merger of seven associations, namely the American Newspaper Publishing Association (ANPA), the Newspaper Advertising Bureau, the Association of Newspaper Classified Advertising Managers, the International Circulation Managers Association, the International Newspapers Advertising and Marketing Executives, the Newspaper Advertising Co-op Network, and the Newspaper Research Council. Of these seven, the ANPA was the most

significant voice on behalf of the industry prior to the merger. It was founded to advance the economic interests of newspapers in 1887, a time when the industry was concerned about the protection of postal subsidies, newsprint tariffs, and copyright and libel laws. Years before the creation of the ANPA, Congress granted a full postal subsidy to newspapers mailed to subscribers in the county where the paper was published. The ANPA successfully defended this subsidy in the face of periodic legislative threats until 1962, when it was finally repealed. Even then, the subsidy was phased out and thus not fully withdrawn until 1993.

Throughout its history, the ANPA was successful in winning special treatment from Congress in other areas as well. The ANPA asked for favorable treatment on the grounds that the industry’s work was essential to the proper functioning of a democracy. The Supreme Court was not all that sympathetic to this argument, ruling in the 1940s that news organizations are not exempt from economic regulations that pertain to them as businesses. Beginning in 1939, Congress, on the other hand, relieved news deliverers from minimum wage, overtime, social security, and child labor laws. In addition, Congress provided tax exemptions for activities intended to increase circulation.

This tradition of exemption was continued with the passage of the Newspaper Preservation Act of 1970, which was supported by the ANPA. This act prevented antitrust actions against several newspapers that shared printing and advertising operations, but maintained separate editorial functions. While perhaps intended to assist newspapers in economic trouble, it contributed to the consolidation of the newspaper industry. When the energy crisis hit later in the decade, the newspaper industry succeeded again in winning favorable treatment. In the event of gas rationing, newspaper distribution would be classified as a priority, which would entitle newspapers to extra allotments at the normal price.

The ANPA also benefitted from the Freedom of Information Act and a string of Supreme Court decisions, such as *New York Times v. United States* (1971), or the Pentagon Papers case, that protected freedom of speech and the press. More recently, its successor, the NAA, has been able to obtain reductions in federal estate taxes and the protection of online databases, inclusive of classified advertisements. Despite the industry's historical reluctance to lobby, then, it has been very successful in furthering its interests in the legislative arena. Legislators are well aware of the power wielded over public opinion by newspapers across the country, and for this reason, are perhaps more inclined to respond to the subtle pleas of this lobby.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The NAA takes an "insider" approach to lobbying, joining coalitions with other organizations, filing amicus curiae, or "friend of the court," briefs on issues of concern, and interacting with legislators on informal and formal bases. It targets all levels of government in its lobbying efforts, but pays the greatest attention to the national government. It is in that arena that most of the high-stakes issues are decided. In recent years, the NAA has focused its lobbying efforts on postal reorganization, repeal of estate taxes that impact family-owned businesses, copyright protection for online products, and the relaxation or elimination of rules against cross-ownership of media, such as the one barring a newspaper from owning a broadcast television or radio station in the same market. The NAA was especially concerned with a proposal to allow the Postal Service to bypass the Postal Rate Commission in granting volume discounts and special rates to large mailers. Fearing that the Postal Service will grant favorable rates to advertising mailers and shift the expense to newspapers and others, the NAA is strongly opposed to the proposal. Estate taxes are of interest to the NAA because they have the potential to threaten local businesses, which are a major source of revenue for newspapers. With the rest of the media industry, the NAA advocates copyright protection to prevent piracy of materials from its databases. It, too, then is another voice in support of enforcing legislation for the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) treaties.

Like other trade associations, the NAA provides information to its members about the industry, pertinent

legislation, and technological developments via conferences and publications. To serve its members and advertisers, it operates an Information Resource Center as well. Because newspapers depend upon an educated citizenry, the NAA administers programs designed to promote literacy via newspapers. Focusing primarily on schools, the NAA operates a Newspaper in Education program, which encourages educators to use newspapers in every subject. It has recently instituted grants to provide funding for student newspapers as well. The NAA devotes the greatest amount of its energy to marketing efforts on behalf of the industry. Indeed, in 1997, marketing accounted for 37 percent of the NAA's total expenses. The association runs hundreds of programs, mainly directed at increasing advertising revenues for the industry. Via these programs and its promotion of readership and literacy, the NAA advocates the most fundamental interests of the industry.

Recently reorganized, the newspapers' major trade association, the NAA, is likely to continue in that role. Because of the concentration of ownership in newspapers, it is likely to favor the interests of the chains in the event that they conflict with independents. Like the other trade associations in the media industry, the convergence with other sectors, such as broadcasting, could ultimately challenge its role, or at the least affect its consideration of interests. In the meantime, the NAA will continue to focus on public policy issues, such as copyright protection and postal rates, that specifically impact newspapers.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NAA is a financially strong organization, with a budget of \$37.7 million in 1997 and a staff of approximately 200. Of its \$36.1 million in expenses for that same year, the NAA allocated only 8.5 percent to its public policy division. Indicative of the traditional reluctance of the print industry to engage in lobbying activities, the NAA does not have a political action committee (PAC). However, it is actively engaged in lobbying. Of those in the printing and publishing industries, it spent the most on lobbyists in 1997, a sum of \$1,362,048. Additionally, the NAA contributed \$1,500 in soft money to the Democratic Party in 1995. As newspapers have become increasingly entangled with the broadcast media as a result of overlapping ownership interests, their trade associ-

ations have been more likely to participate in the lobbying process. With a history of government regulation by the Federal Communications Commission, the broadcast media have fewer qualms about involvement in the political process.

JULIE M. WALSH

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RECORDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Based in Washington, D.C., the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) is the major trade association for the producers, manufacturers, and distributors of sound recordings. The recording industry is highly concentrated, with only six major players, namely Warner Music, Sony Music, PolyGram, BMG, EMI, and MCA. As the industry's voice, the RIAA is most often the mouthpiece of these companies, collectively known as the "Big Six." The RIAA's Board of Directors is composed of four representatives from each of the Big Six companies and seven representatives of independent companies. Despite the dominance of the Big Six in the industry, the RIAA boasts a membership of 250. Its members distribute approximately 90 percent of all legitimate sound recordings produced and sold in the United States. All of the RIAA's members are creators, manufacturers, or distributors of recordings, as membership is not open to those who service the industry or to individuals. The mission of the RIAA is to promote a business and legal climate that enhances the creative and financial vitality of its members. To fulfill its mission, the RIAA takes a special interest in persuading lawmakers to strengthen copyright protections and to avoid censorship.

HISTORY

In May 1952, the newly formed RIAA registered an expressed legislative interest in a bill to amend the U.S. code with respect to recording and performing rights in literary works. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) lifted its freeze on broadcast licensing in this same year, which, in turn, would lead to more FM radio stations and thus a greater demand for musical recordings. African-American rhythm and blues began to attract a white, teenage market around 1952 as well. The RIAA, then, formed at a time of great promise for the

industry. Originally called the Record Industry Association of America, the trade association changed to its current name in 1970.

For almost the first two decades of its existence, the RIAA had very little success on its primary issue, copyright protection. With the introduction of the eight-track tape player in the early 1960s, the volume of unauthorized tape sales, or piracy, began to explode. Despite strong appeals at the federal and state levels for antipiracy legislation, only eight states had passed such laws by 1971. In its early years, the RIAA simply did not have the clout of other trade associations in the communications industry, such as the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), which, on behalf of radio stations, initially resisted copyright protection for recordings. The RIAA's first major success came in the early 1970s, when Congress finally extended copyright protection to the owners of sound recordings. In a concession to the NAB, radio broadcasters were relieved of paying any royalties to recording companies. Furthermore, the copyright was subject to the "First Sale Doctrine," which placed no restriction on the resale or rental of legitimately acquired copies. Despite these compromises, the recording industry was at last included under the umbrella of copyright protection when this law took effect in 1972.

From that point forward, the RIAA worked to strengthen and enforce its long-coveted copyright protection. Teaming with the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) in 1982, the RIAA convinced Congress to stiffen the criminal penalties for the piracy of recordings and motion pictures. In 1984, at the urging of the RIAA, Congress passed the Record Rental Amendment to the earlier Copyright Act. This amendment created an exception to the First Sale Doctrine to allow the owners of recording copyrights to prohibit the rental of phonograms. By this time, rentals posed a real threat to the recording industry, as customers could pur-

chase a blank tape and a rental copy for considerably less money than an original.

Another area of concern for both the RIAA and the MPAA was home recordings. In its attempts to limit losses associated with home recordings, the RIAA has had less success. Congress passed the Audio Home Recording Act in 1992, which was the result of compromise among competing interests. Although the act exempts home taping from liability for copyright infringement, it levies a royalty on the sale of digital recording devices and blank digital media. From the RIAA's perspective, the act addressed the most likely source of future losses and provided some compensation for losses due to home taping. The RIAA scored another limited victory in 1995 when Congress passed the Digital Performance Right in Sound Recordings Act. This act serves mainly to protect against the pirating of digital copies over the Internet or via satellite, as it exempts broadcasters from its provisions. Of course, the RIAA counts the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) treaties among its recent successes as well.

Although copyright protection has been the main focus of the RIAA's lobbying efforts in the past, it has also been concerned with censorship, antitrust, and other issues. Beginning in the late 1980s and continuing into the 1990s, the music industry has come under fire for lyrics deemed to be violent, profane, and misogynist. Congressional hearings were held in which groups, such as the Parents Music Resource Center, complained about the effects of these lyrics on children. To prevent government involvement in this area, the industry agreed to a system of self-regulation. Recordings with offensive lyrics would henceforward be identified by warning labels. The RIAA has successfully lobbied against state laws that would prohibit the sale to minors of recordings with these labels. To date, the industry has been successful in avoiding federal regulation in this area. Given the highly oligopolistic structure of the recording industry, the RIAA has been able to resist antitrust legislation as well.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Consistent with other trade associations, the RIAA opts for an "insider" approach to lobbying. It thus relies primarily upon its financial contributions and connections to gain access to lawmakers. However, because of the notoriety of musicians, the RIAA complements its insider strategies with public appeals by recording artists

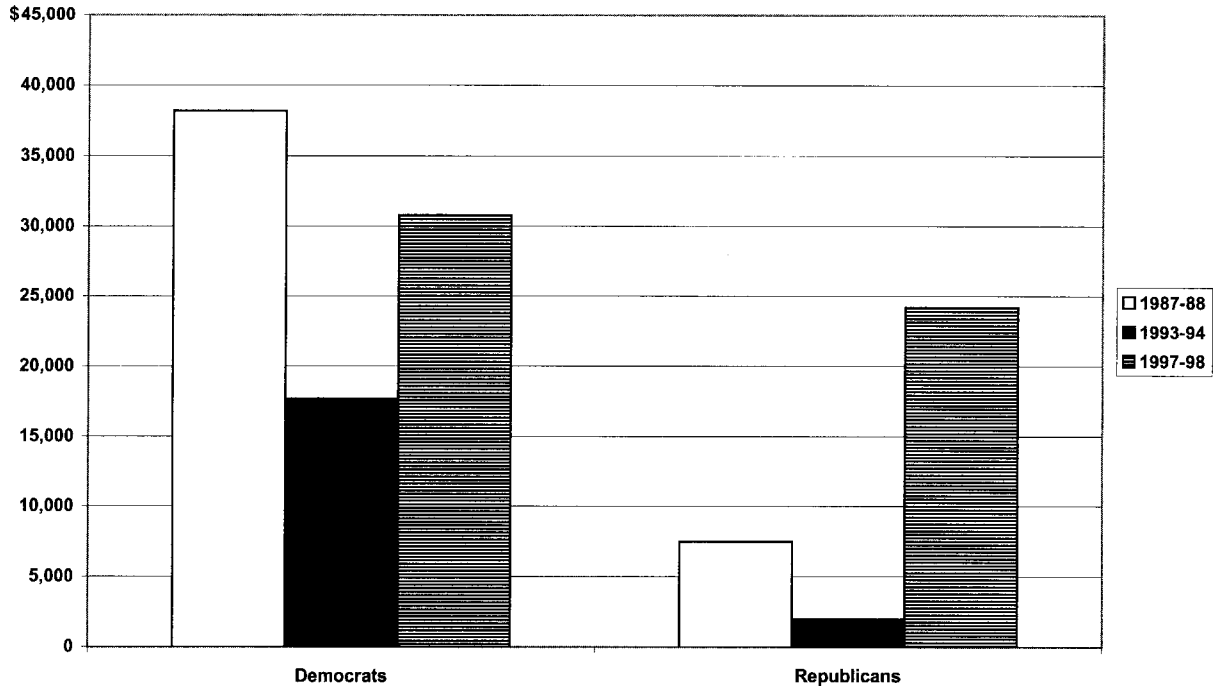
when their interests are one with its own. The RIAA has been instrumental in bringing artists to testify before Congress about its legislative priorities. No issue is of greater concern to the RIAA than copyright protection. Without copyrights, its major revenue stream would decline precipitously. For this reason, the RIAA has focused most of its current lobbying activities on winning the ratification of the WIPO treaties and on obtaining legislation to enforce their guarantees.

The RIAA has produced artists to speak against censorship of musical lyrics as well. In fact, the RIAA has waged political fights on the state level against the imposition of community standards of decency and restrictions on sales of offensive music to minors. In these cases, the RIAA has the cooperation of recording artists and relies on inside pressure and public advocacy to obtain results. The RIAA's interests are not always one with recording artists, however, as a debate over an amendment to a bankruptcy bill demonstrated in recent years. By donating to the political campaigns of legislators and providing information to Congress, the RIAA was able to win an exemption from a bankruptcy law to diminish the likelihood that musicians could use bankruptcy to escape their record contracts. In this instance, the RIAA employed a purely "insider" strategy with much success.

Many of the RIAA's nonlobbying activities are closely related to its primary concern, the protection of copyrights. For example, it has launched an educational campaign aimed at persuading young people, particularly college students, about the importance of respecting copyrights. The RIAA also supports the search for technological solutions to copyright concerns. To that end, the association hosted a technology forum in 1997. When necessary, the RIAA has litigated on behalf of its members to protect copyrights as well. Finally, the RIAA, in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has participated in an antipiracy campaign. Because of its concern with piracy, the RIAA opened a Miami office in August 1998. The office is to serve as a conduit between the RIAA and the U.S. Hispanic music industry, which has the highest rates of piracy. The RIAA is also known for its Gold and Platinum awards bestowed upon recordings that sell in excess of 500,000 and 1 million copies, respectively. Like other trade associations, the RIAA provides its members with information about consumers, the industry, and technical developments through its publications. Clearly, then, the RIAA acts to further the interests of its members on many fronts.

The RIAA faces the future with a new leader, Hilary Rosen, who took the reins of power from Jay Berman

**Recording Industry of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

in January 1998. Because recording artists can now create their own web sites and sell their products directly to consumers, the RIAA must face the challenge of obsolescence and emphasize the importance of the industry’s role as a mediator between customers and artists. It has already begun to do so by reminding artists of the importance of traditional marketing. Of more pressing relevance, the RIAA will continue to confront the threat to copyright revenues posed by digital technology and the Internet. Digital technology makes it possible to translate all forms of expression, such as text, movies, and music, into a digital code that can be reproduced for global audiences and then copied by those audiences. To achieve technical solutions to the problem of digital piracy, the recording industry will need to cooperate with Internet service providers, the computer industry, and manufacturers of network equipment and computer software. Because recorded music is considered the most concentrated global media market, it is also ripe for further consolidation. As the structure of the communications industry continues to evolve, the RIAA, like all other trade associations in this industry, might have to adjust its mission and perhaps its organization.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Like other trade associations, the RIAA has established a political action committee (PAC) to donate to political candidates. In the 1995–1996 election cycle, its PAC had receipts of \$117,125 and expenditures of \$90,382. In the past two election cycles, its contributions were:

	Total	Democrat	%	Republican	%
1995–96	\$73,839	47,839	65	26,000	35
1997–98	\$55,002	30,802	56	24,200	44

The RIAA had been more skewed in its Democratic bias prior to 1995. For example, only 6 and 10 percent of its PAC contributions went to the Republicans in the 1991–1992 and 1993–1994 cycles, respectively. The RIAA dramatically increased its donations to Republicans in the election cycle immediately following their capture of Congress. As a trade association, the RIAA undoubtedly adopts a pragmatic philosophy and thereby contributes to those most likely to win office.

The RIAA does not limit its political spending to

PAC contributions. To the contrary, the RIAA paid \$860,000 to lobbyists in 1997. What is more, the organization made soft-money contributions of \$29,680 and \$136,558 in the 1997–1998 and 1995–1996 election cycles. Interestingly, the RIAA gave more to Republicans than Democrats in the 1997–1998 election cycle, with contributions of \$90,000 and \$46,558, respectively. In 1995–1996, the RIAA contributed \$19,680 to Democrats and \$10,000 to Republicans. The dominant members of the RIAA also make hefty contributions to political candidates via their PACs and to the parties in the form of soft money. While such giving is independent of the RIAA, it certainly does not hurt its visibility and bargaining position in Washington. Over the past decade, in fact, the RIAA has gained more clout on

Capitol Hill and it grew in size under the leadership of Jay Berman. It currently has a full-time staff of approximately 60 individuals.

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SOFTWARE AND INFORMATION INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the Software and Information Industry Association (SIIA) represents the business interests of the computer software and digital content industries. It has more than 1,500 members, including Microsoft, which provides 80 percent of the operating software in the world. The SIIA, like the other trade associations in the media industry, is especially concerned with piracy and seeks legislative and technological solutions to this daunting problem. As a result, it takes a special interest in issues such as copyright protection and encryption. As an advocate for the computer industry, it also monitors tax laws, regulations of electronic commerce, and any other pertinent legislation.

HISTORY

In the past decade, associations representing the high-tech industries have been transformed from marginal into prominent players of the “insider” lobbying game. Consistent with an insider strategy, they seek formal and informal access to policy makers through campaign contributions and their ability to supply information. Currently, there are several bills pending in the U.S. Congress that would impact the software and digital content industries and thus have the SIIA’s attention. The SIIA supports proposals that would prohibit the taxation of Internet commerce as well as those enforcing legislation for the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) treaties so as to enhance copyright protection. Alternatively, the SIIA, desiring no controls on encrypted data, will most likely oppose a bill that requires that these data be accessible to law enforcement officials. U.S. software companies fear that restrictions on their ability to develop secure programs will enable foreign companies to challenge their dominance of the industry.

Given its recent formation, the SIIA has no record of accomplishments and failures. However, the Infor-

mation Industry Association (IIA) was founded in 1968 to provide a forum for networking, education, and governmental advocacy on behalf of the creators and packagers of information content. Throughout its history, the IIA has been a strong advocate of removing restrictions on public information and thereby making it more accessible. The Software Publisher’s Association (SPA) was established in 1984 to examine and research topics raised by the growth in software manufacturing. It ultimately became a public voice for the software industry, representing over 90 percent of it.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In the mid-to-late 1990s, as the computer industry became a much more visible presence in Washington, the SPA had much to celebrate in the legislative arena. For example, Congress granted a three-year moratorium on Internet taxation and extended the research and development tax credit, which benefits high-tech companies. In yet another tax break, the 1997 Budget Bill extended the Foreign Sales Corporation benefit, which provides a partial tax exemption to software companies for income earned from exports. The software industry has benefitted as well from the funding of new technologies, such as interactive educational software and computer networks, in the nation’s classrooms. The SIIA will attempt to build upon these victories in the years ahead, undoubtedly maintaining a political presence in Washington and focusing upon such critical areas as copyright protection and the responsibilities of online service providers.

The SIIA will also continue the nonlobbying activities of the SPA and IIA. More specifically, it will host conferences, publish newsletters, conduct research about the industry, and sponsor educational programs. Indicative of the industry’s concern about copyright protection, the SIIA will additionally sustain the anti-

piracy efforts of its predecessor bodies. The SPA operated an industry-wide campaign, supported by the Copyright Protection Fund, to stop software theft and to protect the legal rights of software holders.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The SIIA is a recent creation, formed by the merger of the Software Publishers Association (SPA) and the Information Industry Association (IIA) on January 1, 1999. The new organization is expected to have revenues in excess of \$10 million and a staff of 50 professionals. Because the computer industry has experienced an explosive rate of growth over the past decade, it has attracted the attention of the government and been the subject of much legislation. The industry has responded by increasing its lobbying efforts and campaign donations quite dramatically. Indeed, the industry spent \$7.3 million in political action committee (PAC), soft money, and individual contributions in 1995–1996,

which represented a 52 percent increase over the 1991–1992 election cycle. In 1997, the SPA and IIA paid \$600,000 and \$505,511 to lobbyists, respectively. The SPA contributed \$2,500 directly to campaigns in this same year, with 80 percent given to Democrats and the remainder to Republicans.

JULIE M. WALSH

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SECTION FOUR

HEALTH AND MEDICAL



Healthcare-related organizations and interest groups in America include professional and business associations with economic and political interests that frequently intersect and diverge. Healthcare interest groups are comprised of three types of organizations: organizations that represent professional medical care practitioners; organizations concerned with finding cures for cancer, AIDS, and heart disease, and those suffering from diseases; and organizations that represent the healthcare industry, including health insurance companies, managed care companies, and hospitals and medical centers.

Interest groups that represent healthcare professionals, insurers, and philanthropic organizations are among the most influential in American politics. Typically these organizations have multimillion-dollar budgets; employ large staffs in Washington, D.C.; contribute millions to political action committees (PACs); and exert tremendous influence over Congress and federal government administrative agencies. Moreover, healthcare representative associations—unlike narrower interests—represent millions of American workers employed in the healthcare industry. And groups representing medical doctors, nurses, and other specialized healthcare personnel can call upon their members to lobby Congress and to vote in elections for candidates recommended by the associations.

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF HEALTH INTERESTS

The American health insurance system emerged and evolved on an incremental basis, responding to periodic demands for more comprehensive coverage. The absence of a universal health insurance system guaranteed

by the government is in part due to the historical opposition of the health lobby.

The United States does not guarantee cradle-to-grave healthcare as do other advanced industrial economies. In part this is due to the American pluralist political system, which allows private health interests to contribute political funds to candidates, lobby elected officials, and actively participate—and in some cases shape—policy debates. As a result, healthcare legislation in the United States has been enacted on an incremental basis in response to the specific concerns of health interests. The extension of guaranteed health insurance to the elderly and the poor in the 1960s through Medicare and Medicaid came in response to the failure of the private health insurance system to cover these groups—and in opposition to the American Medical Association (AMA) and the private health insurance industry. As a result of these programs, American health insurance is a hybrid system that is financed through the federal and state governments, private insurers, employers, and individuals who can afford coverage.

By contrast, Canada has a single-payer system financed through taxation that provides universal insurance coverage that is available to all citizens. The Canadian health insurance system—which is analogous to the American Medicare system—permits beneficiaries to choose between physicians who maintain private practices or enroll into managed care plans.

In the United States since the 1960s, the leading health interest groups have opposed increased demands for government-guaranteed coverage on the basis that national healthcare would interfere with the private system of health insurance or interfere with the pricing market and patient choice. Large private insurance companies, health management organizations, and private hospital corporations that have increased their influence over the American healthcare system place primary concern with profits. As a result, during the 1990s, ad-

vocates of healthcare reform argue that patient rights have declined, hospitals and nursing homes are understaffed, and doctors and other healthcare professionals have lost significant autonomy in medical decisions, leading to inadequate overall care.

SHORTFALL IN HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE

Since the 1940s, healthcare financing has been the primary and most enduring debate among interest groups representing healthcare practitioners, insurers, and philanthropic medical organizations. The United States healthcare system—unlike virtually all other advanced industrial countries with similar levels of economic development—combines private insurance coverage with a weak system of federal protections for older and impoverished Americans. Since the mid 1960s, Medicare has provided the primary health insurance for senior citizens. Medicaid, which grew in the 1970s and 1980s in response to rising demand for healthcare coverage among the poor who did not have private insurance through their jobs or otherwise could not afford private insurance, has provided health insurance for some of the poor; however, as eligibility criteria have been narrowed in the late 1990s, fewer Americans living in poverty have access to Medicaid. And proposed government cuts in Medicare and Medicaid coverage and the institution of managed healthcare have imperiled the programs' future ability to provide coverage to the elderly and the poor.

Most Americans receive health insurance coverage through their employers or purchase coverage through private health insurance plans. In 1997, the United States Department of Commerce estimated that over 44 million people, or more than 16 percent of the population, do not have any healthcare insurance coverage. Moreover, the number of Americans who do not have any health insurance has grown steadily over the last decade. Between 1996 and 1998, the number of Americans without health insurance grew by over 3 million.

Among the insured population in the United States, about 70.1 percent of Americans were covered by private health insurance. Most of this population received private insurance from employment-based plans. Although employment-based insurance has been the primary means to obtain insurance for most working Americans, only 15.5 percent of the poor received in-

surance from their employers. The poor were much more likely to receive health insurance from the government. Beneficiaries covered exclusively by government-based insurance—such as Medicare, Medicaid, and military healthcare—accounted for 24.8 percent of all Americans with health insurance.

Although the government provides health insurance to some of those without access to private health insurance, a disproportionate number of the poor were represented among the uninsured. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, in 1997, nearly one-third of the poor had no health insurance. In addition to the 43.4 million uninsured Americans, another 45 million people are underinsured—considered to have inadequate health insurance that does not cover their medical needs. The underinsured in America typically do not have access to healthcare coverage for basic medical services through their employers.

RISING HEALTHCARE SPENDING AND MANAGED CARE

For the past few decades, the American health insurance system has been plagued with both high and rapidly rising costs and ironically the narrowing of medical choice. As a result, the United States has the highest per capita healthcare costs in the world. In 1992, healthcare expenses accounted for 13.6 percent of U.S. national income, a far higher percentage than the healthcare costs in Canada or European countries with similar levels of economic development and standards of living. Healthcare costs in the United States in 1992 rose to \$3,503 per family or 18.2 percent of per capita income. By comparison, average healthcare expenditures in competing industrial countries ranged from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per family. It was this high cost structure—and the failure of health insurance to cover a significant share of Americans—which prompted government policy makers to pursue a new system in 1993–1994.

HEALTHCARE REFORM

In 1993–1994, proposals by the administration of President Bill Clinton to restructure healthcare financing in the United States and expand healthcare access to all Americans were met with fierce resistance from leading healthcare interests. Moreover, healthcare interest

groups were actively engaged in lobbying and PAC activity to advance their narrower economic interests. The original effort to extend health insurance to all and to reduce healthcare costs was whittled down by healthcare lobbyists seeking to protect and advance the interests of their organizations and members. The health insurance industry rejected the proposal to extend universal health insurance coverage to all Americans and lobbied for the defeat of the plan. The Health Insurance Association of America (HIAA) and individual private health insurers engaged in a massive campaign to derail the Clinton administration's proposals to reduce costs and to broaden access. The particular interest of health groups in healthcare reform is starkly evident when viewing their PAC contributions to candidates for the U.S. Congress during the 1993–1994 election cycle. Almost without exception, health interests vastly increased political contributions during the debate, only to reduce contributions in subsequent election cycles.

The failure to achieve significant reform of the healthcare system in the mid 1990s has contributed to the declining access of healthcare coverage and a reduction in coverage among those Americans who already have health insurance. This sense of insecurity over healthcare coverage has remained a central issue for the body politic. As healthcare coverage declines, medical practitioners are demanding that health insurance provide greater coverage. Thus, at the close of the century, healthcare practitioner interests have promoted a patient's bill of rights that would expand coverage and increase third-party (health insurance company) reimbursements for patient care. Health insurance interests that do not see the need for healthcare reform have opposed the bill in principle and are seeking to dilute proposals that would reduce their profitability.

THE GROWTH OF MANAGED CARE

Managed care is a system that has emerged in the 1980s and has grown rapidly in the 1990s to become the primary form of healthcare delivery in the United States. Managed care is a system of healthcare delivery designed to contain the rapid growth in the cost of medical care coverage and, ostensibly, to improve the quality of service. The system is based on the belief that costs can be reduced through closely monitoring the use of healthcare by beneficiaries. The idea is that by preventing wasteful utilization of services, costs can be reined in. Managed care organizations require patients to receive authorization from their plans before obtaining special-

ized care or being hospitalized. Moreover, managed care plans have reduced the duration of covered hospital stays and closely monitor the use of specialized services.

The two primary forms of managed care are health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and preferred provider organizations (PPOs). In HMOs, beneficiaries select their primary doctor and usually pay small out-of-pocket expenses. Doctors, who are usually paid on salary or prepaid fee for each patient, are responsible for referrals. HMOs do not pay for the cost of medical care outside the plan. PPOs typically operate like HMO plans, but the doctor is usually paid on a reduced fee-for-service basis. Beneficiaries are usually covered when obtaining care outside the network—usually at higher cost to the consumer.

The advantage of managed care plans is that they typically cost less than standard health insurance plans because they hold down the costs of healthcare by controlling large segments of the patient market, which the plans use to reduce doctor and hospital fees. Critics charge, however, that the cost savings are usually a result of the denial or elimination of coverage. As a result, while managed care plans are championed by the health insurance industry and government cost-cutters, they have come under severe attack by physicians, healthcare practitioners, and increasingly beneficiaries who are uneasy over their reduced coverage.

The rapid growth of managed care in the 1990s to cover the majority of healthcare beneficiaries in the United States has significantly curtailed third-party insurance reimbursements for medical care, contributing to rising competition among healthcare providers for available funding. Associations representing doctors, medical practitioners, and healthcare institutions have actively contributed to congressional campaigns and lobbied key committee members and federal and state healthcare administrative agencies to advance the interests of their members and organizations. Thus, the AMA and other organizations representing healthcare practitioners are among the most vociferous critics of managed care, lobbying Congress and the Healthcare Financing Administration to mandate the expansion of coverage. In June 1999, the AMA, long opposed to unionization, approved the formation of a doctors' union as a means to expand the leverage of physicians in negotiation with the managed healthcare companies on reimbursements, salaries, and services. The AMA unionization plan was initiated because many doctors have joined labor unions in response to managed care.

The HIAA and the Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association (BCBS) are two leading interest associations representing the health insurance industry. The HIAA

represents the economic interests of private health insurance companies and managed care organizations. The organization promotes managed health care, the importance of the private healthcare system, supports the extension of health insurance to all segments of society, and seeks to reduce regulations governing the industry. The BCBS also supports the extension of managed healthcare and seeks to expand managed care coverage to Medicare and Medicaid services.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

This section analyzes nine leading healthcare professional societies representing the interests of medical and health practitioners of all kinds. The AMA, representing physicians, is the leading healthcare association in the United States and is perennially rated by members of Congress and leading experts as one of the five most influential interest groups in Washington. The section also includes profiles of four branches of specialized medicine and medical practitioners. The American Academy of Ophthalmology (AAOP), which represents eye doctors, for example, has gained prominence representing the interests of specialized medical doctors with particular group concerns. The AAOP has been lobbying Congress and administrative agencies to increase reimbursements for eye treatments. The AAOP is also engaged in defending the profession of ophthalmology from encroachment by optometrists who are seeking to gain regulatory approval to perform specialized eye treatment procedures. Although ophthalmologists have exclusive license to practice laser surgery in most states, in several states regulations do not prevent optometrists from performing the procedure. Both at the federal level and at the state level, the AAOP has sought to prevent optometrists from performing laser surgery. On the other hand, the American Optometric Association has sought to expand public and private medical reimbursements for services provided by optometrists. Another prominent interest group, doctors specializing in anesthesiology, have also sought to advance their economic and professional interests; their organization, the American Society of Anesthesiologists (ASA), is responsible for accrediting programs, providing ongoing training for practitioners, and promoting the specialization.

New medical practitioner societies have emerged to reflect the changing nature of the medical field. In the late 1960s, the American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP) emerged to standardize and accredit

physicians who specialize in emergency medicine. As a result of the ACEP's activities, emergency medicine has become recognized as an established branch of medicine. The growth of managed care in the 1990s has brought new challenges to the field of emergency medicine. Government and third-party-provider efforts to curtail emergency room visits through managed care have spurred the organization to devote greater energy to lobbying government officials to defend emergency medicine from cutbacks.

The American Psychiatric Association (APA) and the American Society of Anesthesiologists represent two other medical specialties. In addition to accrediting training programs and providing continuing education for practicing physicians, the two organizations seek to advance the interest of the professions through PAC contributions and lobbying Congress and administrative agencies. Like other branches of medicine, psychiatrists and anesthesiologists are faced with reduced medical reimbursements and limitations on their services imposed by managed care. Psychiatrists advance the idea that mental health should be treated as a disease equivalent with physical health. Thus, the APA believes that persons suffering from mental health disabilities should receive the same equity in coverage as other branches of medicine. The APA also lobbies against the growing tendency to incarcerate youthful criminal offenders and supports increased funds for mental health services.

NONPHYSICIAN INTEREST GROUPS

The health interests section also includes representatives of healthcare practitioners who are not physicians—the American Nurses Association (ANA) and the American Occupational Therapy Association (AOTA). Both organizations are the accrediting bodies that oversee specialized educational programs for students in each field and provide continuing education for practitioners. The ANA and AOTA are the leading organizations of nurses and occupational therapists. They both engage in campaign contributions, lobby Congress and government agencies, promote the professions in the public arena, and defend the professions in hospitals and other healthcare facilities. More than two dozen ANA branches are labor unions that represent nurses and engage in collective bargaining with management. Both the ANA and AOTA are concerned with the effect of managed care and changes in healthcare financing on the future of their respective professions.

The American Dietetic Association—representing

professional nutritionists—actively contributes to political campaign committees and lobbies Congress and federal government authorities to promote nutritional health in the United States. The organization has promoted accurate food labeling as a means to help consumers discern the nutritional attributes of all food products. In addition, the organization has actively lobbied the government to mandate the inclusion of nutritional services as a component of public and private managed healthcare plans.

The American Chiropractic Association (ACA) seeks to advance chiropractic care as a distinct field of medicine independent of the American Medical Association. Doctors of chiropractic medicine manipulate the musculoskeletal structure, which functions to advance the healing process. The ACA seeks to persuade public and private health insurance providers to include and expand chiropractic services as an essential part of medical care.

PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATIONS

Healthcare interests active in Washington, D.C., also include philanthropic organizations that seek to cure serious diseases and ease the conditions of persons suffering from illnesses. As nonprofit organizations that seek private donations, philanthropic health interests are forbidden from engaging in political campaign contributions. Three of the most active organizations are the American Cancer Society (ACS), the American Heart Association (AHA), and the American Federation for AIDS Research (AmFAR). The organizations provide public education on prevention, fund research for cures, and assist those who suffer from the diseases. The organizations also lobby the federal government to increase funding for research and services for those afflicted with the diseases.

HOSPITALS AND NURSING HOMES

Two interest groups in this section are organized to advance the interests of medical care institutions. The American Hospital Association (AHA), the national organization that represents hospitals and medical institutions, seeks to promote hospitals as an integral part of healthcare services. The organization tries to ensure that third-party medical care providers adequately re-

imburse hospitals for their services. The American Healthcare Association (AHCA) represents the nursing home industry, which provides long-term chronic care for elderly and infirm patients who are unable to live independently.

The healthcare interests in this section provide a composite of the influence of healthcare practitioners and providers, health insurance companies, and philanthropic organizations in the American political system. As managed care continues to expand in America, the health interests are finding themselves increasingly at odds over the future of the American healthcare financing system.

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AMERICAN ACADEMY OF OPHTHALMOLOGY

The American Academy of Ophthalmology (AAOP) is a professional association representing about 22,000 ophthalmologists in the United States and Canada. In addition, the organization represents more than 5,000 international ophthalmologists. Members of the organization are physicians and surgeons who specialize in ophthalmology, a branch of medicine that studies the structure, functions, and diseases of the eye. Doctors of ophthalmology conduct eye examinations, prescribe corrective lenses, administer medicine, and perform surgery on the eyes. The organization's primary mission is to promote the need for vision and eye care treatment in the United States.

The AAOP, headquartered in San Francisco, is directed by a board of trustees that is responsible for formulating policies and manages the ongoing operations of the organization. The organization also receives reports from the executive, nominating, planning, insurance, and bylaws and rules committees.

The organization provides medical education and certification programs for ophthalmologists and is a major source of ophthalmic education for ophthalmology residents and medical students, other eye care professionals, and other physicians. Like so many other medical practitioners in recent years, ophthalmologists have become increasingly concerned with the growing power of managed care programs to dictate reimbursements for medical services and the reduction of access to needed eye care services for patients. The AAOP maintains a foundation that provides resources on the history and current activities of the profession, available to both members and the public, and supports ophthalmic research. In addition, the organization provides financial support to impoverished persons over 65 years of age or under four years of age for the treatment of vision problems.

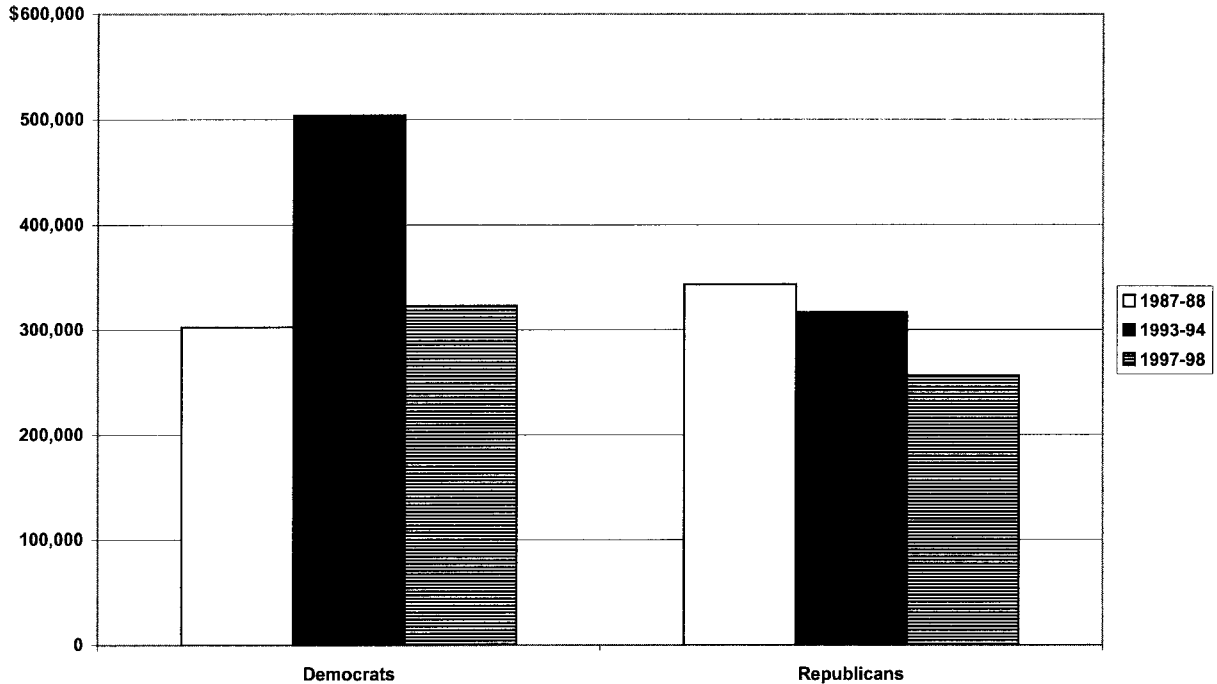
HISTORY

The origins of the AAOP can be traced to 1896 with the founding of the American Academy of Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology (AAOO). Otolaryngologists are more generalized practitioners who treat the ear, nose, and throat. In the 1970s, as the two professions grew more distinct, sentiment increased among both professions to establish independent organizations representing the interests of ophthalmologists and otolaryngologists. In 1979, the AAOO was formally divided into two academies. The primary objective of the AAOP has been to provide programs, products, and services for ophthalmologists. The AAOP, which claims to represent more than 90 percent of all practicing ophthalmologists in the United States, is interested in defending and promoting the professional and economic interests of doctors of ophthalmology. This objective is advanced through engaging in educational and political activities that support increased public access to professional services and treatment of the eyes. The AAOP is active in upgrading member skills through providing clinical education and information on new techniques, medical equipment, and recent developments in the field. This education is provided through organizational publications.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

A major concern of the organization is that an increasing number of optometrists are performing procedures typically performed by ophthalmologists. The AAOP has stressed the distinction between ophthalmologists, optometrists, and opticians. Ophthalmologists, according

**American Academy of Ophthalmology
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

to the AAOP, are medical eye doctors who are trained and licensed to perform surgical procedures on patients and in the treatment of diseases and injuries to the eye. Ophthalmologists typically receive more than 13 years of medical training, including medical education, training, and experience.

Optometrists, according to the AAOP, are educated in four-year medical training programs to exclusively treat vision problems and to prescribe corrective glasses, lenses, and eye exercises. In most states, optometrists are barred from performing surgical procedures; however, a growing number are performing photorefractive keratectomy (PRK), a corrective procedure that does not involve conventional surgical procedures. PRK, or laser surgery is becoming more common as a corrective procedure for improving vision. The AAOP has sought to maintain and increase laws that bar optometrists from performing PRK procedures. Opticians, according to the AAOP, are technicians responsible for making and verifying lenses, frames, and other corrective optical devices.

The AAOP provides public information on environmental hazards and risks that might contribute to the impairment of an individual’s vision. The organization

recommends practices for avoiding these potential risks and improvements in general eye care. In particular, the organization recommends preventive activities, such as using eyewear to protect your eyes from the sun and other hazards and refraining from sporting activities and games that place eyes in potential contact with dangerous objects.

The AAOP opposes efforts to limit ophthalmic services by Medicare and private health insurance plans. The organization lobbies to increase eye care treatment services and to maintain and expand medical reimbursements for the treatment for glaucoma. The AAOP believes that the insufficiency of Medicare reimbursement payments for eye treatment services of senior citizens is reducing the ability of ophthalmologists to perform needed eye treatment on patients. The organization lobbies Congress and executive branch officials to maintain and improve Medicare and private health insurance coverage for ophthalmic treatment. The organization believes that budget cuts in ophthalmic services threaten the professional integrity and economic interests of doctors. There is great concern that the growth of managed care interferes with the need for quality ophthalmic care

since decision making is taken away from the doctor and is made by managed healthcare companies.

The AAOP has formed coalitions with leading scientific and philanthropic foundations to promote eye care education and the need for expanding access to eye treatment. In particular, the organization is a prime sponsor of such awareness programs as Glaucoma Awareness Month (January), Sports Eye Safety Month (April), and National Diabetes Month (November).

FINANCIAL FACTS

The AAOP's Advocacy and Ophthalmic Relations Division attempts to influence federal and state healthcare policy. The organization is responsible for providing professional testimony and specialized information to state legislators, healthcare regulatory bodies, health insurance companies, and other healthcare professionals.

The AAOP is one of the few organizations to have reduced its political action committee (PAC) contri-

butions between the 1987–1988 and 1997–1998 election cycles, although it remains one of the largest healthcare contributors to federal candidates. The organization's PAC contributions declined 10.3 percent over the 12-year period, from \$646,000 to \$579,663. Its contributions in 1997–1998 were more than \$240,000 less than in the 1999–1994 election cycle, when the AAOP was actively engaged in the debate over the future of healthcare financing. Like most other PACs, the AAOP's contribution pattern reflects the shift in control of Congress to the Republicans in 1995. Nevertheless, in the 1997–1998 election cycle, the AAOP still contributed 55.7 percent of its PAC money to Democratic candidates.

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AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY

The American Cancer Society (ACS) is the nation's largest nonprofit organization dedicated to the prevention, treatment, and cure of cancers of all types. The ACS includes a national office, 57 regional divisions, and over 3,400 local units or chapters. The national headquarters in Atlanta is responsible for overall strategic planning and the administration of research and education at the national level. Divisions and units are responsible for education at the state and local level, respectively.

The ACS has recently begun to institute a major transformation of its organizational structure. This includes merging state offices to save money and increase efficiency by sharing resources. This, says the organization's president Charles McDonald, will allow more of those resources to be focused on community cancer control. Eventually, the organization hopes to reduce the number of divisions to just 17. All of this is being done to achieve the goal of reducing cancer incidence and mortality by up to 50 percent over the next 15 years.

Reorganization plans aside, the society continues to focus significant resources on research, awarding hundreds of grants in the fields of cancer prevention, education, diagnoses, treatments, and cures every year. In the 1997–1998 fiscal year alone, the ACS awarded 485 grants, professorships, postdoctoral fellowships, and institutional and research opportunity grants—spending some \$84.3 million in the process.

HISTORY

The ACS began in 1917, when 15 prominent physicians and business leaders met in New York City and organized the American Society for the Control of Cancer (ASCC). The mission of these founders was partly medical and partly social. They hoped, among other things, to remove the stigma attached to the disease and make it a permissible topic of public discussion. This, the

founders believed, was the first step in combating a disease that at the time claimed nearly 75,000 American lives annually. Articles were written for popular magazines and professional journals, and a monthly bulletin was sent out to thousands of healthcare professionals, including doctors, public health officials, and hospital administrators.

In 1936, the ASCC launched the Women's Field Army, as it came to be called, to "wage war on cancer." Styled after the Salvation Army—with uniforms and ranks—the army set itself the mission of raising money to fund cancer research and educating the public on the disease. Within the three years, the army had increased the number of persons dedicated to the control of cancer in the United States from 15,000 to 150,000.

Reflecting a renewed dedication to improving public health in the wake of World War II, the ASCC reorganized itself as the American Cancer Society in 1945. A year later, the new ACS had raised over \$4 million, one-fourth of which went to establish and fund the society's research program. Soon dozens and then hundreds of research grants were offered to researchers around the country. In the years since, the society has committed nearly \$2 billion to research, funding 28 Nobel Prize winners in the process.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The single most important political issue that the American Cancer Society has had to grapple with in recent years has been tobacco legislation. The ACS was, of course, one of the earliest organizations to warn about the dangers of tobacco smoke and its role in the development of pulmonary and other cancers. The ACS has actively backed legislation that would hold tobacco companies liable for the diseases and deaths their products cause, and it supported the 1998 agreement reached

by the tobacco companies and some 40 state attorneys general in which the tobacco companies agreed to set up a fund to make restitution to the states for the cost of treating health victims of smoking. This settlement was criticized by many as allowing the tobacco companies off the hook legally, since it essentially prevented the initiation of any new suits. The ACS, while also critical of this aspect of the deal, believed that the settlement was probably the best that could be hoped for short of a continuing and costly legal campaign.

In addition, the society has been vigorous in its attempts to persuade the federal government to ban all advertising of tobacco products or, at the very least, regulate them heavily so that advertisements are not geared toward children. This emphasis on fighting tobacco advertising also has a long tradition with the society. In the 1960s and 1970s, the ACS heavily pushed for warnings on cigarette packs and cigarette advertising. The ACS also supported Senate efforts—notably one by Senator John McCain of Arizona—to impose heavy taxes of up to \$1 or more per pack on cigarettes, in order to prevent young people from smoking. The bill would have also imposed penalties on the industry if smoking by teenagers did not decline sharply.

On a research-related issue, the ACS recently withdrew its sponsorship of the Patients' Cure, a group dedicated to publicizing the medical benefits of stem-cell research. (Stem cells are contained in embryos and serve as the origin, or stem, of all other types of cells that come to form a living being.) Anti-abortion groups and the Roman Catholic Church have been strongly opposed to stem-cell research—and have promised political retaliation against any politician who supports it—because the research can involve the use of tissue from aborted embryos. Initially, the ACS came out in strong support of stem-cell use as a critical research tool in the fight against cancer but, under pressure from the above-noted groups, dropped its support for fear that it would suffer a loss of donations.

The ACS's decision has been heavily criticized by scientists and others interested in stem-cell research. They say that the society has become too oriented toward fund-raising and dares not risk offending any group that threatens its cash flow. Others offer broader

criticisms. Many persons in the fields of nutrition and alternative medicine say that the society is far too focused on finding cures rather than on basic nutritional and lifestyle measures that could cut the incidence of the disease sharply and for far less money. They say that the society absorbs too much in the way of government money and voluntary donations—money that could go much farther on low-tech alternatives. Environmental groups also criticize the ACS for not doing more in the way of lobbying and public advocacy to expose environmental factors that lead to cancer, especially those involving corporate polluters. These critics say that the ACS's reticence is due to the fact that it receives millions of dollars in corporate donations annually.

FINANCIAL FACTS

While the ACS lobbies effectively on behalf of researchers and institutions involved in the fight against cancer, it maintains no political action committee (PAC) and does not donate to the campaign funds of candidates for public office. It has, however, donated small sums of so-called soft money to the coffers of the national Republican Party, as well as several state Republican parties.

The ACS is a very wealthy institution. Its total assets in 1998 stood at over \$800 million. In that same year it took in roughly \$677 million in donations and grants and spent roughly \$570 million on administration costs and grants for research.

JAMES CIMENT

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AMERICAN CHIROPRACTIC ASSOCIATION

The American Chiropractic Association (ACA) is the largest interest group that represents practitioners of chiropractic medicine. Chiropractic is a therapeutic system developed in the late nineteenth century that treats pain and illness triggered by the decline of nerve functions. Doctors of chiropractic treat patients by manipulating and adjusting the spinal column, thus stimulating the musculoskeletal, neurological, and vascular systems of the body. Today, the practice is typically performed on persons who suffer from lower back pain. The American Chiropractic Association represents some 22,000 licensed chiropractic practitioners in the field.

According to the ACA, chiropractic is a philosophy, art, and science that is a legitimate branch of the “healing arts.” Chiropractic practitioners consider the human body as an integrated organism and emphasize the physiological and biochemical aspects of the human body. In particular, the ACA defines the practice of chiropractic therapy as the “adjustment and manipulation of the articulations and adjacent tissues of the human body, particularly the spinal column.”

The exclusion of medication and surgical procedures and the emphasis on the relationship between pain and treatment through adjusting and manipulating the spinal column are the defining differences between chiropractic and other branches of medicine and healthcare. Chiropractors emphasize the importance of healthy living through improving the patient’s physiological, biochemical, and environmental conditions. The ACA’s primary mission is to preserve, protect, improve, and promote the practice and to advance the professional and economic interests of chiropractic doctors. The organization seeks to advance the public appreciation of the profession through organizing members.

The organization’s primary objectives are to maintain chiropractic as a separate and distinct health profession, to maintain and advance the philosophical principles and medical practices of chiropractic care, and to protect the professional interests of members of the as-

sociation. The ACA believes that chiropractic doctors offer a unique health service that other doctors are unable to perform through other techniques and services.

The organization, headquartered in Arlington, Virginia, is directed by a board of governors, an executive committee, state delegates, councils, and commissions. To gain a doctorate in chiropractic, students are trained at accredited chiropractic colleges, which require four years of academic training and clinical experience.

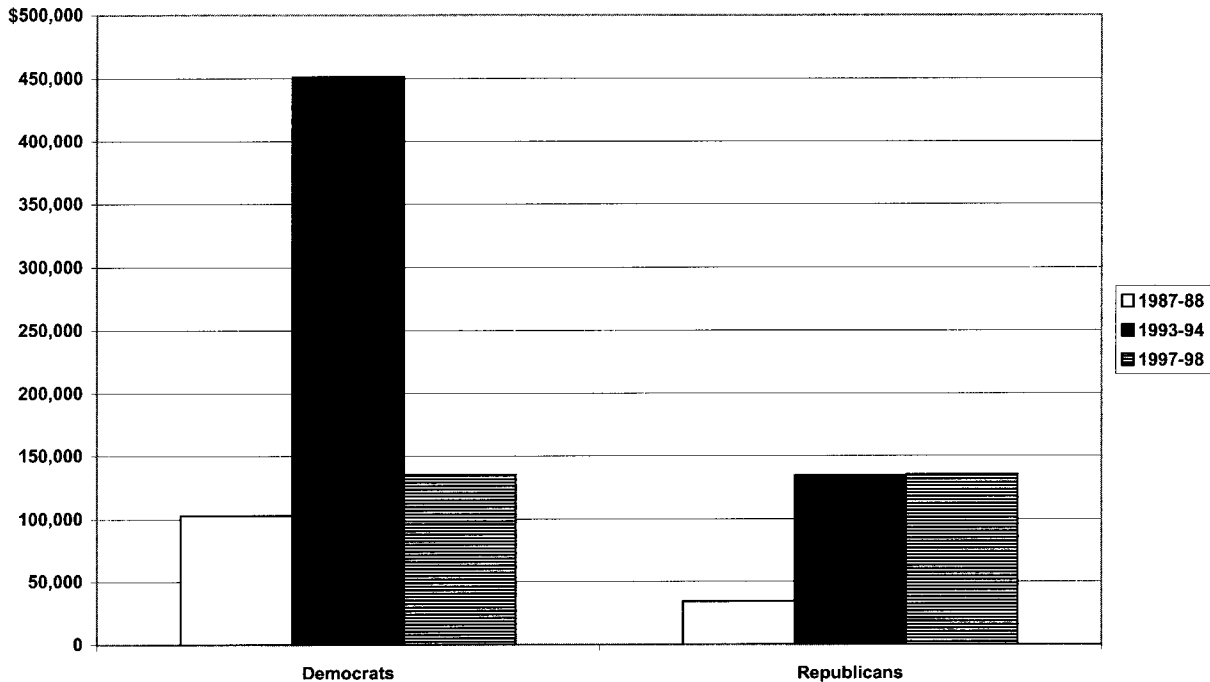
HISTORY

The origins of chiropractic healthcare can be traced to ancient China. According to the ACA, the ancient Chinese practiced an early form of chiropractic some 4,700 years ago. According to the ACA, chiropractic gets its name from the Greek words “cheir” and “praktikos,” which together mean “done by hand.” However, chiropractic has only been used in the West for about 100 years. In 1895, Daniel David Palmer of Davenport, Iowa, performed an adjustment on the spine of a hearing-impaired janitor who subsequently reported his hearing to have improved. The spinal manipulation technique subsequently became known as the Palmer Method.

During the twentieth century, chiropractic has struggled for stature and recognition as a legitimate profession. The ACA was founded in 1930 to standardize the education and training of chiropractic doctors and to promote the practice of chiropractic as a distinct form of healthcare. As the understanding of the physiology and biochemistry of the human body has advanced, the chiropractic field has also advanced to understand the spinal column’s critical role in interfering with nerve function.

Over the years, the ACA has succeeded in promoting the importance of the field of chiropractic care among public and private healthcare providers. The

**American Chiropractic Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

profession has sustained a lot of criticism from mainstream health providers, including a boycott by the American Medical Association. A focal point of criticism has been insufficient training; however, the ACA emphasizes that chiropractors complete a minimum of six and an average of seven years of college and post-graduate study for their degree, including classroom, laboratory, and clinical experience. The organization notes that chiropractors receive some of the same coursework as medical doctors.

Today, the practice of chiropractic is licensed in all 50 states. A 1994 study found there to be an estimated 50,000 chiropractors in the United States. The ACA projects that with the aging of the population and the growth in awareness of the benefits of chiropractic care the number of chiropractors will double by the year 2010. In 1998, the *Annals of Internal Medicine* found that 80 percent of Americans with health insurance had plans that included chiropractic services. In part, the extensive growth in healthcare coverage for chiropractic care reflects the expansion in demand for health plans that cover the service. According to a recent study, about 46 percent of patients suffering lower back pain received care from doctors of chiropractic and about one out of

five persons between the ages of 55 and 64 have used a chiropractor.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

A primary concern of the ACA has been to establish the legitimacy of chiropractic treatment and medicine as an accepted medical specialization for the treatment of patients and to rebut efforts by the established medical profession to discredit the field. The ACA has sought to promote chiropractic as an accepted medical practice through research, public relations, media attention, and lobbying political officials. One motivation for the ACA's promotion of chiropractic as an acceptable form of medical care is to ensure that medical reimbursement coverage by private and public health benefit plans continues and expands.

The ACA's Department of Government Relations is responsible for directing the organization's political agenda. The department lobbies and delivers testimony to Congress to develop Medicare utilization guidelines

that promote the use of chiropractic. The organization is seeking to eliminate Medicare's requirement that an x-ray be taken before chiropractic can be performed. Many chiropractors do not have x-ray facilities, because they believe that they can detect skeletal joint dislocation through direct spinal manipulation. By eliminating the x-ray requirement, more chiropractors can gain Medicare reimbursements for their services. To establish provisions that allow reimbursements for chiropractic care, the organization has lobbied members of Congress and has directly presented information to the Healthcare Financing Administration.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ACA contributes money to federal politicians to further the professional and economic interests of its members. The organization is vitally concerned with maintaining and expanding Medicare and private health plan coverage for its services. In the last decade, the ACA has vastly expanded political action committee (PAC) contributions to members of Congress. Between the 1987–1988 and 1997–1998 election cycles, the ACA's PAC contributions to congressional candidates nearly doubled to \$270,427. In the 1993–1994 election

cycle—a period when the future of healthcare financing and coverage was under debate—the ACA increased its political contributions to \$585,628, more than double the organization's contributions in the 1997–1998 election cycle. Between the 1993–1994 and 1997–1998 election cycles, the ACA's pattern of PAC contributions has shifted away from the Democratic Party. In 1993–1994, 77 percent of the organization's PAC contributions went to Democrats. After Republicans gained control of the House of Representatives, the ACA sharply reduced contributions to Democratic candidates. In the 1997–1998 cycle, the organization split its political contributions among candidates in the two major parties.

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AMERICAN COLLEGE OF EMERGENCY PHYSICIANS

The American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP), based in Washington, D.C., is a national organization representing the interests and concerns of emergency physicians. The organization, which represents nearly 20,000 emergency physicians in the United States and Canada, is primarily interested in increasing government and public support for emergency medical care and promoting the interests of emergency physicians. According to the ACEP, emergency care is a fundamental individual right that should be available to all people. A major concern of the organization is to promote and advance emergency medicine as a distinct medical field that requires education, research, and accreditation for physicians who specialize in it. Therefore, the organization believes that emergency physicians with specialized credentials should play a leading role in the planning, organization, and practice of emergency medicine. To further the interests of emergency physicians, the ACEP closely follows the rapidly changing health insurance and regulatory trends and develops policy positions and strategies to advocate on behalf of members in the profession.

The ACEP's monthly professional journal, *Annals of Emergency Medicine*, publishes original research, clinical reports, case studies, practice methods, techniques, and opinions in the field of emergency medicine. The organization also publishes *ACEP News*, which appears 11 times a year to provide regular news affecting the profession. The organization also holds an annual convention for members.

The ACEP is governed by a national council of at least 200 members drawn from the organization's 53 chartered chapters that represent members at the organization's annual meeting. The council is responsible—under the leadership and guidance of the ACEP's board of directors—for setting policy directives for the organization. Each year, the council democratically elects the ACEP's leadership, including the speaker and vice

speaker of the council, the board of directors, secretary-treasurer, vice president, and president elect.

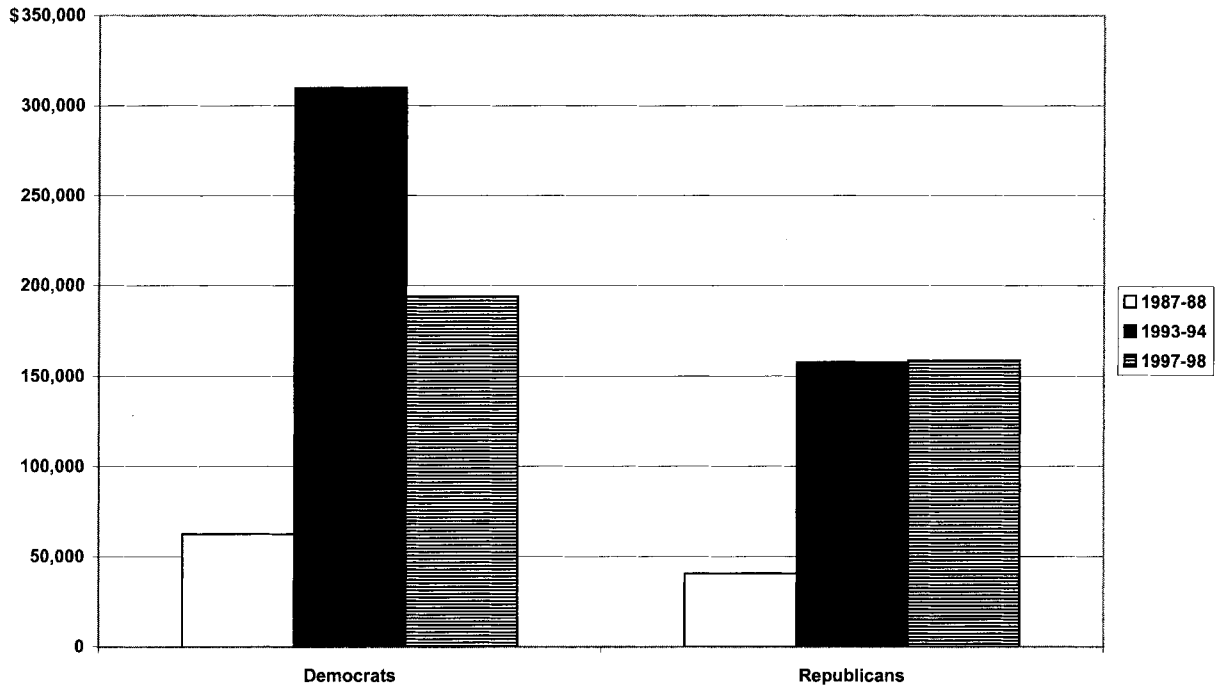
HISTORY

In 1968, physicians who were concerned with addressing the growing need for medical treatment standards, and professionally trained specialists in emergency care founded the ACEP. The ACEP's emergence and expansion as an organization has corresponded with the growth of hospital emergency rooms, in response to federal mandates for greater access to emergency care. Prior to the organization's formation, there were no established standards for emergency room treatment and care. The major goal of the ACEP in its first decade was to improve the education and specialized training of emergency physicians and accrediting "emergency medicine" as a legitimate medical specialty—a goal that was achieved in 1979. Since 1980, emergency physicians have been required to pass specialized examinations to be licensed to practice in the field. Moreover, emergency physicians are required to complete 150 hours of training every three years to maintain their license to practice emergency medicine. To meet the requirement for continued education and training, the ACEP offers specialized clinical and practice management courses in emergency medicine. In addition, through the Emergency Medicine Foundation, founded in 1973, the organization also provides grants for emergency medicine education and research.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The organization considers that the growth of managed healthcare and rigorous restrictions on healthcare fi-

**American College of Emergency Physicians
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

nancing by third-party health insurers potentially threatens necessary funding for the continuation of quality emergency medicine in the nation’s hospitals and medical facilities. The organization also opposes other government limitations on emergency healthcare coverage. The organization does not believe that emergency medical care should be jeopardized by reduced medical funding and thinks that emergency physicians should be responsible for medical decisions, rather than bureaucrats who administer managed care plans. In its attempt to promote the ethical practice of emergency medicine, the ACEP lobbies the government to maintain standards for third-party financing of emergency procedures.

To support physicians in advancing the practice of emergency medicine, the ACEP promotes changes and guidelines that improve the practice environment. The organization seeks to provide support for emergency training programs and to educate the public about the importance of emergency medicine. To advance the organization’s policy agenda on a federal level, the ACEP has developed a comprehensive and well-funded advocacy program in Washington, D.C.

The organization is actively involved in public health education, injury prevention, and safety measures

that prevent health emergencies; to this end, it releases periodic reports to physicians, the press, and other organizations. For example, the ACEP recently issued a report on automobile safety precautions. Due to the large number of Americans who suffer injuries or die in automobile accidents, the organization seeks to promote safe driving and automobile use among the public. One recent concern is the safe use of airbags, which have been found to pose a serious danger to young children when airbags are activated in accidents. In addition, the organization also recommends motorists to always use automobile safety belts.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ACEP’s Public Affairs Committee operates in Washington, D.C., to provide public information and to lobby Congress and appeal to federal government executive departments and agencies on behalf of the profession. The organization is a leading political campaign contributor for congressional candidates. Between the 1987–1988 and 1997–1998 election cycles, the or-

ganization's political contributions have expanded more than three times, from \$105,875 to \$352,675, reflecting the overall growth of political action committee (PAC) contributions in the healthcare field. In the 1993–1994 election cycle, contributions swelled to \$468,650 due to the ACEP's concern with defending the interests of emergency medicine in the healthcare reform debate. Although the organization continues to contribute a majority of its PAC contributions to Democrats, following the emergence of a Republican majority in the House of Representatives in 1995, the ACEP has begun to reduce contributions to Democratic candidates; between the 1993–1994 election cycle and the 1997–1998 election cycle, the ACEP's political campaign contri-

butions to Republicans have increased from 34 percent of its total contributions to 45 percent.

IMMANUEL NESS AND JAMES CIMENT

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AMERICAN DIETETIC ASSOCIATION

With over 70,000 members—including dietitians, food service managers, educators, nutrition researchers, and other professionals in the field of nutrition sciences and services—the American Dietetic Association (ADA) is America’s largest professional association in the field of nutrition and diet.

According to ADA spokespersons and literature, the organization is dedicated to enforcing professional standards in the field of nutrition and dietetics, promoting a healthier diet for all Americans, working with government to ensure rigorous enforcement of regulations concerning diet and nutrition, and working with the private sector—including food manufacturers, manufacturers of food, nutritional, and dietary supplements; food wholesalers and retailers; and restaurateurs—to assure that Americans get proper nutrition and to ensure that all advertised dietary claims made by industry are honest and accurate. And, of course, the ADA vigorously protects and promotes the interests of its own members; for example, it works to ensure that the services of dietitians, nutritionists, and other dietary professionals are included in all government and private-sector health insurance programs. The organization also serves to bring the latest information on dietetic and nutritional breakthroughs to its members. To that end, it publishes the *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* (*JADA*), which contains studies on the latest research in the field of dietetic and nutritional sciences. Most of these articles are geared to scholars and professionals.

Aside from working with government and industry, the ADA also maintains a strong public outreach program concerning dietary and nutrition issues. In 1990, the organization founded the National Center for Nutrition and Dietetics (NCND). A public education center, the NCND offers information on nutrition, diet, and other health issues through a variety of programs and services, including programs for schools and senior centers. The NCND maintains a Nutrition InfoCenter and Consumer Nutrition Hotline, which provides in-

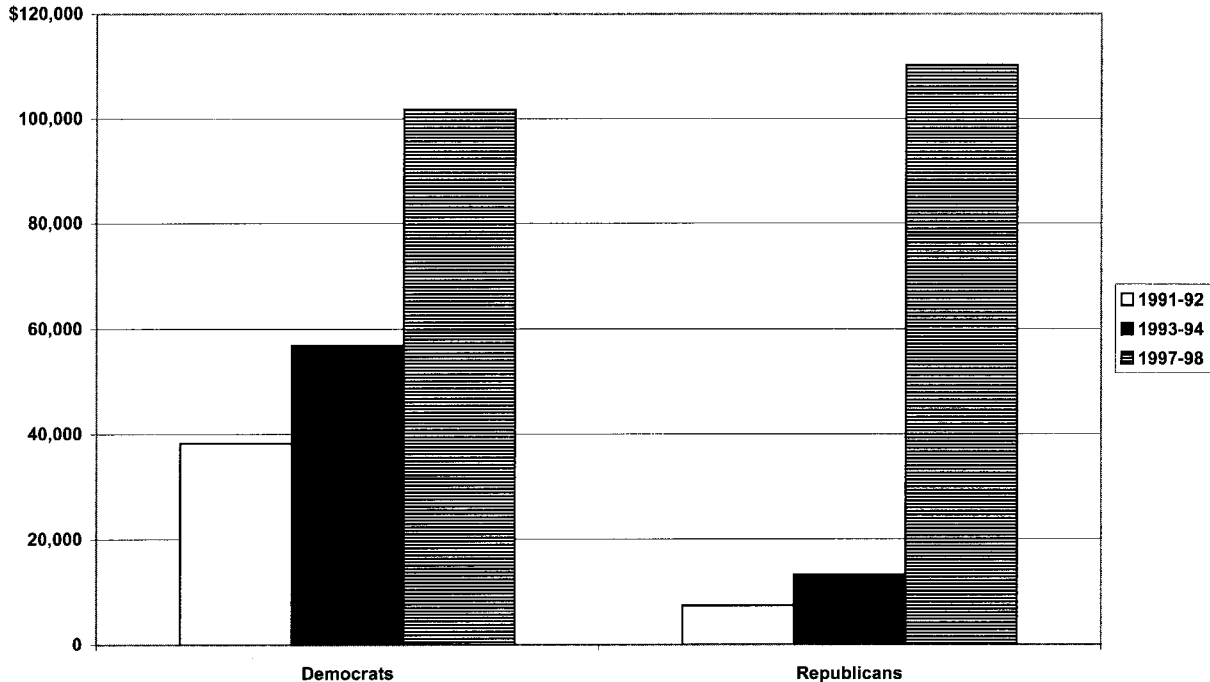
formation on diet and nutrition as well referrals for ADA members in the caller’s area. More recently, the ADA established a presence on the World Wide Web. Its web site (www.eatright.org) offers constantly updated information on the organization and on dietary issues for professionals as well as providing dietary and nutritional tips for the public.

HISTORY

The origins of the ADA go back to 1899, when a number of members of the American Home Economics Association (AHEA) formed a subgroup that specialized in dietetics. In 1917, this subgroup decided to break with the AHEA to form the ADA, in order to help parents and food providers make healthier food choices for themselves, their families, and their customers. At the same time, the organization was also founded to help promote the idea of dietary and nutritional research as a legitimate science and dietitians and nutritionists as serious practitioners worthy of the public’s respect. Indeed, the founding of the ADA occurred during the Progressive Era, a time when many professionals in health and other fields were attempting to establish their credentials through the creation of professional organizations. The Progressive Era was also a time of burgeoning public concern over the content of their diets. Just 11 years earlier, Upton Sinclair had published his best-selling exposé of the meatpacking industry—*The Jungle*—which helped push the federal government to establish the Food and Drug Administration to protect Americans from tainted food and dangerous drugs.

More recently, the ADA has attempted to update its mission with a five-year plan, culminating in the year 2000, called “Creating the Future.” According to the ADA, the plan has three components: to seek federal and private-sector insurance reimbursements for nutritional services, to make sure its members continue to

**American Dietetic Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

play an important role in a rapidly changing health and health maintenance environment, and to promote their message that ADA members are the nation's most important sources of nutritional and dietary information, guidance, and services.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Perhaps the most important legislative issue confronting the ADA and its members in the year 2000 and following years is Medicare and Medicaid reform. (Medicare is the federal program that provides medical care for the elderly and the disabled; Medicaid is a federal program—largely state administered—that provides medical care for the poor.) Specifically, the ADA wants to ensure that nutrition services are adequately covered under Medicare, and the organization has persuaded over 200 members of Congress to back the Medicare Medical Nutrition Therapy Act. (Medical nutrition therapy refers to a comprehensive dietary and nutrition program ad-

ministered by a registered dietician or other nutrition professional.)

In particular, the ADA wants to ensure that outpatient nutritional services are covered since more and more Medicare and private-sector coverage is emphasizing outpatient treatment as a way to fight rising medical costs. As ADA president Ann Gallagher noted, "The evidence is overwhelming that medical nutrition therapy will both save money and improve the quality of care for Medicare beneficiaries." And ADA lobbyists point out that studies show that the costs of extending Medicare coverage to include outpatient nutritional services are vastly offset by the savings in other forms of treatment later. A study in *JADA* cites potential savings of \$370 million over six years between 1998 and 2004, if medical nutrition therapy was included under Medicare. Currently, reimbursement for nutritional services is arbitrary and uncertain under both Medicare and private insurers. The ADA hopes that inclusion under Medicare will help push private insurers into offering reimbursements to nutrition professionals.

On a related issue, the ADA is also trying to ensure that nutritional services are covered by Medicaid. But

with increasingly more of Medicaid's administration being transferred to the states, this means a lobbying effort in 50 different political arenas. To help meet the challenge, the national ADA is offering assistance and shifting resources to state affiliates. Also, at the state level, the ADA is working with the last 11 states that have not established licensing credentials for dietitians and nutritionists to do so.

While Medicare, Medicaid, and licensing issues are of most direct concern to ADA members, the organization is also lobbying for more general public health issues. Specifically, the ADA is trying to persuade the federal government to update its dietary guidelines, currently known as Recommended Daily Allowances (RDAs). The ADA would like to see the government utilize a system of Dietary Reference Intakes (DRIs). Replacing the one-dimensional RDAs, the new system would include measures of adequate intake, estimated average requirement, tolerable upper intake level, as well as something equivalent to the old RDAs.

According to the ADA, the RDAs are fine for the average layperson and will continue in some new guise on all labels, but they have come to serve a number of health and scientific roles for which they are inadequate. The new DRIs will provide different kinds of information suitable to both laypersons and professionals.

On a more controversial nutritional issue, the ADA supports irradiation of food in principle, but insists that it be labeled and that labels not be misleading. (Irradiation is a method of food preservation that, as its name implies, involves subjecting perishable food items to doses of radiation. While the food processing industry says irradiation is entirely safe and does not leave any radiation in food, opponents—including many organic food activists—say that irradiation drains food of important nutrients. In addition, environmentalists worry about radiation leakages from equipment used to irradiate food.) On the issue of labeling irradiated food, the ADA comes out in opposition to food processing interests. Most recently, the ADA found itself in opposition to the Food Marketing Institute over the latter's "Free of E. Coli" label for irradiated meat products. The ADA says that irradiation does not guarantee meats will be free of E. coli, since they can become contaminated

between the time the meat is irradiated and the time it is served by or to the consumer.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Until the last election cycle, the ADA had been a modest, but growing, contributor of campaign funds to congressional and presidential candidates from both parties. In the 1987–1988 election cycle—which included both presidential and congressional elections—the ADA donated \$30,250 to candidates from both parties. By the 1993–1994 election cycle—which was for Congress only—the ADA was giving \$70,300 to both parties. But in the 1997–1998 election cycle—again, a congressional election only—the ADA gave \$212,118, over seven times more than 10 years earlier. At the same time, the proportions given to Democrats and Republicans have shifted, with increasing amounts of money going to the latter. For example, in the 1993–1994 election cycle, \$57,100—or fully 81 percent—of the ADA's donations went to Democratic candidates. But four years later, \$101,300—or just 44 percent—went to Democrats.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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AMERICAN FEDERATION FOR AIDS RESEARCH

As the leading nonprofit organization dedicated to promoting research on AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) and HIV (human immunodeficiency virus), the American Federation for AIDS Research (AmFAR) lobbies vigorously to get more federal funding for research for the prevention, treatment, and possible cure for AIDS. The organization also claims that its advocacy mission is to promote “sound AIDS-related public policy.” Many of the most important and respected AIDS researchers and public health experts are represented on AmFAR’s board and its advisory committees.

As AmFAR’s president Arthur J. Amman expressed it, the federation is “a powerful advocate for sound, national AIDS-related public policies, appropriate increases in federal appropriations, and protection of the rights of people with HIV/AIDS.” Amman adds that as a public advocacy group, AmFAR works with other national organizations, employing “a variety of strategies to accomplish its objectives, including testifying before congressional committees, meeting and working with key legislators and policy-makers, expressing opinions and policy positions publicly, and gaining the support of the scientific community on policy issues.”

Aside from lobbying the federal government for more AIDS research money, the federation also offers funding of its own for AIDS research. Over the past 15 years, AmFAR has disbursed more than \$155 million—mostly in the form of grants—to over 1,750 research teams working nationally and internationally toward improved prevention, diagnosis, treatment, and potential vaccines and cures for HIV/AIDS.

Arguing that the AIDS crisis with its tens of thousands of dying sufferers warranted unorthodox measures, AmFAR pioneered and continues to be active in the promotion of its Community-Based Clinical Trials (CBCT) program, which utilizes experimental HIV/AIDS treatment facilities in community settings, so that research and treatment can proceed hand in hand. Overall, more than 35,000 persons have participated in

the CBCT program, and according to AmFAR, the program has led to numerous breakthroughs in drug therapies for people living with AIDS/HIV.

AmFAR is also very active in the educational arena and has sponsored scientific conferences on the latest developments in AIDS therapies, training seminars for healthcare practitioners in the treatment of people with AIDS/HIV, classes for people with AIDS/HIV on methods to control their disease and change their lifestyle to improve their survival odds, and forums for the general public to dispel common myths and fears about AIDS/HIV and people living with AIDS/HIV.

HISTORY

AmFAR was founded in 1985, as the incidence of AIDS infection and mortality reached epidemic proportions among the nation’s gay and intravenous-drug-user populations. In 1988, it pioneered a new form of community-based medical research, eventually establishing 24 community-based research centers throughout the country. According to AmFAR, community-based research—with more than \$30 million of AmFAR funding—has led to the approval by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) of three compounds for the prevention and treatment of several AIDS-related illnesses. Over the years, the organization claims, these community-based sites have become self-sufficient research centers, capable of winning grants from the government and industry.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Over the past few years, AmFAR has focused its public policy program on three key issues: increasing funding

for the National Institutes of Health AIDS/HIV research programs, revising the FDA's approval process for AIDS/HIV drugs and drug therapies, and lifting the ban on federal funding of needle exchange programs.

In 1999, AmFAR lobbied Congress to increase funding for the National Institutes of Health (NIH) by 15 percent for the coming fiscal year. Pointing out that the disease has not disappeared and that tens of thousands of new cases occur in the United States each year, AmFAR argues that AIDS "research must be a part of a broad, well-funded overall research effort conducted by the NIH." Moreover, say AmFAR lobbyists, ongoing research has led to enormous breakthroughs toward the prevention, diagnosis, treatment, and even cure of HIV/AIDS and HIV/AIDS-related diseases; increased funding will only speed up the process and lead, perhaps, to a cure in the not-too-distant future.

AmFAR has also been active in pressuring the administration of President Bill Clinton to drop the current ban on federal funding for needle exchange programs. These programs offer intravenous drug users a safe and secure place to exchange used needles for clean ones. Numerous officials in the Clinton administration, including Barry McCaffrey (the so-called drug czar who oversees federal drug policy), opposed lifting such a ban, saying that it would encourage intravenous drug use and would send the wrong message to the nation's young people—that is, that the federal government condones intravenous drug abuse. But AmFAR and other advocates point out that sharing needles is among the prime causes of HIV transmission in the United States today, accounting for nearly one-half of all AIDS cases.

In addition, AmFAR is strongly opposed to currently considered legislation in the House of Representatives that would threaten local and state needle exchange programs. Indeed, in 1998, over AmFAR objections, Congress banned all needle exchange programs in Washington, D.C. As Amman declared in testimony before a House Committee on Health and Human Services, "Scientific research shows that needle exchange programs reduce HIV infections, do not lead to increased drug use, and are cost effective."

AmFAR has also encouraged reforms in the FDA's drug approval process, arguing that drugs for life-threatening diseases need to be given different priority than drugs for routine or treatable illnesses. AmFAR has insisted that such drugs require different risk-benefit calculations and should be approved much more quickly than other drugs. Among the measures that AmFAR would like to see the FDA adopt are preapproval access

to experimental drugs that show reasonable safety and promise of efficacy, encouragement to manufacturers to provide early access to promising therapies, relaxation of the approval process for new uses of drugs that are currently on the market, the assurance that pharmaceutical applications to the federal government to market new drugs include data for all populations that are likely to use such drugs, including women, racial minorities, older Americans, or children. Overall, AmFAR says the FDA should maintain its current vigorous approach to drug approval, but add a certain flexibility in the area of drugs needed for potentially fatal diseases such as HIV/AIDS.

On a related issue of drug development, AmFAR has been increasing its criticism of a Clinton administration policy that threatens sanctions against countries that allegedly violate U.S. and international law by producing generic versions of drugs that hold U.S. patents. Specifically, AmFAR has denounced the administration for threatening to impose stiff sanctions against metal imports from South Africa in retaliation for that country's threat to license local companies to produce HIV/AIDS drugs that are currently under patents held by major American pharmaceutical companies. By producing these drugs generically, South Africa can lower the price of the treatments to a level that more people in its AIDS-ravaged population can afford. Drug companies and the Clinton administration argue that this will set an unfortunate precedent that will undermine patents and reduce the willingness of drug companies to invest in expensive and necessary research. According to AmFAR, this is not only an immoral position but a misleading one, since most funding into drug research is paid for by the federal government, universities, and foundations.

FINANCIAL FACTS

While the AmFAR lobbies effectively on behalf of researchers and institutions involved in the fight against HIV/AIDS, it maintains no political action committee (PAC) and does not donate to the campaign funds of candidates for public office. AmFAR spends approximately \$10 million financing research into the diagnosis, treatment, and cure of HIV/AIDS and HIV/AIDS-related diseases.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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AMERICAN HEALTHCARE ASSOCIATION

The American Healthcare Association (AHCA) is the trade organization representing the long-term healthcare industry, more popularly known as the nursing home industry. A federation of 50 state organizations, the AHCA includes nearly 12,000 member groups, including nonprofit and for-profit assisted living facilities, nursing facilities, and sub-acute care providers. This represents just over 70 percent of the nearly 17,000 such institutions across the country. Altogether, AHCA member groups care for more than 1 million elderly and disabled individuals in the United States.

The AHCA sees its mission as representing the long-term care community to the nation at large—to government, business leaders, and the general public. While the association maintains a major presence as a lobbying group in the nation’s state capitals (all nursing home facilities and administrators are licensed by state regulatory agencies) and Washington, D.C., it is also involved in research into the industry and its needs, as well as education for the public, for nursing home patients, and nursing home staff and administrators. With nursing home abuses in the media of late and with the industry under increasing public and government scrutiny, the AHCA say it has expanded its efforts to improve professionalism and ethical behavior among all who provide long-term care (LTC).

HISTORY

The history of nursing homes in the United States goes back to the turn of the century, when many such facilities grew out of more informal boarding houses for the elderly and disabled. By the 1920s, the health departments of various states began to develop licensing programs for such facilities.

In 1945, a group of nine nursing facility administrators met in Indianapolis to discuss the possibility of establishing a national organization for their industry. At this meeting, they decided to hold a larger conference for nursing home administrators throughout the Midwest. Two such conferences were held in 1948 and 1949, and the latter meeting—held in Toledo, Ohio—led to the formation of the American Association of Nursing Homes (AANH).

At that meeting, the organizers of the AANH laid out the tenets of their association, tenets which the AHCA maintains are still at the heart of the organization’s mission: “to improve the standards of service and administration of member nursing homes; to secure and merit public and official recognition and approval of the work of nursing homes; and to adopt and promote programs of education, legislation, better understanding, and mutual cooperation.

In November 1952, the AANH began publishing its journal for the trade, the *American Association of Nursing Homes Journal*. In 1975, the AANH changed the name of its organization to the American Healthcare Association, to reflect the many changes in the nursing home industry and the many different kinds of long-term care facilities the association represented.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Arguably, the most important issue that the American Healthcare Association is currently addressing—and will continue to address into the foreseeable future—is Medicare reform. Indeed, the AHCA has recently established the ad hoc “Coalition to Fix Medicare Now.” The coalition lobbies the federal government to increase the value of Medicare payments that go to nursing

homes and other long-term care facilities. Among the other members of the coalition are the Occupational Therapy Association and the National Association for the Support of Long-Term Care. The coalition is also planning a major public relations effort aimed at building grassroots support to include long-term care coverage under Medicare. According to a study conducted by the MetLife Insurance Corporation, long-term care issues cost employers \$29 billion annually in time and productivity lost. Indeed, two out of three persons of the baby boom generation told pollsters that they are not prepared to deal with the costs connected with their own long-term care coverage. Annual costs of a nursing home stay currently average \$41,000 annually and are expected to climb to about \$100,000 in the next 30 years.

The administration of President Bill Clinton has recently proposed in its year 2000 budget a provision that would allow federal workers and their families to buy long-term care as part of their benefits package. The AHCA supports this Clinton initiative, but would also like to see it expanded. Long-term care is covered by Medicaid but not by Medicare. According to the association, most Americans are not aware that long-term care is not covered by Medicare and that people have to be reduced to poverty—at which point they are eligible to receive Medicaid (the federal government's healthcare plan for the poor)—before they can get government support for their long-term care. While the AHCA is not certain whether it supports placing long-term care within the package of Medicare benefits, it does support tax credits for long-term care.

On a related issue, the AHCA is urging both Congress and the Clinton administration to address healthcare issues as they consider long-term Social Security reform. As AHCA President Paul Willging noted before Congress in 1998, "How we pay for the long-term healthcare bills of our nation's retirees is the critical issue that sits on the doorstep of . . . Congress as the baby boom generation ages." According to the AHCA, only 25 percent of the baby boom generation can afford private nursing facility care and only 1 percent has purchased long-term healthcare insurance. The AHCA says it would like to see any Social Security reform take into account the costs of LTC.

Meanwhile, on more immediate issues, the AHCA has been less than enamored with a recent "antidumping" bill that President Clinton signed into law. The bill makes it illegal for nursing homes to evict Medicaid patients. While the law does not apply to homes that do not participate in Medicaid, it requires such homes to warn incoming residents that once their assets run out

and they become eligible for Medicaid they may be forced to leave. In an effort to protect its already tarnished public image, the AHCA half-heartedly endorsed the legislation but warned that it would lead to more nursing homes opting out of Medicaid, since the program offered inadequate payments for LTC.

Part of that tarnished image has come from a series of fraud and abuse cases within the LTC industry that have recently come to light and have prompted Congress to consider two separate antifraud bills and the Department of Health and Human Services to consider a new set of False Claims Act guidelines. While the AHCA has supported the legislation, it does not want to pay for investigations called for by the currently contemplated laws and would like to see any new guidelines or legislation cover all healthcare providers, including hospitals and health maintenance organizations.

Meanwhile, a General Accounting Office (GAO) report has come out criticizing both state and federal regulators for their slow response to complaints against nursing homes and other LTC providers. But the AHCA says the GAO and Congress are making too big a deal of this. As an association spokesperson declared, government inspectors often focus their attention on "technical violations posing no jeopardy to residents." The AHCA also complains that regulators are too adversarial and prefer to expose negligent homes rather than work with them to address the complaints. Still, the AHCA says it supports many of the recommendations in the report, but says that there are too many catchall categories in the regulations. For example, it notes that a lot of minor technical violations are catalogued under the heading "severe deficiencies." Saying that the system is broken, the AHCA would like to see regulations that address specific problems with specific solutions, so that LTC providers can bring themselves up to code.

A statement issued by the AHCA declared: "the current federal inspection system has all the trademarks of a bureaucratic government program out of control. Inspectors are prohibited from working with facilities to solve problems. Although they are not doctors themselves, inspectors have penalized facilities for following the orders and treatment plans of physicians." The AHCA complains that inspectors have closed down facilities for technical violations without consulting residents and families. The AHCA says it wants to set up a more collaborative relationship with government regulators. Given the many stories of abuse that have come out of nursing homes in recent years, critics of the in-

dustry say that a softer regulatory approach is precisely what LTC patients do not need.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The AHCA has been a massive donor of campaign funds to candidates of both parties in recent years. Moreover, the overall amounts of contributions have risen steadily since the late 1980s. In the 1987–1988 election cycle—which included campaigns for both Congress and the presidency—the AHCA donated a total of \$253,528 to candidates. In the 1993–1994 election cycle—a congressional election only (normally a time when donations fall off somewhat)—the amounts given by the AHCA to both parties increased substantially to \$475,080, a rise of 187 percent. In the 1997–1998 election cycle, the amount had increased to \$722,580, an increase of 152 percent. Generally, the AHCA has donated somewhat more to Democrats than to Republicans. In the 1987–1988 election cycle, Democratic candidates for Congress and the presidency received \$155,564, or 60 percent of the total donated by the AHCA. In the 1993–1994 election cycle, the AHCA gave \$305,030 to Democrats, or 64 percent of the total. However, in the 1997–1998 election cycle, the Republicans had the edge, receiving

\$383,767—or 53 percent—of the funds donated by the AHCA.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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AMERICAN HEART ASSOCIATION

With 4.2 million paying members—known as “volunteers”—the American Heart Association (AHA) is the largest organization in the United States dedicated to fighting cardiovascular diseases and strokes. These related illnesses are the number-one killer of Americans and cause 1 million deaths annually.

A not-for-profit organization that receives the bulk of its funding from private and corporate sponsors—as well as the dues of its millions of members—the association emphasizes public and professional education, lobbying private insurance providers and governmental bodies charged with the nation’s healthcare, and research into the diagnosis, treatment, and cure of cardiovascular disease, strokes, and other related diseases.

Headquartered in Dallas, Texas, the AHA maintains a large lobbying group in Washington, D.C. AHA lobbyists in Washington—in conjunction with the AHA’s 15 affiliates around the country—coordinate and implement a national program for legislative and regulatory change. Much of this advocacy work involves lobbying for increased federal funding for public education and scientific research. The AHA makes a special point of coordinating its advocacy work in Washington with other interested organizations, including other health associations, insurers, healthcare professional groups, and hospital associations. Each fall the AHA creates an agenda for public policy that is used to guide the activities of its Office of Communications and Advocacy and to serve as a guide for state, local, and community-based advocacy efforts.

In recent years, the AHA Delegate Assembly—the main policy-making group within the organization—has taken on the goal of reducing the risk and incidence of coronary heart disease and stroke by 25 percent by the year 2008. In addition, the AHA is working to double federal funding for heart disease research at the National Institutes of Health by 2004. In addition, it is working to increase funding for the Department of Veterans Affairs—which conducts extensive research on cardiovascular disease and strokes—and the Agency for

Healthcare Policy Research. According to the association, its public policy agenda falls into four main categories: research, health promotion and disease prevention, quality and availability of care, and charitable organizations.

To better promote public and professional education, improve medical techniques, and further research in the field, the AHA maintains a number of scientific councils dedicated to different aspects of heart disease and stroke, such as arteriosclerosis, thrombosis, and vascular biology; cardiopulmonary and critical care; cardiovascular nursing; cardiothoracic and vascular surgery; clinical cardiology; high blood pressure research; stroke; basic science; cardiovascular disease in the young; cardiovascular radiology; circulation; epidemiology and prevention; and kidney complications in cardiovascular diseases. Members on these various councils include physicians, researchers, and university, medical school, and hospital administrators.

HISTORY

Founded in 1924 by six New York City cardiologists, the AHA was initially for physicians and scientists only. In 1948, however, it opened its membership to non-medical volunteers, in the hopes that these members could help raise the nation’s consciousness about heart disease. Noting that there was little medical science could do in the way of treatment at the time, it was hoped that by furthering public education the organization could cut down on the incidence of cardiovascular disease and strokes.

In 1956, the AHA issued its first warnings about the dangers of smoking and its effect on heart disease, followed the next year by the first public warnings about the role of dietary fat in the promotion of cardiovascular ailments. From the 1960s through the 1980s, AHA members helped fund scientific research that led to major advances in surgical treatment, including coronary artery bypass operations, heart transplants, artificial

hearts, and internal defibrillators. In recent years, the AHA has funded research into clot-busting drugs and gene therapy. Clot-busting drugs, which lessen the damage of heart attacks, were first administered in the early 1990s.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Arguably the single most important and immediate issue facing the AHA is federal tobacco legislation. Having been one of the first major organizations to warn the public about the dangers of smoking, the AHA has, in recent years, focused its efforts on using federal legislation and the courts to reduce the incidence of smoking in the United States. Over the past few years, the AHA has come out in favor of higher taxes on cigarettes, increased legal liability for tobacco companies facing lawsuits by individuals seeking damages and states seeking settlements to cover the healthcare costs they incur because of smoking, and stricter limits on tobacco advertising, particularly advertising that is directed at children and adolescents.

Among the current measures, the AHA supports significant price increases on tobacco products through taxation; the prohibition on tobacco marketing and advertising, particularly advertisements and promotions that target women, children, and minorities; bans on smoking in public places; “significant, meaningful penalties” on the tobacco industry for failure to reach targets for reduction of tobacco use among youth; full Food and Drug Administration (FDA) authority over the manufacture, sale, distribution, labeling, and promotion of tobacco; significant funding for public health programs, including smoking cessation, counteradvertising, and state and local initiatives; funding for international tobacco control initiatives that prohibit U.S. government activities that would facilitate marketing tobacco products overseas; and an end to all government financial support for the growth, promotion, and marketing of tobacco, while supporting the creation of programs to assist farmers and tobacco-growing regions in developing economic alternatives to tobacco.

Citing diet as the second most important preventable cause of heart disease after smoking, the AHA has asked the FDA to prohibit food manufacturing companies from making health claims for their foods unless the claims originate from the “acceptable authoritative statement of a scientific body and that they be based on

significant scientific agreement.” In particular, the AHA pushed for a number of rules set forth by the FDA in June 1999 that prohibit the use of health claims made by food manufacturers regarding vitamins A, C, and E; beta-carotene; B-complex vitamins; garlic; omega-3 fatty acids; calcium (on bone density); vitamin K (on proper blood clotting and bone health); chromium (on glucose intolerance); and zinc (on wound healing).

As a major funder of scientific research, the AHA has argued in favor of rational use and humane treatment of laboratory animals in cardiovascular research and opposes legislation and regulations that would reduce medically necessary cardiovascular disease and stroke research or limitations that would substantially increase cost.

FINANCIAL FACTS

While the AHA lobbies effectively on behalf of researchers and institutions involved in the fight against cardiovascular disease and strokes, it maintains no political action committee (PAC) and does not donate to the campaign funds of candidates for public office.

At the same time, the AHA is an organization that collects and disburses large amounts of money for governmental advocacy, as well as research and public education. In the 1997–1998 fiscal years, for example, the AHA had a record-setting income of \$429.6 million. During that same period, it spent \$127 million on research, \$92.3 million on public health education, \$43.1 million on professional education, \$49.5 million on community outreach and education, and another \$81.3 million on administrative overhead and fund-raising.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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AMERICAN HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION

The American Hospital Association (AHA) is the national trade association for all forms of hospitals in the United States. In addition, the AHA represents healthcare networks and hospital administrators. Altogether, the association—with its main headquarters in Chicago and its lobbying arm in Washington, D.C.—represents nearly 5,000 hospitals and other healthcare-providing institutions, a total of some 40,000 hospital administrators.

A primary activity of the AHA is advocacy. The association maintains a powerful voice in Washington that works to ensure the needs and wants of its member hospitals are represented both in Congress and in the various regulatory agencies of the executive branch, including the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Veterans Affairs, the National Institutes of Health, and the Centers for Disease Control.

In 1987, the association underwent a major transformation intended to meet the changing needs of the healthcare industry, as health maintenance organizations (HMOs) began coming to the fore as the primary providers of health insurance to vast numbers of Americans. During the 1987 transformation, most of the AHA’s standing councils were eliminated, replaced by ad hoc committees that could more rapidly respond to developments in health policy. At the same time, the smaller and more manageable board of trustees took over—replacing the larger and more unwieldy House of Delegates—as the administrative body with the power to make final approvals or rejections of AHA policy.

HISTORY

The predecessor organization to the American Hospital Association—the Association of Hospital Superinten-

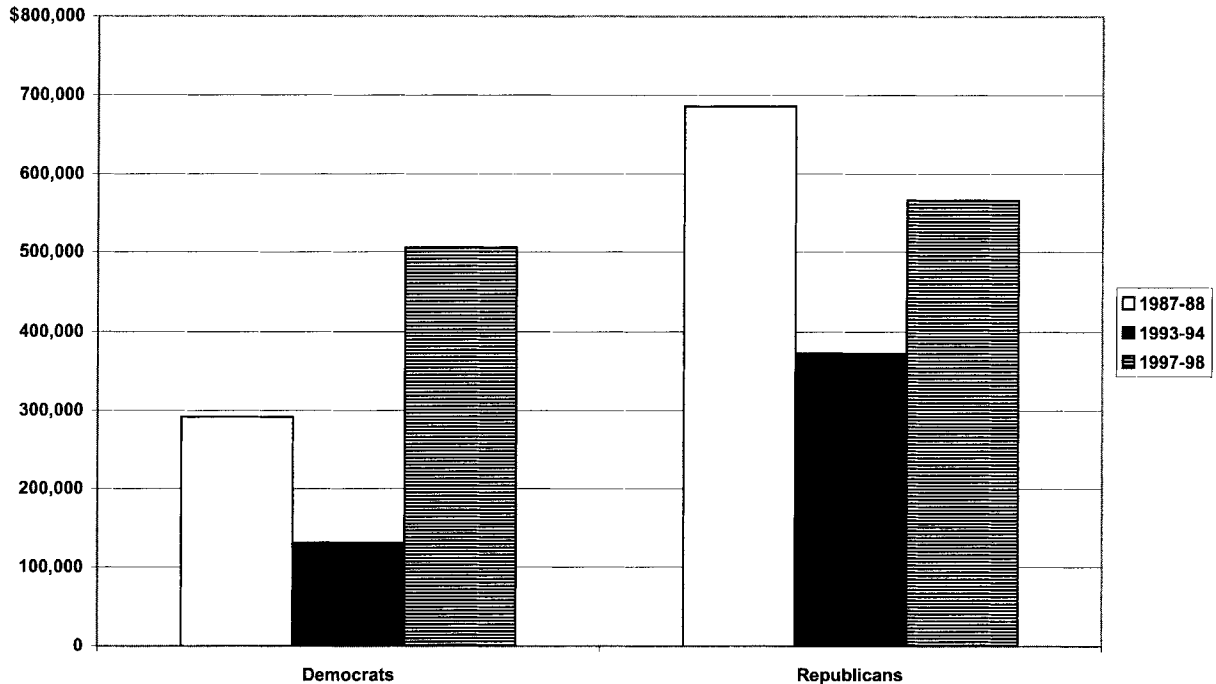
dants—was founded by nine Cleveland, Ohio, hospital administrators in 1899. The original organization was intended to provide a forum for administrators to share ideas on how hospitals should be run. At first, it excluded anyone below the level of chief administrator. Within seven years, however, the exclusivity was relaxed and all hospital administrators and supervisors were allowed to join. At the same time, in 1906, the name was officially changed to its current American Hospital Association. In 1918, a new form of membership—for institutions—was inaugurated.

For its first few decades of existence, the AHA largely confined itself to the exchange of information among members on such subjects as hospital administration, hospital economics, hospital maintenance and upkeep, and hospital inspection. In 1937, the AHA started its Hospital Service Plan Commission, now better known as Blue Cross. The AHA severed all ties with Blue Cross, however, in 1972. Beginning in 1951, the AHA began to push for a federal health program for the elderly, which culminated in the 1965 establishment of the Medicare program.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

As the major lobbying group for America’s hospitals, the AHA is deeply involved in the debate over Medicare reform. Specifically, AHA lobbyists continue to work in Congress to prevent steep cuts in Medicare that were proposed by Republicans in their five-year balanced federal budget plan announced in 1997. In late 1999, the legislation proposed by Republican lawmakers would supposedly produce some \$115 billion in savings over five years. While Republicans say the cuts are necessary to save Medicare, the AHA argues that budget surpluses now render such cuts unnecessary, if they ever

**American Hospital Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

were necessary. Moreover, the AHA says such cuts would seriously jeopardize healthcare for the elderly.

At the same time, the AHA is trying to persuade the federal government to ease its fight against Medicare fraud. Citing recent raids on several hospitals that produced little or no evidence of billing fraud, the AHA says that the efforts by investigators from the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS)—which administers the Medicare program—have gone too far. The AHA says it would prefer that HHS investigators move quietly on corrupt hospitals, rather than conducting high-profile raids that tarnish the reputations of honest hospitals as well as dishonest ones and jeopardize the health of elderly patients at the hospitals under investigation. The AHA tried and failed to get a bill passed in 1998 that would have limited the government’s right to use the False Claims Act in punishing cases of Medicare fraud. Rather than going through Congress, the AHA is lobbying the HHS and the Department of Justice to establish more careful limits on the extent and means of investigations into and punishment of Medicare fraud by hospital billing departments.

On a related issue, the AHA has fought against a rule change made by the Joint Commission on Accreditation

of Healthcare Organizations that effectively ends the “courtesy call,” which offered hospitals 24- to 48-hours notice of spot investigations. Some 80 percent of American hospitals are accredited by the commission. And while hospitals accept such accreditation voluntarily, they cannot be reimbursed by Medicare unless they are. Under pressure from consumer rights activists and the HHS, the commission agreed to drop the prior notification custom.

The so-called patient’s bill of rights is another controversial issue in Washington, D.C., that the AHA finds itself involved in. The bill of rights proposed by the administration of President Bill Clinton, while it contains many elements, includes a protocol for healthcare customers to appeal insurance company decisions to deny certain procedures or to sue them for damages. The AHA not only vows to fight this Democratic bill, it has also lobbied against a Republican-sponsored bill that passed the Senate in the summer of 1999, which also allowed for an appeals process but essentially put the procedures under the control of the health insurers themselves.

Like the Health Insurance Association of America—the trade group of healthcare insurers—the AHA says

that the issue of denied services is best left to the market, since customers have a choice of plans and can therefore opt for companies with lower premiums and fewer covered services or companies with higher premiums and a more extensive list of covered services. Advocates of the bill of rights say this does not help someone who needs a denied procedure immediately since most insurers will not take on someone with an existing condition that requires immediate care.

Another recent complaint that many consumer rights groups—as well as civil libertarians and healthcare professional associations—have with health insurers and health providers such as hospitals is the lack of privacy concerning medical records. Indeed, with the growth of electronic databases and electronic data transfer, it has become increasingly easy for medical records to be sent to various institutions, as well as increasingly likely that they may fall into the hands of the wrong people, such as employers who would like to avoid taking on workers with existing medical conditions or financial lenders who risk losing money if their customers die from an existing medical condition. The AHA believes that hospitals and health insurance providers need to have access to as much information as possible in order to increase the cost-effectiveness of their services. Moreover, both claim that there are adequate privacy protections and that when personal records are sent all information that identifies an individual is encoded.

Another issue of concern to the AHA is doctor unionization. In 1999, members of the American Medical Association (AMA) voted to allow private doctors to unionize. The rationale was that, in a changing healthcare environment in which HMOs set most prices for most doctor services, medical practitioners need a collective voice to negotiate on their behalf. But under the nation's antitrust legislation, private practitioners are prohibited from organizing. (Doctors who are on salary with hospitals or other institutions are allowed to unionize under current law.) Thus, the AMA and other doctor groups have been lobbying the government to make an exemption for them. The AHA has come out vigorously in opposition to such an exemption, saying it would increase healthcare costs dramatically and thereby jeopardize patient care.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The AHA is one of the largest donors of campaign contributions in Washington, D.C. Over the past five election cycles—since 1987–1988—it has consistently given hundreds of thousands of dollars to candidates. In the 1987–1988 election cycle, the AHA gave a total of \$1,025,196 to Republican and Democratic candidates for Congress and the presidency. In the 1993–1994 election cycle—which was for Congress only and thus normally a period of smaller overall donations—the total figure given to Republican and Democratic candidates was \$432,727. By the 1997–1998 cycle the amount had climbed back up to \$1,072,868. Despite these fluctuations, the proportion of money given to the two major parties has remained relatively consistent, with about two-thirds going to Republicans and one-third going to Democrats.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Medical Association (AMA) is the most prominent professional association for physicians in the United States, representing nearly 300,000 physicians who practice all types of medicine. The national organization is one of the largest and most influential interest groups in the nation in terms of political contributions to members of Congress and political influence over the federal government's agencies. Through its 50 state branches, the organization also exercises significant influence over state and local decisions that relate to medical practices. The AMA operates as both a gatekeeper defining and regulating entry into the medical profession and a defender of the interests of physicians who are members of the association.

The AMA seeks to retain and expand its position as the most prominent voice for physicians, and more broadly, the medical profession. Although the AMA's stated mission is "to promote the art and science of medicine and the betterment of public health," the organization also seeks to advance the position of physicians in the healthcare field. By the early twenty-first century, the AMA had succeeded in maintaining and expanding physicians' leading position in the healthcare workplace. However, the growth of managed care as the primary form of medical insurance has shifted a significant share of physicians' oversight over medical decisions to health insurance companies. In the last decade, the effort to regain medical supervision over medical decisions has become the leading political goal of the organization.

The AMA is controlled by a democratically elected board of directors that is responsible for operations and carrying out members' policy goals. The organization is responsible for evaluating and accrediting medical schools and residency programs in the United States. Moreover, the AMA is also responsible for accrediting continuing physician education programs. The organization publishes the *Journal of the American Medical Association* and other specialized books and software on medical care.

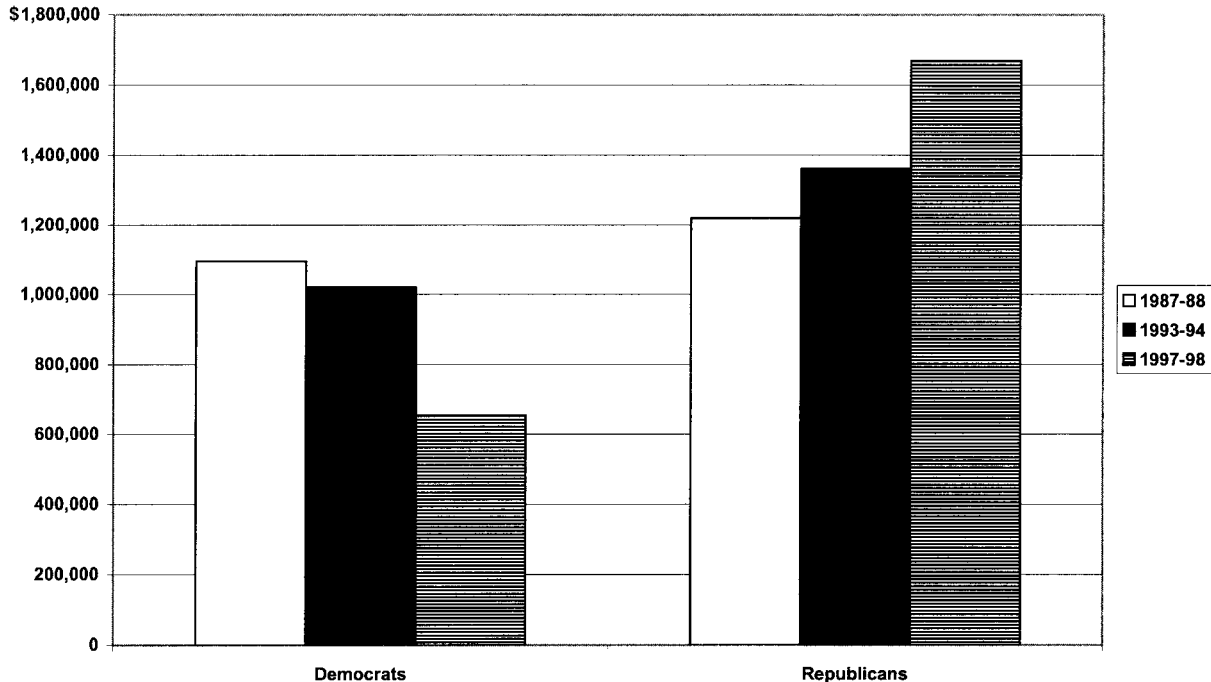
HISTORY

The AMA was founded in 1847 by Nathan Smith Davis to improve and standardize medical education and training. Davis, a New York physician, and other medical doctors believed that few American physicians had basic training in medicine, particularly physicians practicing in the rural regions of the United States. By improving the standards of professional medical education and medical care, the AMA believed that public health could be vastly improved. Moreover, due to the scarcity of established medical institutions in the United States, many doctors studied medicine in Europe.

In its formative years, the AMA was a relatively small society of physicians with little influence, but in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century the organization became more prominent, in part due to the greater recognition of the need to train doctors in the United States. The organization also gained standing as a proponent of public health and medical research to identify the causes of disease in the major cities and throughout the country.

Federal government efforts in the 1960s to extend healthcare coverage to Americans were initially opposed by the AMA, including Medicare and Medicaid because of its belief that such programs would regulate physician medical fees. The organization also strongly opposed any form of national health insurance that would guarantee medical coverage to all Americans. In place of Medicare, the AMA favored a program known as Eldercare, which would cover only the elderly poor and indigent. However, after Congress enacted Medicare, the AMA became one of its primary proponents. Government and corporate efforts to rein in healthcare spending in the 1980s and 1990s through the introduction of managed care have severely reduced physician fees and autonomy. Today, the AMA considers managed care to be a major impediment to providing quality healthcare to all Americans. The organization now sup-

**American Medical Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

ports efforts to establish a patient's bill of rights that would improve coverage and potentially increase access to healthcare. The unprecedented June 1999 vote to support the formation of a national union to bargain on behalf of doctors with health insurance companies reflects the weakening power of the AMA to influence public policy on managed care.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

At the forefront of the AMA's current agenda is the effort to increase the quality of healthcare and patient access through limiting the power of health insurance companies to oversee medical decisions and determine access. The AMA believes that the current direction of healthcare financing is not working for patients and is constraining the economic ability of doctors to practice medicine. The organization claims that reimbursement by third-party insurers generally is inadequate to cover the necessary services for patients. The growth of managed care tends to shift medical decision making from

doctors and physicians to health insurance companies who tend to evaluate the need for medical services on the basis of financial determinations of managed care bureaucrats rather than the medical need of patients.

In public testimony, the AMA strongly supports the introduction of patients' rights legislation that would increase access to healthcare and reduce the ability of managed care providers to deny health coverage. Although the AMA has supported the extension of a patient's rights bill, it has opposed congressional bills in the late 1990s that tinkered at the edges of the system rather than fundamentally reforming healthcare. In the summer of 1999, the AMA argued that patients' rights legislation passed by the U.S. Senate did not improve patient access to necessary healthcare but instead included provisions that greatly protected health insurance companies.

The AMA believes that the managed care companies should be liable in the case of unjust denial of healthcare services. According to the AMA, managed care companies should not prevent patients from going to the nearest emergency room and should not impede patients who are in need of emergency care from using healthcare services that are out of their plans. According to the AMA, if managed care companies prevail in the

ongoing healthcare debate, “ambulance drivers and paramedics will be forced to make life or death decisions while the insurance company contemplates what it is willing to pay for.”

In June 1999, Thomas R. Reardon, president of the AMA, argued that the Republican-controlled 106th Congress passed legislation that permitted “insurance companies to impose arbitrary, narrow definitions of what’s medically necessary when they determine patient healthcare needs.” Echoing the sentiment of the AMA, Reardon added that “insurance companies will be free to decide if care is necessary [based] on what’s good for their profits rather than what’s good for patients.”

Since 1994, the AMA has actively supported passage of healthcare reform legislation to improve patient access to medical services that have been eroded by managed care. In particular, the organization has been actively fighting for a patient’s bill of rights that “could protect patients from the abuses of managed care.” The AMA believes that such legislation must include four essential elements: the independent and fair external appeal of health plan decisions, the ability to hold health plans accountable when their decisions harm patients, the right to have physicians decide what treatment is medically necessary, and the guarantee that patient rights apply to all Americans. The AMA believes that the issue of patient access to healthcare will continue to remain a top priority for the organization and its members in the years to come.

In the long term, the AMA believes that health insurance reform is necessary. It has proposed changes in the federal tax code that would transfer employer-based health plans to individually owned health insurance. The organization believes that such a program would preserve the patient-physician relationship and potentially lead to new changes that would extend health coverage to the uninsured.

Since 1994, the organization’s campaign for passage of a patient’s bill of rights has included campaign contributions to sympathetic congressional candidates, lobbying key members of Congress, radio and newspaper media campaigns, and public appearances by AMA leaders. The organization believes that though the American public strongly supports such legislation to improve access to healthcare, members of the Senate and House of Representatives have been swayed by the interests of the health insurance industry. By the summer of 1999, the AMA had failed to win passage of what it believed was an adequate patient’s bill of rights.

Another key health policy issue on the AMA agenda is to strengthen the ability of doctors to bargain with managed care plans. Currently, self-employed physi-

cians have little power to improve the terms of health reimbursements with insurance companies. In response to significant pressure, the AMA came out in support of doctors’ strengthening their bargaining power by collectively negotiating with health plans.

The AMA supports Medicare reform to maintain the long-term solvency of the program. However, the organization believes that current efforts by the government to impose huge financial penalties for fraud and abuse is unfair to physicians who may have inadvertently made billing errors. In the 1990s, changes in healthcare financing and the emergence of managed healthcare as the dominant form of health insurance has eroded the ability of doctors to defend the profession. Increasingly, physicians are finding that medical decisions are being usurped by managed healthcare insurance companies that define the parameters of allowable healthcare. This decline in physician authority has contributed to calls for radical changes to regain control over decision making and payments. In the late 1990s, rather than negotiate as individuals with healthcare providers, a growing number of physicians have supported efforts to negotiate on a collective basis with healthcare providers and insurers.

In June 1999, the growing support of unionization among doctors prompted the 494-member AMA House of Delegates to vote in favor of the formation of its own national labor union of doctors. The AMA believes that a national physicians union is necessary to give doctors who are under severe financial and workload pressure greater negotiating power with managed care companies. The organization maintains that the new national union will not be a traditional labor union because doctors will be prohibited from striking or jeopardizing patient care. According to the AMA, the new union will only apply to doctors who are employees of HMOs or managed care companies until Congress gives self-employed doctors collective bargaining rights.

The AMA also disseminates information on public health, personal healthcare, and prevention, and is issuing new guidelines on proper personal healthcare and treatment. The AMA continues its antismoking campaign, which began in 1972, that educates the public on the health risks of cigarette smoking. In addition, the organization is actively engaged in medical ethics issues.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Since the early twentieth century, the AMA has been lobbying Congress and administrative agencies. AM-

PAC (American Medical Association Political Action Committee), the organization's political action committee (PAC), is among the most prominent in the nation. It is a leading contributor to members of Congress and is perennially rated by members of Congress as one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington, D.C. However, unlike other lobbies that have increased their contributions in recent years, since the 1987–1988 election cycle, AMPAC has continued to contribute about \$2.3 million. Traditionally, AMPAC has directed a larger share of its campaign contributions to Republican candidates. Even when Democrats controlled the House of Representatives, the AMA directed a majority of its campaign contributions to Republicans. In the 1997–1998 election cycle, Republican candidates received 72 percent of AMPAC's \$2.3 million in contributions. In recent years, public policy organizations have disclosed that the AMA has paid for the cost of trips of members

of Congress to attend conventions and fact-finding missions.

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AMERICAN NURSES ASSOCIATION

The American Nurses Association (ANA) is the national organization that represents the professional and economic interests of nurses. The organization's stated mission is to improve the health standards and the availability of healthcare services. The ANA believes that high health standards can be advanced in the profession through encouraging professional development and improving the economic conditions of nurses.

The organization represents nurse administrators and clinical practitioners employed in medical institutions, community agencies, and educational and research organizations. The ANA believes that nurses have a distinct set of professional and economic interests that are frequently independent of doctors and other health professionals. The organization seeks to promote these interests through public education and lobbying politicians and government officials. The ANA's primary goal is to promote policy positions that advance the ability of nurses to provide healthcare. According to the organization, these positions include engendering high standards of nursing practice and improving the economic condition of nurses. The ANA lobbies members of Congress and regulatory agencies on healthcare issues important to nurses and their patients. The organization regularly seeks to help advance the public image of nurses and to draw attention to the importance of the nursing profession in the administration of medical care.

The ANA is led by a 16-member board of directors that is elected by the organization's membership. The board of directors is primarily responsible for framing the policy agenda of the organization. The ANA is one of the nation's largest professional organizations that engages in a broad range of activities. The organization operates the American Nurses Credentialing Center, which establishes standards for credentializing nurses. In addition, the ANA offers a range of activities, services, and products to its members. The ANA holds conventions on a biennial basis, publishes the *American Journal of Nursing*, and provides continuing education programs.

HISTORY

The ANA was founded in 1874 to set standards of education and practice for the nursing profession. Prior to the organization's founding, no standardized system of nursing education and accreditation was in place in the United States. Initially, the organization's primary objective was to promote and engender a formalized system of professional training for American nurses. Over the last century, the ANA has expanded rapidly and gained in stature as the leading voice of the nursing profession. By the late 1990s, the ANA had grown to represent the interests of 2.2 million registered nurses organized in 53 state and territorial associations.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the ANA has over 180,000 members. The Washington headquarters also serves as the national center of operations for 25 labor unions that represent nurses on a regional basis. These engage in collective bargaining and negotiate contracts on behalf of nurses with medical centers, hospitals, and other healthcare management organizations. In recent years, the ANA has been actively involved in political debates on the future of medical care. The organization considers the growth of managed care and other cost-cutting programs to be potentially detrimental to the health and safety needs of patients and nurses.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

A leading policy effort of the ANA is to restructure the healthcare system to improve the delivery of primary care on a community basis and to defend and improve the quality of the healthcare workplace environment. The ANA seeks to advance the economic and professional stature of registered nurses and advanced practice

nurses in administering basic and primary healthcare. To advance the professional development of nurses, the ANA solicits federal funding for education and training programs.

The ANA has been an active participant in the national debate over the future of healthcare in America. In particular, the organization is concerned with the changes in government and private healthcare insurance systems that have in recent years narrowed and restricted medical care services to patients by reducing reimbursements for medical care procedures. An ongoing legislative priority for the organization is to provide Medicare reimbursements for all nurse practitioners and clinical nurses. The ANA is concerned with the effect of managed healthcare on the quality of patient care. In particular it is troubled that the reduction of nurse staffing levels has had a harmful effect on the quality of patient care.

The ANA considers the improvement of the healthcare of patients to be one of its most important objectives. To improve the delivery of healthcare, the ANA closely monitors how the changing healthcare environment affects the care of patients. For example, the organization has established an advisory board to study and report on how scientific and medical advancements influence the ethical standards in nursing and the medical profession more generally.

Although the ANA has endorsed the passage of the Patient Safety Bill—an act introduced in Congress that would require hospitals to provide information on how medical staffing levels influence patient medical outcomes—it has opposed efforts by the health insurance industry to insert provisions in the bill that erode patient access to healthcare.

Other interests of the association include enhancing the role of registered nurses in the delivery of basic and primary healthcare, gaining federal funding for the education and training of nurses, and improving the economic and working conditions of nurses. Maintaining and enhancing workplace safety for nurses is one of the ANA's primary areas of concern; the key workplace safety issues are maintaining appropriate staffing levels, promoting safety, and ensuring that health hazards are minimized. According to the ANA, nurses constantly are faced with occupational hazards and dangers from needles and exposure to toxic substances and medical wastes and risk back injuries and developing latex allergies. The ANA has produced information brochures and conducted national videoconferences to educate nurses on avoiding workplace hazards. On a legislative level, the ANA is actively educating and lobbying members of Congress to support a proposed Healthcare Worker

Protection Act, which would mandate the expansion of workplace safety protections for nurses and other medical practitioners.

In addition to workplace safety, the ANA is also committed to promoting and advancing economic security for nurses—including benefits, pensions, and collective bargaining. The organization is active in researching the latest strategies and tactics on labor-management relations. The ANA maintains a labor and workplace division that provides data and assistance to nurses and state nursing associations on collective bargaining, contract negotiations, economic restructuring, and personnel issues.

The ANA and its state affiliates lobby federal and state governments to advance the condition of nurses. The organization's government affairs division lobbies Congress and members of the executive departments and testifies before congressional committees on issues that concern nursing. The primary goals are to educate Congress on the nursing profession's positions and to provide data for the development of congressional bills. The government affairs staff also assists federal government agencies on the implementation of laws affecting nurses. The organization's legislative priorities include passing a patient's bill of rights, and advancing patients' access to medical care.

As an active supporter of a comprehensive patient's bill of rights, the ANA opposes efforts by the U.S. Congress to water down the bill's provisions that protect from retaliation by hospital management nurses who advocate for their patients. In addition, the organization opposes efforts that would exempt healthcare plans that are not regulated by federal law—leaving more than 100 million beneficiaries unprotected—and efforts to weaken the patient appeals process.

The ANA is a staunch advocate for the continuation of federal funding for Community Nursing Organizations (CNOs)—health programs operated by nurses that serve Medicare beneficiaries in home and community settings. Funding for the CNO programs, authorized in 1987, will be terminated January 1, 2000, if no additional funding is authorized by Congress. CNO demonstration projects are operated at sites in Minnesota, Illinois, Arizona, and New York State. In addition to these legislative programs, the ANA supports increased access to women's healthcare services, improved third-party reimbursements to nurses, funding for nursing education and training programs, and support for Medicare and Social Security.

The organization also supports and trains nurses who are seeking state and federal elective office and mobilizes members and their families to work and vote for can-

didates selected by the association. The ANA provides testimony from the nursing perspective before leading government bodies, including the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Labor, the National Institutes of Health, and other U.S. government agencies. In addition, the ANA has worked with the United Nations, the World Health Organization, and other international nongovernmental organizations.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Campaign contributions to congressional candidates are funneled through the American Nurses Association Po-

litical Action Committee (ANA-PAC), which according to the ANA, is the third-largest healthcare political action committee (PAC) in the nation. ANA-PAC has raised more than \$1 million from nurses in three consecutive election cycles between 1993 and 1998. ANA-PAC's objective is to endorse and contribute to candidates from both parties that support the legislative policy agenda of the organization. ANA-PAC is funded through member donations.

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AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION

The American Occupational Therapy Association (AOTA) is the leading national association that represents and seeks to advance the professional and economic interests of occupational therapy practitioners, assistants, and students. Occupational therapy is a professional medical field that assists individuals to recover from illnesses or injuries or to cope with developmental disabilities, or changes that may occur through aging. Occupational therapists assist individuals to regain and maintain a productive and fulfilling life through restoring and maintaining physical abilities that they have lost or never developed. According to the AOTA, the primary goal of occupational therapists is to help patients who are impaired by physical and mental problems that hinder their ability to function in their homes, schools, or workplaces.

The AOTA's 60,000 members are registered occupational therapists, certified occupational therapy assistants, and occupational therapy students. The organization's mission is to maintain the professional environment for its members and to advance and defend the continued viability and importance of the profession. The primary activities of the AOTA are to serve the interests of members, to educate the public about the importance of the profession of occupational therapy, and to support and extend access to occupational therapy services through government and third-party health insurance providers. In the 1990s, the AOTA sought to expand its relationship with state and local occupational therapy organizations. Thus, the AOTA closely advises state occupational therapy associations to promote and advance standards in occupational therapy practice with state health departments, regulatory bodies, and other healthcare policy-making organizations that govern the field. Particular attention has been devoted to states that do not have adequate licensing and regulatory guidelines for occupational therapists.

The organization, based in Bethesda, Maryland, is actively involved in educating therapists, assistants, students, and other interested parties. The organization disseminates practice guidelines detailing accepted regula-

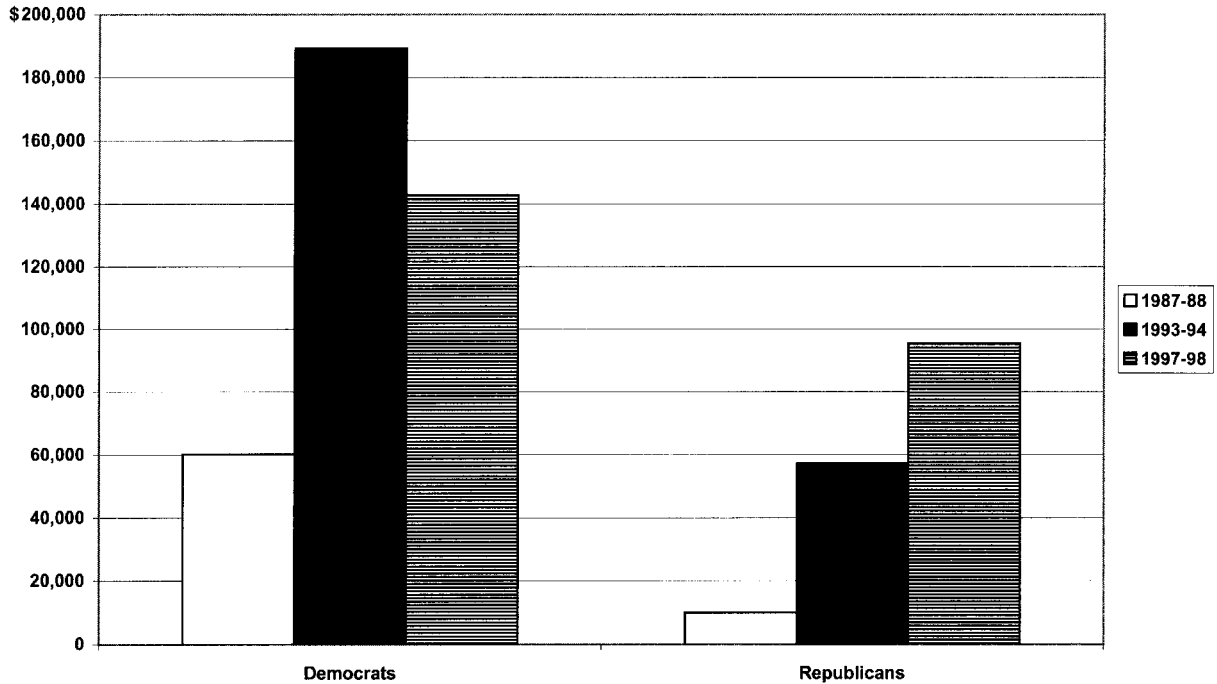
tions for the practice of occupational therapy. The practice guidelines are widely distributed to healthcare practitioners, health insurers and managed care organizations, and healthcare policy-makers.

HISTORY

The origins of the AOTA date back to 1917, when the organization was founded in Washington, D.C., as the National Society for the Promotion of Occupational Therapy. Four years later, the organization changed its name to the American Occupational Therapy Association. Initially, the primary concern of the national society was to investigate and promote the development of productive occupations for disabled persons. In addition, the organization sought to promote partnership and collaboration among occupational therapy societies across the nation.

Shortly after its founding, the organization was encouraged by hospital administrators and interested physicians in the field to establish a national register of occupational therapists to identify qualified practitioners and to prevent unqualified individuals from practicing in the field. To achieve the goal of establishing a national register, the organization established standards for training occupational therapists. By 1923, the AOTA used its standards for the first time to accredit qualified educational programs engaged in training occupational therapists. Over the next decade, professional occupational therapy standards were developed and institutionalized. By 1935, the AOTA's standards and guidelines for occupational therapy education—officially known as “Essentials of an Acceptable School of Occupational Therapy”—were adopted by the American Medical Association (AMA) for the training of registered occupational therapists. This collaborative relationship with the AMA continued in the decades to come. By 1958, the AOTA developed standards and guidelines for the approval of training for occupational therapy assistants.

**American Occupational Therapy Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

Over the next 40 years, the AOTA’s accreditation guidelines for occupational therapists and occupational therapy assistants have been accepted by leading organizations, including the Council on Postsecondary Education, an agency that accredits higher education training programs. By 1994, the United States Department of Education (USDE) recognized the AOTA Accreditation Council for Occupational Therapy Education (ACOTE) as the official accrediting agency for occupational therapy professional training programs. The USDE approval is necessary before an educational institution such as the ACOTE can participate in federal funding programs. The ACOTE is now responsible for monitoring nearly 200 occupational therapy and occupational therapy assistant training programs.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

To promote the importance of occupational therapy services, the AOTA is actively engaged in educating the public. The AOTA regularly contributes to newspaper

columns about the importance of occupational therapy in rehabilitation for persons who have arthritis, visual perception losses, carpal tunnel syndrome, and depression. The organization seeks to draw public attention to occupational therapy’s importance to mental health. According to the AOTA, occupational therapists screen patients for depression and other psychological conditions. To emphasize the profession’s important role, AOTA president Karen Jacobs observed: “Whether it is a school child referred for handwriting problems, or an older personal being treated for a stroke, the occupational therapist is on the front lines of helping to identify underlying health issues that may be affecting the individual’s well-being.” The association provides education through national and regional conferences and continuing education courses and workshops held at state and local levels. In addition, the organization provides specialized training in pediatrics and neurorehabilitation.

Occupational therapy services for rehabilitation is increasingly in demand as the baby boom generation ages and the demographic profile of the American population grows older. According to the AOTA, the population over 60 years of age is expected to grow from

17 percent in the late 1990s to 25 percent by the year 2020. As a result of the growth in demand, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, occupational therapy is one of the fastest growing professions. By the late 1990s, while the number of occupational therapists expanded to meet the rising demand, there continued to be a shortage of occupational therapists in the United States. Despite the shortage, dramatic changes in medical care payments during the 1990s placed considerable strain on the capability of occupational therapists to survive and grow financially. According to the AOTA, the introduction and expansion of managed health care, which closely monitors and limits access to occupational therapy services, potentially undermines the prosperity and future growth of the profession. The AOTA is troubled with federal and private health insurance restrictions that have been placed on occupational therapy services.

The rising demand for occupational therapy services, coupled with declining health insurance coverage for services, is a leading concern of the organization. In 1999, the AOTA supported legislation in Congress aimed at restoring Medicare benefits that had been reduced—specifically, restrictions placed on occupational therapy services—in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. According to Jeanette Bair, executive director of the AOTA, the \$1,500 cap on occupational therapy services imposed by the act severely impedes full recovery for patients.

The AOTA is equally troubled that the proliferation of health maintenance organizations and the spiraling growth of private managed care has given too much power to investors and owners who are concerned with profitability at the expense of reducing critically needed occupational therapy services. Between 1985 and 1998, the percentage of Americans enrolled in HMOs had increased from 26 percent to 62 percent, contributing to the reduction in occupational therapy and other needed healthcare treatment and services.

The credentializing of occupational therapists has been one of the organization's most important issues in the last decade. In 1999, the AOTA considered extending the requirements for registered occupational therapists to include a postbaccalaureate degree.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The AOTA is an active contributor of political action committee (PAC) funds to Democratic and Republican candidates in the U.S. Congress. Two trends can be observed in the activity of the American Occupational Therapy Political Action Committee (AOTPA): the spiraling in political contributions and the moderation of funds given to Democrats. AOTPA funds are directed to congressional representatives who support the organization's interests and to legislators sitting on key committees in Congress that address issues related to healthcare. Moreover, AOTPA has vastly increased its PAC activity in recent decades. Contributions to congressional candidates have grown from \$70,311 in the 1987–1988 election cycle to \$238,445 in the 1997–1998 election cycle. The AOTPA's political contributions reflect the pragmatic needs of the organization. In the 1987–1988 election cycle—when Democrats controlled the House of Representatives—about 86 percent of AOTPA's contributions went to Democrats. By the 1997–1998 election cycle, the organization's contributions to Democrats accounted for 60 percent of all AOTPA money—reflecting the Republicans' control of the House beginning in 1995. In addition to funding political candidates, AOTA also encourages its members to vote for candidates who support its agenda and influential members of committees who are expected to continue to exert influence on key issues to the association.

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AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION

With some 40,500 members—largely in the United States, but also from around the world—the American Psychiatric Association (APA) is the largest association dedicated to furthering the interests of professional psychiatrists and the psychiatry profession. The APA is an educational, research, and advocacy group dedicated to maintaining standards within the profession and advocating policies—both within the government and the private sector—that serve psychiatrists and their patients.

According to its own literature, the APA is dedicated to the following objectives: “to improve the treatment, rehabilitation, and care of the mentally ill, the mentally retarded, and the emotionally disturbed; to promote research, professional education in psychiatry and allied fields, and the prevention of psychiatric disabilities; to advance the standards of all psychiatric services and facilities; to foster the cooperation of all who are concerned with the medical, psychological, social, and legal aspects of mental health and illness; to make psychiatric knowledge available to other practitioners of medicine, to scientists in other fields of knowledge, and to the public; to promote the best interests of patients and those actually or potentially making use of mental health services; and to advocate for its members.”

The APA is governed by several bodies including a board of trustees, an assembly, and the joint reference committee. While these bodies set the overall policy and position of the APA, the organization’s day-to-day affairs are carried out by constitutional committees, topic councils, and commissions. The 11 councils are responsible for the following areas: addiction psychiatry; aging; children, adolescents, and their families; economic affairs; internal organization; international affairs; medical education and career development; national affairs; psychiatric services; psychiatry and law; and research.

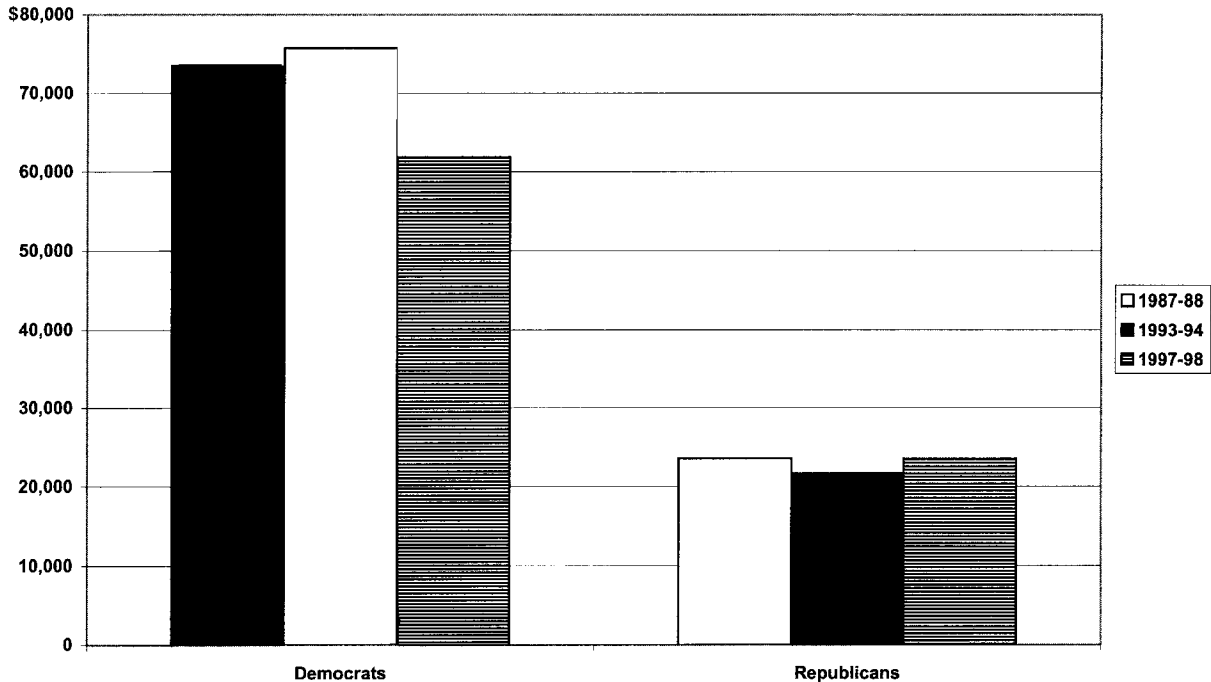
HISTORY

The APA was founded in 1844 and, among its first activities, published the world’s first professional journal concerned with mental illness. First titled the *American Journal of Insanity*, the journal’s name was later changed to its current *American Journal of Psychiatry*. Over the years, the APA has grown in size and influence and came to publish the *Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. Now in its fourth edition, the manual—usually referred to as the DSM—has been called the “bible” of the profession in that it provides clinicians with precise definitions of all mental disorders. Over the years, numerous new illnesses have been added, while a few controversial ones—such as homosexuality—have been dropped.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Several forces have come together in recent years that have had an enormous impact on the APA and the psychiatric profession generally. These forces have included scientific advances such as the remarkable proliferation of psychopharmaceutical drugs and social change, including the growing public acceptance of mental illness as a legitimate and unstigmatized health problem. In economics, the biggest impact has been the emergence of health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and their cost-cutting health measures. In addition, science and economy have come together, as healthcare insurers have come to emphasize psychopharmaceuticals as a cost-effective alternative to long-term traditional psychiatric treatment. This has led to the growing spread of therapists. With less formal education and lower fees,

**American Psychiatric Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

therapists offer a lower-cost alternative to traditional psychiatry.

The spread of HMOs and the increasing numbers of persons seeking psychiatric and psychological treatment have led to a growing problem regarding the financing of mental health treatment. The APA has declared itself in full support of the so-called patient's bill of rights, an initiative of the administration of President Bill Clinton that would guarantee HMO customers the right to sue their health insurance company if the latter refuses to pay for medically necessary treatment. Since mental health treatment—and particularly expensive and long-running therapy—is often not covered, this issue is of particular importance to the APA and its members. According to statements issued by the APA, a proper patient's bill of rights would include such features "as reasonable and clearly defined appeals procedures and peer-level utilization review standards."

At the same time, the APA has been lobbying vigorously to assure full parity for mental illness treatment (including substance abuse treatments) in HMO health-care plans. Working with various members of Congress, APA lobbyists have tried to get bills introduced that would eliminate discriminatory copayments and deduc-

tibles for mental health patients (mental health patients usually pay higher copayments and deductibles than patients with physical ailments). In addition, the APA would like rules that prevent strict limits on the number of visits with or dollar amount a patient can spend on a therapist whose services are covered by an HMO plan.

Also connected to the rise of HMOs is the issue of medical record privacy. As experts in the field of health-care point out, HMOs—in their efforts to cut costs—have sought ever-greater amounts of information about clients and prospective clients. While health insurers say the privacy of this information is highly protected and is used simply to study trends in healthcare provision so that insurers can utilize their resources more effectively, critics say the proliferation of records, new electronic means to transfer records, and the HMOs' desire to seek out all the information it can on patients has led to a dangerous situation in which such records could fall into the wrong hands. Specifically, they worry that medical records made public could be used by employers who want to avoid taking on the costly healthcare needs of potential employees or lenders who do not want to loan money to people who might die before they can pay it back.

Needless to say, as the largest organization of mental healthcare providers, the APA is extremely sensitive to the issue of privacy and has lobbied hard to prevent a national patient identifier system. In addition, the APA has sought to prevent the “routine use” of private medical records in Medicare fraud cases. Still, says the APA, the battle to protect patients’ medical records is far from over. The association is currently fighting off a Republican initiative that the APA believes would give health-care insurers a “wide latitude in disclosing patients’ medical records to financial services companies,” which “would overturn the principle of patient consent for disclosure of medical records to third parties.”

FINANCIAL FACTS

The APA has donated modest amounts to political campaigns compared to many associations of healthcare professionals over the past five election cycles, and the total given to candidates has remained roughly the same over these same years. In the 1987–1988 election cycle—which included both presidential and congressional campaigns—the APA gave a total of \$95,405. In 1993–1994—which was a congressional election only and therefore should have seen donations drop—the organization donated roughly the same amount, \$94,295.

By the 1997–1998 election cycle—again, only a congressional campaign season—the APA gave \$85,486. Similarly, the proportions given to the two major parties has remain largely unchanged over the past six election cycles. In the 1987–1988 election cycle, for instance, Democrats received \$71,830, or roughly 72 percent of the total; in 1993–1994, Democrats received \$72,595, or 76 percent; and in 1997–1998, they received \$61,976, or 72 percent.

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AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ANESTHESIOLOGISTS

Representing the interests of professional anesthesiologists, the American Society of Anesthesiologists (ASA) is an educational, research, and advocacy group dedicated to maintaining standards within the profession and advocating policies—both within the government and the private sector—that serve anesthesiologists, the science and practice of anesthesiology, and patients who undergo anesthesia. (Anesthesiologists administer a variety of drugs—orally, by injection, and through the airways—that render the individual unconscious—and thus insensitive to pain—while maintaining vital functions such as breathing, heart rate, and blood pressure during surgery. In addition, anesthesiologists are often involved in postoperative care, providing pain-killing drugs and other treatment, as well as in monitoring life functions during this critical recovery period.)

The ASA includes approximately 35,000 members who must be licensed doctors of medicine (MDs) or osteopathy who have also successfully completed a training program in anesthesiology certified by the Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education or the American Osteopathic Association.

Headquartered in Park Ridge, Illinois, and with a lobbying office in Washington, D.C., the ASA is governed by its House of Delegates, consisting of ASA officers, regional directors, past presidents of the organization, the editor-in-chief of the ASA's journal *Anesthesiology*, as well as the chairpersons of the organization's more important committees, including education and residency, and clinical care, among others. In addition to the House of Delegates, the ASA also has a board of directors, which supervises the business and publication affairs of the organization. The ASA also manages the Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology, which is located at its headquarters in Park Ridge.

The organization sponsors a number of education programs for its members. It holds an annual meeting, where anesthesiologists are introduced to the latest research, procedures, and products related to the pro-

profession. Seminars at the annual meetings and elsewhere contribute to the continuing education of anesthesiologists. In addition, the ASA offers its Self-Education and Evaluation Program, which allows practicing anesthesiologists to gain an objective measure of their own continuing education and skills. Finally, the ASA acts as the secretariat of the American Board of Anesthesiology. Together, the society and the board prepare and administer the examination taken by some 5,000 anesthesiology program residents throughout North America.

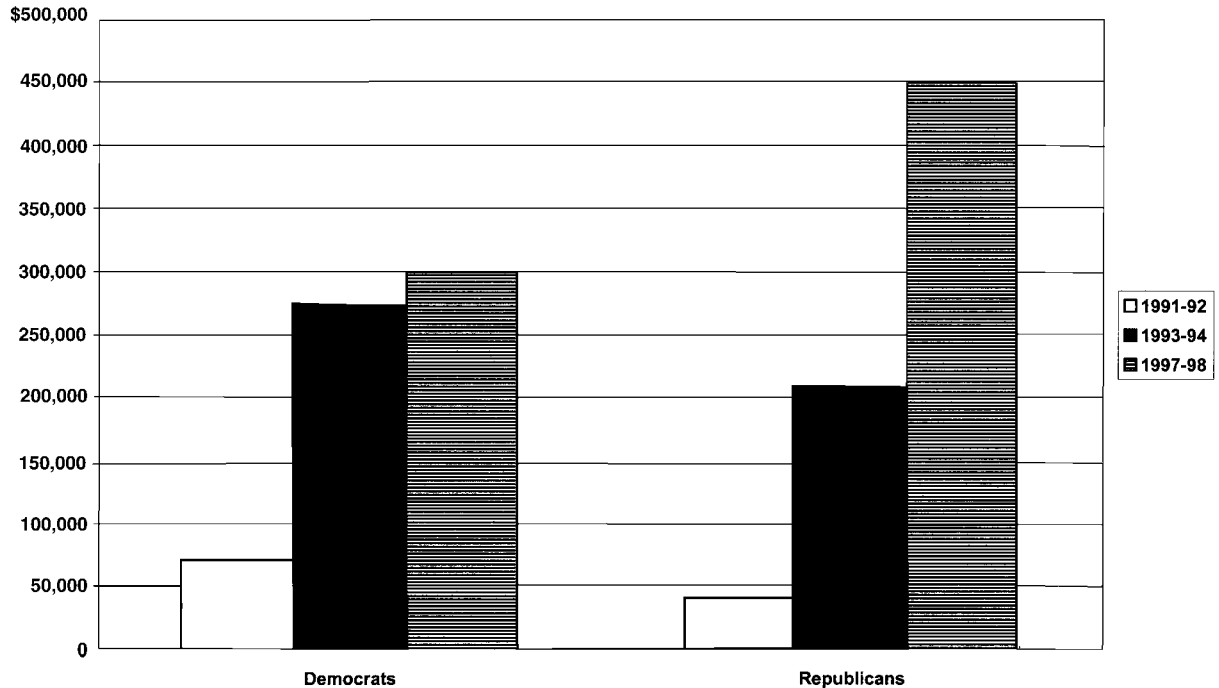
HISTORY

The first direct predecessor organization to the American Society of Anesthesiologists was founded by nine Long Island, New York, physicians in 1905. It was founded both to improve and advance the research and practice of anesthesiology and to improve the quality of care experienced by patients undergoing surgery. Within five or so years, the group had expanded to some two dozen members and had named itself the New York Society of Anesthetists. With the inclusion of members from various parts of the country, the organization was chartered as the American Society of Anesthetists in 1935 and, 10 years later, the name was changed to the American Society of Anesthesiologists. In 1947, the society moved its headquarters from New York to Chicago and then, in 1960, to the Chicago suburb of Park Ridge.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Like other professional associations in the field of medicine, the ASA is trying to cope with the rapid changes being experienced in healthcare in recent years. Spe-

**American Society of Anesthesiologists
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

cifically, the ASA is battling both with health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and the federal government, as the latter two attempt to cut costs in the provision of healthcare to customers and beneficiaries. Among the most critical of showdowns between the ASA and the federal government is an attempt by the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to allow for the replacement of regular licensed anesthesiologists (who are MDs) with nurse anesthetists for more routine types of surgery. At issue, specifically, is a recent proposal by the HHS’s Healthcare Financing Administration (HCFA) to allow hospitals to decide if a nurse can be used to administer anesthetics to Medicaid and Medicare patients without a doctor’s supervision. (Medicare and Medicaid are federal government programs offering health care to the elderly/disabled and poor, respectively.)

The cost saving, says the HCFA, could be substantial, as anesthesiologists earn on average nearly three times as much as nurse anesthetists (\$218,000 versus \$85,000 annually). While anesthesiologists argue that the rule change would endanger the lives of patients, nurse anesthetist organizations say that it would not jeopardize healthcare in major hospitals and could ac-

tually improve the healthcare service in small and rural hospitals, which often do not have an anesthesiologist on staff. Thus far, ASA-supported legislation to block the rule change has been stuck in Congress, although recent proposals to support more scientific studies about the implications of the rule change are being discussed. Meanwhile, nurse anesthetists are trying to introduce a bill that would require the HCFA to finalize the rule change by April 2000.

On a related issue, the ASA has recently been caught up in the controversy over limiting Medicaid coverage to women in childbirth. Following a series of revelations that hospitals—under the urging of Medicaid—were denying epidurals (lower-spine painkillers) to women undergoing difficult birthings, the ASA came out strongly on the side of some of its members who administered epidurals despite hospital and Medicaid policy. In several cases reported in New York and California, hospitals were demanding that women on Medicaid pay for epidurals in cash and in advance of surgery. The ASA is urging the federal government to look into state Medicaid programs (Medicaid, though partially federally funded, is largely administered by the states) that deny such procedures and to stop this practice.

Regarding HMOs, the ASA is trying to halt the spreading practice of in-office surgery. In recent years, the health insurance companies have vigorously attempted to remove many small and routine surgical operations from costly hospital settings to less expensive doctors' offices. The shift obviously undermines the need for hospital-based anesthesiologists and jeopardizes the incomes of many ASA members. At the same time, however, ASA president John Neeld says that the organization is "concerned about possible hazards in an office-spaced practice where you don't have the resources of a hospital when an emergency arises." Neeld says the organization may pursue efforts in Washington to limit the growth of in-office surgery through federal regulation.

Finally, on issues that are not directly related to the well-being of its members, the ASA has come down strongly on a recent, highly controversial sociomedical issue: assisted suicide. Since assisted suicide usually involves the administration of painkilling drugs along with the fatal ones, the ASA has felt a need to speak out against the practice. Along with the American Medical Association, the ASA has said that providing assistance in suicide is incompatible with the role of the physician, which—particularly in the case of anesthesiologists—should be the immediate alleviation of pain and suffering only.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Like other major associations of medical professionals, the ASA is a major donor of funds to the campaigns of congressional and presidential candidates. In the 1997–1998 election cycle alone, the ASA gave \$751,529 to congressional candidates of both parties. This is a significant increase over previous election cycles. In 1991–1992—an election cycle that included races for both Congress and the presidency—the ASA gave just \$112,450. At the same time, the ASA has varied over the years in its giving pattern to candidates from the two major parties. In the 1993–1994 congressional election cycle, the organization gave \$275,000—or 57 percent—to Democrats. In the 1997–1998 election cycle, however, the ASA donated \$467,804—or 61 percent—to Republican candidates.

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BLUE CROSS AND BLUE SHIELD ASSOCIATION

The Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association (BCBSA) is the trade organization and lobbying group representing the Blue Cross and Blue Shield organization of health insurance providers. Blue Cross and Blue Shield (hereinafter referred to as “Blue Cross”) is the oldest and largest health insurance organization in the United States. But Blue Cross—technically, a nonprofit organization—is not a monolithic entity. Instead, it consists of 52 independent, locally operated companies that are called “member plans” or “blue plans.” These plans are located in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.

Blue Cross companies offer health insurance to individuals, groups, small businesses, and large employers. Blue Cross provides both traditional health insurance programs—in which patients select their own physicians—and newer health maintenance organization (HMO) plans. These latter provide predetermined lists of doctors covered by the plans and are usually offered at somewhat lower rates than traditional, choice-oriented healthcare plans. Altogether, approximately one in four Americans—roughly 73 million individuals—is covered by one of Blue Cross’s member plans.

The BCBSA provides a number of services to the various Blue Cross plans around the country. These services include technical support, business strategy planning, and financial consulting. In addition, the BCBSA acts to coordinate the policies of the various plans and to share technical and other resources among them. In Washington, D.C., the BCBSA serves as the member plans’ voice in government. The BCBSA lobbies Congress on bills that concern the Blue Cross plans and contributes donations to candidates who are perceived as supportive of the policy position of Blue Cross member plans.

HISTORY

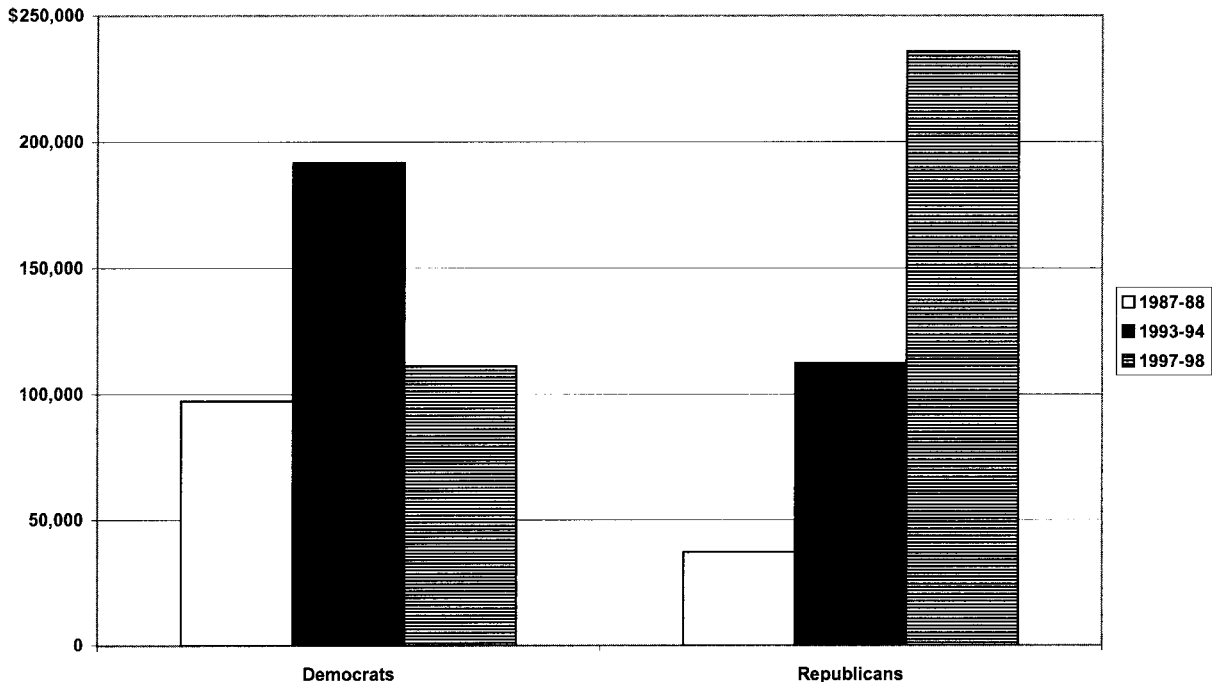
The origins of Blue Cross and Blue Shield go back to 1929 when an official at Baylor University in Dallas introduced a plan to guarantee schoolteachers 21 days of hospital care in an emergency situation. The fee for this service was \$6 a year. Soon other groups of employees in the Dallas area joined the plan, and thus, modern health insurance provision was inaugurated. The idea quickly caught the nation’s attention, and similar plans were started elsewhere in the country. Meanwhile, the blue shield symbol emerged in the Pacific Northwest, where employers—particularly in the hazardous timber industry—began paying for their employees’ visits to the doctor. Arrangements were then made with certain physicians to compensate them at a predetermined rate for specific services offered to the employee-patient. In 1917, a Tacoma plan became the first to adopt the blue shield symbol.

With the Great Depression and New Deal of the 1930s—and particularly in the light of the establishment of Social Security—many doctors and hospitals feared that medicine would soon be socialized. To counteract such a move by the government, they spread the idea of health insurance plans, like that adopted in Dallas.

The Blue Cross name originated in 1933, when a Minnesota plan adopted the blue cross symbol, no doubt imitating the famous red cross that symbolized universal access to emergency healthcare, food, and shelter. Soon other health insurance plans around the country adopted it, and in 1939, the American Hospital Association adopted the symbol for all plans meeting the guidelines it had set. In 1960, the Blue Cross Association was established, which offered far more centralized leadership and guidance to the local member plans.

The Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association was created as a result of the merger between the two existing

**Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

trade organizations that represented Blue Cross and Blue Shield in Washington, that is, the Blue Cross Association and the National Association of Blue Shield Plans, respectively.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Among the most controversial topics facing the Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association in recent years concerns the so-called patient's bill of rights, prompted by the meteoric growth of HMOs over the past decade or so. HMOs are different than traditional healthcare insurance companies in that they require patients to visit only those general practitioners and specialists registered with the company. To cut costs, HMOs have added a number of restrictions to the services they offer to pay for. First, before visiting a specialist, patients are required to obtain a recommendation from a general practitioner. Second, HMOs set specific payment schedules for both physicians on their list of providers as well as physicians who are not included in their plans. Many physicians

complain that the HMOs do not provide adequate compensation for the services they provide. This has led to calls—by the American Medical Association (AMA) and others—for a doctors' union to fight the rates set by HMOs. But most complaints have come from customers who protest the denial of services by HMOs or, more specifically, the denial of payments for necessary services. Numerous cases have emerged in the media of HMO customers being denied important and life-saving operations.

Faced with these growing complaints, both congressional Republicans and the administration of President Bill Clinton have proposed a patient's bill of rights. In July 1999, the Republicans in the Senate were able to push through their own version, providing billions of dollars in tax breaks for health insurance customers and an appeals process for patients denied specific treatments, though the latter would have been administered by committees paid for by the health insurance companies. Clinton and congressional Democrats wanted much more, including a far more independent complaint hearing board. In addition, the Democrats wanted a more rigorous set of protections for patient privacy.

The BCBSA said that the Republican measure was

far more acceptable than proposed Democratic ones, and it remains opposed to any federal role in the complaint process against health insurance companies. According to the BCBSA, “[The] private market is better equipped to handle the challenges facing the healthcare industry than the government.” Essentially, the BCBSA argues that people will purchase their policies from companies that provide a wider range of services or purchase policies with a narrower range if it means lower health insurance premiums.

On privacy, the BCBSA maintains that there are adequate protections for individual customers but that various health insurance companies need access to records in order to cut costs and provide better service. Public interest groups disagree, arguing that health insurance companies want this information in order to avoid customers who may require lots of medical care. In addition, civil liberties groups fear that looser controls of patients’ records may lead to information falling into the wrong hands, such as employers who may not want to be burdened with employees with special healthcare needs.

On Medicare reform, the BCBSA says it applauds the Clinton administration’s efforts to ensure its financial health into the near and long-term future. In order to do this, the BCBSA advocates more private insurance involvement in Medicare, specifically the shifting of more Medicare patients to HMOs. At the same time, however, the BCBSA stands opposed to the so-called Medigap measure advocated by the Clinton administration and congressional Democrats. Medigap would allow for the inclusion of most prescription drugs in Medicare programs. Since Medicare pays insurance companies for covering patients, this means a potential added expense to the insurance companies. The BCBSA argues that adding prescription drugs to Medicare could cause annual premiums to rise by as much as \$1,200 and if shifted to the government could jeopardize efforts to ensure the future financial viability of the Medicare program.

On the issue of individuals without health insurance—now believed to be more than one in seven Americans—the BCBSA says it supports the Clinton administration’s effort to use some of the budget surplus to extend coverage, especially to children. But the BCBSA insists that this not be done as a federal program or as an extension of existing programs that provide healthcare for the poor—such as Medicaid. Instead, the organization believes that the best way to extend insurance coverage is by providing tax credits to small firms for their low-wage workers which would allow them to purchase health insurance on their own, providing

tax deductibility for insurance premiums to the self-employed and others without employer-sponsored coverage, and giving states federal funds to support community-based health coverage programs.

As noted above, there has been a growing move among doctors to unionize in order to fight the power of HMOs and to make sure that payments for services offered by doctors to their patients are adequately reimbursed. Currently, less than 10 percent of the nation’s 680,000 doctors—that is, those who are employed directly by hospitals as salaried employees—are allowed to form unions and negotiate directly with employers. Federal antitrust laws prohibit doctors in independent practice from collective bargaining. Current efforts in Congress to lift such antitrust restrictions are strongly opposed by the BCBSA, which says that such measures confuse patient protection with protectionism for doctors. The organization also argues that such a move could cost consumers as much as \$80 billion annually in additional healthcare costs. However, doctor organizations such as the AMA argue that—faced with the overwhelming power of the HMOs to set unfairly low fees—independent practitioners are independent in name only and deserve to be exempted from antitrust legislation.

On a related matter, the BCBSA is pushing for more use of so-called hospitalists. These are doctors permanently on staff at hospitals who take over from a patient’s regular physician once the patient has entered the hospital. While doctors’ organizations and patients’ rights groups argue that this jeopardizes the patient’s healthcare, the BCBSA says it will not and adds that it could save customers billions in premiums, since it will make hospital care far more cost-effective since doctors will be able to see more patients in an efficient manner. The AMA opposes the plan because it sacrifices personalized doctor-patient relationships.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The BCBSA is a moderate to large contributor to congressional and presidential campaigns, although its giving pales in comparison to those of corporate and professional association donors. Still, over the past decade’s election cycles, the BCBSA has increased its donations significantly. In the 1987–1988 election cycle—which included both presidential and congressional campaigns—the BCBSA gave a total of \$133,617. In the 1997–1998 election cycle—which included congressional campaigns only—the organization donated

some \$347,114. At the same time, the ratio given to the two major parties has changed dramatically. The Democrats received \$96,358—or 71 percent—in the 1987–1988 election cycle. In the 1997–1998 election cycle, however, Democrats received just 32 percent of the BCBSA’s donations, even though total donations given to Democrats had increased somewhat to \$111,300.

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SECTION FIVE

AGRICULTURE



There are more than 175 agricultural interest groups actively involved in national politics in the United States today. These groups represent the growers, processors, and distributors of a wide variety of agricultural products. Prior to the 1970s, agricultural policy was made in relative isolation by the congressional agriculture committees, the Department of Agriculture, and relevant interest groups. More recently, a wide variety of interests have affected policy-making in this area.

AREA OF INTEREST

Great changes have occurred in American agriculture. At the beginning of the twentieth century, 42 percent of Americans lived on farms. By century's end, only 1.6 percent of Americans will still live there. American agriculture produces more commodities than ever, is an essential source of food and fiber, and a major earner of foreign exchange. However, fewer and fewer Americans every year are able to earn their living directly from the soil.

A much larger segment of the American workforce is involved indirectly in the production, processing, and distribution of food. When absolutely everyone who is involved in this process is counted, the total comes to just less than 19 percent of the American workforce. Eighty-two percent of these jobs, however, are located in metropolitan areas.

Between 20 percent and 25 percent of all lobbyists employed in Washington, D.C., represent interest groups that are somehow involved in the food production process. Interest groups represent all stages of the production process. Producer groups constitute only about one-fifth of all the active interest groups. Processors, agribusiness, intermediaries, middlemen, suppliers,

and, more recently, agriculturally oriented public interest groups, constitute the vast majority of all groups.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

The strictly agricultural groups can be divided into general purpose and commodity groups. The general purpose groups are the oldest and largest farm organizations. The general purpose groups try to represent all farmers and ranchers in the industry. The Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation (commonly called the Farm Bureau), the National Farmers Union, and the National Farmers Organization are the established general purpose organizations. The American Agriculture Movement, although a much newer and more militant organization, also tried to organize itself as a general purpose organization. Membership fees for these groups are quite modest, and individual farmers often belong to more than one organization.

The general purpose groups provide a wide range of services to their members. The Farm Bureau and National Farmers Union provide insurance. The National Farmers Organization acts as a bargaining agent. The Grange is now a social fraternity.

The commodity groups are organized to represent large-scale farmers and ranchers who produce a single product, such as wheat or corn. These groups reflect the increasing specialization of agriculture. They are often funded by marketing checkoffs, which are fees charged on a per-unit basis at the time of sale. Although some of these checkoffs were originally voluntary, special legislation usually requires their payment today. Some commodity groups, such as the wheat, corn, and soybean producers, represent only growers. Others, such as the National Cotton Council, represent processors as well.

A somewhat different group of food-related interest groups also exist. Food processors, such as the National Dairy Food Association, represent firms that are located farther along in the production process. These firms take raw materials that have been raised by others and turn them into food products. In addition, a number of corporations, such as Cargill, Archer Daniels Midland, and Monsanto, also play a direct and important role in agricultural politics. Cargill is the major American grain trader. Archer Daniels Midland makes a wide variety of products from corn and soybeans. Monsanto is a chemical company that produces both agrichemicals and genetically altered seeds.

AGRICULTURAL POLITICS

The politics of agriculture is changing. From the 1930s to the 1970s, agriculture policy was largely self-contained. The policy subsystem was composed of the agriculture committees in the U.S. Congress, the Agriculture Department, and the traditional agricultural interest groups. The decline in farm population that followed the Second World War, however, made it impossible for rural representatives to prevail on their own. Consequently, a series of grand compromises was made with urban representatives. The first involved a *quid pro quo*, in which farm state representatives voted in favor of the Food Stamp program in return for urban support for agricultural subsidies. The second involved the merging of environmental and agricultural concerns with the creation of the Conservation Reserve.

Agricultural politics is highly regional. The biological requirements for favorable soil and weather conditions combined with the economies of scale available to larger processors concentrate the production of different commodities in a limited number of geographic locations. The wheat, corn, and cotton belts are relatively large, while more specialized crops have much more restricted geographic bases.

The geographic concentration of agricultural producers helps them to obtain special attention from congressional representatives; however, the decline in the number of farmers and ranchers has weakened even this relationship. In 1940, 51 percent of U.S. House of Representatives members represented districts with 20 percent or more of their populations living on farms. By 1990, there were no House members who represented this kind of district. In 1940, 88 percent of United States senators represented states with 10 percent or more of their populations living on farms. By 1990,

fewer than 8 percent of senators represented this kind of state. On the other hand, 13 percent of the House and 26 percent of the Senate members represent districts or states with rural majorities who are presumably more sympathetic to agricultural problems.

The political importance of agriculture is also enhanced by the propensity of agricultural groups to change political allegiances. Since the 1950s, changes in rural voting patterns have had a major impact on control of Congress. The current, extremely close partisan division in Congress has enhanced the ability of organized agriculture to obtain concessions.

The public has a largely positive view of agriculture, a view that has been of great advantage to agricultural interest groups. Like all myths, the notion of the independent farmer living in harmony with nature and supporting his family and society through honest labor has some truth to it. Most people's view of rural America is, however, more likely to be based on the romanticized memories of our parents and grandparents rather than upon current realities. Some of those current realities, such as genetic engineering, factory farming, and corporate ownership, strike a particularly dissonant chord. As agricultural experience fades even further from societal memory and more discordant notes are sounded, public support for agricultural programs will inevitably erode.

POLICY PROCESS

The policy-making process encourages the formation of a large number of interest groups. Each commodity has had slightly different legal provisions that affect it. Consequently, producers form separate organizations to monitor a very narrow range of special provisions. In addition, since the 1930s, agricultural policy has been subject to continuous revision. Farm bills were enacted periodically, usually every five years, until the 1996 Farm Bill, which extended the time period to seven years. The 1996 Farm Bill was supposed to be a permanent change, but amendments to the law ensure that, if it lapses, policy will return to the much more expensive 1938 permanent farm legislation.

RECURRING ISSUES

Historically, agricultural policy has had three major concerns. Initially it began as an attempt to maintain farm-

ers' incomes, then quickly evolved into an effort to cope with surplus production, and more recently has dealt with environmental and consumer concerns.

For a variety of reasons, farmers and ranchers have found it difficult to maintain their incomes. As societies develop, the consumption of agricultural goods rises more slowly than income does. Changes in the weather and the impossibility of controlling production lead to greater fluctuations in the price of agricultural as opposed to industrial products. Although the large number of farmers and ranchers ensures competition among producers, these producers are at a disadvantage because their suppliers, processors, marketers, and lenders all belong to increasingly concentrated industries.

During the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration developed a number of programs designed to stabilize agricultural prices and incomes. These programs involved both credit subsidies and price supports. The government also created programs that were designed to stabilize prices by holding commodities off the market until prices rose. To protect incomes, farmers were allowed to obtain loans from the Commodity Credit Corporation, using their crops as collateral. If the price rose above the loan rate, the farmers could sell their crops and pocket the difference. If prices stayed below the loan rate, the farmers could surrender the crops in lieu of repaying the loan. Originally, this system applied to field crops that could be stored for significant lengths of time—specifically, corn, wheat, rice, peanuts, tobacco, cotton, feed grains, and honey. After 1948, subsidies were used to support dairy products as well. Later still, a system of target prices allowed farmers to receive deficiency payments if the market price fell below the national average cost of production—a figure that was usually higher than the loan rate. The levels at which loan rates, subsidies, and target prices are set have a major influence on producers' incomes.

Improvements in agricultural technology have led to the accumulation of large surpluses in both the United States and Europe, and, although many of the world's poor are hungry, they lack the income necessary to buy commodities on the world market. Consequently, the demand for agricultural commodities is often insufficient to consume all the items offered for sale. In addition, the American system of price supports and the European system of subsidies, by paying more than the theoretical market price for commodities, also encourage overproduction. Several techniques have been used to deal with surpluses. At various times, the United States has withdrawn land from production, aggressively promoted exports, and subsidized food purchases by the domestic and foreign poor. There are several methods

for withdrawing land from production. Acreage limitations can be included as a requirement for participating in loan and subsidy programs. Production can be legally limited by allotment systems. Farmers can be paid to withdraw environmentally sensitive land from production through such programs as the Soil Bank during the 1950s or, as they have done more recently, with the Conservation Reserve.

Since the nineteenth century, the United States has been a major agricultural exporter. One-third of all farm land in cultivation is growing commodities for export. Consequently, it is vital to maintain foreign markets. Agricultural groups uniformly oppose the imposition of political and economic embargoes. The government has also used aggressive salesmanship and, on occasion, bonuses paid in surplus commodities to enhance exports.

While serving humanitarian ends, domestic and foreign food subsidy programs also increase the market for agricultural commodities. The school lunch program was one of the first such efforts to increase food consumption. In addition, the Food Stamp program, although primarily a domestic welfare program, also resulted in a small increase in consumption. More notably, the federal government's PL. 480 program has transferred large amounts of surplus farm commodities to underdeveloped countries that lack the ability to purchase these items on the open market.

Environmental and consumer concerns are increasingly important. Farmers and ranchers control 44 percent (cropland and pasture) of the land area in the United States. They are responsible for producing food for human consumption. Their production techniques increasingly make use of biotechnology and genetic engineering. A large number of environmental concerns affect the way farmers and ranchers manage their land. Concerns over soil erosion, wetlands protection, farmland protection, and water pollution all have a major impact on the way agricultural land is used. Food safety issues are raised by the use of pesticides, antibiotic treatment of livestock, the use of growth hormones, and factory farming techniques. Finally, ethical, practical, and safety concerns are raised by cloning, genetic engineering, and the development of transgenic species.

1996 FARM BILL

Concerned about the budget deficit and worried that the expiration of the 1990 Farm Bill would result in a return to more expensive 1938 legislation, Congress passed a new seven-year farm bill in 1996. This bill re-

versed many of the policies that had been in effect since the 1930s and moved agricultural policy closer to the marketplace. The bill ended limitations on production and replaced many subsidies with a declining system of deficiency payments that were supposed to phase out after seven years. Peanut and sugar price support programs were reduced, but not eliminated. Commodity loans were continued, but at a reduced level for most crops. Dairy price supports were also phased out, but regional marketing orders were retained as a way of regulating prices. Finally, the Conservation Reserve was also continued.

The 1996 bill was passed at a time of relatively high agricultural prices. It was supported by the Republican leadership in Congress, with the strong support of Representative Pat Roberts of Kansas. Agribusiness and midwestern corn and soybean farmers were also supportive of the legislation. Cotton, peanut, and western wheat farmers were generally opposed. Democrats, particularly farm-state Democrats, were not happy with the bill but went along after the Food Stamp and Conservation Reserve programs were continued. A number of urban and suburban Democrats, however, abandoned their previous position of supporting subsidies as part of a quid pro quo for food stamps. President Bill Clinton, although critical of the bill for eliminating an important farm safety net, signed it into law.

The collapse of foreign export markets in Asia and Russia has undermined many of the justifications used to support the 1996 Farm Bill. Prices will be extremely low at precisely the moment when subsidies are finally phased out—all of which sets the stage for a new round of farm legislation in 2003.

AGRICULTURAL POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES (PACs)

Agriculture, as an economic sector, is a significant source of campaign contributions. During the 1997–1998 election cycle, this sector gave \$15 million to candidates for public office. This figure is half of what was given in the previous, 1995–1996, cycle. Campaign contributions from agriculture rank well behind the leading financial, insurance, and real estate sectors, which gave \$35 million in the 1998 cycle. Agriculture, however, gave more than defense (\$5.8 million), communications and electronics (\$11.9 million), energy and natural resources (\$14.8 million), transportation (\$14.3 million), and construction (\$8.3 million).

Within agriculture, large contributions are made by the noncrop-producing agricultural service (\$2.9 million) and food processing (\$2.8 million) sectors. The tobacco industry usually makes substantial (\$2.3 million) contributions. Among the tobacco interests, Philip Morris was by far the largest contributor (\$794,533) in 1998. The dairy industry is also a major donor (\$1.3 million). Dairy contributions came from a number of producer and processor cooperatives. Contributions from crop producers and basic processors were also substantial (\$3.3 million). This is, however, a diverse group. Sugar producers are among the largest contributors (\$1.3 million) in this category. The forestry and forest products industry is the most Republican (83 percent) portion of the agricultural contributors, whereas the crop producers and basic processing group is the least Republican (52 percent) portion of the industry.

AGRICULTURE COMMITTEES

The Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee and the House Agriculture Committee are responsible for writing agricultural legislation. The Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee has 18 members who serve on four subcommittees. The House Agriculture Committee has 51 members who serve on five subcommittees. In general, the majority of the members of both the House and Senate committees represent the agricultural states of the South and Midwest.

The patterns of campaign contributions given to members of the two committees are very different. Agricultural interest groups are only one, and not even a very important one at that, of several sources of funds for members of the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee. On the other hand, agricultural interest groups are a major (first or second most important) source of funds for members of the House Agriculture Committee.

Congressional reforms in the 1970s increased the autonomy and importance of congressional subcommittees. These changes contributed to the increasing importance of commodity groups in subsequent agricultural politics. The commodity groups, however, were unable to agree on farm legislation in the 1980s. Interest groups at that time were frequently described as occupying policy niches in a new, more decentralized, decision-making process.

AGENCIES

Agricultural interest groups have a close working relationship with the United States Department of Agriculture, its related organizations, and the land grant universities. The Agriculture Department was created in 1862 as a result of Republican efforts to mobilize support for the Lincoln administration and to address the needs of farmers in rural America. The addition of new responsibilities, which occurred as a consequence of the New Deal, quadrupled the size of the department. With 98,000 employees, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) is the fifth-largest civilian agency. Its budget of \$63 billion, most of which is spent on food programs, constitutes 3.7 percent of the federal budget.

Founded in 1933 and incorporated in 1948, the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC), a wholly owned government corporation, is contained within the Agriculture Department. The secretary of agriculture is the chairman of the board of the CCC. Among other things, the CCC helps to moderate fluctuating agricultural prices by buying commodities when their prices are low and selling them when prices rise. The Commodity Credit Corporation is authorized to borrow up to \$30 billion from the treasury and private lenders.

Land grant universities—universities that were dedicated to the teaching of the agricultural and mechanical sciences—were created as a result of the Morrill Act of 1862. They became centers of agricultural research late in the nineteenth century and developed particularly close ties to rural communities. These universities developed outreach programs (known as extension programs) that were designed to serve citizens of their states who still lived on farms. In 1914, these programs were given federal support and direction by the Smith-Lever Act, which created the Cooperative Extension Service.

The Agriculture Department not only cooperates with agricultural interest groups, but also has promoted the creation of some of those interest groups, such as the Farm Bureau. The relationship between interest groups and the Agriculture Department varies by program. The Extension Service and CCC originally had particularly close ties to the Farm Bureau. The relationship is also affected by political party control over the department. Historically, the Farm Bureau has had more influence during Republican administrations and the National Farmers Union has had more influence during Democratic administrations.

The Cooperative Extension Service responds to

both state and federal mandates. The land grant universities, which are state-supported institutions, administer the Cooperative Extension programs in their states. Consequently, state legislatures can, within certain federal guidelines, also regulate their operations—a fact that is important because the relative influence of agricultural interest varies considerably by state.

CONSEQUENCES OF INTEREST GROUP ACTIVITIES

When evaluating the effects of interest group activity, one must examine the impact of that activity on the individuals who are represented by those groups and the impact on society as a whole. Agricultural interest groups have been most active when they represented producers who feared lower-cost foreign imports (sugar), who were socially reprehensible (tobacco), or who required government assistance to overcome foreign trade barriers (wheat). Agricultural interest groups have been most effective in only the first two circumstances. Import restrictions on sugar and cotton have been retained. The tobacco companies have also managed to delay societal retribution and modify proposed tobacco settlements. Efforts to gain access to foreign markets, however, have been less successful.

Moreover, agricultural interest groups have not been able to save the family farm. The number of farmers has declined precipitously since the 1930s. While the economies of scale are very modest in agriculture, large farms have a greater volume of production that can be used to support income. All farmers, both large and small, are more productive, but agricultural income has not kept pace with urban income. Consequently, many small farmers left agriculture for higher-paying city jobs, and only a tiny fraction of the previous number of families continued to earn their living from agriculture. Agricultural products have also declined in value in both absolute and relative terms.

One reason agricultural interest groups and the government programs that they support have not been able to reverse the decline in the number of farms is the way those benefits are paid. Only 15 percent of farmers received more than 70 percent of all the benefits, and only 32 percent of all farmers grew program crops that were eligible for direct government support.

Consumers in the United States spend a relatively small amount of their income, 13 percent, on food. While some government programs—sugar, milk, and

cotton—keep prices above a level that would result in a completely open market, the impact on relative food prices is small because of the greater comparative prosperity of the nonfarm economy.

Taxpayers in the United States pay the costs of agricultural policies through direct and indirect payments to farmers. The changes made in farm programs in the 1996 Farm Bill reduced those payments. These reductions occurred in response to demands by politically powerful fiscal conservatives to reduce the federal budget deficit. Farmers without price supports and government subsidies must now compete directly with larger, corporate-owned farms, and this competition may threaten their survival.

ANDREW D. MCNITT

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AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

The American Farm Bureau Federation (commonly referred to as the Farm Bureau) is both the largest and most important of the general interest agricultural groups. The Farm Bureau's general headquarters is in Park Ridge, Illinois, and it also maintains an office in Washington, D.C. Although the Farm Bureau represents a broad range of agricultural producers in all 50 states and Puerto Rico, its traditional base of support has been in the Midwest and South. It is usually described as an organization that represents prosperous corn and cotton farmers in those regions.

The Farm Bureau claims to represent 4.7 million families. This figure, however, vastly exceeds the 2.1 million farms that the census bureau reported in 1991—using an extremely loose definition of a farm as any agricultural property that sold over \$1,000 worth of commodities per year. Consequently, a large proportion of Farm Bureau members are obviously not directly involved in agricultural production. Membership roles include a large number of other rural residents as well as insurance subscribers who have purchased insurance from the Farm Bureau's insurance companies.

The Farm Bureau takes positions on a wide variety of issues. Although it originally supported the New Deal farm programs, the Farm Bureau broke with the national government over the Roosevelt administration's policy of increased agricultural production during the Second World War. Since that time, the Farm Bureau has, at least at the national level, preferred greater reliance on free-market solutions. State farm bureaus, however, are free to disagree with—and in fact do on occasion disagree with—national policies. One of the outstanding examples of this diversity of opinion is the Wisconsin Farm Bureau's disagreement with the National Farm Bureau over the question of dairy price supports.

HISTORY

The American Farm Bureau Federation was founded in Chicago in 1920. The national organization is a feder-

ation of state and local organizations. The land grant colleges, through their extension services in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, helped to create the Farm Bureau. The Farm Bureau tended to attract the more prosperous farmers, who were interested in sponsoring agents. Rather than work through existing farm organizations, the Cooperative Extension Service promoted the creation of entirely new county agricultural groups, which sometimes included other rural professionals and business leaders as members in order to meet the minimum size requirements to get a county agent. In order to qualify for a county agent, a community had to have a local farmers organization that would agree to sponsor the program. These county organizations then formed state farm bureaus, which in turn founded the national federation. The Farm Bureau experienced rapid initial growth, peaking in 1921 at 466,000, but was hurt by the agricultural depression of the twenties, which reduced its membership to a low of 163,000 in 1933. The Farm Bureau managed to recover after endorsing the New Deal agricultural programs. Again, the Cooperative Extension Service helped the Farm Bureau recover by providing vital explanations of new government programs that became available under the Agricultural Adjustment Act to members of the local farm bureaus. Before the Second World War, the National Grange, which represented farmers in the northeast and Pacific Northwest, with 639,000 members as late as 1939, was much larger than the Farm Bureau. It was only after the Second World War that the Farm Bureau became the dominant general-purpose agricultural interest group.

The Farm Bureau was periodically criticized by other farm organizations for its close ties to the extension service. Members of the National Farmers Union and, on occasion, the Grange criticized the extension service for allegedly discriminating against their members. Of particular concern was the relationship between the Farm Bureau and the extension service in 15 states where state farm bureaus made direct financial contributions to the extension program, as well as the

actions of some county agents who actively recruited Farm Bureau members. Although the Farm Bureau won most of the legislative and court battles that resulted from this conflict, the leadership of the Farm Bureau eventually decided that legal separation would not damage the Farm Bureau and instead would remove a source of continuing criticism. Consequently, legal separation was implemented with the Farm Bureau's acquiescence on a state-by-state basis during the 1950s. By 1960, institutional—but not informal—links between the Farm Bureau and the extension service were largely dissolved.

The Farm Bureau's ability to dominate agricultural policy making eroded in the 1960s and 1970s as a result of the rise in commodity organizations. The commodity groups specialized in representing the interests of only those farmers who produced a single crop. Although they did not replace the Farm Bureau, and in fact often had members in common, the commodity groups collectively exercised increasing influence over the policy process. The 1996 Farm Bill has also created problems for the Farm Bureau. The bill's reduction of support payments and production controls is a source of internal dissension. A number of local farm bureaus have broken with the national organization over support for the bill.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The national, state, and local farm bureaus take positions on a wide range of agricultural and national political issues. They are interested in a broad spectrum of public policies that affect rural America. Although the national organization does not have a political action committee, state and local farm bureaus frequently make political contributions. The Farm Bureau's endorsement is actively sought by politicians in a number of states—even politicians who do not receive the Farm Bureau's endorsement are compelled to appear at Farm Bureau forums.

The Farm Bureau is politically conservative and, since the 1950s, has been closely identified with the Republican Party. It has frequently taken positions hostile to organized labor. In the 1940s, it helped to kill the Farm Security Administration, a program designed to help tenant farmers acquire title to their own land. In recent years, it has generally opposed extension of minimum wage and labor laws to agricultural workers.

The Farm Bureau is more than a political interest group. Its strength and longevity are a result of the wide range of services it provides to members. Originally, the close tie between the Farm Bureau and the Cooperative Extension Service gave Farm Bureau members access to a wealth of information on new developments in scientific agriculture. The Farm Bureau provides training in commodity marketing for members, who also qualify for a wide range of consumer discounts. One of the most attractive features of the Farm Bureau is its insurance business. Even individuals who have significant differences with the Farm Bureau often belong because of the comprehensive insurance coverage. All individuals who purchase Farm Bureau insurance are considered to be members of the organization.

There is every reason to believe that the Farm Bureau will continue to be the major, general-purpose, agricultural organization. The wide range of economic benefits it provides to members, its close association with the largest, most successful agricultural producers, and its ability to expand membership to rural residents not directly engaged in agriculture all point to its continued organizational influence. Its role as the major representative of agricultural interests, however, will not be unchallenged. The growing importance of commodity organizations, the increasing disparity in the number of individuals involved in processing (as opposed to producing) agricultural commodities, and the increasing importance of nontraditional environmental and consumer groups in agricultural policy-making will all complicate the Farm Bureau's future.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The American Farm Bureau Federation does not have a national political action committee (PAC). Many—but not all—state federations, however, have their own PACs. In 1998, 11 state Farm Bureau PACs and the six regional Missouri Farm Bureau PACs gave a total of \$296,545 to 109 congressional candidates. This means that the Farm Bureau organizations are, in combination, by far the largest political contributor of all the general farm organizations. The relative sizes of contributions vary considerably by state. The smallest contributor, the Arizona Farm Bureau, gave \$224 during the 1998 cycle, whereas the largest contributor, the Texas Farm Bureau, gave \$77,050.

The Farm Bureau's state federations generally give only to their local congressional candidates. Most funds

go to candidates for the House, and the Republican candidates receive 74 percent of all contributions. Democratic candidates receive significant contributions only from farm bureaus located in certain southern states and two of the six midwestern states.

ANDREW D. MCNITT

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AMERICAN AGRICULTURE MOVEMENT

Growing out of the “tractorcade” protests for farm aid in the 1970s, the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) became an effective advocate for agricultural interests during the 1980s. The American Agriculture Movement is a general farm organization that represents small farmers and ranchers. Although its formal membership is small, it has had a considerably greater influence on the agricultural community because of the large number of AAM sympathizers in other organizations, including the relatively conservative Farm Bureau.

Most of the members of the American Agriculture Movement are from the southern plains, Nebraska, South Dakota, the corn belt, and the deep south. The organization maintains an office in Washington, D.C., and has acquired considerable skill in lobbying Congress. Members testified at hearings on farm bills in 1981, 1985, 1990, and 1996.

HISTORY

In 1977, the American Agriculture Movement was founded in Colorado by farmers and ranchers who suffered from low prices, high interest rates, and the declining value of farmland. Most of the members of the American Agriculture Movement were younger farmers and ranchers who operated their own enterprises.

The leadership of the American Agriculture Movement was particularly adept at attracting media coverage. “Tractorcades” and carefully staged protests increased public awareness of the organization. Dissatisfaction with President Jimmy Carter’s agricultural policies led the American Agriculture Movement to support presidential candidate Ronald Reagan in the 1980 national election. Reagan’s even greater support for free-market agricultural policies, however, proved a great disappointment to the organization.

Like many social movements that came before it, the

American Agriculture Movement split into mainstream and fundamentalist groups in 1983. The National AAM followed the path of formal institutionalization and became a traditional interest group. Grassroots AAM, however, remained a collection of militant local activists who increasingly adhered to a political ideology that can best be characterized as a mixture of left-wing and right-wing conspiracy theories. National AAM continues to operate with some difficulties, whereas grassroots AAM has largely faded from the scene.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The American Agriculture Movement has five goals: 100 percent parity, that is, equality in commodity prices; food reserves at 100 percent; farmer boards involved in policy making at all levels; requiring imports to enter the country at 100 percent parity; and a long-range plan for agriculture. Although several of these goals are probably unobtainable, the organization is currently working for many that are more achievable. Specifically, the AAM favors legislation requiring imported commodities to be labeled with the country of origin; it is concerned about tax advantages given to foreign owners of American farmland and it would like to see the reform of inheritance taxes.

The American Agriculture Movement opposed the 1996 Farm Bill. The organization is skeptical of the Clinton administration’s commitment to agriculture and has called for Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman’s resignation. Although the AAM has declined in size, the organization maintains a web site and has just held a convention to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the original “tractorcade.” It has also worked to establish ties to environmental, labor, and urban groups.

The American Agriculture Movement’s future is difficult to predict. It had a progressively harder time rais-

ing money during the 1980s. The organization was caught in a strategic paradox. Militant tactics had been deemphasized because they alienated policy makers. However, those same militant tactics were the major recruiting tool for the organization. Without militant action, the AAM was just another interest group, and, as another interest group, the AAM did not offer the economic benefits that other older groups offered their members. Moreover, the collapse of agricultural prices again in the late nineties created an opportunity for a more militant agricultural organization. The American Agriculture Movement may be able to take advantage of this new situation.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The American Agriculture Movement established a political action committee, AAM-PAC, in the early 1980s.

At one time, this PAC had assets of over \$220,000, which made it one of the most prosperous of the general-purpose agricultural groups. Fund raising, however, declined precipitously during the 1984 election cycle. Between 1984 and 1988, contributions to candidates declined from \$27,525 to \$17,072. The requirements for endorsing candidates also proved to be particularly divisive. The PAC was dissolved in the 1990s. During its brief existence, the American Agriculture Movement's PAC gave significantly more contributions to Democratic candidates than to Republican candidates.

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AMERICAN MEAT INSTITUTE

With headquarters in Arlington, Virginia, the American Meat Institute (AMI) represents the meat and poultry industry to the federal government, the media, and the public. Although the organization concentrates on lobbying against further regulation of the industry, it also focuses on issues involving international trade. Current areas of focus for the AMI include food safety, meat irradiation, free trade, user fees for inspections, and labeling laws.

There are currently about 1,060 AMI members, with three levels of membership. The first level, general membership, which consists of about 47 percent of the total, is available to any North American company dealing with packing or processing animal proteins. Dues at this level are based on the number of employees. The second level, supplier membership, which makes up about 28 percent of the total, is open to any company that supplies goods, equipment, or services to animal protein packers and processors. At this level, dues are based on annual sales, and range from \$750 to \$10,000 per year. The third level, associate membership, which consists of about 25 percent of the total, is available to any company involved in the meat or poultry industry exclusive of the first two membership options. Dues for associate membership are \$1,000 per year.

Member benefits include an annual member directory, a domestic and international trade referral service, insurance coverage, membership on specialized committees, management conferences, and discounted services, such as long-distance service, overnight shipping, and the like. The AMI also provides members with information about proposed regulations and policy changes through legislative monitoring and alerts.

HISTORY

The AMI, originally named the American Meat Packers Association, was founded in 1906, when federal meat

inspection laws were first passed. In response to the 1907 Federal Meat Inspection Act, the group sought to aid companies in complying with the new federal regulations as well as to fight further regulation by Congress. The AMI changed its name in 1919 to the Institute of American Meat Packers, and adopted its current name in 1940. The AMI merged with the National Independent Meat Packers Association in 1982. The organization grew again in 1990, when it began managing the U.S. Hide, Skin, and Leather Association, and, in 1991, as the AMI began allowing poultry processors to join as full members.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The AMI has a regular lobbying presence in Washington, D.C. Indeed, in the late 1970s, the group moved its headquarters from Chicago, the traditional center of the meatpacking industry, to Arlington, Virginia, just outside of Washington, D.C., where the group could have a greater effect on federal policy making. In 1997, the AMI employed five in-house lobbyists, and spent \$120,000 on lobbying efforts.

The AMI takes a traditional “insider” approach to lobbying Congress and executive agencies. Testimony at congressional committee and executive agency hearings, published statements sent to lawmakers, and meetings with lawmakers are the typical lobbying strategies used by the group. Briefings between AMI members and lawmakers are held on a regular basis. In some cases, the AMI provides lawmakers with educational trips to learn more about the meat and poultry industry. Also, a Government Affairs Conference is held in the spring of odd-numbered years. All members are invited to Washington, D.C., for this conference to discuss federal issues related to the industry. During this conference,

the AMI coordinates face-to-face meetings between members and their representatives.

The AMI is also involved in campaign finance. Its political action committee supports industry-friendly candidates for federal office, typically Republican candidates. Furthermore, the Political Education Committee funds projects designed to support the meat and poultry industry in Washington. Finally, the AMI has occasionally engaged in more indirect lobbying, through letter-writing campaigns by members protesting or supporting legislative or regulatory actions.

The AMI has increasingly become involved in international trade issues. In 1997, it hired a senior official from the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative to lobby on trade issues. The AMI also established an International Trade Committee to focus on trade issues and the removal of trade barriers. It has actively testified before House and Senate committees, as well as the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, against trade barriers. The weekly *Trade Alert Newsletter* keeps members up to date on domestic and international trade issues.

The AMI is also heavily involved in the regulatory politics of meat and poultry production. It has regular meetings with a number of regulatory agencies, including the Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, Department of Justice, Environmental Protection Agency, Food and Drug Administration, and Occupational Safety and Health Administration. The AMI's *Regulatory Action Alerts* provides members with faxed announcements of regulatory changes. Also, the organization's staff helps members in dealing with regulatory problems, often representing them in disputes with the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA).

Besides lobbying activities, the AMI is active in educating members about issues concerning the meat and poultry industry. AMI members also have access to several educational products offered by the organization. One important topic is Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points (HACCP), which is a new food-safety inspection system. The AMI offers a training program in HACCP in several locations throughout the country every year, and offers company-specific training programs as well. Information kits are available to members, covering a wide range of topics, including animal welfare, food safety, irradiation, worker safety, and consumer trends. In addition, the AMI helps members deal with public relations. It provides members with *Communication Alerts*,

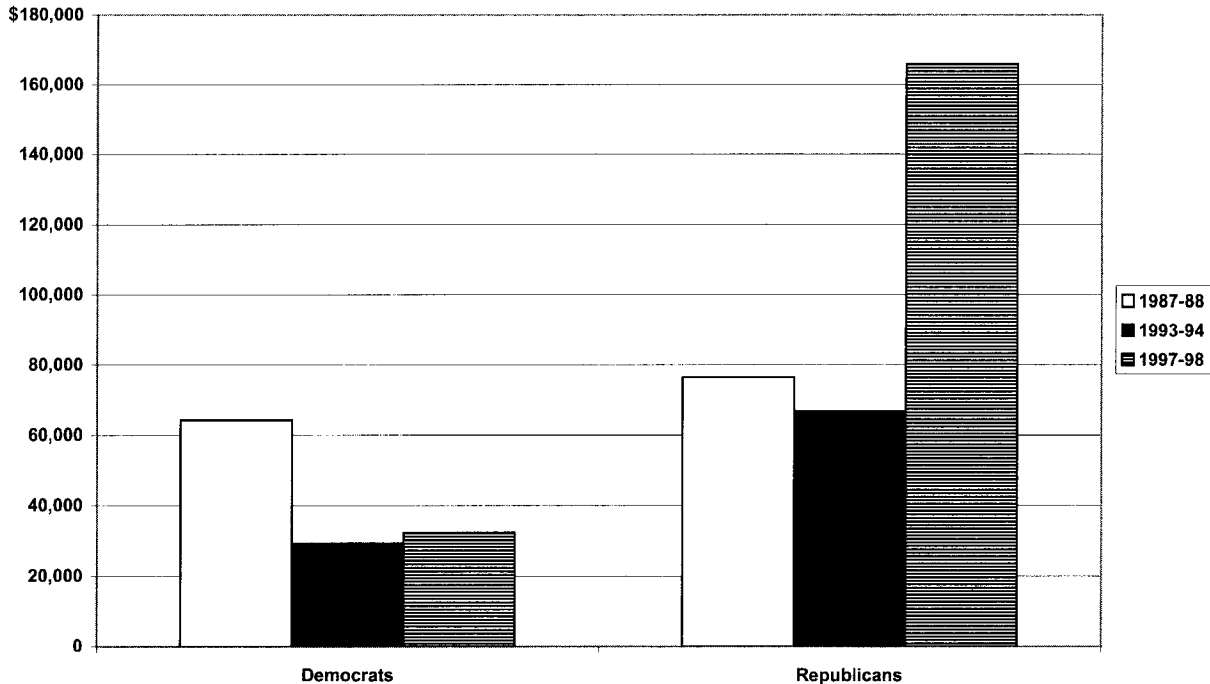
informing them of breaking news-media stories that could affect the industry. Outlines of press releases and statements are made available to members, as well as crisis-management assistance. Public relations and crisis-management handbooks are published by the AMI to further aid members in dealing with the media and public opinion. Finally, it offers members access to a generic advertising campaign, which can be customized to individual companies.

Although Congress and state governments have passed increasingly stringent laws dealing with food safety and production, the AMI has been successful in shaping government policy to minimize the costs of regulation for producers. For instance, it has successfully fought proposed bans on the food preservative sodium nitrate in food products. The AMI has also strongly supported greater self-regulation by the industry, such as HACCP, and less government regulation. In the area of international trade, the AMI has fought for greater competition with the European meat industry, especially in terms of regulations.

Although the AMI has generally been successful in removing trade barriers and minimizing federal and state regulations, it faces several strong challengers. Many consumer groups, environmental groups, and labor unions oppose the AMI in the area of regulation. These groups have not always succeeded in fighting the AMI, but they do pose a threat. As the media make the public more aware of dangers associated with meat and poultry production, it is likely that the U.S. government will enact stronger regulations. For instances, if cases of E coli and salmonella increase and are reported by the media, the public will probably demand stronger regulation. Similarly, media reporting of the "mad cow disease" threat in the mid 1990s resulted in the USDA's taking a closer look at the livestock feeding practices of the meat and poultry industry.

Despite these potential threats, the AMI will probably continue to expand in the area of international trade. From 1991 to 1995, U.S. exports of red meat products increased from nearly \$2.9 billion to over \$4.5 billion. Similarly, U.S. exports of poultry products increased from \$680 million to over \$2 billion. Such significant increases in only four years suggest that the AMI's focus on free trade has been successful and will continue to grow. Furthermore, it appears that the AMI has dealt with public relations problems, such as the "mad cow disease" threat, quite well. The USDA's decision to move toward more self-regulation, through HACCP, reflects some confidence that the industry can

**American Meat Institute
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

set its own approach in regulating production. The AMI should continue to be a powerful lobby for the meat and poultry industry.

since 1994 has caused a significant shift in contributions, away from Democratic candidates and toward Republican candidates.

ANDREW D. MCNITT

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1998, the AMI's receipts totaled \$132,383, and its expenditures came to \$187,950. Whereas it makes campaign contributions to both major political parties, it has increasingly favored the Republican Party. In particular, Republican dominance in Congress

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AMERICAN SUGARBEET GROWERS ASSOCIATION

The American Sugarbeet Growers Association is a commodity group, representing 12,000 sugar beet growers who live in 13 western and mid-western states. The American Sugarbeet Growers Association was founded in 1975 after the 1974 expiration of the Sugar Act. The American Sugarbeet Growers replaced the earlier National Federation of Beet Growers, which dated back to the 1950s. The association belongs to the sugar alliance that unites sugar beet, cane sugar, and corn producers with sugar millers and corn sweetener producers—most notably, the Archer Daniels Midland Corporation. The American Sugarbeet Growers Association is, in spite of its small size, politically active. Its staff is located in Washington, D.C., and employs two full-time lobbyists. In 1996, sugar beet growers received cash receipts of \$1 billion for the sale of their commodity.

HISTORY

One of the first acts of the United States government was to impose an import duty on sugar in the 1790s as part of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's efforts to balance the budget. Although this early tariff was primarily aimed at raising revenue, it began a long history of government intervention in the sugar market. In 1890, the government shifted its policy from revenue enhancement to promotion of the domestic sugar industry. From 1934 to 1974, a series of sugar acts divided the American market between domestic and foreign producers—each of whom was assigned a separate import quota. The effect of this controlled market was to raise U.S. sugar prices significantly above world prices. The failure to reauthorize the Sugar Act in 1975 resulted in a brief experience with an open market, until low prices led to renewed legislative protection in 1977.

The politics of sugar became more interesting in the 1980s as industries that used sugar as a component in

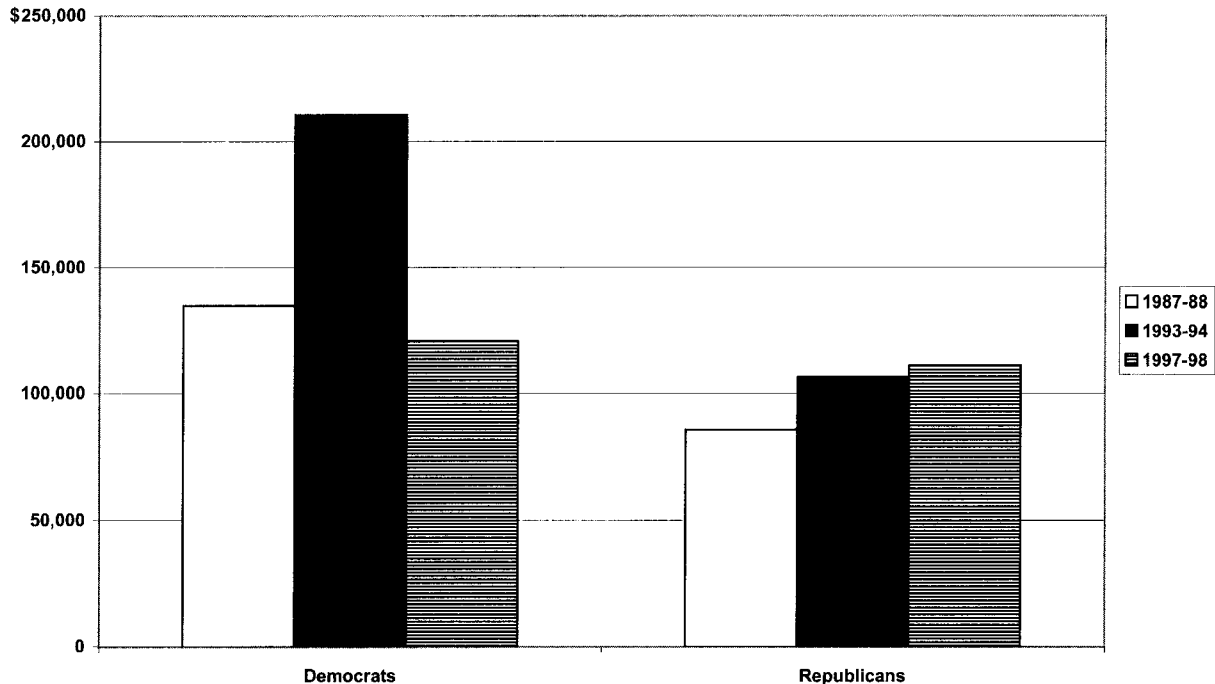
food processing sought changes in the system of price supports and import restrictions. The sugar industry was able to resist their challengers in 1985, but had to accept some changes in the 1996 Farm Bill.

The future of the American Sugarbeet Growers Association depends on its ties to the producers of other sweeteners. Although domestic sugar producers, both cane and beet, achieve relatively high yields per acre, their costs of production are higher than those of foreign producers of cane sugar. The above-market U.S. price also creates room for the corn sweetener industry, which would not have its current price advantages if it had to compete with sugar at the world price. In combination, all of these groups have significantly greater access to political power and so far have been successful in maintaining significant protections. For sugar beet growers, the costs of failing to control the policy-making process would be great; they are the most vulnerable of domestic producers. Sugar beets earn a great deal more per acre than any other substitute crop, and the average price of sugar produced from sugar beets is slightly higher than that for domestic cane sugar.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The American Sugarbeet Growers Association's activities are largely channeled through the Sugar Alliance. Most of the information about the organization's policy preferences and political positions is found on the Sugar Alliance's home page rather than the Sugarbeet Growers' web site. This organization is concerned primarily with adjusting to the changes in the sugar market that are the result of NAFTA, GATT, and the 1996 Farm Bill. Although none of these initiatives will produce a worldwide free market in sugar, all will increase the level of competition. NAFTA will, over a long period of time, eventually create a common North American

**American Sugarbeet Growers Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

sugar market. This market, however, will be protected from the world market by a common tariff structure. GATT tries to make agricultural policy less rigid by requiring a shift from the use of import quotas to tariffs, and for a reduction in export subsidies. The 1996 Farm Bill eliminated marketing allotments for domestic producers, made crop loans less financially attractive, and allowed for higher sugar imports.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The American Sugarbeet Growers Association and the other representatives of the sugar industry are major political donors. They give a lot of money to a large number of representatives on a regular basis. Since 1988, the Sugarbeet Growers have given between \$220,000 and \$327,000 per election cycle to candidates for Congress.

The largest donation came during the run-up to the 1996 Farm Bill. Total donations were \$327,057 for 1990, \$311,707 for 1992, \$317,140 for 1994, and \$304,667 for 1996. After the passage of the Farm Bill, donations dropped back to \$231,985 for the 1998 elec-

tion cycle. The sugar beet growers give money to both political parties. When the Democrats were the majority party in Congress prior to 1994, the Sugarbeet Growers gave them between 59 percent to 68 percent of their contributions. After the Democrats lost their majority in 1994, the pattern of donations changed. The sugar beet association's contributions to Democrats dropped to 50 percent for the 1996 cycle and 52 percent for the 1998 cycle.

The American Sugarbeet Growers Association gives almost all—89 percent to 94 percent—of its money to incumbents. The association also gives more—69 percent to 78 percent—of its money to House as opposed to Senate members. This, however, does not mean that the Senate is ignored. There are more than four times as many House members as there are senators, but, because only one-third of senators run for election in any one cycle, they actually receive greater per capita donations than representatives do. Of the 535 members of the House and Senate, between 250 and 293 receive political action committee (PAC) contributions from the American Sugarbeet Growers Association during each electoral cycle.

ANDREW D. MCNITT

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INTERNATIONAL DAIRY FOODS ASSOCIATION

The International Dairy Foods Association is a federation of three other industry groups: the Milk Industry Foundation, the National Cheese Institute, and the International Ice Cream Association. The association represents the processors and sellers of milk, but not the dairy farmers. The organization has over 800 member companies. It represents companies that handle 85 percent of fluid milk, 80 percent of cheese, and 85 percent of ice cream produced in the United States. The organization believes that it can substantially increase the sale of milk products by lowering prices and consequently has consistently opposed the federal system of price supports and dairy compacts. The association is headquartered in Washington, D.C.

HISTORY

Milk is heavy and spoils quickly. Consequently, dairies and dairy farms traditionally were located close to their markets. There is also substantial seasonal variation in milk production, which results in significantly more milk being available in the spring than in the fall. Therefore, the seasonal surplus has to be turned into products that have a longer shelf life. Improvements in transportation, refrigeration, and productivity have led to a general concentration of the industry. The number of dairy farms, dairies, and dairy cows have all decreased rapidly, without any reduction in the amount of milk products produced.

Although organizational names were changed several times, the component groups that make up the International Dairy Foods Association were formed at the turn of the century. The National Ice Cream Manufacturers was founded in 1900; the Milk Industry Foundation was founded in 1908; and the Cheese Institute was formed in 1925. After a substantial period of close cooperation, the three organizations formed the International Dairy Foods Association in 1990.

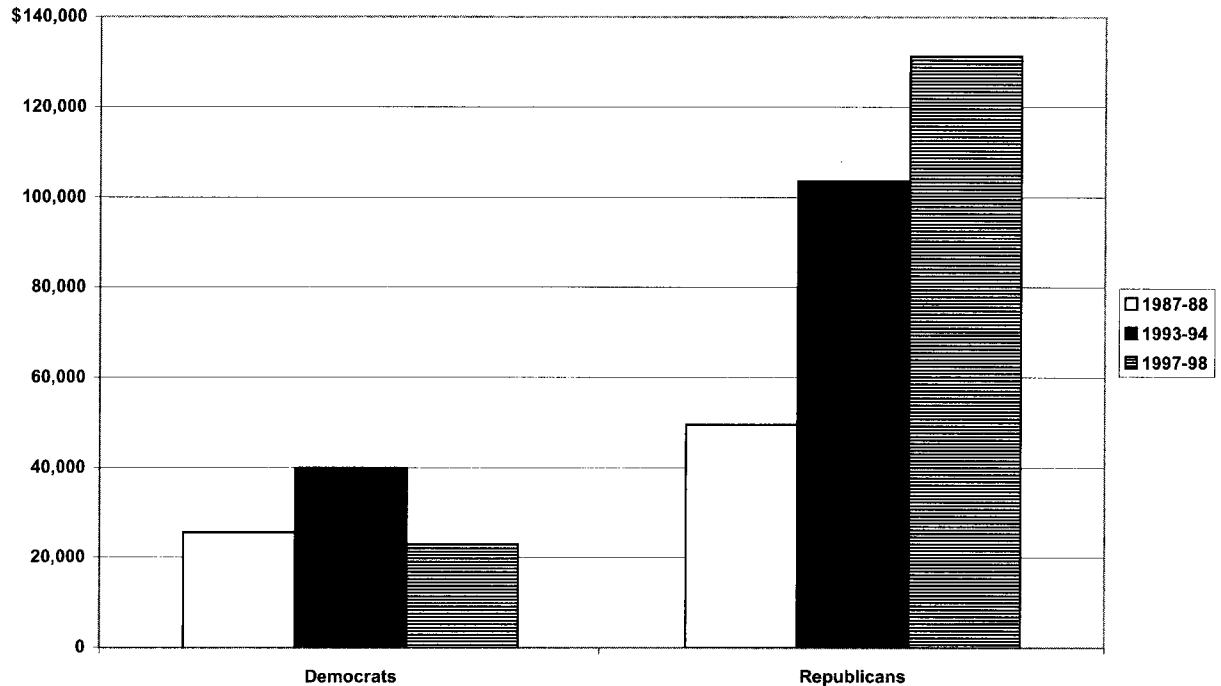
As a processor-based organization, it has taken positions consistent with the economic interests of its members. It is noted for opposing both dairy price supports and the sugar program. Hence, it provides one of the few examples of truly countervailing pressure in the agricultural interest group system. In general political terms, the International Dairy Foods Association is a typical business organization.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The International Dairy Foods Association is currently involved in a campaign against dairy compacts—regional associations, established by law, that set the price of milk above the national minimum price. The Northeast Dairy Compact was scheduled to terminate in April 1999; however, legislation was introduced to extend its life. The International Dairy Foods Association opposed this legislation because of the fear that other regions will establish their own dairy compacts. This puts the association at odds with dairy farmers. Consumer and taxpayer groups also oppose the continuation of the Northeast Dairy Compact because it results in higher prices for consumers, leads to the overproduction of milk, and creates problems for the federal government in disposing of surplus milk products. The International Dairy Foods Association is also interested in promoting foreign trade. Its strategy for dealing with the changing economic environment is to become more efficient and price-competitive in the hopes of attracting additional sales.

The International Dairy Foods Association has a fundamental conflict of interest with dairy farmers and sugar refiners that will not go away. The International Dairy Foods Association has succeeded in uniting milk, cheese, and ice cream processors. Its positions attract consumer and executive branch support, and are closer

**International Dairy Foods Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

to free-market ideals than those of their opponents. The problem facing the International Dairy Foods Association is that it is easier to defend old policies than to create new ones. Also, although the International Dairy Foods Association is a large interest group, the combined resources of dairy farmers and sugar producers are considerably larger.

The International Dairy Foods Association has had some success in reducing milk and sugar subsidies. If we have in fact changed from a time of government deficits to a new era of surpluses, then much of the pressure to reduce agricultural subsidies will decline. New fights are likely to erupt as milk and sugar producers seek to return to the more protective era. The International Dairy Foods Association will be best equipped to counter those demands if the U.S. government is under a market-oriented Republican administration.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The dairy foods industry accounts for \$65 billion, and there are a number of dairy-related political action committees (PACs). The International Dairy Foods

Association is the third largest PAC. It ranks behind Mid American Dairymen and the Associated Milk Producers, both of which represent dairy farmers.

The International Dairy Foods Association contributed \$152,413 to 127 congressional candidates in the 1998 election cycle. This figure is significantly higher than the 1986 contribution of \$64,000 to 55 congressional candidates and reflects a pattern of steadily increasing campaign contributions.

The International Dairy Foods Association political activities are consistent with its role as a business organization. The International Dairy Foods Association has always supported more Republican candidates than Democratic ones. Even when the Democrats controlled Congress, the association consistently gave two-thirds or more of its funds to the Republican Party. The association's contributions to the Republican Party became even larger after the Democrats lost control of Congress in 1994. In the 1993–1994 election cycle, Republicans received just over 70 percent of all contributions from the International Dairy Foods Association. By 1998, 85 percent of the group's contributions went to Republican candidates.

ANDREW D. McNITT

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WHEAT GROWERS

Founded in 1950, the National Association of Wheat Growers is a commodity organization that represents farmers who produce about 85 percent of wheat grown in the United States. The organization is composed of 22 state associations, most of which are located west of the Mississippi River. The association has played an important role in the formation of agricultural policy and is relatively more active than the other grain-based commodity organizations. The National Association of Wheat Growers is headquartered in Washington, D.C.

HISTORY

In 1950, Senator Clifford Hope of Kansas helped to form the National Association of Wheat Growers by encouraging the merger of existing state associations. Founded as the National Wheat Association, the organization grew rapidly during the 1960s, and, by the 1970s, it had become one of the more influential commodity groups in Washington. In the 1980s, it set up its official political action committee (PAC), Wheat PAC.

Wheat is the third most valuable grain crop grown in the United States and the most important grain crop that is exported. Between 70 percent and 80 percent of the wheat grown in the United States is winter wheat. Although wheat can be grown in most agricultural regions, its ability to tolerate harsh conditions has resulted generally in its growth in the drier, less fertile regions of the country. Consequently, wheat farmers are often interested in maintaining government support programs because they lack the ability to produce other commodities at competitive prices.

The association's position on international trade is affected by the structure of the world market. Canada and Australia have national marketing boards that sell their wheat abroad, and the European Economic Community subsidizes its exports. Consequently, the National Association of Wheat Growers wants a vigorous U.S. program to counter the government assistance received by its foreign competitors.

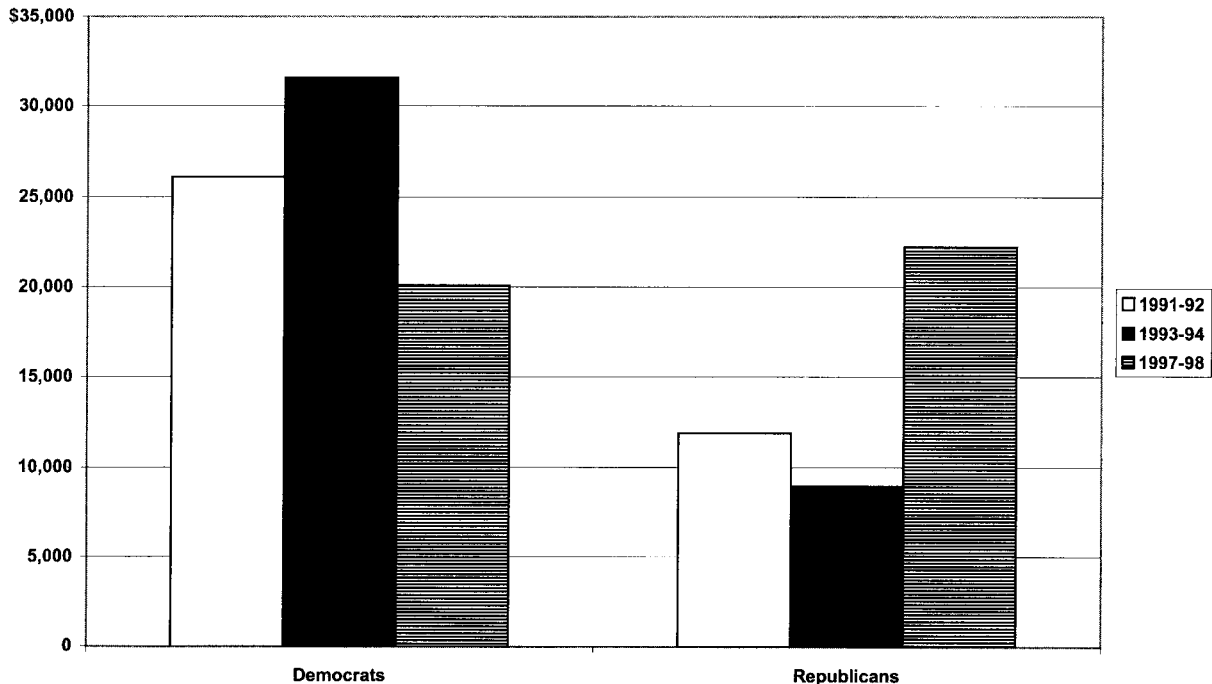
ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The National Association of Wheat Growers is critical of current farm policies. It argues for more generous loan rates and high support levels for producers. The association takes a strongly internationalist position on trade. It favors fast-track legislation, export promotions, and P.L.480 food-aid programs that subsidize commodity exports to underdeveloped countries. The organization also strongly opposes trade embargoes that currently bar U.S. grain sale to 11 percent of the world market. This opposition includes specific requests that the federal government reconsider trade policies toward both Iraq and Cuba.

The National Association of Wheat Growers takes the usual agricultural position on environmental programs. It favors reasonable environmental protection, but with the usual caution that regulations should be based on good scientific evidence and should take the legitimate interests of landowners into consideration.

The National Association of Wheat Growers also favors changes in the tax laws that would help owner-operators who sell grain in a highly variable market. Specifically, it favors a return to income averaging and further reductions in inheritance taxes. The continuing importance of wheat in international trade ensures a role for the National Association of Wheat Growers. However, the role will involve confronting a number of challenges. Although American wheat growers are competitive, their access to foreign markets is limited. The European Community stopped importing and became a net exporter of wheat in the 1980s. Poor economic conditions in Asia and the former Soviet Union in the late 1990s undermined the world export market. Mergers among grain dealers, banks, and farm suppliers continue to squeeze producers. Furthermore, wheat farmers are particularly disadvantaged by the lack of alternate crops and off-farm employment in the wheat-growing West.

**National Association of Wheat Growers
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1996, farm receipts from the sale of wheat totaled \$9.9 billion. The National Association of Wheat Growers has, since 1986, contributed between \$33,000 and \$42,000 per election cycle to congressional candidates. Although the \$42,350 contribution made in 1998 was the largest contribution to date, the overall pattern of giving is actually one of great stability. Contributions typically fluctuate around \$40,000 per cycle and usually go to incumbents from wheat-growing states, although the association has occasionally given as much as 30 percent of its contributions to nonincumbents.

The National Association of Wheat Growers follows a regionally concentrated strategy. Its contributions are largely made to members of Congress from the wheat belt. The number of candidates to whom the association gives has fallen over time from a high of 64 in 1986 to a low of 32 in 1998. The pattern of contributions was affected by the 1994 shift from Democratic to Republican control of Congress. Before 1996, the National Association of Wheat Growers not only favored Dem-

ocratic candidates, but was actually slowly increasing its level of support for that party. In 1986, 62 percent of all contributions went to Democratic candidates. By 1994, this figure rose to 77 percent of all contributions. In 1996, after the Republicans gained control of Congress, the association gave only 37 percent of its contributions to the Democratic Party. The situation, however, evened out a little by 1998 when, after the Democratic Party managed to reduce the Republican majority in Congress, the wheat growers contributed 47 percent of their funds to the Democrats.

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NATIONAL CATTLEMEN'S BEEF ASSOCIATION

The National Cattlemen's Beef Association (NCBA) serves as a marketing organization and trade association for U.S. cattle ranchers. The NCBA's headquarters is in Greenwood Village, Colorado. The NCBA focuses on representing the interests of ranchers to state and federal policy makers, the media, and consumers.

Approximately 40,000 individuals belong to the NCBA, which also represents 46 state cattle associations and 27 national breed associations. Altogether, the NCBA represents approximately 230,000 people associated with the cattle ranching industry. Besides policy representation, member benefits include a monthly magazine, *National Cattlemen*; a weekly newsletter, *Beef Business Bulletin*; and access to members-only material on the NCBA web site.

A 1995 survey of over 1,000 NCBA members asked respondents to rank the most important priorities for cattle producers and the beef industry. The respondents provided the following ranking:

1. Implement a meat-inspection system based on science; eliminate inequities between red meat and poultry.
2. Educate youth to perceive beef as healthful and producers as good stewards of land and animals.
3. Reform the Endangered Species Act to protect property rights and private stewardship of resources.
4. Develop scientific information to emphasize beef's healthfulness and reverse inaccurate diet and/or health statements.
5. Pass property-rights legislation and remain involved in property-rights litigation.
6. Position cattle producers as conscientious stewards of the environment who care about beef safety and quality.
7. Support line-item veto legislation and a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget.
8. Expand beef exports and achieve measurable

objectives in terms of increased shipments to specific countries and regions.

9. Work in alliances with national health organizations to show consumers that beef is a valuable part of healthful diets.
10. Seek legislation to reduce impact of estate taxes.

As the results of this survey illustrate, NCBA members have a wide range of current policy interests, including environmental policy, property rights, taxes, and consumer relations.

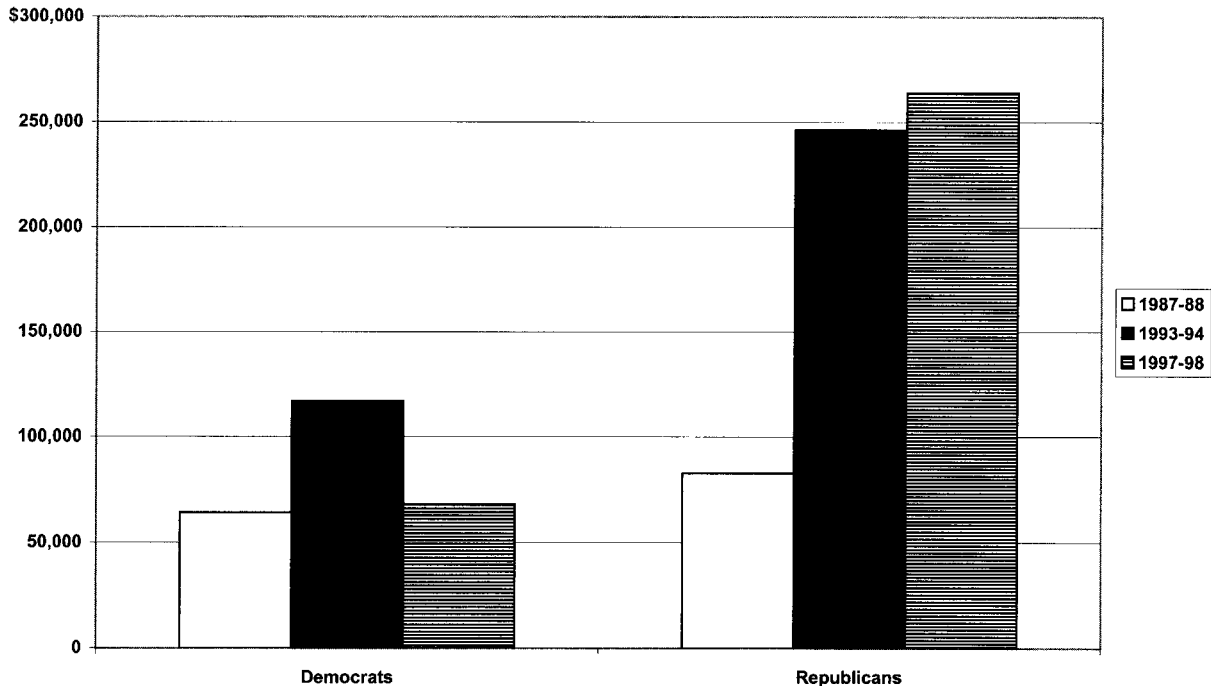
HISTORY

The NCBA can trace its development to the 1880s, when the National Cattle and Horse Growers Association met in St. Louis to lobby the government concerning grazing rights. In 1898, the first permanent cattle rancher association was formed, the American National Livestock Association, focusing primarily on government regulation of the livestock industry and opposing beef imports. During the 1920s and 1930s, this organization expanded its areas of interest to include trade, cattle prices, disease control, and to fighting New Deal programs. In the 1950s, the American National Livestock Association changed its name to the American National Cattlemen's Association and focused its attention on opposing government price supports for beef.

Although the American National Livestock Association was successful at keeping beef imports low and tariffs high, the livestock industry suffered serious setbacks in the early 1970s due to the weak economy combined with a beef boycott and a beef price freeze in 1973.

Recognizing the need for a greater public relations focus, the organization changed its name again in 1977, to the National Cattlemen's Association, focusing on trade, food safety, taxes, grazing rights, and consumer relations. In 1996, the National Cattlemen's Association

**National Cattlemen's Beef Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

merged with the National Live Stock and Meat Board/Beef Industry Council and changed its name to the National Cattlemen's Beef Association. Through this merger, the traditional lobbying efforts of the National Cattlemen's Association were integrated with the beef checkoff activities of beef product promotion and research.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Although the NCBA's primary headquarters is located in Colorado, in the center of the cattle ranching industry, the group still regularly lobbies in Washington, D.C., where its policy office is located. Its total reported lobbying expenditures for 1997 were \$400,000. Two outside lobbying firms were hired during 1997, and seven in-house lobbyists were employed by the NCBA. These lobbyists focused on a variety of issues, ranging from taxes, banking and trade, to agriculture, natural resources, and the food industry.

Recent examples of lobbying activities include

meetings with the Department of Agriculture (concerning a food-aid package to Russia containing beef) and meetings with the U.S. Trade Representative (concerning Japanese beef tariffs). The NCBA is also active in a case in which Mexico is accusing U.S. beef producers of dumping beef (selling below cost) on the Mexican market. In the early 1990s, the NCBA successfully opposed an increase in grazing fees for public lands. Fees for grazing on public lands are about one-fifth the cost of fees for grazing on private lands. Environmentalists argue that overgrazing, due to the low prices, is resulting in severe overuse, erosion, and water shortages. Efforts to increase these fees have continually been blocked by a bipartisan group of western legislators, supported by such groups as the NCBA.

When Bill Clinton was elected president in 1992, he promised to increase the fees, responding to the demands of environmental groups. However, he and Interior Department Secretary Bruce Babbitt were unsuccessful in making any significant changes to the fee structure. Ultimately, the president announced in 1994, after Republicans won majorities in the House and Senate, that the issue would be left up to Congress.

Like other business-oriented interest groups, the

NCBA takes a traditional “insider” approach to lobbying, through contacting policy makers, testifying at hearings, and providing research to the legislature as well as executive agencies. The NCBA is also active in campaigning for candidates for federal office. Its political action committee (PAC), founded in 1971, contributes to candidates who are pro beef, typically Republicans. The PAC also provides voter “scorecards” of state congressional delegations to NCBA members and affiliates. These scorecards show the vote of all legislators on issues of interest to the NCBA.

In addition to its lobbying activities, the NCBA is also active in product marketing. Its Chicago office focuses on advertising, human nutrition research, and new product development. For instance, its beef checkoff division provides industry promotion through such advertising campaigns as “Beef, It’s What’s For Dinner.”

The NCBA gained media notoriety in 1997 and 1998, when it supported a group of Texas cattle ranchers who sued television talk-show host Oprah Winfrey. The NCBA and the Texas ranchers argued that a 1996 Winfrey program, exploring whether “mad cow disease” posed a threat to the U.S. beef supply, had caused a drop in cattle prices and cost the industry millions of dollars. The Texas ranchers sued Winfrey under the False Disparagement of Perishable Food Products Act of 1995, a law protecting agricultural products from libelous remarks. The ranchers also argued that Winfrey should be held liable for spreading alarmist and false information about beef. The ranchers were unable to prove either that beef fell under the jurisdiction of this law, as a “perishable food,” or that Winfrey’s program had “knowingly” made false statements. The court ruled in favor of Winfrey, although the ranchers have promised to appeal the ruling. While the NCBA and the Texas ranchers were not successful in this case, many argue that the case provided some positive publicity for the group, particularly among conservatives who generally support the U.S. beef industry. Furthermore, laws such as the False Disparagement of Perishable Food Products Act may discourage criticism or investigation of the industry, and many people may not have the money to defend themselves against litigation as well as Winfrey did.

The NCBA has suffered some setbacks throughout its history. Government regulations continue to restrict the industry. Published research suggests that the consumption of red meat produces negative health effects. Food safety threats, like “mad cow disease,” result in negative publicity for the beef industry. Furthermore,

environmental concerns over grazing rights and natural resources continue to jeopardize the NCBA’s goals. Nonetheless, the NCBA continues to be a formidable lobbying group in representing the beef industry.

It is unlikely that any of these problems will disappear for the NCBA. However, it also appears that the NCBA can successfully deal with these problems, despite occasional setbacks. Even the general negative publicity from the Oprah Winfrey trial can be seen as a limited success for the NCBA, as it gained them more support from conservatives. Indeed, while the NCBA’s source of financial support stems from the cattle ranching industry, it also has policy support from many conservative states’ rights and property rights activists. Its broad appeal will likely gain more support, particularly at the state level. Furthermore, the recent merger in 1996 that resulted in the NCBA provides the organization with greater cohesion and focus, providing an opportunity for an even stronger lobbying presence in the federal and state governments.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1998, the NCBA’s receipts amounted to \$215,914, and its expenditures amounted to \$217,723. Until the 1994 election, when Republicans took control of Congress, the NCBA typically gave to both parties, although it favored the Republican Party slightly. However, since the 1994 election, the NCBA has strongly favored the Republican Party in campaign contributions. Over the 1990s, the organization increased substantially its contributions to Republican candidates. In 1990, 62 percent of the group’s \$215,384 contributions went to Republicans. By 1998, 80 percent of the NCBA’s \$327,000 in contributions was directed to Republican candidates.

MELINDA MUELLER

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NATIONAL CHICKEN COUNCIL

The National Chicken Council (NCC) was founded in 1954 as the National Broiler Council, and it operated under that name until January 1, 1999. The name of the association was changed to the current National Chicken Council in an attempt to clear up consumer confusion about the organization's mission. The council represents integrated broiler producer-processors and the companies that produce, process, and market chickens. Member companies of the National Chicken Council account for more than 95 percent of the chickens sold in the United States, and allied membership is open to companies that supply services and equipment to the integrated broiler industry. NCC programs include government relations, promotion and marketing, and public relations. The council publishes its weekly newsletter, *The NCC Washington Report*, and it holds conferences and seminars for industry members. Since 1965, the National Chicken Council has been headquartered in Washington, D.C.

HISTORY

The National Chicken Council was founded in 1954 to address the critical economic problems facing the broiler industry. Its founding president, Jesse Jewell, was a pioneer in the modern broiler industry, and he was instrumental in bringing together the chicken producers and processors for the first time in this umbrella trade organization. The original purposes of the National Chicken Council were product promotion, market development, and consumer education. Over time, however, the realization quickly grew that many of the industry's primary issues involving inspection, packaging, sanitation, health, and worker safety had to be addressed in the political arena.

Chicken promotion and consumer education are still important roles for the council. This is indicated by the council's extensive contacts with food editors, sponsor-

ship of chicken-cooking contests, and dissemination of recipes, publication of consumer leaflets, videos, and other point-of-sale materials.

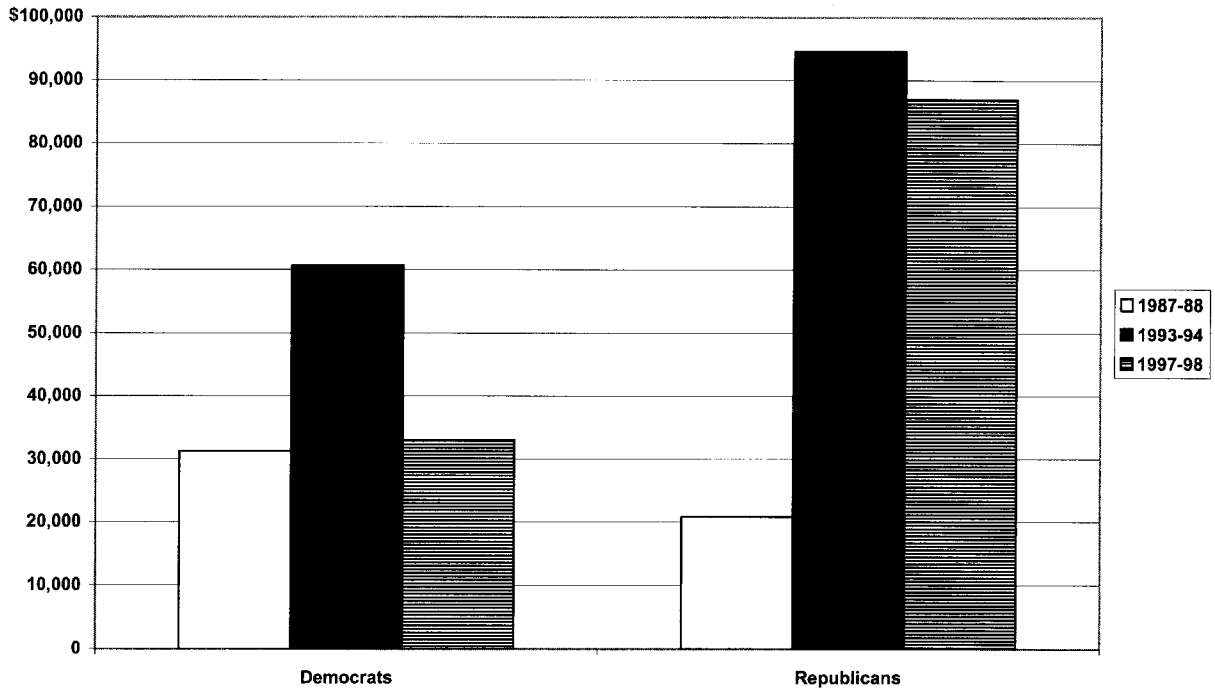
ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The National Chicken Council staff keeps members informed on legislative and regulatory developments, communicates the views and concerns of the industry to government officials, and works to improve the direction and outcome of government programs and regulations that have an impact on the broiler industry. During 1997 and 1998, the council was in active opposition to the attempt to amend the 1967 Agricultural Fair Practices Act to allow associations of farmers to bargain collectively over contracts in their dealing with chicken food processors. The council helped orchestrate an intense campaign against changes in contract procedures with broiler growers, and it was able to deliver nearly 1,800 letters to the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) protesting changes in the rules.

In conformity with other U.S. agricultural interest groups, the National Chicken Council is strongly supportive of free trade, particularly assistance to keep the Asian markets open during the current economic crisis. The NCC is also strongly opposed to foreign import restrictions on U.S. chicken exports, and it is working with the U.S. trade representatives to resist such impediments to the export of chicken meat.

In general, the political agenda of the National Chicken Council is heavily weighted toward domestic issues and the promotion of chicken consumption in the United States. The council closely monitors the regulatory initiatives of the Environmental Protection Agency and the USDA, and it has expressed its concern about recent regulatory proposals to impose additional environmental regulations on the industry. The council

**National Chicken Council
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

has been proactive in advancing the voluntary acceptance of health, safety, and sanitary conditions in the chicken processing industry.

From the perspectives of the chicken producers and processors, the relatively low price of chicken, the wide availability of the meat achieved through rapid technological innovation, and the broad consumer adoption of chicken as a healthy food product suggest that there is a strong and positive future for the council. The recognition of chicken as a virtually globally acceptable meat for consumption, and the industry’s capacity to export competitively frozen chicken products to Asia, Islamic countries, and the European markets has tremendous potential for growth and a rosy future for the industry.

There are some political risks for the council, particularly as a result of the resumption of conflict with chicken farmers over the fairness of current contracting arrangements with chicken food processors. The council also needs to be vigilant and respond quickly to potential scandals involving safety issues with workers or health concerns from the potential of E. coli and salmonella contamination in the chicken processing and distribution system. A final concern is the heightened concentration and market consolidation that may gen-

erate political opposition and attempts to impose market regulation on the industry.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The average American currently buys more than 74 pounds of chicken every year and purchased approximately \$35 billion worth of chicken meat in 1998. Approximately 40 percent of the National Chicken Council’s budget is used to promote the use of chicken and to maintain a positive image of the industry, but the NCC’s primary purpose is to represent the interests of the broiler industry in Washington.

In real dollars, the National Chicken Council has decreased its political action committee (PAC) contributions from \$144,650 in 1989–1990 to \$120,000 in 1997–1998. Associated firms, however, have independent PACs, so that the cumulative impact of the broiler industry in political campaigns has not declined significantly over time. In 1989–1990, the council contributed to 145 candidates, of which all but five were incumbents. In this period, 51 percent of PAC

funds went to Democrats. Of the \$120,000 contributed by the NCC PAC in 1997–1998, \$87,000 (73 percent) went to Republican candidates and \$78,000 (65 percent) helped fund House campaigns, particularly for candidates with districts in the southeastern United States, where the poultry industry is most heavily concentrated. Altogether, 21 incumbent senators received contributions ranging between \$1,000 to \$4,000, and 66 House candidates received contributions ranging between \$500 to \$3,500.

JAMES SEROKA

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NATIONAL COTTON COUNCIL OF AMERICA

Founded in 1938, the National Cotton Council of America is a commodity organization representing all aspects of production. Growers, ginners, warehousemen, merchants, crushers, cooperatives, and manufacturers are all included. The cotton industry directly employs some 340,000 people in 17 states. Although traditionally based in the southeast, the industry moved west during the twentieth century, when increasing amounts of cotton were grown in Texas, Arizona, and California.

The National Cotton Council of America does not distinguish between family and corporate farmers. It represents the interests of both growers and processors. Consequently, it is concerned primarily with promoting the use of cotton. The National Cotton Council of America is headquartered in Memphis, Tennessee. The not-for-profit Cotton Foundation was established by the Cotton Council to allow groups that could not belong to the Cotton Council to help support education and research.

HISTORY

The National Cotton Council of America was founded as a result of the very low cotton prices of the late 1930s. Historically, the National Cotton Council of America was a major supporter and beneficiary of the New Deal price support system. After the Second World War, cotton producers often allied themselves with peanut and rice growers to regularly support the legislative reauthorization of agricultural subsidies.

Cotton producers have had to confront a number of serious challenges during the latter half of the twentieth century. For example, in the tire industry, fiberglass and rayon cord replaced the more expensive cotton reinforcing cord used in rubber tires; likewise, in the clothing industry, cheaper synthetics replaced cotton. In addition, foreign competitors were able to produce cot-

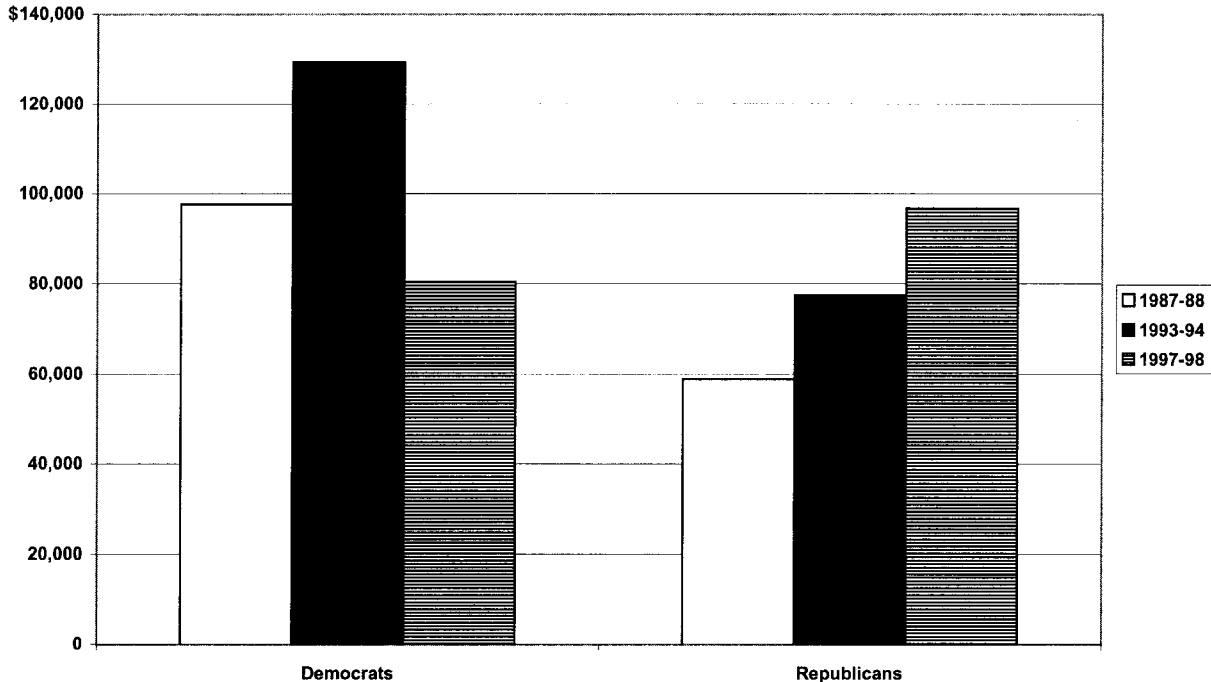
ton more cheaply than American producers. In response, the industry reduced its labor costs through mechanization and turned to the government for protection.

The late-twentieth-century trend toward greater reliance on the market, however, also affected the cotton industry. Although some small steps were taken as early as the 1960s to increase competitiveness, more extensive efforts were required. In 1991, additional changes were made in government programs to improve the competitiveness of American cotton. The success of these initiatives was mixed. While American consumers are using more cotton, foreign consumers are still shifting to synthetics. Also, the economic problems of Asia, Brazil, and Russia depressed international demand. Furthermore, China went from being a large importer of cotton before 1998 to becoming an exporter after that date, producing cotton more cheaply than cotton producers in the United States, which severely reduced America's competitiveness. Consequently, the gap between U.S. and foreign prices has not been closed.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The National Cotton Council of America is concerned with maintaining the profitability of American cotton producers in a complicated global environment. Inasmuch as American cotton currently costs more than imported cotton, a three-step program was instituted in 1991 to make American cotton more competitive. The first step gave the secretary of agriculture greater authority to set benchmark prices closer to world levels. The second step provided subsidy payments to U.S. exporters and domestic users of cotton to improve competitiveness and to make up some of the difference between U.S. and foreign prices. The third step allowed for an increase in imports of cotton to the United States as a way of lowering U.S. cotton prices. Currently, the

**National Cotton Council
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987-1998.

Cotton Council is concerned about restoring funding for step-two payments. The collapse of agricultural prices in the late 1990s caused these funds to be exhausted more rapidly than expected, and the Cotton Council is now working on a legislative remedy.

The National Cotton Council of America is also concerned with a wide variety of environmental and worker safety issues. Cotton requires extensive use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides in its production; consequently there is a great deal of concern over the regulation of these items. In addition, safety questions arise because of problems associated with workers breathing in cotton dust during the manufacturing process. Rather than oppose these regulations outright, the Cotton Council instead concerns itself about their extent and stringency. The National Cotton Council of America also supports the use of genetically altered strains of cotton in the hope that they will allow growers to reduce their use of insecticides.

Export earnings are necessary if the American cotton industry is to remain healthy. The only way to ensure export earning is to make American cotton competitive with foreign cotton and man-made fibers. The even lower prices currently available for alternate

crops probably ensures the continued worldwide overproduction of cotton. Although the eventual recovery of foreign economies would help, this change is unlikely to entirely resolve the underlying competitive disadvantage.

From a political point of view, the National Cotton Council of America will also have to cope with a changing environment here as well. If the federal government continues to run a budget surplus, the pressure for further reductions in agricultural subsidies, including cotton subsidies, is likely to decline. At the same time, the shift of southern representatives in Congress from the Democratic to the Republican Party may complicate matters for the cotton industry. In the past, the cotton-growing districts were represented by Democratic politicians more sympathetic to direct intervention in the agricultural market. At present, however, cotton districts are represented by Republicans who have a strong ideological commitment to the free market. If the Republican Party is unwilling to make an exception in its economic policy for cotton, then the cotton industry will have to be even more adept at forming coalitions with other agricultural groups.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1984, the Cotton Council gave \$100,575 to 170 congressional candidates. Over time, the council increased the amount of contributions, which were particularly high during the run-up to the 1996 Farm Bill. In dollar terms, the greatest amount of money was given in 1994, when the council contributed \$206,822 to 165 candidates. Since then, contributions have fallen. The council contributions totaled \$159,226 in the 1995–1996 election cycle and \$177,291 in the 1997–1998 cycle.

The Cotton Council gives money to both parties, but it gives more money to the majority party. When the Democratic Party held a majority of seats in Congress, Democratic candidates received from 50 to 62 percent of all contributions. In 1996, after the Democrats lost their majority, the council gave only 34 percent of all contributions for that cycle to Democratic candidates and slightly more, 46 percent, for the 1998

cycle. The Cotton Council also favors incumbents, who receive over 95 percent of all contributions, and House members, who receive between 60 percent to 77 percent of all contributions.

ANDREW D. MCNITT

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER COOPERATIVES

The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives was created by a 1990 merger of the American Institute of Cooperation, originally founded in 1925, with the National Cooperative Council, originally founded in 1929. These organizations were created as educational and political representatives of agricultural cooperatives, and the newly combined organization continues to perform those functions today.

The formation of agricultural cooperatives was promoted by the passage of the Capper-Volstead Act in 1922, which freed cooperatives from the threat of antitrust prosecutions. Because of the wide range of activities with which the National Council of Farmer Cooperative deals, it is sometimes classified as a general-purpose agricultural group. The organization is a federation of 110 major marketing, purchasing, and credit cooperatives. Banks affiliated with the Farm Credit system are also eligible for membership. The combined membership of all of these organizations totals some 2 million individuals.

HISTORY

Farm cooperatives were promoted by the Grange and the National Farmers Union, beginning in the 1890s, as a way to undercut the role of middlemen in agriculture. Initially, the cooperative movement had its greatest success in organizing the dairy industry. Hard times in the 1920s increased farmers' reliance on cooperatives, several of which were legally harassed by antitrust actions. The Capper-Volstead Act of 1922 exempted cooperatives from antitrust prosecutions and promoted their formation. Cooperatives became an integral and accepted part of farm life. Collectively, marketing cooperatives account for about one-third of sales, and farm supply cooperatives account for about 20 percent of all sales. In spite of their origin, today's farm cooperatives

function more like businesses than instruments for social cooperation.

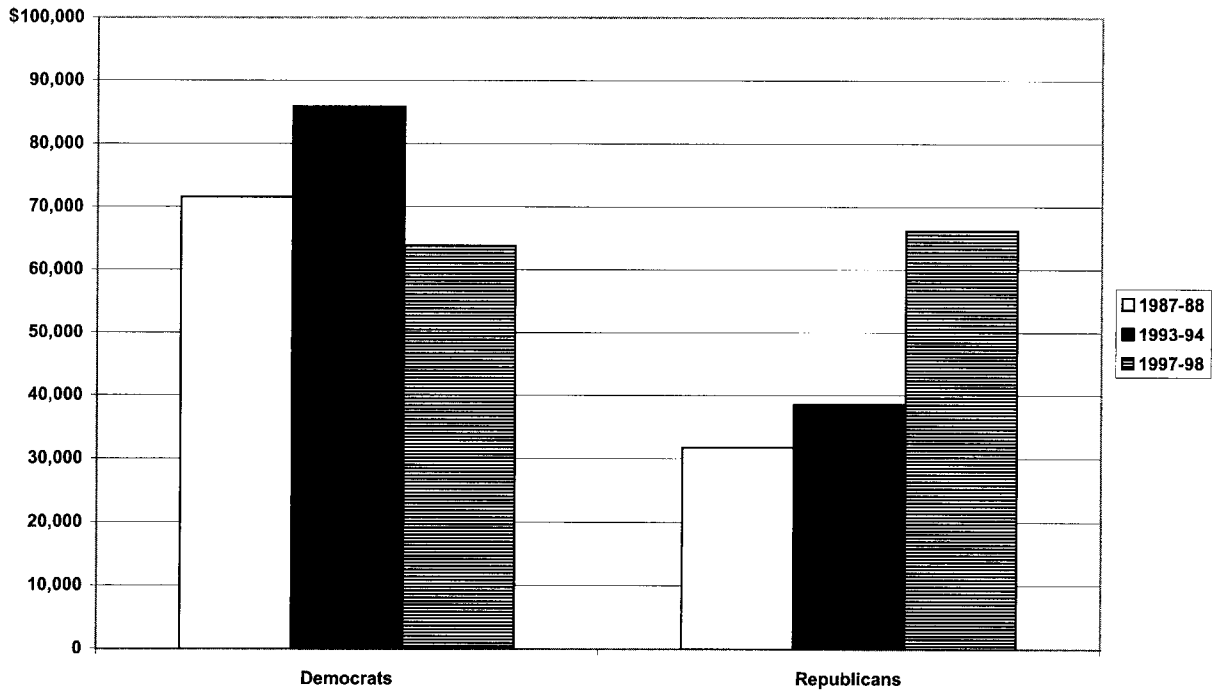
The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives has historically has been aligned with the American Farm Bureau Federation on agricultural questions. Its membership increased rapidly in the 1920s, and for a brief period it was the largest of farm organizations. In national politics, however, the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives has been more supportive of Democratic congressional candidates, although a number of Republicans are also supported.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives is noted for its relatively low-key approach to public policy questions. It has extensive educational programs and maintains a legal office that specializes in the problems of the farm cooperative. The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives is currently concerned with the way government regulations affect cooperatives' internal structure, tax liabilities, and stock regulations. It supports provisions that are designed to promote trade, including fast-track authority for the president and funding for the International Monetary Fund. The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives also participates in symbolic environmental programs such as Earth Day, but opposes the Global Warming Treaty.

While farm cooperatives may increasingly be operating like businesses in the economic sphere, until recently they have behaved very differently in the political sphere. The contribution pattern of the National Association of Farmer Cooperatives suggests closer alignment with the Democratic Party than is common for other business organizations. Even the post-1994 swing to the Republican Party was moderate when compared to other agricultural organizations. The swing in fact

**National Council of Farmer Cooperatives
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

was so moderate as to suggest that a return to a Democratic majority would be quickly followed by a return to a Democratic advantage in campaign contributions.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Since 1990, the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives has given between \$120,000 to \$130,000 each election cycle to congressional candidates. Over time there has been a tendency to give more money to fewer candidates. The council gave \$126,000 to 181 candidates in 1990, but gave to progressively fewer candidates in each succeeding election cycle until 1998, when it gave \$130,161 to 121 candidates.

The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives has historically supported more Democratic candidates. Democratic candidates received 69 percent of all money contributed in 1988, and relative support for Democratic candidates gradually increased through 1994 to 71 percent. The Democratic loss of control of Congress in

1994 changed the council’s pattern of giving; however, rather than switching to the Republican Party, the Council became more bipartisan in its approach. Democrats received 47 percent of all contributions in the 1996 cycle and 49 percent of all contributions for the 1998 cycle.

The council gives to midwestern and southern candidates. It gives most of its money (87 percent) to incumbents. It also gives more (69 percent to 74 percent) to House as opposed to Senate candidates.

ANDREW D. MCNITT

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NATIONAL FARMERS ORGANIZATION

Founded in 1955, the National Farmers Organization (NFO) is a general farm organization that acts as a bargaining agent for its members. The NFO has explicitly adopted a collective bargaining model and advocates actions designed to withhold agricultural products from the market as a way of increasing prices. Membership figures are difficult to obtain because the NFO keeps these secret for strategic reasons; however, estimates vary from a 1956 claim by the NFO's president of 180,000 members to a 1980 academic estimate of 40,000. The fluctuating size of other agricultural organizations and the large decline in the number of farmers since the 1950s lends some credibility to both figures. The National Farmers Organization's headquarters is in Ames, Iowa, and most of its members are from the upper midwest.

The NFO often acts as an ally of the National Farmers Union (NFU). Both organizations are more willing to support agricultural subsidies and restrictions on production than is the American Farm Bureau Federation. In national politics, the National Farmers Organization, while not as liberal as the National Farmers Union, is also closely associated with the Democratic Party.

HISTORY

The National Farmers Organization was founded in 1955 in response to a decline in agricultural prices. Under the leadership of Oren Lee Staley, the NFO first organized farmers in southern Iowa and northern Missouri. The NFO went on to organize grain and dairy farmers in the other midwestern states. The NFO first began to experiment with limited holding actions in 1959. Although often criticized in the press, these holding actions proved sufficiently effective in raising prices to attract new members.

When the NFO applied holding actions to perish-

able dairy products, opposition from dairy processors and scattered violence associated with these actions attracted government attention. The federal government launched a number of unsuccessful antitrust actions directed against the NFO. For its part, the NFO responded by filing its own equally inconclusive antitrust actions challenging the marketing practices of dairy processors. In time, the NFO even managed to get on President Richard Nixon's enemies list. The Securities and Exchange Commission also brought charges against the NFO in 1973 for loan irregularities.

More damaging than government harassment, however, was the increase in grain prices that resulted from the Nixon administration's grain sales to the Soviet Union. These sales resulted in high prices that came at a time when many farmers had long-term grain contracts negotiated for them by the NFO at lower rates. Under economic pressure, a number of farmers defaulted on these contracts, creating severe financial problems for the NFO.

In the late eighties, the NFO shifted its focus away from public confrontation. The organization experienced considerable success in collective bargaining for milk and livestock. Although it lent informal support to the American Agriculture Movement's protests in the 1980s, its formal efforts were directed toward more traditional political activities.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The National Farmers Organization currently operates grain, dairy, and livestock marketing programs. It is also experimenting with a farmer-owned grain bank that would help to manage fluctuating grain prices by holding a portion of the grain crop in storage until the market prices rise to a predetermined level. Like the NFU, the NFO supports family farms and is critical of cor-

porate farming. The NFO, however, has also been critical of cooperatives—many of which are owned by other agricultural organizations. Not only has the NFO been on the opposite side of the fence when negotiating contracts with the cooperatives, but it has also argued that these cooperatives no longer respond to their members' interests.

The NFO survives because it occupies a special niche in the agricultural industry. Its role as a bargaining agent for a number of agricultural commodities provides it with a sufficient basis for continued survival. Its activities as a general-purpose interest group, however, are less unusual. Like the other general-purpose interest groups, its importance in policy making is challenged by the increasing role played by commodity groups. Like all producer-based organizations, the NFO is weakened by the continuing reduction in the number of producers. Like its ally, the NFU, the NFO has close ties to the Democratic Party; this means that its influence will vary depending on which party controls the White House and Congress. However, even when the Democrats are in charge, the NFO is the smaller of the two Democratically oriented interest groups.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The National Farmers Organization maintained a small political action committee (PAC), NFO-GRIP, in the

late 1980s and early 1990s. From 1986 through 1992, the NFO gave from \$31,000 to \$34,000 per election cycle. The NFO consistently gave in excess of 80 percent of all of its funds to Democratic candidates. The pattern of contributions was one of giving small contributions to from 63 to 73 candidates per cycle, most of whom were House members and incumbents.

In the early 1990s the NFO, because of cash-flow problems, decided that it was no longer cost-effective to maintain its PAC. The organization continues to be interested in agricultural policy, but has returned to a letter-writing strategy. In addition, the NFO is able to work with the NFU, which still maintains a PAC. Given the long history of cooperation between the NFO and the NFU, this constitutes a relatively painless strategy.

ANDREW D. MCNITT

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NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

Founded in 1902, the National Farmers Union (NFU) is the second-most important general farm organization in the United States. With 300,000 members, it is considerably smaller than the American Farm Bureau Federation; however, only family farmers and ranchers can belong to the National Farmers Union. The Farmers Union is a distinctly regional organization. Headquartered in Denver, its membership is concentrated in the Great Plains. It is particularly strong in Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska. Its members are often involved in wheat production and dairying. It is the most politically liberal of the general farm organizations, has ties to organized labor, and usually aligns itself with the Democratic Party in national politics. The fundamental purpose of the National Farmers Union is to act as an advocate for the small farmer and rancher. As such, it often finds itself opposing the interests of corporate farmers. The Farmers Union usually supports higher subsidy payments, limitations on production, and, at least in theory, 100 percent parity payments (equality in payments for commodities)—all of which are designed to raise farm income.

The National Farmers Union also runs a wide range of cooperative enterprises, most of which are headquartered in Minneapolis and St. Paul. These enterprises include farm supply and marketing cooperatives. Like the larger Farm Bureau, the National Farmers Union also provides a wide range of insurance benefits to its members through the National Farmers Union Insurance Company.

HISTORY

Hard times for farmers at the end of the nineteenth century led to an agrarian revolt that produced the People's, or Populist, Party. The Farmers Alliance was the major agricultural organization that backed this revolt. Early

in the twentieth century, former members of the alliance, meeting in Point, Texas, founded the National Farmers Union. Isaac Gresham, a tenant farmer and newspaperman, was their first leader.

Before the First World War, the Farmers Union grew rapidly. Originally the NFU was particularly strong in the South, but as time passed its membership shifted to the upper midwest. There, the NFU helped to organize a number of cooperatives and supported the Nonpartisan League in the Dakotas.

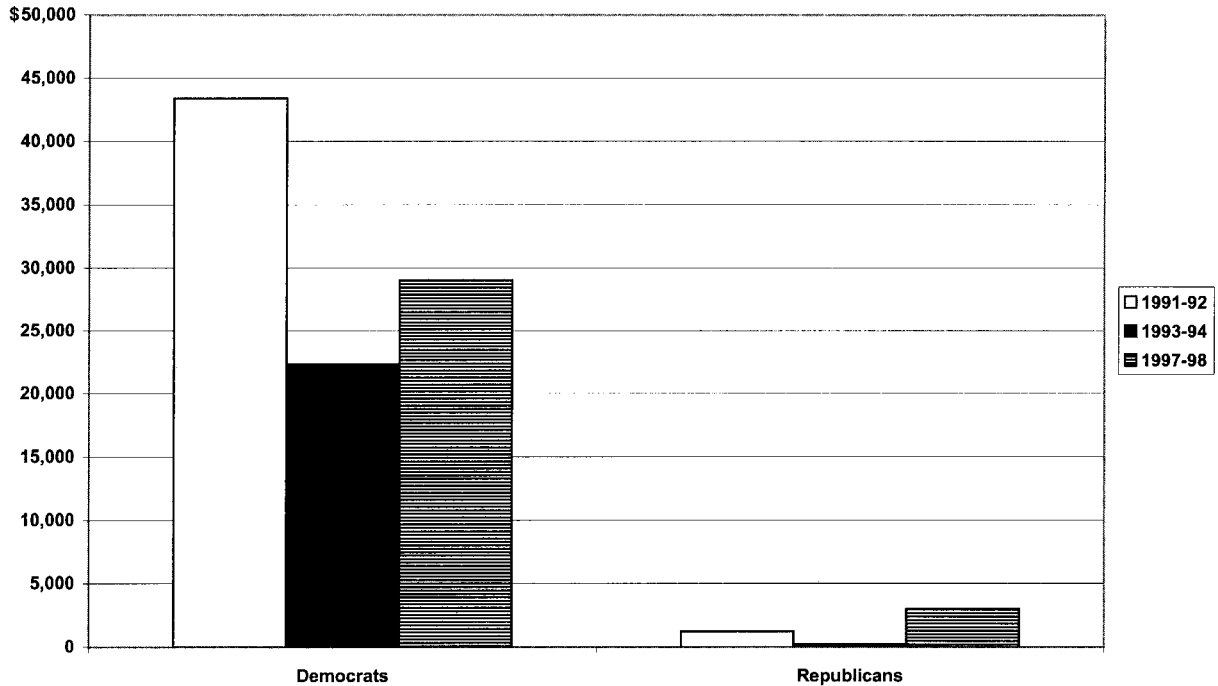
During the 1920s, the Farmers Union cooperated with the more conservative Farm Bloc, an alliance of agricultural groups that lobbied Congress. At the same time, it participated in efforts to form a progressive bloc that had ties to organized labor. Subsequently, in 1924, the Farmers Union supported Robert La Follette's third-party bid for the presidency.

During the 1930s, the Farmers Union supported New Deal agricultural policies, but tried unsuccessfully to get the cost of production built into support formulas. The Farmers Union was particularly close to the Farm Security Administration, which administered a number of programs designed to aid low-income producers and consumers. The eventual elimination of this agency as a result of pressure from the American Farm Bureau Federation was a blow to the Farmers Union.

Internal conflicts reduced the effectiveness of the Farmers Union during the 1930s. Conflicts involved controversies over the support by some Farmers Union leaders for the ideological, fascist-sympathizing priest, Father Charles Coughlin, and the radical Farmers Holiday Movement. The election of James Patton in 1940 resolved most of these controversies and helped to change the Farmers Union into a decidedly Democratic, but at the same time more typical, interest group.

During the 1940s and 1950s, the relationship between the Farmers Union and the Department of Agriculture varied, depending on a number of circumstances. In the early 1940s, President Franklin Roosevelt's administration used the National Farmers

**National Farmers Union
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1991–1998.

Union as a counterbalance to the increasingly Republican Farm Bureau. The National Farmers Union continued to have a close working relationship with the Department of Agriculture during the Truman administration, but became much less influential during Eisenhower’s term in office.

The NFU’s influence rebounded during President John Kennedy’s and President Lyndon Johnson’s administrations. Secretary Orville Freeman appointed a number of officials who had close ties to the NFU. The NFU was also generally supportive of Freeman’s proposals for production controls. During President Ronald Reagan’s administration, the National Farmers Union worked with other farm groups in a successful effort to defeat administration attempts to reduce subsidies and increase reliance on the free market.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The National Farmers Union favors federal farm commodity marketing programs that are tailored to support

independent family farmers. Consistent with this goal, the National Farmers Union often advocates caps and other restrictions on government agricultural programs designed to steer benefits to smaller producers and ensure that those benefits go directly to the cultivators rather than owners of property. During the late 1990s, the National Farmers Union response to extremely low agricultural prices was to support President Bill Clinton’s call for restoration of the farm safety net. It has been alarmed by the trend toward corporate concentration in both agricultural supply and marketing industries. The National Farmers Union has also expressed concern about the scheduled drop in dairy support prices, which are being phased in as a result of the 1996 Farm Bill.

The National Farmers Union does not limit itself simply to agricultural issues. It supports graduated income taxes, increases in corporate tax rates, minimum wage legislation, and price controls—all positions which are consistent with its political support of liberal Democratic politicians.

With the elimination of the National Farm Organization’s political action committee (PAC) in the 1990s, the National Farmers Union is now the most

active of the Democratically oriented farm groups. In theory, the NFU should do well when the Democrats control both Congress and the presidency. When the Democrats and Republicans split control of the government, the best the NFU can do is to try to block policies that it opposes.

Today's political climate makes even this negative strategy difficult. The current hostility toward government-based solutions, which have been picked up by Democrats as well as Republicans, isolates the NFU. Agribusiness and the commodity groups have become more important in the policy process. The NFU badly needs to cultivate urban and suburban interests, but this is becoming harder to do every year.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NFU's contribution pattern is similar to that of a labor union. The organization consistently gives Democratic candidates over 90 percent of its funds. Incumbents receive more money than nonincumbents, but the NFU takes more electoral risks than other agricultural

interest groups. In some years, as much as 36 percent of all contributions go to nonincumbents.

The National Farmers Union is a relatively small PAC. Total contributions fluctuate over time. In 1986, the union gave \$5,000 to 22 candidates. By 1992, the NFU was able to give considerably more money, \$49,875, to 112 candidates, but total contributions fell dramatically in 1994 to \$22,500 to 64 candidates. Most recently in 1998, the NFU was able to push its contribution level back up to \$32,300, which it gave to 74 candidates.

ANDREW D. MCNITT

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NATIONAL GRANGE

Founded in 1867, the National Grange is the oldest general-purpose agricultural interest group in the United States. It was originally organized as an agricultural fraternal order, with offices and rituals patterned after the Order of Freemasons. During the late nineteenth century, the Grange was, for several years, the major vehicle for agrarian protest. At the end of the nineteenth century, as its base of support shifted from the Midwest and South to New England and the East, it became both more conservative and politically less active. During the early twentieth century, it was one of the largest, general-purpose farm organizations. In fact, it was not until after the Second World War that the American Farm Bureau Federation surpassed the National Grange in size.

The Grange currently has 300,000 members in 37 states. The national headquarters is located in Washington, D.C. Although the Grange takes positions on a wide range of issues, it is neither a particularly partisan nor an aggressive organization. At the present time, the leaders of the organization are prohibited from directly engaging in electoral politics, and the organization does not have a political action committee (PAC). However, every year the Grange publishes and distributes an extensive list of its positions on current issues. Grange members are then urged to write to their members of Congress requesting their support for these positions.

HISTORY

The Grange was founded in 1867, during the agricultural recession that followed the Civil War. The founders of the Grange, Oliver Hudson Kelley and William Saunders, worked for the Department of Agriculture. Although Kelley and Saunders originally conceived of the Grange as an educational and social organization, it began to grow rapidly when it took a more political stance. The early antimonopoly positions taken by the

Grange and its support for railroad regulation resulted in increased membership. By 1875, the Grange had 858,050 members, located mostly in the Midwest and the South.

In an attempt to undermine the role of middlemen in agriculture, the Grange went on to develop a broad range of cooperative enterprises, including insurance companies and even some manufacturing enterprises. The financial failure of these enterprises in the 1880s hurt a number of Grange members who had invested in them. These financial problems, combined with the inability to find new political issues following the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act (which regulated railroad rates) resulted in a rapid decline in membership.

After 1890, the Grange rebuilt itself by de-emphasizing partisan politics, stressing its social activities, and shifting its base of operations first to the northeastern and then eventually to the northwestern states as well. The rebuilt Grange was well organized, but not nearly as political.

Its influence on politics in the more urbanized eastern states was limited because of the relatively smaller role played by agriculture in these states. Also, its new members, who were more likely to be involved in general farming and less likely to produce commodities (large crops of a single variety), were less radicalized because they had more stable incomes than its earlier southern and midwestern members.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Grange was able to maintain its membership, but because of its internal organization it was a much-less-active proponent of farm relief than the American Farm Bureau Federation. As a consequence, the Farm Bureau surpassed the Grange in size after the Second World War. Although occasionally critical of the Farm Bureau's relationship with the Cooperative Extension Service, the Grange largely allied itself with the Farm Bureau during the 1950s. Cooperation between the two groups during this period was facilitated by the growing number of individuals who belonged to both organizations.

The decline of the Grange since the 1950s is largely

the result of two factors. First, it lost membership to other more aggressive organizations, specifically the Farm Bureau and the National Farmers Union; second, the continuing consolidation and reduction in number of farms in the United States after the Second World War was particularly rapid in those geographic areas where the Grange had most of its supporters.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The social and fraternal aspects of the Grange are of primary importance. The Grange, however, is in contact with the Department of Agriculture, and the representatives of the Grange occasionally make important contributions to the policy-making process. Unlike other agricultural organizations, the Grange is interested in a broader range of issues that affect the quality of rural life. Currently, the Grange is concerned with improving rural schools, increasing Medicare reimbursements for rural providers, ensuring access of rural residents to the Internet, and improving the rural road system.

The positions taken by the Grange on agricultural policies are moderately conservative. The Grange is often—but not always—allied with the Farm Bureau on subsidy and set-aside issues. Officially, the Grange “favors the elimination of direct government farm programs.” In addition, the Grange supports fast-track authority for trade agreements, the elimination of estate and capital gains taxes, the formation of regional dairy compacts, deregulation of electric utilities in the states, and continued support for the tobacco growers. On environmental questions, the Grange supports farmland preservation, as long as farmers’ property rights are protected, and the reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act, again, as long as farmers are protected from “undue” regulation.

Although it would be foolish to predict disaster for an organization that has been in existence for more than

130 years, the Grange is clearly not what it used to be. On the positive side, the Grange is concerned with quality-of-life issues that are ignored by other agricultural interest groups, and it practices a style of interest-group politics that is ethically beyond reproach. On the negative side, social functions of the Grange have become less important as modern technology has reduced the relative isolation of rural residents. The Grange is also much more directly affected by the decline in agriculture than are its competitors.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The National Grange does not have a political action committee (PAC) and does not make campaign contributions. They have an extensive issue-development process that, after much consultation, produces a position statement that is distributed to Congress. Grange members are then urged to contact their legislators in support of these goals. The Grange has a legislative affairs office with three employees in Washington, D.C., which lobbies national and state politicians. Currently, the Washington office spends about \$40,000 a year on lobbying expenses. The National Grange develops an agenda through extensive consultation with members, who also engage in direct lobbying of representatives.

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NATIONAL PORK PRODUCERS COUNCIL

Founded in the mid 1950s as the National Swine Growers Council, the National Pork Producers Council is a commodity group that represents 85,000 pork producers in 44 states. The organization is a federation of state associations. It is funded by a legislatively mandated checkoff, or fee, that is paid to pork producers each time they market a hog. In 1996, cash receipts from the marketing of hogs totaled \$12.6 billion. The organization represents the interests of both large and small producers. The national headquarters is in Des Moines, Iowa, and a legislative office is maintained in Washington, D.C.

HISTORY

Traditionally, hogs have been produced by farmers who also raised the required feed grains. Consequently, much of the commercial production is centered in the mid-western corn belt, although North Carolina has recently become an important producer. The development of the ability to raise hogs in containments has led to a rapid decline in the number of producers, but not in the number of hogs produced.

The reduction in the number of producers has been further influenced by the arrival of the “mega” hog farms that raise hogs in very large containment facilities. These large producers have located next to large packing plants, which has resulted in the closing of a number of smaller packers who used to serve a more geographically diverse clientele. This, in turn, further disadvantages small producers, many of whom have stopped producing hogs because of the increasing distances that small producers must ship to market.

Pork producers have been challenged by the collapse of pork prices in 1998. Pork prices normally follow a four-year cycle of boom and bust. This time, the cycle was particularly severe because of the collapse of foreign markets and the overproduction of pork that followed

the rapid entry of mega hog farms into the market. Pork producers, like other livestock producers, have traditionally not been directly subsidized by the federal government. As a consequence, the National Pork Producers Council, although one of the largest commodity organizations, was relatively inactive at the national level.

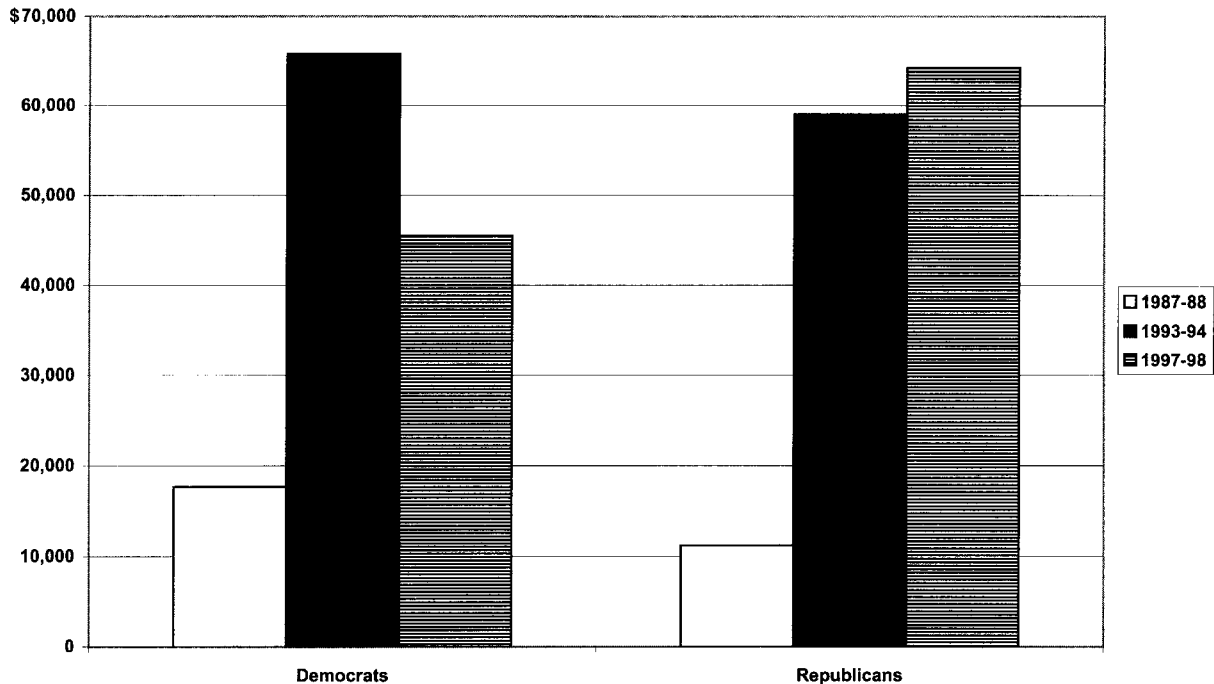
Changing methods of production have created new challenges for the organization. The development of mega hog farms has also resulted in increased environmental concerns. Since some form of increased regulation is inevitable, the National Pork Producers Council and its state affiliates have become more active at both the state and national levels.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The National Pork Producers Council provides members with a number of useful services. It promotes pork consumption, distributes useful information about production techniques, and monitors legislation that affects the industry. It has developed ties with the Pork Industry Congressional Caucus, a group of 28 Democrats and 40 Republicans who are “pork industry friends.”

The National Pork Producers Council takes positions on a broad range of issues. It favors trade policies that will facilitate the export of pork products. It is willing to accept some environmental regulations as long as those regulations are based on scientific evidence and do not constitute an “undue burden” on producers. The council also favors freedom-to-farm legislation as a way of protecting producers from nuisance suits arising out of disputes over unpleasant odors. It is interested in ensuring consumer confidence in the safety of pork products. Consequently, it supports food safety legislation. In particular, the council is interested in ensuring that

**National Pork Producers Council
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

poultry products meet the same sanitary standards as pork, beef, and lamb. Positions on tax policies, such as favoring deductibility of health insurance and income averaging, are designed to help independent producers.

The trend toward a smaller number of larger producers in the industry is likely to continue. The largest producers have the economic resources necessary to weather the current collapse of pork prices, and are, in fact, to some extent protected from the price fluctuations by long-term contracts with wholesalers.

As the industry relies more on large-scale production techniques it will come into political conflict with other interests concerning environmental regulations. Rural as well as urban residents have called for stricter regulations of large pork producers. Policy makers at the national level have even proposed treating the largest producers as industrial rather than agricultural firms. Pork producers have expressed a willingness to accept some regulations, but are concerned about both how restrictive and how stable that legislation will be—concerns shared by other kinds of livestock producers who are also increas-

ingly reliant on large-scale containment production techniques.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The National Pork Producers Council began making campaign contributions in 1988, when it gave \$28,400 to 65 congressional candidates. The council increased its activities in the early 1990s. Total contributions peaked at \$124,858, which was given to 145 candidates in 1994 during the run-up to the 1996 Farm Bill. Total contributions then fell back in 1996 and 1998 to approximately \$110,000 per election cycle. Seventy-five candidates received contributions from the National Pork Producers Council in 1998.

The National Pork Producers Council gives money to both parties. In 1988, the council gave 61 percent of its contributions to Democratic candidates. Since then there has been a steady decline in support for the Democratic Party, which predated that party's 1994 loss of a majority. Support for Democrats, in fact, dwindled to 41 percent by 1998. The National Pork Producers

Council gives money to candidates from the pork-producing midwestern and southern states. The council also disproportionately rewards incumbents, who receive in excess of 85 percent of all contributions.

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ORGANIC TRADE ASSOCIATION

In 1985, representatives of several smaller organic businesses and farming groups established the Organic Food Production Association of North America. Now known as the Organic Trade Association, this group is an industry-based, political organization that represents growers, retailers, brokers, distributors, and suppliers of organic agricultural products. The Organic Trade Association has 950 mostly business members. The association promotes the use of organic products and represents the political interests of the organic industry. The organization is headquartered in Greenfield, Massachusetts.

HISTORY

After the Second World War, American agriculture became increasingly dependent on the chemical industry. At the same time, the trend toward specialization of production and integrated distribution networks also reduced the number of farmers who sold a wide variety of agricultural products in local markets. The organic agriculture movement is a reaction to these changes.

The organic movement has a strong, well-developed ideology. Its value system emphasizes the use of appropriate technology and living in harmony with nature. Scholars have identified two major trends in organic agriculture. The first trend consists of producers and consumers who practice a strictly organic form of agriculture. The second consists of ecologically oriented producers who use both organic and standard farming practices.

The organic movement has members in all parts of the country. The National Organic Council has a large number of members on the east and west coasts, but there are also strong organic advocates in Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Texas. Organic farmers produce a broad range of crops. In addition to fruits

and vegetables, organic producers of poultry and even cotton have had some success in the marketplace.

Practitioners of organic agriculture are suspicious of the Cooperative Extension Service, which they view as primarily responsive to the interests of large-scale agriculture. Consequently, organic agriculture has tended to rely upon alternative sources of information. The Rodale Press and the Rodale Institute have been particularly influential.

The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) has shown some interest in organic methods of production. The extent of commitment to the organic industry has varied. After initial studies indicated that organic agriculture was economically and agriculturally viable, the organic industry was attacked by the chemical industry, which dismissed organic agriculturalists as "hobby farmers." This attack was followed by a decline in official interest. The continued growth of the organic industry and the willingness of consumers to pay a premium for organic produce, however, has led to a revival of government interest that has centered on the question of certification.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The Organic Trade Association supports the Organic Food Production Act of 1990. This act created a national Organic Standards Board to advise the USDA on the establishment of national certification standards. The first draft of the USDA certification rules was criticized for inclusion of a number of nonorganic practices. A second draft, designed to respond to some of these earlier criticisms, is currently under review.

The future of organic agriculture is relatively bright. It offers a survival strategy for small farmers who need to both reduce the cost of inputs and increase the price that can be charged for produce. Marketing difficulties

have led organic producers to develop their own marketing outlets, with extensive use being made of farmers markets and food cooperatives.

The development of the Organic Trade Association is part of this movement. It is similar to other commodity groups in structure although it is not funded through a commodity checkoff program.

Officially sanctioned commodities groups collect a fee on each unit of product sold, which is used for research and marketing. Although officially not used for political purposes, they help to create a stable financial base for an organization that can then collect other funds for political contributions. Furthermore, commodity checkoff money can be used for public information. For the most part, commodity checkoffs are not voluntary. They are legislatively mandated. Still, votes are held to authorize the checkoff.

The association has just entered the political arena. While it is a small organization with limited resources, it is operating in an environment in which there is a substantial amount of public support for its ideals. Consequently, the Organic Trade Association has a greater potential to be influential than might be first assumed.

Organic agriculture is here to stay; the question now is how large a niche in the food system it will occupy.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The Organic Trade Association does not have a national political action committee (PAC). However, it employs a part-time lobbyist in Washington, D.C. In 1997, the total value of organic products sold in the United States was \$4 billion. The sales of organic items have been growing rapidly, increasing by 20 percent per year for the last nine years.

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UNITED EGG ASSOCIATION

The United Egg Association (UEA) is actively involved in working with the United Egg Producers and other agricultural interests to promote the egg industry, enhance the quality of egg production, and stimulate exports of egg industry products. The United Egg Producers provides management for this alliance. The association is headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, and it maintains a government relations office in Washington, D.C.

HISTORY

The UEA is an alliance of three separate trade associations that are involved with processing, packaging, and providing other services to the egg industry. These organizations are the UEA Further Processors, the UEA Allied, and the UEA Producer/Packer. The UEA Further Processors was organized in 1984 as a trade association representing processors of eggs into egg products and manufacturers of liquid, dried, and frozen egg products. This trade group has a membership of approximately 35 firms. The UEA Allied, which was organized in January 1995 as a trade association, represents companies or individuals engaged in providing products, services, consulting, and information services to the egg industry but do not produce eggs or engage in the processing of eggs into egg products. Approximately 40 firms are members of this division. The UEA Producer/Packer, with approximately 10 members, was organized in September 1995 as a trade association to represent companies or individuals in the northeastern states that pack or produce eggs, but which do not qualify for membership in a Capper-Volstead Cooperative. The 1922 Capper-Volstead Act gave agricultural producers the right to market their products in interstate and foreign commerce.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

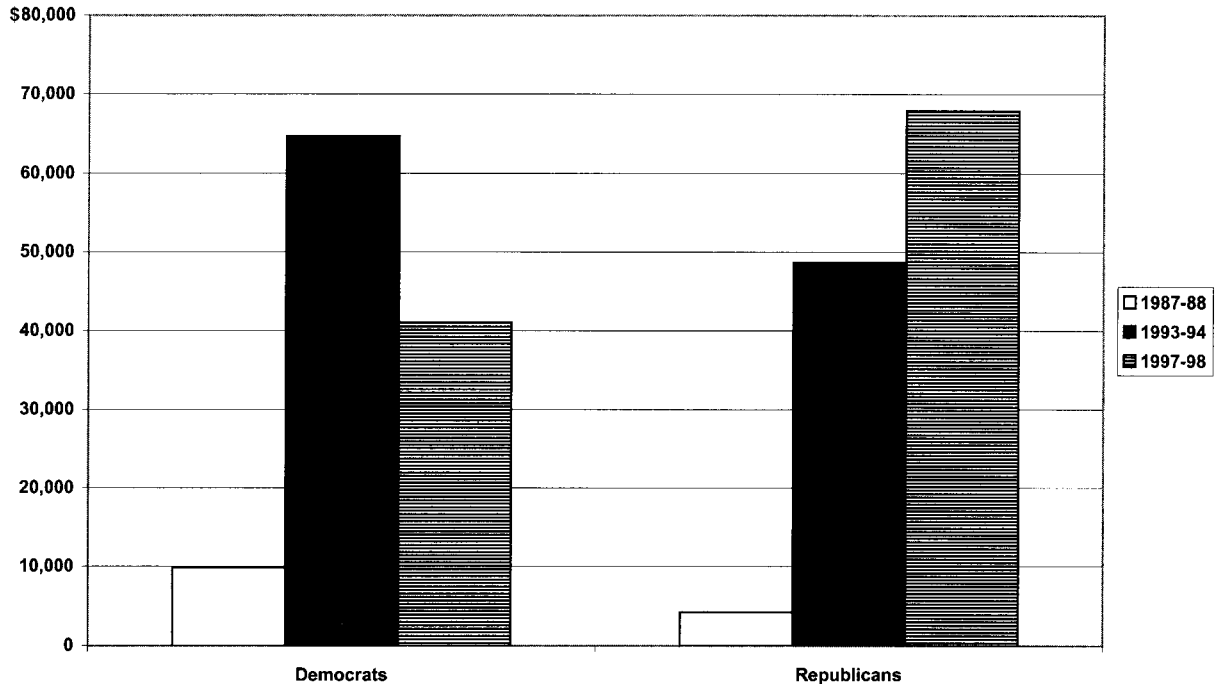
The UEA works closely with other agricultural interest groups to promote the egg industry, as well as “informed and reasonable” government regulation in the industry. As is the case for nearly all agricultural interest groups, the United Egg Association advocates an open trade policy, particularly in support of the International Monetary Fund’s assistance to the Asian markets, and the exemption of agricultural products from U.S. economic sanctions legislation.

The UEA supports appropriate environmental procedures and regulations and has been a participant with the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in their food manufacturing coalition to improve environmental quality and productivity in the food manufacturing industry. The UEA and United Egg Producers jointly hold an annual legislative conference in the spring in Washington, D.C. It maintains a Washington office that closely monitors proposed legislation on Capitol Hill, as well as the regulatory activities of the USDA, the EPA, and the Department of Commerce.

Members of the association are informed about market, regulatory, and legislative issues through the bi-weekly newsletter, *United Voices*. Partly as a result of its selective membership size, the UEA tends to ally itself with other agricultural and commercial organizations in areas of joint interest, particularly with respect to international trade, rather than to act independently on a broad range of issues on the legislative scene.

The incredible productivity of the U.S. egg industry suggests that there will be a prominent role for the UEA, with particular emphasis on its efforts to expand to foreign markets. The industry’s achievements in being proactive with respect to food safety, nutritional education, concern for animal welfare, and its capacity to police itself have given the association a

**United Egg Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

broader influence than its membership size would suggest.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The fact that the UEA is not involved in the direct production of eggs makes it difficult to accurately establish the association’s impact upon the total U.S. economy. In 1997–1998, association contributions to congressional candidates through its political action committee, EggPAC, totaled \$109,000. This sum is a considerable increase from the 1989–1990 total of \$28,250. EggPAC, which includes both the UEA and the United Egg Producers, set a goal of raising \$75,000 during 1999, of which the UEA’s share is \$10,000. EggPAC contributions usually go to incumbents and members of relevant agricultural committees.

Overall, the partisan pattern of contributions was heavily affected by the 1994 shift to Republican control of Congress. In 1989–1990, incumbents received 100 percent of the EggPAC funds, of which Democrats

garnered 53 percent. In 1997–1998, Republicans received 62 percent of the total contributions. As expected, EggPAC’s interest is higher in the larger and more numerous committees in the House of Representatives, whose members received 80 percent of allocated EggPAC funds. In 1997–1998, 73 candidates received contributions—16 Senate candidates and 57 House candidates. The size of the contributions ranged generally from \$500 to \$2,000. Two House members, however, received significantly larger contributions totaling \$10,000 each. In 1989–1990, only 36 candidates received political action committee allocations from the UEA.

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SECTION SIX

ENVIRONMENT



The environment is the backdrop of virtually every area of human endeavor and activity. Yet, certain activities are more central to the topic of environmental concerns than others. The needs and use of natural resources in the more intensive resource extraction industries, such as mining, logging, and timber usage, are areas of concern in the environmental arena. The impact of huge population concentrations, particularly in terms of water and air pollution, creates environmental stress. Finally the impact of the activities of humans on other species, both directly through harvesting for use and indirectly through destruction of habitats, generate disputes.

The interest groups that operate in the environmental arena vary in their stances toward the public policy process and the institutions and individuals in it. Some are deeply involved in direct lobbying and negotiating, while others are very suspicious of all traditional sources of power and wealth and view those who compromise on environmental issues as the enemy. Some environmental groups predate the modern environmental movement by many years, while others have been organized since the first Earth Day, in 1970. Few environmental groups are or have political action committees (PACs). Most are officially nonpartisan. All of the groups depend on membership for their financing, but some also depend on contributions from foundations and others provide services and products that help pay their costs.

The most sweeping current concern of the environmental movement is global warming. The claim that increases in carbon dioxide are warming the earth's atmosphere is cited by environmentalists as a reason to regulate carbon dioxide emissions and for the need to protect forests to counteract emissions. The new field of genetic engineering has generated issues concerning possible harm from the introduction of hybrid plants and animals into the environment. Urban sprawl—the

spread of urban and suburban development over wider and wider areas of surrounding countryside—has recently received increased attention. Environmentalists argue that this trend threatens to destroy important ecosystems.

The target of much of the activity of environmental groups includes such agencies as the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Interior Department, as would be expected. But the Commerce Department, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and many other agencies are also lobbied because of the effects of their activities on the environment and their ability to regulate private activity.

AREAS OF INTEREST

In the aftermath of the great depression and the Second World War, Americans were interested in economic growth and the enjoyment of material prosperity. The growing use of chemicals, the expansion of cities and suburbs, the explosion in the number of automobiles, the construction of many miles of new roads, and numerous other activities that cause environmental stress were undertaken at an accelerated pace. Moreover, the development of nuclear weapons demonstrated mankind's power to destroy, and the warnings of environmental dangers by authors such as Rachel Carson, Fairfield Osborn, and Paul Erlich affected the public. Events in the 1960s eroded the public's faith in government, industry, and science, preparing the way for a shift in attitudes and beliefs. The year 1969 proved pivotal and marks the beginning of the modern environmental movement. An oil spill in Santa Barbara gained national publicity and symbolized the destruction of natural beauty and precious resources by pollution. Eleven tons of salmon were seized in Wisconsin and Minnesota be-

cause they contained excessive concentrations of the pesticide DDT, demonstrating the threat to public health by chemical pollution. In Cleveland, an oil slick on a section of the Cuyahoga River briefly burned, symbolizing a degree of pollution so severe that a river could catch fire. The first Earth Day in April 1970 proved a dramatic success. The participation and publicity were so great that they propelled the environmental movement into a prominent place in the public's consciousness. In the wake of that Earth Day, traditional conservation groups gained influence, an entire new generation of groups formed, and old environmental laws were strengthened, while new ones were passed. The Clean Air Act was toughened in 1970 with regulation of many more pollutants. The EPA was also established in 1970, and environmental-impact statements were required by the same law. The Clean Water Act was passed in 1972, and others, such as the 1973 Endangered Species Act, followed.

Successful social movements generate reactions, and the environmental movement soon caused a backlash. In the late 1970s, conservatives, along with managers and workers in affected industries, formed a loose coalition called the "wise use" movement. The energy shortages and economic crises of the decade eroded some support for further gains. When Ronald Reagan was elected president in 1980 this antienvironmental movement gained a powerful ally who took steps to curb or roll back environmental regulation. However, President Reagan was only partly successful. With his election, a group of the largest environmental organizations formed the Group of Ten to coordinate a response to Reagan's policies. By the 1980s, most Americans were broadly supportive of environmental values, and Reagan was not able to undo many environmental regulations then in place.

The 1990s were a time of mixed results for the environmental movement. The decade began with the attempt by President George Bush's administration to balance economic concerns with environmental issues—typically coming out on the side of business interests. President Bill Clinton's administration offered more promise, but its focus on developing a strong economy often led to compromises over environmental policy. When Republicans gained control of Congress in the 1994 elections, the environmental movement was put on the defensive, protecting old gains rather than seeking new ones. Membership in environmental groups also experienced ups and downs during this period. The 1980s were a boom time for environmental groups, as sympathetic citizens were frightened by the Reagan administration, but the economic downturn of the early

1990s and the election of a Democratic administration slowed, and even reversed, membership growth. The environmental movement approaches the next decade in a strong, but uncertain, position.

Current Social Context

Most surveys show the public strongly supports environmental values. The news media are also generally supportive of environmentalism. Schools include in their curriculums units and exercises designed to teach environmental lessons to children. Many communities, businesses, and institutions now routinely have recycling programs. Environmentalism is part of a broader concern for maximizing the health and safety of society that has become part of American culture in the post-Second World War era. Yet, other elements of the culture work against environmentalism. Americans remain very materialistic. Environmentalists still run into resistance when they propose major changes in lifestyles that would interfere with the enjoyment of the material abundance of the culture. Trends such as urban sprawl—a target of concern among environmentalists—are testimonies to the desire of Americans for "the good life." Many Westerners find the restrictions proposed and enforced by environmentalism to be harmful to a consumer-oriented way of life. Business interests—and the adherents of capitalism who support them—feel that environmentalism harms the free market system without providing sufficient benefits.

Current Economic Context

The American economy of the mid-to-late 1990s has enjoyed a long run of prosperity. Businesses can better afford to implement environmentally sound innovations in products and production processes, and workers are more secure in their jobs and feel less of a threat from environmental regulations. Consumers do not find the cost increases or inconveniences created by some environmental regulations especially burdensome. The budget surpluses enjoyed by the federal government reduce pressures to cut back on programs and personnel.

At the same time, other trends are working against environmentalists. American consumption is running at record rates, and some specific trends are reversing gains of the past. Urban sprawl is accelerated by a heated economy. The love affair of American drivers with sport utility vehicles, and the rapidly increasing number of miles driven, are expanding fuel consumption, vehicle production, and pollution.

In the international economy, the desire to increase development has pushed environmental concerns to the background in many countries and led to environmentally unsound policies by international development agencies. Trade agreements frequently permit multinational corporations to avoid pollution restrictions on production facilities. Environmental groups are increasingly attempting to reverse powerful negative trends and forces that are generated by the understandable desire of those in less-developed economies for a better life.

Current Political Context

Environmentalists were often on the defensive in the 1990s. Early in the decade, recession and a Republican administration that was not committed to environmental values forced environmentalists to depend heavily on the Democratic Congress to preserve the laws and regulations that were in place, and gains were out of the question. President Clinton's victory in the 1992 election offered hope for a reversal of the trend, but he was concerned with economic development and was on the defensive himself after his first two years in office. When Republicans gained control of Congress in 1994, accompanied by a "Contract with America" that promised to drastically reduce federal regulation, the threat to environmentalism reached a peak. Republicans stalled further progress in environmental regulation, but they did not succeed in their more ambitious goals. The House passed many of the changes called for in the Contract, but the Senate often refused to go along or watered down the changes. The American public was not as hostile to environmental values as the Republican leadership or the House Republican rank and file.

As the decade wound down, the trends were mixed. Environmentalists continue to find their lobbying efforts and fund-raising ability overmatched by big business. In addition, the wise use movement has demonstrated a capacity for organizing and bringing pressure on government officials that weakens the environmentalists' one-time near-monopoly on public action.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

The 1990s were a decade of relatively slow growth for environmental groups. The explosion of membership that followed the election of President Ronald Reagan, with his perceived threat to environmental values, was followed by a period of anxiety and lowered enthusiasm. The trend of growth during times of heightened danger,

and stagnation when signals are less clear, is common for public interest groups.

The environmental movement can be divided into mainstream and radical wings. Mainstream groups negotiate with politicians, bureaucrats, and even leaders of interests to which they are opposed. These groups are pragmatic and moderate. Some mainstream groups, such as the Audubon Society, the Sierra Club, the National Wildlife Federation, and the Izaak Walton League, were formed earlier in the twentieth century, with a narrow perspective to achieve very specific goals. The Sierra Club was founded to preserve the Sierra Nevada mountains. The National Wildlife Federation was founded by sportsmen who wanted to protect wildlife habitats in order to enjoy hunting, as well as to promote preservationist values. The Izaak Walton League was formed to protect fish and wildlife habitats for fishing and hunting. These organizations have broadened their focuses over the years and now emphasize environmental values and political ends. However, they still depend on interest in their original goals to maintain their membership.

The groups in the radical wing are products of the modern environmental movement. They are hostile to established authority of any sort. They believe that success for the environmental movement requires a complete change in lifestyles. Rather than compromising with authority, these groups wish to defeat it. Their tactics involve confrontation, civil disobedience, and, for the most extreme, violence against property. Such organizations as Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, and the Rainforest Action Network depend heavily on an activist, committed membership. They often consist of several small local groups linked through an umbrella organization.

Groups in the environmental movement must depend primarily on membership dues, contributions, and institutional support. Within this pattern there is great variability. The National Wildlife Federation has a series of very successful publications that help it raise funds and membership. Many of the groups depend, at least in part, on foundation grants. The trend in the 1990s has been for groups to reduce such dependence because of the perception it creates of reliance on important interests and because of the instability of such support. The League of Conservation Voters is the only political action committee (PAC) among the environmental groups, though the Sierra Club has an affiliated PAC.

CURRENT ISSUES

Legislation

The 1990s were an era of trying to hold ground, rather than expanding power, for environmental groups. The groups found themselves fighting for increased funding for existing programs. There were certain issues that led to calls for legislation, including proposals for U.S. participation in international environmental treaties, funding for less-developed nations to help them develop without destroying their environments, and restrictions in trade agreements to protect the environment. Urban sprawl and genetically engineered plants and animals are two recent areas of concern that might generate new legislation.

On the other hand, environmentalists find themselves fighting with new approaches against proposals to weaken environmental regulations. One such type of approach, proposed by the property rights wing of the anti-environment movement, has been trying to weaken regulations through takings legislation in the states and at the national level. Takings legislation is designed to block the ability of regulators charged with enforcing environmental laws from requiring that owners of private property comply with the regulations.

Regulations

There is great variety in how environmental groups approach regulation. The Environmental Defense Fund is noted for proposing free-market solutions to regulatory issues, whereas many groups reject such solutions for more traditional restrictions. The movement lost a battle to change the law on grazing and mining rights on federal land when western senators blocked changes proposed by Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt. Other areas of regulation, including those affecting logging, wetlands, and many other areas, have been given attention by environmental groups.

Government Policy

Trade policies, particularly those that involve the exploitation of natural resources or threaten to weaken the enforcement of environmental laws, are a subject of activity by environmental groups. These groups have also lobbied the government to support strong regulations in international treaties on whaling, fishing, control of carbon dioxide emissions, and other environmental concerns.

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

The basic approach of the environmental movement became part of mainstream American values in the 1970s, and the movement succeeded in many of its policy goals. The consequence was that mainstream groups found they had to switch from policy development to policy oversight and protection. This change required more political sophistication, inside tactics, and a more stable organizational structure. These changes have been reflected in the activities of the mainstream groups.

Lobbying

The League of Conservation Voters (LCV), which is a PAC supported by several environmental groups, has raised and spent several million dollars to support and oppose candidates since its formation in 1970. The Sierra Club Political Committee is the PAC affiliated with that organization. Although this PAC has not been as active as the LCV, it has provided significant contributions to candidates, mostly Democrats. These PACs are exceptions to the rule that environmental groups stay out of electoral politics in order to retain their tax status.

The environment is an area of public policy that demands a command of information and scientific evidence if a group is to have credibility. Environmental groups include scientific experts on their staffs who can produce reports that back up testimony, direct conversations, and influence the shaping and critiquing of legislation. Many interest groups also use letter and e-mail campaigns generated by communications with their members to affect legislative outcomes. The effectiveness of such campaigns is always open to question, but they allow members to participate and keep a mechanism in place that can prove extremely effective under certain circumstances.

Agencies

The relationships between government agencies and environmental groups range from confrontation to infiltration. This range can be illustrated by the fact that James Watt, President Reagan's secretary of the interior, made a career out of fighting the staff of his own department on behalf of industry clients, while Bruce Babbitt, President Clinton's secretary of the interior, is a past president of the LCV. Environmental groups keep close watch on the implementation of environmental laws by executive branch agencies, provide comment

on proposed regulations, and attempt to generate mail and participation at hearings by members of their groups. They have also used regulations to achieve ulterior ends. One example of this tactic was the use of the fact that the spotted owl was on the Endangered Species List to slow or stop logging in old-growth forests in the West.

Litigation

The Environmental Defense Fund was formed to litigate environmental issues. Other mainline groups have taken advantage of provisions in environmental laws passed by Congress that permit private groups to sue agencies they believe are not properly enforcing legislation. Environmental groups have also supported agencies when they have been sued by antienvironmental interests. A loss in one recent case involved a decision by a Federal District Court that the EPA had overstepped its authority when it wrote regulations incorporating new air pollution standards. The case is bound to be appealed, and supportive environmental groups will, no doubt, file *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs in the case.

Coalition Building

Mainline environmental groups regularly engage in building coalitions among themselves and with other groups. To enhance the efficiency of these coalitions, the groups develop specialties in which they take the lead. For example, the Sierra Club tends to take the lead on oil pollution issues, while the Environmental Defense Fund is the lead group on air pollution, and the Audubon Society on wildlife issues.

Activities Aimed at the Public

Communication with members and the public is an important part of the activities of any membership group. Most, if not all, environmental groups maintain a web page and some sort of e-mail communications network today. These sites are used to educate, organize, sell products, take surveys, encourage the sending of correspondence to public officials, and recruit members. The groups that depend most heavily on activists use their web sites for organizing and mobilizing their members.

More traditional methods of educating the public, such as journal and book publication, are also common among environmental groups. Those groups that are long established are particularly likely to have mag-

azines with wide circulation. Some groups use techniques that depend upon their specialization, such as summer camps sponsored by the Audubon Society that are used to educate the participants in the values of the organization.

The radical groups depend heavily on their members. These groups organize protests and demonstrations. The strategy of such groups that has achieved perhaps the most publicity is the use of the ship *Rainbow Warrior* by Greenpeace to interfere with whaling, nuclear testing, and the shipping of old-growth lumber. The most radical groups, denounced by others, use destruction of property, such as putting sand in the gas tanks of logging trucks, to achieve their ends.

CONCLUSION

The environmental movement is now a permanent part of the political and social landscape of America. Many of the groups in the movement have survived for long periods of time, and recent events suggest that environmental values are deeply embedded in American culture. However, this does not mean the environmentalists win every battle. Environmentalism is an issue so broad and deep that it is the basis for the creation of political parties in some democracies.

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ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND

The Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) is a 300,000-member organization that focuses on issues dealing with toxic chemicals, wetlands, water quality, and power generation. The EDF—founded in 1967 and headquartered in New York City—utilizes various strategies to achieve its ends, including lobbying, litigation, and publicity via press reports and the Internet. It also conducts extensive research aimed at both analyzing environmental problems and developing scientific solutions to them. Considered a mainstream and even conservative environmental group by some—especially in comparison to direct-action organizations like Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth—the EDF has come to increasingly support free-market solutions to environmental problems in recent years.

HISTORY

The founding date of the EDF in 1967 is often used to mark the beginning of the transformation of the conservation movement into the present-day environmental movement. In 1966, Victor Yannacone Jr., an attorney who lived on Long Island, New York, brought suit to stop the Suffolk County Mosquito Control Commission from using the pesticide DDT for mosquito control. Yannacone received voluntary help from a group of concerned biologists. When he and his colleagues presented their case against DDT in court, the judge ordered an injunction against its use. This incident demonstrated that the courts could be used as a public forum for environmental issues. Yannacone and his associates incorporated as the Environmental Defense Fund on October 6, 1967, and began a series of cases against the use of DDT. In 1972 a permanent, nationwide ban against DDT was established, which was one of the EDF's biggest victories.

Yannacone left the EDF within a year or two, after which the organization approached the Ford Foundation for funding in order to hire a permanent legal staff. The foundation was reluctant to fund such an effort, but eventually was persuaded by the success of another environmental group that used litigation as a strategy. This allowed the EDF to launch a membership drive and to hire more staff.

The subsequent history of the EDF has involved expanding its original focus and methods. Along with the campaign against DDT, early EDF efforts included lobbying for airborne lead standards in California in 1971, establishing national maximum limits on airborne levels of asbestos, mercury, and beryllium, and other efforts over the years to reduce airborne pollutants, toxic materials used on clothing, and water contaminants. In addition, the EDF has pushed for cleaner energy sources, including the elimination of lead from gasoline.

A secondary effort that resulted from the original DDT issue was the protection of wildlife habitats, as it was discovered that the chemical also had adverse effects on animals. In one of its earliest efforts, the EDF worked on getting all hunted whales onto the endangered species list. In 1977, the group lobbied for eliminating the use of tuna fishing nets in order to reduce the number of dolphins drowning as a result of being caught in the nets. The EDF was part of an effort in 1995 that led to the reintroduction of gray wolves to their natural range in Wyoming and Idaho. Other such efforts have also been part of the EDF's activities.

In most of these efforts, the EDF formed coalitions with other environmental groups. However, the group has been successful in using its own unique strategy with increased frequency. This strategy involves a pragmatic approach to environmental issues that includes working with business. Unlike some other environmental

groups, the EDF is not afraid to be seen as friendly to business. In 1990, the EDF and McDonald's created a joint task force that resulted in McDonald's ceasing the use of foam hamburger boxes, along with other steps to cut waste. In 1993, the group joined with six large paper companies to examine paper purchasing practices. In 1998, the Alliance for Environmental Innovation, of which the EDF is part, and the United Parcel Service developed reusable express envelopes. The EDF has also demonstrated its pragmatic approach by advocating market solutions to a number of environmental issues over the years.

At the same time, the group's scientific expertise has grown. The EDF has been able to write laws and file lawsuits on behalf of its interests on many issues by using a battery of scientists and the research they produce to bolster its position. The group has also depended on its economists to make arguments concerning the efficiency of environmentally friendly manufacturing and business practices.

The EDF used a Ford Foundation grant to sustain its development early on and it continues to depend on institutional support for part of its funds. However, the group's membership has grown over the years. In 1970, the organization had 11,000 members. By 1980, its membership had grown to 46,000 and by 1990, it had 150,000 members. During the 1990s, membership in the EDF doubled to 300,000. Over the years, regional offices have opened in Colorado, California, Texas, and other states. The EDF, like most interest groups, recognized the importance of national government in environmental policy-making, and therefore opened an office in Washington, D.C., early in its existence, in 1970.

The EDF is a pragmatic, mainstream environmental organization that would seem to be well-positioned to have a strong role in environmental issues in the future. Its major weakness may be its dependence on institutional support. Around 30 percent of its annual funding is institutional; such funding is always subject to changing priorities and trends. In addition, the EDF has constantly expanded its interests. The use of legal strategy for environmental groups has grown more difficult as the judiciary has been populated with conservative judges, but it has become more essential as the list of laws to be protected has increased and become more complex. While it is possible that the reach of the group could exceed its grasp as it continues to broaden its interests, there is currently no sign that this is happening.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The EDF began as an organization that used litigation to influence outcomes. As a natural outgrowth, the group took an interest in the passage, expansion, and renewal of environmental laws. The organization began as a group committed to litigating suits against corporate polluters; however, its focus has diversified over the years. While it still uses litigation as one of its strategies, the EDF is now a full-service organization that lobbies Congress and state legislatures. In recent years, the EDF has developed a network of grassroots lobbying strategies. By using the Internet and other methods of communication, the group mobilizes its membership to influence legislative outcomes, referendums, and administrative decisions.

The EDF pursues a strategy of developing solutions to environmental problems that use free-market incentives when possible. The organization is more likely than other groups to seek cooperation, rather than confrontation, with businesses and private property owners. For example, the EDF has proposed a modification to the application of the Endangered Species Act that encourages private land owners to set aside habitats on their land by allowing the land owner to later modify the land, if they so desire. This reduces the incentive for private landholders to eliminate a habitat before it is declared protected so they will not lose control of their property.

The EDF has a staff of 170, including 75 scientists and lawyers. These experts are organized into teams that work on various issues such as air quality, toxic wastes, and energy issues. The teams develop solutions to problems that are pragmatic, and therefore have the promise of gaining acceptance from industry and other affected individuals. A number of these efforts involve cooperative efforts with businesses and political entities. For example, negotiations and collaboration between EDF experts and the McDonald's professional staff resulted in a plan for McDonald's to cut waste. The EDF and the Pew Charitable Trusts have created the Alliance for Environmental Innovation to create model manufacturing and business practices for businesses to adopt. In addition, the EDF is part of the Partnership for Regulatory Innovation and Sustainable Manufacturing (PRISM), which has developed a model alternative regulatory system for vehicle manufacturing. The group is also part of the Paper Task Force, a group of paper buyers and sellers trying to purchase more environmentally preferable paper.

As with many environmental groups, there is an emphasis on public education as an element of the activities of the organization. However, the EDF also depends heavily on its own expertise. The group uses its professional credentials to promote knowledge and distribute information designed to make people more aware of environmental hazards. For example, the EDF web site currently includes interactive features that allow an individual to determine the major sources of pollution in his or her community. Another interactive page allows users to determine the sources of electric power generation in their communities. Other pages on the site present information on global warming. The EDF also developed an environmental sustainability kit, which includes resources and information that can be used by local leaders, presidents, and businesses to make their communities more environmentally sustainable. The EDF does not seek a hostile relationship with businesses or political leaders; instead, it encourages cooperation with and among such entities.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The EDF is registered by the Internal Revenue Service as a non-profit organization. The organization does not make political action committee (PAC) contributions to the campaigns of government officials. In 1998, the organization had total receipts of \$27.8 million. About half a percent of the organization's revenues are derived from membership and contributions, 29 percent from foundation grants, and 4 percent from government grants. Program services accounted for 78 percent of the organization's \$24 million budget; fund raising accounted for 13 percent; membership maintenance accounted for 5 percent; and administration accounted for 4 percent.

FRANK CODISPOTI

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Environmental Defense Fund: www.edf.org

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FRIENDS OF THE EARTH

Friends of the Earth endorses a radical environmentalism that opposes technological growth as dangerous for an already overtaxed ecological system. Friends of the Earth has always been an organization that takes a position opposed to all of the traditional sources of political and economic power. As an outgrowth of this position, Friends of the Earth depends on grassroots organizing and action. This stance leads the organization and its 35,000 members to be wary of any activity that can be portrayed as compromise. Friends of the Earth would rather put pressure from outside on government and business in order to change their actions. Opposition to technological change and economic development is a key element of its focus in these efforts. Friends of the Earth joined with Taxpayers for Common Sense and the Public Interest Research Group five years ago in a campaign to oppose federally funded projects that they believed were wasteful, beneficial to the wealthy and powerful at the expense of the average citizen, and harmful to the environment. The campaign targets numerous developmental projects and subsidy programs. It is typical of Friends of the Earth's approach in that it is a sweeping, comprehensive proposal that puts Friends of the Earth and its allies in opposition to many important industries, federal agencies, and state and local governments.

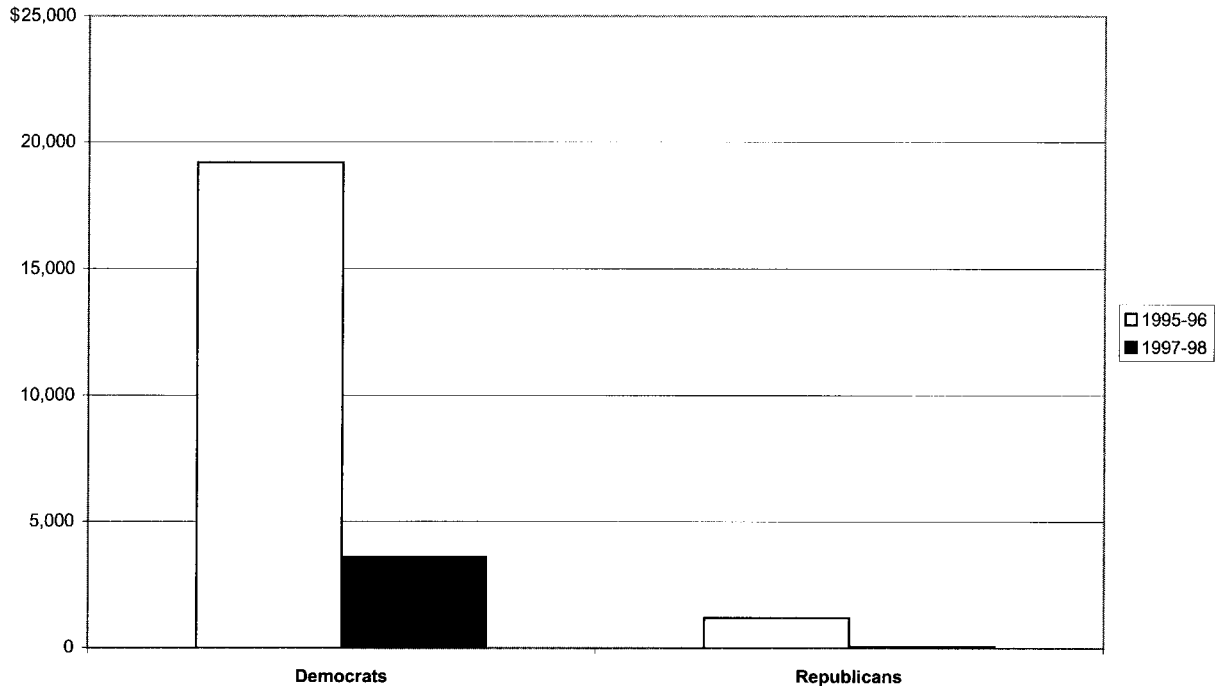
Friends of the Earth also maintains efforts on its own to block government projects. It publicly opposed the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, a \$2 billion channel built by the Army Corps of Engineers, which provides a shortcut for barges carrying coal from fields in Tennessee to the port of Mobile, Alabama. The group also opposed U.S. government support for the building of a pipeline through the Amazon forest, and lists 50 road construction projects it believes are particular threats to the environment.

HISTORY

The history of Friends of the Earth is one of conflict, division, and struggle. It was formed in 1969 by David Brower, after he left his post as executive director of the Sierra Club. Brower was an advocate of grassroots activism and a believer in deep ecology, a radical ideological viewpoint that is based on the claim that humans are part of nature and need to learn to live with nature, and not attempt to control it. He was less interested in the insider game of lobbying and bargaining with public officials and businesses, for fear that his organization would abandon its principles for the sake of compromise. Brower does not generally trust authority. The approach he favors requires expansive campaigns, but Brower eschews fund-raising activities for support for fear of limiting the organization's freedom. When Brower came into conflict with the more pragmatic elements of the Sierra Club and lost a key vote of the board, he left the organization and formed Friends of the Earth.

Brower put the headquarters of Friends of the Earth in San Francisco. He believed in keeping the national office as far away from Washington, D.C., as possible and the insider game of politics. From its inception, Friends of the Earth struggled for funds and direction. In 1970, the organization reported having 6,000 members. Brower wanted the organization to take an international approach and to identify with Third World countries and peoples. At the same time, Friends of the Earth had a large professional staff that was more oriented toward policy research and development and legislative advocacy. The tension between the staff orientation and the goals set by Brower was never really resolved, and the Washington professional staff left Friends of the Earth in 1972 and formed the Environmental Policy Institute.

**Friends of the Earth
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1995–1998.

Friends of the Earth also spawned another organization, the League of Conservation Voters. The creation of the league did not arise out of conflict within Friends of the Earth, but was the result of an idea by Marion Edey, a congressional staff aide, for an electoral arm for the environmental movement. Edey was referred to Brower by Lloyd Tuppling, a lobbyist for the Sierra Club. Brower gave Edey space in the Washington offices of Friends of the Earth. From that beginning the league was built into an independent organization that continues to operate today.

During the 1970s, Friends of the Earth tried to develop new themes, create new coalitions, and take on new environmental issues in an effort to overcome its problems. It managed to gain publicity for its fight against nuclear energy when Ralph Nader endorsed the group's efforts, symbolized by his appearance as the main speaker at a press conference announcing the intention of Friends of the Earth to file a lawsuit against the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The organization used its internal publication, *Not Man Apart*, to transmit its agenda and encourage activism among its members. Friends of the Earth also developed a more international

focus for its activities, creating autonomous chapters in other countries.

Friends of the Earth continued to suffer from internal divisions, between its radical stance and its professional lobbying structure, into the 1980s. The battles came to a head in 1984 in a bitter internal struggle that caused Brower to leave. By that time, the membership of the organization stood at 30,000. After that final schism, Friends of the Earth underwent a series of mergers. In 1989 it merged with the group it had spawned in 1972, the Environmental Policy Institute. In 1990, Friends of the Earth also merged with the Oceanic Society. This helped to push the membership of the Friends of the Earth, which had dropped to 9,000 in five years, to 50,000 by 1992.

Friends of the Earth spent the 1990s recovering from the internal conflicts of the previous years. During that time it had to reduce its debt while its membership remained stable. It has continued to develop its international focus and its stance as a group that favors a shift in the basic assumptions of economic development. Friends of the Earth also continues its promotion of local activism, including a project aimed at molding the future of Washington, D.C.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

While Friends of the Earth occasionally joins other groups in lobbying Congress, it usually relies heavily on encouraging citizen activity, rather than playing an insider game of lobbying and negotiation. This approach fits with the outsider and purist ideology of the group. Friends of the Earth provides information for local groups on how to engage in grassroots organizing, to identify issues and projects, and to carry out public actions against government and private projects perceived as environmentally dangerous. The tactics suggested by the group for such organizations are those that put pressure on opponents, while strengthening the organization. The instructions from Friends of the Earth also suggest that the tactics used by a group should be aimed at the news media so as to spread the group's message to the broader public.

Friends of the Earth's educational approach suggests the desire of the group to stimulate grassroots activity. Friends of the Earth publishes a newsletter entitled *Close to Home*, which contains reports on the actions of local and state activists and gives its readers information on contacts, web sites, and training opportunities. This is in addition to the *Friends of the Earth Newsmagazine*, which goes to members and combines information on issues with recommendations for action by local groups.

Friends of the Earth also encourages activism in other ways. In 1998, Friends of the Earth created the Road Warrior award. This award recognizes successful efforts to block the building or expansion of roads that would facilitate industrial or residential expansion that the group believes would be environmentally harmful, or whose construction would be environmentally destructive. The recipient of the award is chosen by a panel with representatives from other environmental groups, but it is clearly a project of Friends of the Earth.

Opposition to Policies of International Financial Institutions

Friends of the Earth has a more international focus than many environmental groups. The organization has targeted the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO) for policies it believes are environmentally dangerous. Friends of the Earth has run public relations campaigns, joined in lobbying campaigns, and stimulated grassroots actions against projects, funding, and

trade agreements that it evaluated as damaging to the environment. The basic goal of Friends of the Earth is to scale back traditional development and economic activities to the greatest extent possible and replace them with activities that are less dependent on modern technology, extensive energy requirements, or land development. Friends of the Earth portrays itself as fighting for the health, welfare, and rights of the weak and poor over the wealthy and powerful. The organization was one of a large number of groups in the United States and in other countries that opposed a proposed multilateral agreement on investment that the groups said would have allowed corporations to bypass national and local environmental regulations. Friends of the Earth also worked for the creation of an inspection panel at the World Bank to review development projects for their environmental impact and for their effects on local populations. The organization is a strong critic of the policies of the IMF, which it accuses of weakening environmental protection in developing countries and sacrificing the health and welfare of indigenous populations. Friends of the Earth accuses the IMF of following policies that are claimed to be necessary for the health of the free enterprise system but which benefit multilateral corporations most. The Friends of the Earth has also targeted the activities of specific corporations in the developing world by organizing and participating in campaigns against them. In an attempt to affect the national and international economy more generally, the Friends of the Earth has an educational program designed to encourage investors to force their pension plan administrators to invest in an environmentally "responsible" manner.

The Washington, D.C., Project

The *D.C. Environmental Agenda 99* project is one involving Friends of the Earth that reflects its philosophy and activities. Thirteen local and national organizations are involved in developing and promoting a series of goals for the government of Washington, D.C., relating to parks, rivers, trash and garbage control, transportation, and economic development. The theme of the proposals is to shape the city in ways that are consistent with the environmental vision of the member organizations.

Friends of the Earth gives the report of this initiative more coverage on its web site than other national organizations named as members of the coalition, suggesting that Friends of the Earth commits more energy to this project.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1998, Friends of the Earth had total receipts of \$3 million. The two leading sources of receipts were foundations, members, and gifts. Foundation support accounted for about 72 percent of the organization's contributions, whereas members and gifts accounted for

about 24 percent of the organization's contributions. In 1998, Friends of the Earth had a budget of \$3.4 million. About 76 percent of the organization's budget was devoted to programs.

FRANK CODISPOTI

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Friends of the Earth: www.foe.org



GREENPEACE

Greenpeace, with its 500,000 members in the United States, is an organization of deep-ecology activists; these are activists that believe that humans are a part of nature, and should therefore not attempt to control it. Members focus their activities on controlling toxic materials, stopping overfishing of the oceans, preserving forests, and meeting threats to the world's climate. Although this entry focuses on Greenpeace in the United States, the organization is part of a much larger international one that has offices in 27 countries and 5 million members worldwide. Greenpeace divides its concerns among four general areas: the earth's climate, primarily global warming; the protection of old-growth (or mature) forests; threats to the oceans; and the production, use, and disposal of toxic substances.

HISTORY

The early history of Greenpeace set the stage for the subsequent philosophy and activities of the organization. In 1969, three members of the British Columbia chapter of the Sierra Club, James Bohlen, Irving Stowe, and Paul Cote, became discouraged over the Sierra Club's failure to protest the testing of nuclear weapons. The men started the *Don't Make a Wave* committee, named in reference to concerns that underground tests at Amchitka Island might create tidal waves or contribute to seismic activity. Inspired by Quaker-sponsored ships that had protested nuclear tests by sailing into the test zones, the committee members decided to sail a ship into the Amchitka test zone. It took two years for them to obtain a ship and captain, and their voyage never reached its destination, but the experience was a publicity success. They had been given good wishes by the Canadian prime minister. The group was inspired to try again. Their first ship had been stopped by the U.S. Coast Guard, so they tried again with another ship. That

ship was forced back from its attempts several times by high winds and was 700 miles from Amchitka when the nuclear test was conducted. Each ship had been renamed the *Greenpeace*, and the name became the name of the group.

The tactic of disrupting actions that the group found objectionable was applied to whaling and the killing of Newfoundland seal pups. In 1975, Greenpeace began to focus on the Russian and Japanese whaling fleets. The organization confronted a Soviet whaling fleet while debates were going on at a meeting of the International Whaling Commission. A Greenpeace vessel managed to successfully place itself between a ship of the Soviet whaling fleet and its intended targets. Eventually the Soviet ship left the area and Greenpeace considered itself successful.

The group also sailed to Newfoundland and tried to interfere with the killing of seal pups. That expedition was dramatic, but less successful. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police assisted the seal fleets and stopped the Greenpeace operation. The group has used various methods of interfering with actions of those they oppose and of dramatizing their position. Greenpeace has climbed smokestacks, interfered with ships, and engaged in other confrontational actions.

The philosophy of Greenpeace was outlined in 1976 in terms of three "laws of ecology." These statements claim that all forms of life are interdependent. The consequence of this principle is that the destruction of any species can have catastrophic effects for many others, including humans. The second "law" is that the stability of an ecosystem depends on its diversity. The implication of this is that activities that reduce the diversity of an environment, such as the clear-cutting of a diverse stand of trees and replacing it with all trees of one type, creates a system that is more susceptible to being completely destroyed by a single disease or pest. Finally, Greenpeace argues that all resources are finite, and the use of resources by humans must be limited. Greenpeace places little faith in technological solutions to scarcity.

By 1977, Greenpeace was a very active organization, but the type of internal bickering that is common to highly committed organizations and the use of the “Greenpeace” name by numerous unaffiliated groups threatened to cause the collapse of the organization. The Canadian, U.S., and European groups agreed to form an umbrella organization headquartered in Amsterdam. Greenpeace also undertook an aggressive direct-mail campaign and even mounted a door-to-door campaign. At about the same time, the organization rejected proposals for a violent campaign. Paul Watson, the leader of those who wanted such a campaign, and his followers were forced to leave Greenpeace and formed the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society.

The aggressive direct-mail campaign and concerns among supporters of the environmental movement about conservative political victories led to a dramatic growth in membership. By the early 1990s, Greenpeace had a membership of around 2 million. However, the costs of direct-mail campaigns and the instability of the membership created by the process prompted the leadership of Greenpeace to reduce its efforts. This led to a drop in membership during the last decade. Greenpeace remains an activist organization with a militant, but nonviolent, approach.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Greenpeace has relied a great deal on direct action, including many acts of civil disobedience, rather than lobbying. As with many of the deep-ecology groups, Greenpeace tends to be suspicious of close working relationships with those in the political system. However, the organization watches the legislative process in Washington and across the country and routinely exhorts its members to send letters, e-mail messages, and faxes to legislators. Greenpeace’s web site contains numerous such suggestions. Recently, Greenpeace has increased its lobbying activities, including extensive lobbying in the European Union nations as they consider continent-wide environmental rules.

Direct Action

While the international Greenpeace has recently increased its lobbying in the European Union as the latter considers environmental rules, the organization is best known for its direct-action approach to political activ-

ity. Greenpeace routinely mounts demonstrations, marches, and other acts of civil disobedience in support of its causes. On September 22, 1998, climbers from Greenpeace placed a banner opposing old-growth forest products on a tower overlooking Niagara Falls. Other members of the group climbed on the anchor chain and other parts of a whaling vessel in Japan to delay its departure from port. In October 1998, Greenpeace’s ship, the *Rainbow Warrior*, confronted a freighter bringing lumber from old-growth forests to Long Beach, California. Through several hours of activity, the group attempted to prevent the unloading of the lumber. Another confrontation took place when other members of Greenpeace interrupted a meeting of wood producers. All of these actions demonstrate the multiple aims of Greenpeace’s activities—stopping or slowing activities the group perceives as damaging to the environment, bringing attention to an issue, and gaining publicity for Greenpeace. Additionally, these actions become a recruiting tool for individuals who are likely to be attracted by passion for the cause or the sense of adventure involved in these types of actions. Greenpeace even involved children in its actions when it sponsored a gathering of youth in Canada to protest the clear-cutting of old-growth forests. The children had painted posters that were hung in the forest.

Educational Activities

Greenpeace engages in the writing and publishing of numerous reports and fact sheets to support its positions, to inform local activists, and to use in conjunction with its media events. The organization lists 14 publications on its web site concerning the earth’s climate and what the organization considers to be potential solutions to the problems it identifies. A similar set of publications exists on forests, toxic chemicals, nuclear energy, and oceans. Greenpeace has also written several publications taking a strong stance against genetic alteration of crops. Greenpeace serves as a source of information for local activist groups. For example, its information on waste water has helped such groups in opposing waste sites.

Greenpeace remains a well-known environmental organization that has successfully adopted an international pattern of organization and activity. The organization recently noted that it had spent 25 years fighting whaling practices. It is perhaps significant that as of this date, Greenpeace has said nothing on its web site about the gray whale kill by members of the Makah tribe in May 1999. The hunt places two of the environmental movement’s values, opposition to whaling and protection of indigenous peoples and their ways of life, in con-

flict. Such conflicts may become more common as the scope of the environmental movement and groups such as Greenpeace continue to expand.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The American wing of Greenpeace had a 1998 annual budget of \$37 million. Globally, the organization has an annual budget of \$130 million. Individual donations and contributions are the organization's primary source of revenue. Other sources of revenue are derived from membership fees. Historically, the organization had devoted a significant share of its resources to local orga-

nizing. Much of the organization's expenses are devoted to public information campaigns. However, because of instability in membership and the high cost of direct-mail campaigns in recent years, the organization's revenues have become less predictable.

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IZAAK WALTON LEAGUE

The Izaak Walton League is an organization of hunters, fishers, and other outdoor enthusiasts. The Izaak Walton League—with 50,000 members and based in suburban Washington, D.C.—states that its mission is “to conserve, maintain, protect and restore the soil, forest, water and other natural resources of the United States and other lands; to promote means and opportunities for the education of the public with respect to such resources and their enjoyment and wholesome utilization.”

The Izaak Walton League has 370 chapters in 32 states. It also has divisions, used to coordinate the efforts of chapters, in 21 states. Members may join one of the chapters or they may become members-at-large. The latter memberships are for those who do not live near a chapter or who want to support the efforts of the national organization. Many of the nonlobbying activities of the league are carried out through the local and state organizations.

HISTORY

The Izaak Walton League was formed on January 14, 1922, by 54 sportsmen who met in Chicago to discuss the deteriorating nature of America’s top fishing streams. The organization was named after a seventeenth-century English fishing enthusiast who wrote *The Compleat Angler* in 1653. The organization named Will Dilg, the organizer of its initial meeting, as its first president. In August 1922, the league published the first edition of its magazine, the *Izaak Walton League Monthly* (later renamed *Outdoor America*). In April 1923, the league held its first national convention.

The league’s first campaigns represented its founding purpose. It called for the creation of a 300-mile-long Mississippi River national preserve to protect all bottomlands from drainage between Lake Pepin, Minnesota, and Rock Island, Illinois. Proposals for legislation

and policy involving water, and later wetlands, would continue to be a priority of the league throughout its history. The league also began campaigns concerning wildlife. It endorsed or sponsored legislation to have states and the federal government purchase wildlife refuges, including legislation to help provide methods of funding for such purchases. A third early area of interest for the league was outdoor recreation. League delegates attended the first national Outdoor Recreation conference in May 1924. The league supported initial legislation to levy an excise tax on sporting arms and ammunition to pay for wildlife projects. The league has continued to develop programs on hunter safety and outdoor ethics, as well as policies for multiple use of public lands.

The Izaak Walton League grew to over 100,000 members in 3,000 local chapters by 1928. Most of this membership was in the midwest. But the organization was riddled with internal strife over the balance between the interests of hunters and fishers, and those who wanted to provide more complete wilderness protection. The fight divided many local chapters from the national organization and led to the forced resignation of Will Dilg. It also led Jay “Ding” Darling, a well-known political cartoonist and member of the league, to form the National Wildlife Federation in 1936. During this time, the league took a stand in opposition to conservation when it opposed plumage restrictions supported by the Audubon Society, an organization with which the league had usually agreed. The Audubon Society supported strict regulations to protect birds, while the league wanted less restrictive laws to allow fishers to continue to have access to certain feathers for use on lures. This issue illustrates the importance of hunters and fishers to the league. Through the years the league’s membership slipped to around 50,000, but has remained relatively stable. Even during the 1970s and 1980s, when many conservation and environmental groups grew significantly, league membership changed little.

The league has expanded its focus over the years to

reflect a changing understanding of the threats to the wilderness. In 1936, the league began its first attempts to create conservation programs for the public schools in order to teach sustainability. This general issue took on more force with the league in the 1960s and 1970s as resource consumption and energy efficiency became important national issues. The league began to develop policies concerning soil issues, such as the use of pesticides, grazing, rangeland use, and agricultural runoff. Air pollution became a focus in the 1960s as the relationship between such pollution and the enjoyment of the outdoors, as well as the destruction of forests and pollution of streams and lakes from acid rain, became known. Today the league is interested in such issues as greenhouse gases and climate change, which would have seemed far removed from its earlier interests.

To fund its operations, the league has depended on contributions from individuals, nonprofit organizations, and businesses. At times this dependence on business contributions has caused more ardent environmentalists to call into question the league's commitment to environmental values, but the league continues to solicit contributions. Over half of its funding in recent years has come from institutions.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The Izaak Walton League monitors the actions of Congress and administrative agencies. The league conducts activities on its own and in cooperation with other conservation groups. The primary activity of league representatives is to provide testimony and information supporting league positions. Its positions are officially determined at the league's annual convention through a formal resolutions process. Each year members, chapters, and divisions draft resolutions addressing conservation issues they want to have adopted. Those formally adopted become official policy and, together with that body of policy developed in the past, provide guidance to league staff and officers. Draft resolutions can be submitted to the league president. A separate resolution committee, consisting of the chairperson from a set of resource committees, makes the final recommendations on resolutions before they are presented to convention delegates for a vote. This screening process gives the leadership a great deal of power in the choice of policies.

The league presents information on government activity to its chapter leaders through its *Conservation*

Newsletter. There is also an issues-update feature on the league's web site that provides the current status of federal legislation and regulatory decisions.

One of the league's current legislative efforts is assuring funding for conservation programs. The league is supporting bills providing full funding for several programs. The executive director of the league has given testimony before the House of Representatives Resources Committee. The league has also posted a draft letter supporting the funding bills on its web site that can be sent to representatives and senators. The league has also prepared a special report criticizing the states for depending too much on fees from hunters and fishers for funding conservation programs and not funding them from state treasuries. This report can be used in legislative attempts to increase state and federal funding. The federal programs the league supports would create incentives for states to provide matching funds for conservation programs.

The league produces several publications that allow it to communicate with its members, to provide a benefit to membership, and to contribute to its education programs. *Outdoor America* is a quarterly magazine that has been published since the founding of the league in 1922. The magazine contains stories about current conservation issues involving everything from air and water resources to endangered species, energy efficiency, outdoor recreation, and public lands and wildlife management. The magazine also reports on natural resource legislation and developments in Congress, and has a "shooters page," covering news and developments of particular interest to hunters, shooters, and shooting range operators. In 1974, the league began publishing *League Leader*, a newsletter that comes out five times a year and is designed to inform the league's volunteer leaders about the organization's national award programs, the annual convention, league conservation programs, and ways to build successful volunteer organizations. Some of the league's programs publish their own newsletters.

Major Education and Advocacy Programs

The league has programs attempting to affect several subjects. Save Our Streams (SOS) is a grassroots program that was begun in 1969. It includes a feature called "Stream Doctor," which provides videos and publications that teach people how to determine the quality of streams and diagnose what is wrong with them. Another feature helps in the study of macroinvertebrates in streams. The SOS program was expanded in 1966 to include the study of wetlands. A publication produced

for members by this program is designed to help in education and grassroots advocacy.

The Sustainability Education project was formed in 1996. According to information on the league's web site, its goal is to help bring human population growth, economic development, and natural resource consumption into balance with the limits of nature for the benefit of current and future generations. This program is designed to study sustainability issues; to identify how these issues affect environmental stewardship, social justice, economic security, and civic democracy; to develop educational materials that provide people with the information they need to recognize and address local, regional, and national sustainability; and to support grassroots action on these issues. Among several program publications, one set, *The Conservation Issues Forum* series, provides instructions and information for local groups to develop sustainability programs. *The Sustainability Newsletter* is a bimonthly publication by the project.

A program that reflects the interest in outdoor use that was the basis for the formation of the Izaak Walton League is the Outdoor Ethics program. This program, which began in 1996, is designed to develop a set of ethics for hunters, fishers, and boaters. The program works with government agencies and outdoor industries. The program has published educational materials, developed a hunter education project, engaged in research projects, and sponsored conferences. A newsletter is planned for the program.

A recent effort of the league is the Virginia Clean Air Now campaign, developed in cooperation with the

Southern Environmental Law Center. The goal of the campaign is to educate the public on the effects of coal-burning power plants on air pollution, and to clean up such plants. The pollution from such plants is affecting outdoor recreation and sightseeing areas.

The Izaak Walton League is a stable group whose growth and development is limited by its appeal to outdoor enthusiasts. The modern environmental movement is dominated by those who emphasize environmental issues. The league is finding ways to expand its areas of concern to cover more environmental issues, and it is forming alliances with other environmental groups. The success of the league and the direction it takes will depend upon these trends.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Although data for receipts are not available for 1998, the organization's income is primarily derived from membership dues, and foundation and institution support. Membership dues account for about 40 percent of revenue while foundation and institutional support account for about 56 percent. With a 1998 budget of \$2 million, the Izaak Walton League has a significantly smaller budget than other environmental interest groups.

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Izaak Walton League: www.iwla.org

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LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS

The League of Conservation Voters (LCV) was founded in 1970 by environmental activists and organizations to serve as the environmental movement’s electoral and lobbying arm in Washington. As a political action committee (PAC), the league—with its 60,000 members—is not subject to the lobbying and electoral restrictions placed on most of the nonpartisan environmental organizations. In other words, the league can and does give financial contributions to specific candidates and parties, generally to the Democrats. It is probably best known for its pioneering “environmental scorecard,” which lists the environmental votes of members of Congress.

HISTORY

In 1970, Marion Edey, a congressional staff aid, conceived of the idea of an electoral arm for the environmental movement. She suggested her idea to Lloyd Tuppling, who was a lobbyist for the Sierra Club. Tuppling suggested that Edey speak to David Brower, leader of the new organization, Friends of the Earth (FOE). Brower agreed to help Edey form a group and gave her space in FOE’s offices. Edey started to raise funds, recruit a staff, and plan a campaign. In its first two major efforts, the LCV helped to defeat George Fallon, the chair of the House Public Works Committee in 1970, and Wayne Aspinall, chair of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee in 1972. These two unexpected victories over powerful members of Congress gave the league early credibility. In 1974, 13 of 17 candidates that the LCV endorsed won their races. With these successes, the league was able to establish its credentials as an effective organization.

By the late 1970s the LCV was being overwhelmed in its ability to raise money by the explosion of PACs that followed the revisions of the Federal Campaign Finance law. The organization began to depend more on

its ranking of members of Congress and other less-expensive tactics to maintain its ability to compete with the wealthier and more powerful PACs. Over the next 10 years, the league established itself as the lead election arm of the mainstream environmental movement. In order to achieve this success, the league had to stake out a moderate stance among environmental groups. By targeting supporters and opponents among members of Congress, the organization committed itself to negotiation and compromise. The LCV cannot take a radical stance and hope to be effective.

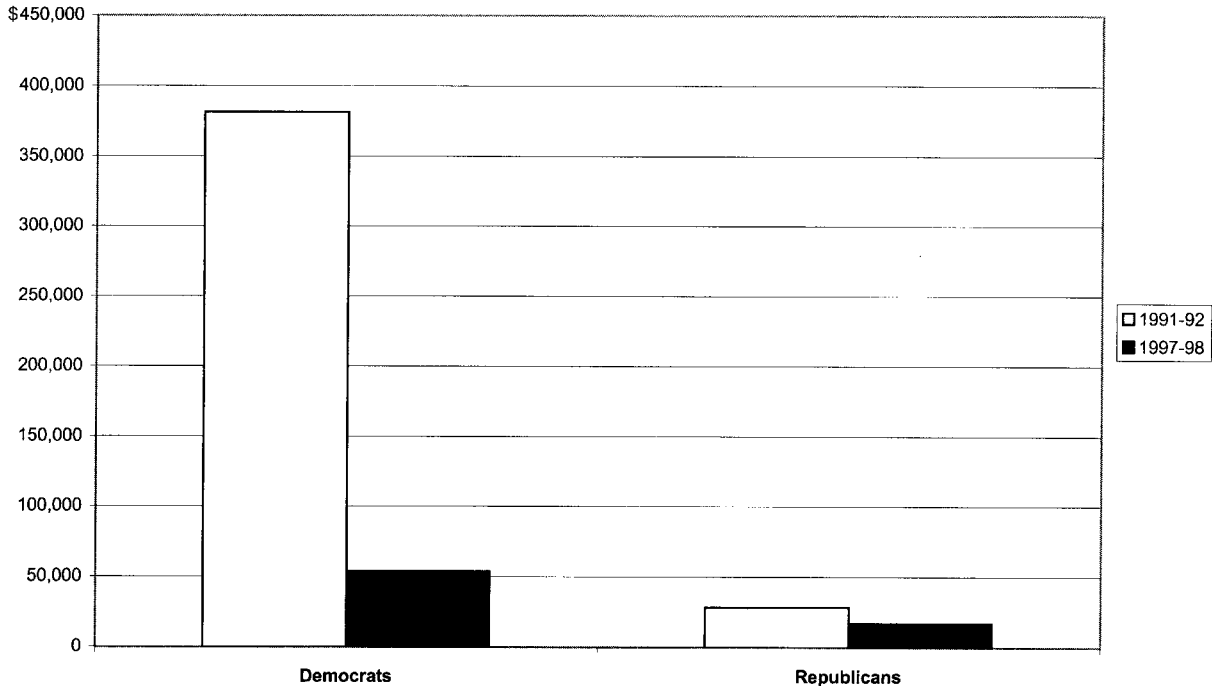
In the 1990s, the LCV steadily expanded its funds and membership. Its membership has doubled in the last seven years. The organization has taken advantage of communications changes and has shown signs of adopting the strategy of increasing its independent advertising in election campaigns. The use of independent advertising is a tactic that has expanded rapidly in the last two election cycles among interest groups.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Legislative Activities

The LCV manages an extensive campaign of political information designed to affect decisions in Congress, to inform their members and sympathizers about the results of votes in Congress relevant to environmental issues, and to identify allies and opponents among the members of Congress. The strategies employed to achieve these goals by the LCV make extensive use of the most recent communications technologies. The LCV sent 10 letters to members of the House of Representatives in 1998 and 17 letters to the members of the Senate, and it posts the letters on its web site. It also provides a link to the e-mail address of every member of Congress so that anyone visiting the site can send a letter of his or her own.

**League of Conservation Voters
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1991–1998.

The letters are also an opportunity to educate the site visitor. Moreover, the LCV also provides a service that allows subscribers to receive updated information on activities in Congress via e-mail. This service sends an e-mail message to subscribers with results of votes in Congress within 24 to 48 hours of when the votes take place.

The Environmental Scorecard

One of the best-known weapons used by the LCV is the national environmental scorecard. The idea of generating a “score” for members of Congress based on how often they vote on the side favored by a group and how frequently members vote on the opposite side goes back to 1919, when it was used by the National Farmers Union. Today, numerous groups use this technique. The LCV develops its ratings using a list of key environmental votes developed by 30 environmental groups. The rankings for the members of Congress are now available on the organization’s web site. This technique provides a handy method for summarizing the records of members and identifying allies and opponents. The information can then be used in channeling money and informing voters in election campaigns. In 1996, the LCV took over the publication and use of the

Dirty Dozen campaign. This strategy refines the use of the scorecard by identifying 12 members of Congress who have low rankings on the environmental scorecard in a particular Congress and who are considered vulnerable in the following election. A public relations campaign is used to maximize coverage in their own districts of the fact that members have been named to the list. The announcements are timed to come during the election campaign. The LCV uses the list to solicit donations. It also recruits volunteers to work against members of Congress on the list and runs independent attack advertisements against them. By selecting vulnerable members, the LCV can encourage contributions, claim victories, and add to their reputation for being able to defeat those they oppose. The opposite side of the Dirty Dozen is the Earthlist, which is a list of the candidates the group believes can win election or reelection and are strong supporters of the LCV positions. The league also endorses other candidates. In 1996, for example, the LCV endorsed 97 congressional candidates.

The choice of votes on which to base the league’s rankings reflects political needs for compromise and inclusiveness, the need to motivate potential voters, and

the desire to reward friends and punish opponents. In each of the last three Congresses, a range of issues was represented in the votes. In 1998, for example, the scorecard was created by experts from 30 different environmental organizations. The creation of a “balanced ticket” of issues widens the number of environmental groups that have a stake in the scorecard and in publicizing it, and creates interest for more potential environment voters. The number of votes used is usually kept at around 13 in each chamber, though as few as eight votes and as many as 18 have been used in recent elections. The LCV also spreads the votes among those measures they favor and those they oppose, although they tend to count more votes that they oppose. This tendency does not seem to be related to Republican control of Congress, since the LCV used more votes it opposed in both the House and Senate in the 104th Congress, when the Democrats still controlled both houses of Congress. Although it is hard to be sure, the group may also try to take into account pet projects of friendly members of Congress and not use votes that might be opposed by too many of their strong supporters. Finally, the LCV includes information in its scorecard on proposals that have not come to a vote but on which the group has a strong interest.

The 2000 election could be a critical one for many environmental groups, especially one that focuses so much on electoral politics as the LCV. The Republican majority in the House of Representatives is very small, creating the opportunity to take control from the party that has been less sympathetic to environmentalism; for Democrats to recapture the Senate is not out of the question. But none of these outcomes is certain, and the power of the environmental movement will be at stake. Even a victory is not an unmitigated positive outcome. Many social movements, both conservative and liberal,

have found that victories create unwarranted complacency among their supporters and can reduce, rather than increase, giving and activism. But defeat could be even worse. It is possible that opponents of the environmental movement could control both houses of Congress and the presidency for the first time since the modern environmental movement began. Such an outcome would provide a monumental challenge to the LCV, with its emphasis on electoral strategies and moderate politics.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1998, the League of Conservation Voters had a budget of \$2.6 million. The League of Conservation Voters Action Fund, which is the group’s PAC, raises and gives money to influence the outcomes of elections. Between 1990 and 1998, the Action Fund raised \$1,759,000, endorsed 627 candidates, gave \$806,000 to candidates on its Earthlist, and spent \$1,500,000 to defeat members of the Dirty Dozen. Its total spending placed the Action Fund 54th among PACs during this period. In addition to raising and spending money through the Action Fund, the LCV provides in-kind help to candidates it supports in the form of volunteer workers from its own organization and those of the environmental groups that sponsor the league. The LCV also has used independent expenditures on behalf of some candidates and in opposition to others.

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League of Conservation Voters: www.lcv.org

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NATIONAL AUDUBON SOCIETY

Named after pioneer American ornithologist John Jay Audubon, the National Audubon Society focuses on the study and protection of all species of birds, the protection of endangered species, and the preservation of wilderness habitats for birds and other wildlife. The National Audubon Society currently has about 550,000 members in some 508 chapters, largely in the United States but increasingly in countries throughout the Western Hemisphere. The society—headquartered in Washington, D.C.—employs a 25-member government relations staff as its principal lobbying arm. The National Audubon Society has a very powerful combination of incentives with which to attract members. Amateur ornithology has been a widespread hobby across the nation for many years. Studying birds is more than a hobby for many people; it is a way of life. No organization is identified more with ornithology than the National Audubon Society. Thousands of bird lovers join the National Audubon Society to engage in the hobby, learn more about it, and meet others with similar interests. The National Audubon Society sponsors trips, organizes outings, and recognizes individuals and chapters that gather information on birds and bird migration.

HISTORY

It took two attempts to create the National Audubon Society and sustain its long-term existence. George Bird Grinnell, a paleontologist and editor of *Field and Stream* magazine, proposed the formation of a society for the protection of birds in the pages of his magazine in 1886. Unfortunately, the response was so overwhelming that Grinnell had to give up the project in 1888 after publishing two volumes of *The Audubon Magazine*. Eight years later, in February 1896, Harriet Hemenway called together a small group of individuals to form a society

for the protection of birds. Thus was born the Massachusetts Audubon Society; this time the organization survived.

From its creation, the National Audubon Society was concerned with political issues. The society's first battles were fought over the use of bird plumage in women's hats. The extensive killing of birds for this purpose threatened the existence of herons and other birds. The efforts of the group helped to pass state and federal laws protecting birds and bird sanctuaries. The society began to acquire its own sanctuaries and today manages a series of them.

The first Audubon societies were state organizations. When Frank Chapman, an ornithologist with the American Museum of Natural History, began publishing *Bird Lore* magazine, he created an organizing vehicle for the societies. Chapman sponsored the first Christmas bird count in 1910, which became an annual event for birders and a major activity of the National Audubon Society. In 1905, the state societies formed the National Association of Audubon Societies. The society continued to work for laws protecting habitats and pushed for the creation of the National Wildlife Refuge system during its early years.

During the period from 1905 through the 1930s, the society created educational programs for children and adults, including leaflet campaigns and summer camps for youngsters. In the 1930s the society began sponsoring scientific research to help in its efforts. The society also purchased the magazine *Bird Lore* and changed its name to *Audubon Magazine*. All these efforts strengthened the organization's ability to meet its political goals.

In the 1940s, the society underwent significant organizational changes. In 1940, the name of the organization was changed to the National Audubon Society. The network of local chapters that is the backbone of the organization was begun in 1944. This network has grown to 512 chapters across the United States and in other countries.

The National Audubon Society was at the forefront of the modern environmental movement that exploded in the 1960s and 1970s. The society expanded its membership and activities throughout this period. Its membership, which was 32,000 in 1960, grew to 120,000 by 1970, and to 500,000 by 1985. Since then, membership growth has slowed. In 1969, the society opened an office in Washington, D.C., and has expanded its lobbying efforts dramatically since that time.

The National Audubon Society has had a long-standing interest in issues concerning wildlife habitat, including humankind's destruction of those habitats. With the 1962 publication by Rachel Carson of *Silent Spring*, which tells of the effects of the use of the pesticide DDT, the society expanded its efforts to protect habitats and prohibit the use of harmful chemicals in them.

ACTIVITIES: PRESENT AND FUTURE

The National Audubon Society has a 25-member government relations staff, which acts as its main lobbying arm. It conducts lobbying activities on a variety of issues. The common thread connecting the society's actions is the protection of endangered species and their habitats. The society is engaged in lobbying activities involving several subjects in the 106th Congress. It supports the Better Bonds proposal by President Bill Clinton. This proposal would leverage \$700 million in federal tax credits to provide \$9.5 billion to purchase open space for bird habitats in the next five years. The society is also working for legislation to increase the size of the Alaska Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. The organization is lobbying for strong reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act. It is working for full funding for President Clinton's Clean Water Action plan. Another of the society's goals is full funding for the Conservation Reserve program and the Wetland Reserve program. It is also co-sponsoring the Neotropical Migratory Bird Habitat Enhancement Act to increase protection for migratory birds. This is not a complete list of the legislation that the society is working for or opposing, but it illustrates the range and quantity of their activities.

The National Audubon Society is constantly developing new ways to use the power of its numbers. Recently, the society began a "Sister Chapter" program. This program links chapters that are fighting government decisions, but do not have a friendly and powerful member of Congress from their district, with sister chapters that do have powerful members and are willing

to lobby for the sister chapter. This is a way to take advantage of the size and geographic coverage of the society's membership.

As a natural outgrowth of their interest in birds, the members of the National Audubon Society have a deep concern for bird habitats. As they study bird populations, members discover patterns of population decline and extinction that would obviously be of concern to them. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the chapters have worked to protect 173 wetlands consisting of 400,000 acres of land since 1990. The society also maintains dozens of wildlife sanctuaries.

The National Audubon Society runs a wide variety of educational programs. Ten of the society's sanctuaries run educational programs. In addition, the Audubon Expedition Institute prepares college and graduate students for environmental careers. The society also has teacher aids, films, and programs for grade-school children, in addition to *Audubon Magazine* and other materials put out by the society for its members and the public.

The National Audubon Society organizes letter-writing campaigns, writes legislation, conducts and publishes research, and sponsors a web site as functions of its advocacy of environmental causes. The web site presents updates on current activities of interest to the society in Congress and the states. It also gives the e-mail addresses of the members of Congress for members to use in contacting their representatives.

In the early years of the 1990s, the National Audubon Society hoped to grow to 1 million members. It has not achieved that goal. The organization continues to be an innovative member of the mainline environmental movement. It sponsors internships, runs many educational programs, lobbies for legislation, and engages in a wide variety of activities. While the society has a broad scope of activities, it continues to focus generally on issues that involve wildlife and its habitat. Its recently released strategic plan calls for more action on the conservation of birds and other wildlife and their habitats. The society should continue to be a major player on environmental issues in the foreseeable future.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The National Audubon Society is registered by the Internal Revenue Service as a non-profit organization. As such, the organization does not make political action committee (PAC) contributions to the campaigns of

government officials. In 1998, the organization had total receipts of more than \$72.2 million, of which 48 percent were derived from contributions and bequests, 15 percent from earned income and royalties, 14 percent from membership dues, and 19 percent from the sale of investments. In the same year the organization had total expenses in excess of \$49.3 million, of which program services accounted for 70 percent, membership expenses

22 percent, and management expenses eight percent of the total budget.

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NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION

With its 4.4 million members, the National Wildlife Federation (NWF) is the largest environmental organization in the country. The federation states as its mission, “to educate, inspire, and assist individuals and organizations of diverse cultures to conserve wildlife and other resources and to protect the Earth’s environment in order to achieve a peaceful, equitable, sustainable future.” The NWF views humans as stewards of the wilderness. The federation’s slogan is “People and nature. Our future is in the balance.” The federation seeks the proper balance between humans and nature; it does not seek to reduce the position of humans to equality or even subservience to nature.

HISTORY

The NWF, the inspiration of political cartoonist Jay “Ding” Darling, was first organized at a conference in Washington, D.C., in February 1936. Darling saw the need for a conservation association that was committed to the preservation of wildlife and their habitats and was politically active. The organization was dominated by sportsmen and focused on issues such as clean water, wilderness protection and expansion, wildlife research, and restrictions on trapping of fur-bearing animals. The federation was made up of state conservation organizations affiliated with the national organization. The NWF enjoyed one of its early victories with the passage of a federal excise tax on firearms that provided federal matching funds to states for the acquisition, restoration, and maintenance of habitat for the management of wildlife and for research concerning wildlife management. A National Wildlife Week was established by proclamation of President Franklin Roosevelt in 1938.

For the next two decades the NWF struggled first to survive and then to establish its place in the conservation movement. In 1962, publication of *National*

Wildlife began. By 1968, circulation reached 340,000, far larger than competing magazines. This is one example of the ability of the NWF to produce marketable products that boost revenues and membership and have propelled the NWF into a large, successful organization.

The group has had its problems. When the federation supported the banning of lead shot in favor of steel shot in shotgun shells in 1976, it was opposed by many hunters, led by the National Rifle Association (NRA). This emotional battle led to many members of the NRA distancing themselves from the NWF. On the other side of the political spectrum, the NWF has come under fire for having representatives of private companies with interests in environmental issues on their board. This practice has raised the suspicions of the new wave of environmental groups that grew out of the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

In the early 1990s, membership in the NWF stagnated, as was the case with many environmental and conservation groups. This trend may have reversed itself in the last years of the decade, as Congress has been dominated by members more hostile to environmental values.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The NWF maintains a lobbying staff to work on Capitol Hill and engages in other lobbying activities in its various areas of interest. The president of the NWF testified before the House Resources Committee in March 1999 concerning funding for conservation proposals. Other officials of the NWF have testified before committees concerning the protection of wetlands. The federation has also lobbied extensively on issues of mining, grazing, and the protection of national forests. These issues all come under the heading of “stewardship” for the NWF. Given its stance on the relationship between humans

and nature, it comes as no surprise that the federation expends a great deal of resources on the issues named. Two major efforts come under this heading. The NWF has mounted a vigorous campaign against takings legislation. Takings legislation is designed to block the ability of regulators charged with enforcing environmental laws from requiring that owners of private property comply with the regulations. There are two types of such legislation. Compensation bills would require the government to compensate landowners for any loss of value to their property that arose from restrictions on its use. Assessment bills would require that proposed regulations include an assessment of how much such regulation would cost all potentially affected land owners. Takings bills have been proposed at the state and national levels, and the NWF vigorously opposes them. The protection afforded private property owners against public action to protect the environment contradicts the idea of public stewardship of the land promoted by the NWF. The organization has lobbied Congress, gathered numerous examples of how anti-takings legislation would have wide-ranging negative effects, and even collected statements from religious organizations opposed to these bills. The last effort fits into the religious underpinnings of the public stewardship theory. The NWF has also lobbied to change allowable grazing and mining on public lands, renewal of the Clean Water Act, and on other issues.

The NWF has weighed in on issues of international trade and development legislation. The federation has lobbied Congress and written the federal government arguing for stronger protection of environmental standards in fast-track trade legislation. The organization has also lobbied heavily with the federal government and foreign governments to include environmental protection in the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Another major effort that reflects the NWF's belief in public stewardship is its proposed Teaming with Wildlife legislation. The federation has written legislation that would charge an excise tax on hunting and fishing equipment. The funds would be used for conservation, recreation, and education efforts for endangered species that are not hunted or fished.

Administrative Lobbying

The federation does not limit its lobbying efforts to Congress. The organization maintains a close watch on the implementation of legislation in its areas of interest. The NWF supports its monitoring of program implementation through a series of natural resource centers.

These offices are designed to monitor the decisions and practices of regional offices of federal executive branch agencies to see that they are enforcing environmental legislation. The centers are staffed with lawyers, scientists, and resource specialists who can take action and organize local members for public action when they believe the laws are not being properly enforced.

The NWF has been a vocal and active opponent of the Army Corps of Engineers' Nationwide Permit program for land development. The corps is charged with regulating the dredging and filling of wetlands under the Clean Water Act. The NWF has argued that some of these permits, particularly Nationwide Permit 26 (NWP 26), violate the Clean Water Act by allowing too much destruction of wetlands. The organization has written the corps, published the dates and places of "open-comment" meetings of the corps and encouraged their members to attend and oppose the permits, and encouraged a letter-writing campaign to the White House opposing the permits. The corps has agreed to phase out NWP 26, but the NWF opposes the proposed replacements as even worse.

The NWF has also written a report criticizing the payment of repeated claims for flooding by the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) National Flood Insurance program. The federation argues that a few properties located in floodplains account for a disproportionate share of insurance payments and FEMA should be requiring that these properties be bought out and the land reserved for floodplains. The NWF has issued press releases on the properties that they believe should not be insured in each state.

The NWF pursues a litigation strategy. It has filed suits, joined suits, or filed *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs in federal and state courts in regard to such issues as the reintroduction of wolves into Yellowstone National Park, the Army Corps of Engineers' plan to build dams on the lower Snake River in Oregon, the failure of the Environmental Protection Agency to enforce regulations regarding the Great Lakes, and numerous other issues.

Grassroots Activism

The NWF is not a direct-action organization. It encourages its members to participate in political appeals to officials through channels provided within the political system, such as writing letters or making statements at open-comment hearings. The federation promotes local activism through programs that will increase preservation, recycling, and awareness, rather than putting pressure on public officials or private parties

through demonstrations or protests. One program provides guidance and encouragement for the development of environmentally sound practices on college campuses. In addition, for 25 years, the NWF has run its Backyard Wildlife Habitat program, which teaches participants how to provide an environment for wildlife in their backyards. It is part of a broader effort by the federation to develop compatibility between urban and suburban settings and wildlife, and to educate the public about wildlife habitats and the need to preserve and create them. This goal fits in with the NWF's broader philosophy of human stewardship of the wild. The federation also runs a variety of other programs designed to create an educated and aware citizenry that values the wilderness and wildlife and wishes to preserve them.

The NWF has numerous publications. Five deserve special notice for their popularity and relevance for conservation education and promotion. *National Wildlife* is the primary publication of the NWF. It has over 500,000 subscribers. It is sent to members with their \$15 membership fee. *International Wildlife* is similar to *National Wildlife*, but it has an international focus and a smaller number of subscribers. Both of these magazines are noted for their wildlife photography. For those who are more serious about taking part in political activity, the federation sends *EnviroAction* to those who request it. It is a monthly publication that follows environmental legislation and the annual rankings of members of Congress compiled by the NWF. Those on the list also receive e-mail with information on important upcoming votes in Congress and how to send messages to his or her representative or senator. The final two publications of note from the NWF are *Ranger Rick* and *Your Big Backyard*. The former is aimed at children who are ages seven and up and is distributed to over 1 million chil-

dren. It mixes education with entertainment. *Your Big Backyard* is aimed at children between the ages of three and six. All of these publications contribute to the large membership of the federation, because the subscribers to the various publications are counted among the members. The NWF produces films for the theater, television, and I-Max theaters. These films are aimed at young and adult audiences and help to get the federation's message to a much wider public.

The NWF is a large, established organization with a definite niche in the environmental movement. It successfully balances the pressures from more radical environmental groups, particularly animal-rights activists, with its traditional stance as an organization that sees humans as stewards of nature, rather than just another part of it.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NWF had an operating budget in 1998 of \$100 million. As one of the largest organizations in the country, the federation generates a significant share of its revenue from membership fees and product marketing. The operating budget is utilized for membership outreach and development, legislative and administrative lobbying, program monitoring, and public education.

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National Wildlife Federation: www.nwf.org

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RAINFOREST ACTION NETWORK

According to the organization's mission statement, "the Rainforest Action Network [RAN] works to protect the Earth's rainforests and support the rights of their inhabitants through education, grassroots organizing, and non-violent direct action." The RAN, with its 25,000 members, is a direct-action organization. Its ideology and program are based on a strong distrust of power and wealth. The organization operates on the premise that it is necessary to organize those who do not have power to put pressure on elites in order to obtain modification of undesirable elite behavior. The organization's tactics involve confrontation, publicity, and nonviolent civil disobedience.

HISTORY

The RAN is a relatively young group. It was formed in 1985 by activist Randall Hayes as a militant direct action group and has remained true to its founding. David Brower, another well-known environmental activist, has served on the RAN's board of directors from its beginning. The organization began by sponsoring an international rainforest conference that brought together delegates from 35 organizations. Since then, the meeting has become an annual event held in August and called the Rainforest Action Group chautauqua.

The RAN survived its first few years on foundation grants, but built its membership to 10,000 within 19 months of its creation. The RAN's first reported successful campaign was in 1987 against Burger King. After a boycott against it, the fast-food chain canceled \$35 million in contracts for beef from South America that came from cattle raised on land in cleared rainforests. The RAN claimed credit for the change in Burger King policy. In 1988, the RAN absorbed another group, People of the Earth.

During its early years, the RAN depended heavily on foundation support for its funding, but by 1992, it

was getting 70 percent of its funds from member dues. However, the RAN still lists numerous foundation grants among its sources of income. The membership of the RAN has fluctuated during its existence. By the middle of the 1990s, the group's membership had climbed to 35,000, but more recently it has declined to 25,000.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The RAN's structure is based on grassroots organizing. The RAN maintains a network of over 175 Rainforest Action Groups (RAGs). The RAGs are small local groups of activists that join the network after creation as independent organizations. The groups are affiliated with the RAN and receive support and publicity from the RAN, but are not directed by it. The groups are connected to each other and to other rainforest groups through the RAN, which provides them with its "action alerts," containing information on an action by a government or corporation. Included in the alerts are names of officials to contact, with e-mail addresses and recommended messages. RAGs also receive *World Rainforest Report*, which is published four times a year. This report contains stories on actions by RAGs, information on campaigns by the RAN, editorials from the executive director of the RAN, and reports of actions by governments and corporations. The RAN also provides other occasional information to the groups.

The RAN provides advice for RAGs on operations and tactics. The group maintains a page on its web site that reports news on actions taken by RAGs and presents news from RAG offices. This page lists names, addresses, phone numbers, and mission statements of new RAGs. Another page announces upcoming events. A third page gives inspirational updates on current campaigns run by the RAN and provides advice on how to

organize and operate, such as how to make use of the news media. The final page lists web sites maintained by RAGs. Recently, the RAG director began a new program designed to make more efficient use of the talents of the RAN members. The program involves collecting information from potential volunteers who have skills that might be useful to a RAG and who would be willing to provide advice to a RAG if asked. The information is kept on file and a RAG in need of specific assistance is put in touch with a member with the proper skills.

The RAN operates a series of grants for RAGs. One grant program is for any group, as long as it has been in existence for at least six months. A second program is limited to RAGs working on the continent of Africa. A third program provides services and experts offering financial and administrative advice. The RAN provides direct encouragement and advice to individuals on its web site on actions to take, from boycotting products and corporations to learning more about various issues. The RAN also maintains a clearinghouse for information on rainforests. The RAN claims to have filled over 30,000 requests for information from teachers and students in a recent year.

DIRECT-ACTION CAMPAIGNS

Protection of Indigenous Peoples

The RAN's strategy is to attack both the supply and demand for wood from old-growth forests. The organization champions the cause of native groups that inhabit tropical forests on the grounds that such groups live within the forests and do not threaten them. Such advocacy also fits with the political ideology of the RAN, which favors those who do not have power. One such program involves native groups in Brazil. The RAN has supported the claims of indigenous tribes to 200 million acres of rainforest lands. The organization also supported a letter-writing campaign to the World Bank as well as a movement by groups in Brazil to oppose a project that they argued threatened the Nambikwara people. The RAN recently urged its members to send letters of support to the president of Ecuador for his decision to protect certain national parks because they would preserve the ancestral lands of several tribes, as well as preserving old-growth forests. Finally, in Brazil, the RAN supported a successful effort to get recognition by the Brazilian government of the land rights of the Panara people.

In addition to the efforts in Brazil, the RAN opposed a Shell Oil gas project in Peru partly because it threatened several indigenous populations. A similar argument, although not involving tribal peoples, is the opposition of the RAN to projects by Mitsubishi Corporation in Myanmar. The RAN publicized the oppression by the Myanmar government of its own people and accused Mitsubishi of exploiting it for its own benefit.

Opposition to Supply from Old-Growth Forests

The RAN has worked with local interest groups to find methods of stopping illegal and predatory logging practices in Brazil. It tries to put pressure on the government for stricter enforcement of logging legislation and endorses the development of alternative economic uses of Brazilian rainforests. The organization argues that rubber tapping, fishing, and the production of nuts, fruits, medicinal plants, and fibers provide means for the indigenous people to make a living from the forest without destroying it.

The RAN has also opposed the development of several major highways in northern Brazil and the nations bordering it. These roads are designed to connect major cities across the regions with Pacific ports and the Amazon. They would make oil production and lumber production cheaper and easier. The roads are part of a series of trade agreements among the countries on the paths of the proposed highways. The RAN opposes the roads because of the destruction of forest habitats involved in building them, the increased economic exploitation of the rainforests they will encourage, and the disruption of lands that are home to indigenous tribes in the region.

Attempts to Reduce Demand for Old-Growth Forest Products

Two of the RAN's campaigns illustrate its attempt to reduce the demand for old-growth forest products. RAGs have been involved in efforts to convince local governments to reduce the use of such products. The organizations, along with other environmentalists, have been successful in getting some local governments to stop using rainforest wood to build boardwalks in Wildwood, New Jersey. They also convinced the Philadelphia Bridges department and Long Beach, California, to eliminate the use of rainforest products. In addition, the RAN has convinced certain retail chains to eliminate rainforest products in their buildings and other products.

The largest campaign of this sort is currently going on and is aimed at Home Depot, the world's largest

retailer of products that come from old-growth forests. The RAN argues that there are alternatives to many of the products produced from old-growth timber. It admits, however, that other steps, such as conservation, will be necessary to achieve the goal of eliminating the use of old-growth lumber. In the meantime, the RAN is trying to put pressure on Home Depot through a public action campaign to reduce or stop its purchase of products made from old-growth timber. On March 17, 1999, RAGs in several cities demonstrated at Home Depot stores. Demonstrators picketed, made announcements on the store intercom system, chained themselves to displays of materials made from old-growth lumber, spoke to customers about the problem, and unfurled banners from the roofs of the stores calling on Home Depot to stop using old-growth products. The campaign had been planned and coordinated through the RAN, with the RAGs given instructions on materials to make, actions to take, and methods of assuring press coverage. The actions led to stories in some newspapers and on some news web sites.

All of the RAN's techniques can be seen in its campaign against Mitsubishi, a large Japanese firm that has been a target for its financing of a government-sponsored gas pipeline project in Myanmar that cut across a tropical rainforest. The firm was also accused of providing financial backing for lumber operations in Canada and for the purchase of containers (wood crates and boxes) made out of lumber from mature forests and other products by its car division. The RAN demon-

strated at car dealerships, in addition to other actions. In 1998, the RAN reached an agreement with Mitsubishi Motors U.S.A. to phase out the use of rainforest-produced products.

The RAN continues to promote its deep-ecology views; that is, that humans should not attempt to control nature. Its recent accomplishment in its efforts against Mitsubishi is the type of occasional success that is necessary for a group that feeds on the energy and passion of its members. But the RAN suffers from the type of high turnover and potential for fatigue that all such groups must deal with. Unlike the groups that have nonpolitical activities to build membership and raise funds, a group such as the RAN always faces an uncertain future.

Financial Facts

In 1998, the RAN had a rather modest budget of \$2.1 million. The organization devotes the bulk of its budget to membership outreach, publications, grassroots organizing, direct action, public information, and education programs.

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SIERRA CLUB

Often called the “granddaddy” of environmental organizations, the Sierra Club, founded by renowned naturalist John Muir in 1892, is a member-supported, nonprofit interest group that promotes conservation of the natural environment by influencing public policy decisions on a wide variety of issues, most importantly the protection of public lands. Indeed, key leaders of the Sierra Club have gone on to form other environmental organizations such as Friends of the Earth and the League of Conservation Voters. The Sierra Club currently has 550,000 members, with chapters in all 50 states.

HISTORY

In spring 1892, famed naturalist John Muir and magazine editor Robert Underwood Johnson decided to form a club to preserve the Sierra Nevada mountains. Muir and Johnson were joined by geologist Joseph Le Conte and a group of college professors and students from San Francisco who wanted to form an alpine club. The club had 182 charter members. Muir was elected president of the Sierra Club and remained president until he died in 1914.

The Sierra Club was immediately embroiled in political battles, making it one of the earliest political interest groups in the United States. The club’s first fight was over an 1890 law that had ceded the Yosemite land grant to California for protection as a park. For 10 years, the Sierra Club fought to repeal this law. In 1903, John Muir hiked Yosemite with President Teddy Roosevelt. Two years later, the California legislature ceded Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Grove to the federal government. The Sierra Club would become embroiled in one more battle over the land in the Sierra Nevada mountains, and it would lose.

San Francisco spent many years looking for a more abundant and reliable source of water and settled on the

idea of damming the Hetch Hetchy Valley, a valley like Yosemite and within the boundaries of the park as it was laid out in 1890. The proposal split the Sierra Club. Many naturalists, led by Muir, opposed the idea, while others, including some board members from San Francisco, believed that the reservoir was necessary. The club conducted a referendum among its members, who voted overwhelmingly to oppose the dam. The vote established a tradition of consulting the membership that became a permanent part of the Sierra Club’s operating methods. The club fought against the Hetch Hetchy proposal for several years, but finally lost the battle in 1913 when President Woodrow Wilson signed a bill to build the dam. John Muir died one year later and the Sierra Club entered a period of limited political activity. The Hetch Hetchy issue was not forgotten, however, and today the Sierra Club is fighting to eliminate the Hetch Hetchy reservoir on the grounds that it is no longer necessary.

The Quiet Years

During the period from 1920 through the 1940s, the Sierra Club engaged in a moderate amount of political activity. The club opposed the building of a dam in Yellowstone National Park and supported legislation to create Kings Canyon National Park, which passed in 1940. The club opposed the building of hydroelectric dams in Kings Canyon during the 1940s. But, for the most part, the Sierra Club engaged in conducting outdoor activities, such as camping trips. These trips did, however, have a political dimension. John Muir believed that taking people into the wilderness and letting them experience its beauties and pleasures would turn campers into preservationists. The membership of the Sierra Club throughout this period remained exclusively in California; there were still no chapters outside of that state.

The Transformation of the Sierra Club

In 1950, the membership of the Sierra Club was at 7,000, mostly in California. That year the Atlantic chapter, which encompasses 18 eastern states and the District of Columbia, became the first chapter outside of California. A more significant development took place in 1952, when the club hired David Brower as its first executive director. Brower was a friend of photographer Ansel Adams, a committed activist, and had a background of working for the University of California Press. Brower brought these characteristics to his position, and they helped, as well as hurt, the Sierra Club. Brower's skills were demonstrated when he led the club in its fight against the building of a dam within Dinosaur National Monument at the intersection of the Green and Yampa rivers on the Colorado–Utah border. Brower got Alfred Knopf to publish *This Is Dinosaur*, a beautiful photographic work on the monument, and used it as a tool for conservation lobbyists in fighting the dam. In 1955, Congress eliminated plans for the dam from the Colorado River project. The Sierra Club gained a visibility from its role in the fight, and by 1960, membership in the organization increased to 15,000. Another development at this time that affected the development of political activism in the Sierra Club was the Biennial Wilderness conference. The Sierra Club began cosponsoring the conferences, along with the Wilderness Society, in 1949. This conference became a major force in wilderness campaigns. In 1964, joint efforts led to the Wilderness Act.

Brower expanded his publishing efforts, creating a series of lavish coffee table books that brought attention to the Sierra Club but lost money. Brower also brought the attention of the Internal Revenue Service to the club when he published full-page advertisements in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* opposing the building of two dams in the Grand Canyon. An investigation that threatened the club with the loss of its tax-exempt status for engaging in political activity led to a drop-off in contributions. At the same time, however, memberships increased from 57,000 in 1967 to 75,000 by 1969.

The budgetary problems caused by Brower's actions contributed to strains between Brower and the professional staff, on the one hand, and between the board and volunteer activists, on the other. The strains were made worse by Brower's desire for a powerful professional staff, which was contrary to the Sierra Club's practice of giving a great deal of authority to its volunteer board and giving voice to club members. The differences came to a head over the board's decision not

to oppose the construction by Pacific Gas and Electric of a nuclear power plant at Diablo Canyon, which is located at Nippomo Dunes on the California coast, south of San Luis Obispo. Brower believed that the club should oppose all nuclear power plants, and he spoke out against Diablo Canyon, despite the board's position. In 1969, Brower supporters ran for five open positions on the board as the ABC (active-bold-constructive) slate. They were opposed by the CMC (concerned members for conservation) slate. The bylaws of the Sierra Club allowed canvassing, and both slates advertised in Sierra Club publications. The ABC slate was defeated and Brower resigned from his position. He left the Sierra Club to form Friends of the Earth.

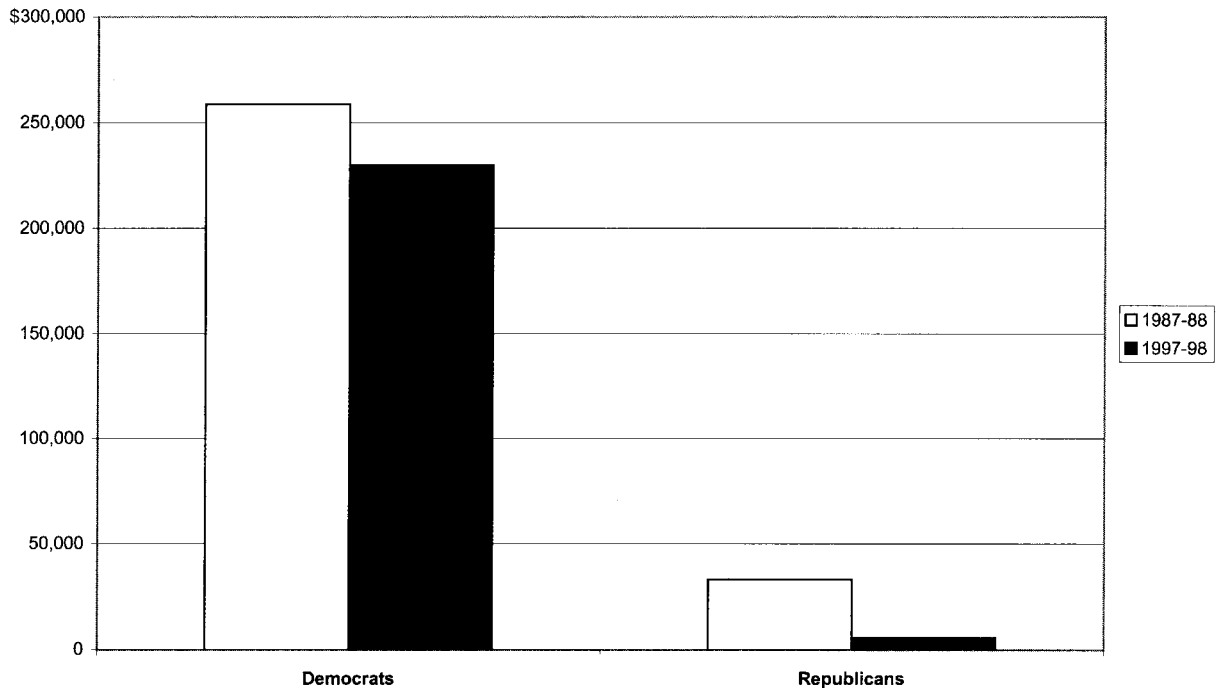
The 1950s and 1960s brought fundamental change to the Sierra Club. It grew into a large organization. More importantly, it became national, although one-third of its members still came from California. Finally, the Sierra Club had been transformed into a very active organization whose goals were mostly political in nature. In the 1970s, the Sierra Club continued to expand its political role and capabilities. In 1976, the Sierra Club Committee on Political Education (SCCOPE) was formed. Membership in the Sierra Club expanded through most of the period, reaching a peak of 650,000 on its 100th anniversary in 1992. In recent years, however, the membership has dipped to its current level of 550,000.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The Sierra Club has a highly sophisticated lobbying operation centered in its office in Washington, D.C. The office has an average of nine full-time lobbyists who are trained and skilled professionals. They can call on a membership that includes a large number of experts in the various substantive areas of interest to the group, as well as members trained in law. This gives the club the ability to be knowledgeable and persuasive. This expertise is also used in direct lobbying by members. The Sierra Club's professional staff is skilled and willing to bargain and build coalitions. Staff members also enjoy a great deal of autonomy from the Sierra Club headquarters, which is across the country in San Francisco. The lobbyists are not without direction, but they have a great deal of day-to-day freedom.

In addition to the Washington staff, the Sierra Club maintains a staff of field representatives whose respon-

**Sierra Club
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

sibility is to know the important political actors in their congressional districts. These representatives are professional lobbyists and are called upon regularly to attempt to influence Congress. They are an important part of the Sierra Club lobbying operation.

As an organization, the Sierra Club does not directly engage in litigation, but it maintains a close relationship with the independent Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund (SCLDF). The SCLDF and the Sierra Club develop agreement on which cases to litigate. The SCLDF often is involved in the legal process before cases come to court, when a regulatory agency is making decisions. The staff must be able to negotiate as well as litigate. The SCLDF works on cases involving a variety of regulatory legislation, including the Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, and the protection of public lands.

Electoral Activity

The Sierra Club Political Committee (SCPC), formerly known as the Sierra Club Committee on Political Education, is the political action committee (PAC) of the Sierra Club. The SCPC is composed of 10 members who work with the chapters to identify candidates to

support. The final decisions on disbursement are with the SCPC. The SCPC is nonpartisan and backs candidates from either party who support its agenda, but most of its money goes to the Democrats. In the 1997–1998 election cycle, the SCPC gave \$228,950 to Democratic candidates and only \$5,708 to Republicans. In addition, SCPC money went to several state Democratic committees.

The Sierra Club publishes a wide variety of books, magazines, and pamphlets. Its flagship publication is *Sierra*, a glossy magazine sent to members. *The Planet* is more directly aimed at activists. Free to all Sierra Club members, it contains articles on activities, election news, and suggestions and instructions on activities. The club also maintains a series of information networks and newsgroups on its web site.

The Sierra Club has established itself as a nationwide environmental organization. It is also an outdoor recreation organization. Whether the club can continue to blend these two interests is a question it will continue to face. A second question that might face the organization is how it will build an orientation toward the wild within an urban society. As previously discussed, the first major battle lost by Sierra was over the building of

a reservoir to support urban development. Many of the club's battles have involved attempts to keep urban growth from destroying the wild. Its most recent such target is urban sprawl. This is a large, complex issue with the potential to create a great deal of stress among the Sierra Club's members.

FINANCIAL FACTS

During the 1980s and 1990s, SCCOPE raised and spent increasing amounts of money on campaigns. In 1972, SCCOPE spent \$107,000 in cash and gave \$124,000 in in-kind payments to candidates and organizations. The

amount increased steadily, and by 1998 contributions had increased to \$441,208. In 1996, the name of the organization was changed to the Sierra Club Political Committee. In 1998, the Sierra Club organization, as a whole, had a budget of \$43 million.

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WISE USE MOVEMENT

The “wise use” movement is a general term for a large, diverse, loose coalition of groups that represent a variety of individuals and business interests who oppose the environmental movement. The term *wise use* is taken from a motto originated by conservationist Gifford Pinchot in 1907. Although they have adopted the term, the leaders of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise (CFDFE) make it clear on their web site that they do not do so out of reverence for Pinchot. The major umbrella organizations of the movement are the CFDFE, the Alliance for America, the Blue Ribbon Coalition, and the Western States Public Lands Coalition. The CFDFE is the source of much of the ideological grounding of the movement. The Alliance for America is a broad coalition of small, mostly local groups. The Blue Ribbon Coalition represents people who enjoy and support outdoor recreation. The Western States Public Lands Coalition represents the mining industry. Many other individuals and groups are associated with the wise use movement. Because it is a loose coalition of groups with no official membership, estimates vary. Actual membership may be around 100,000.

HISTORY

Social movements that achieve a great deal of success tend to generate an organized opposition. The environmental movement is no exception. The wise use movement began to emerge by 1976 in response to environmental laws and regulations. At that time, the restrictions being put into place on public land use were being felt in the West. Loggers were the first to believe that their livelihoods were being threatened by restrictions on logging in old-growth forests. In 1976, the Associated California Loggers organized two protests in opposition to a proposed logging buffer zone around Redwood National Park. The first protest in-

involved 100 logging trucks that blocked the Golden Gate Bridge at morning rush hour. The second protest involved two dozen logging trucks that were joined by 300 timber workers in Washington, D.C., to protest the logging ban. At around the same time, in separate actions, property owners in Yosemite National Park protested the government landholding policies in and near national parks. These types of protests and organizing continued in opposition to government policies and the seeming indifference of the administration of President Jimmy Carter to the loggers’ and western landowners’ interests. Miners and those involved in grazing on public land, who were already upset with the new policies, joined the movement.

In the early 1980s, Ron Arnold joined Alan Gottlieb as leaders of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise. Arnold and Gottlieb established themselves as the most articulate and savvy leaders of the wise use movement. They provided an ideological basis for the movement through the principles they have articulated with their communications expertise. Arnold and Gottlieb adopted a confrontational style that generated a great deal of attention and attracted new members. Arnold and Gottlieb also activated their opponents with their inflammatory language that minimized the need for environmental protection.

The movement spawned many groups, most of which were small and local. However, large established interests, such as industrial trade groups, also participated. The movement gained strength from loggers, miners, the cattle industry, and communities that depended on them, which faced hard times in the 1980s. These groups might have suffered during those years without government environmental regulations, but those regulations, and the environmental movement seen as responsible for them, provided a convenient target for frustrations.

Two events of the later 1980s and early 1990s can be seen as important for the movement. The first was the successful defeat of a Yellowstone vision document

in 1991. The vision project was a plan to coordinate management of the 11-million-acre Yellowstone ecosystem. The project called for improving federal coordination of the land in the ecosystem. The wise use movement, in turn, organized against this coordinated land management vision. The successful defeat of the plan demonstrated the mixed nature of the movement. Trade groups of the logging, mining, and cattle industries sent out letters to workers and their families attacking the plan and its potential effects on jobs. Other groups associated with the wise use movement contacted their members, and all groups affiliated organized rallies and packed the hearing halls when the National Parks Service held hearings on the proposal. Eventually, the vision document was replaced with a much shorter, less sweeping version. Although some environmentalists would later claim that the defeat of the vision statement was the work of President George Bush's administration and powerful industrial interests, they admitted they had been out-organized.

The second event that brought the wise use movement publicity and encouraged organization was the designation of the spotted owl as an endangered species. That designation threatened to close huge areas of the western forests to logging. The spotted owl became a symbol for the claim that animals were being protected at the expense of humans. Even some environmental groups saw the spotted owl controversy as a no-win situation for the environmental movement. This controversy became a national issue, unlike the Yellowstone vision document, and thus helped the wise use cause.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The activities of the wise use movement are many and varied, reflecting the diverse nature of the groups that comprise it. Perhaps the best summary of a set of beliefs that would cover most or all of the groups is provided on the CFDFE web site. It lists five principles as beliefs of the movement: first, that humans, like all organisms, must use natural resources to survive; second, that the earth and its inhabitants are tough and resilient, not fragile and delicate; third, that we learn about the world only through trial and error; fourth, that our limitless imaginations can break through natural limits to make earthly goods and carrying capacity virtually limitless; and finally, that reworking of the earth by humans is revolutionary, problematic, and ultimately benevolent.

One should add to the list a strong belief in individualism as the most basic value of society, and belief in the free enterprise system as an expression of that value. The last two principles help explain the wise use movement's hostility to almost any restrictions on private behavior or business activity by government. The wise use movement engages in a wide variety of legislative techniques and strategies. The more affluent members can lobby Congress extensively, including testifying before Congress and engaging in personal lobbying. The many local, grassroots organizations associated with the movement use mail campaigns, demonstrations, and other forms of communications with members of Congress on important issues. When congressional hearings on public land use are held in the western states, they can be the site of demonstrations, rallies, and emotional testimony. The movement has a reputation for being able to rapidly mount massive letter, fax, and e-mail campaigns in support of its positions. One major campaign by a grassroots group that is part of the movement was the lobbying effort by the California Desert Coalition (CDC) to oppose the California Desert Protection Act. The group testified before Congress, gave members of Congress tours of the area covered in the proposed legislation, and explained their view of the effects of the law. The CDC fought the legislation for eight years before it was finally passed in 1994.

Wise use members and groups do not limit their lobbying to Congress. They have engaged in many activities to affect the decisions of administrative agencies, particularly those involved in land use. An example of the ability of the movement to engage in such activities was the generation of over 5,600 letters opposing any restrictions on industry activity on a plan for the expansion of the Yellowstone National Park ecosystem.

Education

The wise use movement has an extensive public relations and educational network. Ron Arnold and Alan Gottlieb maintain the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise and run a publishing and distribution operation from its base. This operation publishes what it calls "battle books." Authors are selected to write books that analyze problems from their perspective on free enterprise and what they see as attacks on it. The books define a problem and propose actions that readers can take to solve the problem. They have covered such topics as regulation, private property rights, and taxation. They are distributed widely among members of the move-

ment and provide information and arguments that can be used to support wise use positions.

The CFDFE also produces a newspaper column that is sent to over 400 newspapers in the United States. The group has a broadcasting network as well. In addition to these CFDFE efforts, other wise use groups produce literature and reports, and the Outdoor Channel, available to cable-television owners, presents a wise use point of view on outdoor issues and activities. Finally, the wise use movement has mounted public relations campaigns to counter negative press coverage and to attack its opponents. The wise use movement has used public relations opportunities to attempt to discredit the environmental movement. It portrays environmentalists as elitists and pagans who love nature more than they care about what happens to average people.

In recent years, the wise use movement has seen its momentum slowed. The expectation that the Republican Congress would roll back many of the environmental laws that the movement opposed did not materialize. The wise use movement may have overestimated its strength and popularity. Many Americans express support for environmental positions that the wise use movement opposes. At the same time, the movement has had successes. Attempts to change mining and grazing regulations were defeated by the Senate. Takings legislation, which is designed to block the abil-

ity of regulators from requiring that owners of private property comply with environmental laws, is supported by the property rights wing of the movement at the state and national levels. Perhaps most significantly, a federal court recently ruled that the Environmental Protection Agency did not have the authority to create new regulations under authority granted by Congress. If that decision holds up, it could severely weaken many environmental regulations.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The wise use movement has no official budget.

FRANK CODISPOTI

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SECTION SEVEN

INDUSTRY, CONSTRUCTION, AND TRANSPORT



The interest groups discussed here are business associations that represent four major industries: manufacturing, utilities, transport, and construction. All but one of these groups are trade associations, which represent companies within one industry, however broadly or narrowly defined. The exception is the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), which is considered a national “umbrella” organization that represents businesses in a wide range of industries.

There are more than 10,000 business associations in the United States, including local, state, regional, national, and international groups, with budgets totaling more than \$20 billion. Half of the national and international associations have annual revenues that exceed \$1 million. All the associations covered here are at least national in scope, and several have international members and affiliates as well. Nationally, the median membership of business associations is 315, but most of the groups here have many more members.

HISTORY

Each of the industry associations discussed in this section is unique, but they all developed in much the same way. The history of trade groups in the United States begins in the eighteenth century: The first recorded American trade association was founded in Philadelphia by house carpenters (house builders) in 1724, and the Boston Society for Encouraging Trade and Commerce was established in 1761. Gradually, many local and regional

organizations were founded; a few of today’s national trade associations have their roots in these earlier organizations.

Trade associations at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century were notorious for attempting to fix prices and control markets, acting essentially as trusts and monopolies in their industries. (A *trust* is a combination of firms that agree to work together to set prices or reduce competition; a *monopoly* is a single organization that controls an entire industry in a particular market area.) In acting to protect the interests of their members and with very little government regulation to stop them, trade associations controlled numerous industries to a degree that would be surprising today.

Eventually the federal government stepped in, passing legislation to limit the formation of trusts and monopolies. Watershed legislation included the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, and the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914. Decades of political and legal repercussions of these acts drove trade associations to shift their focus from controlling prices and restricting competition and toward working with local, state, and national authorities to influence economic and regulatory policies affecting their industries. The associations also began to focus on providing services to their member companies such as organizing conferences, seminars, and trade shows; compiling industry statistics; and creating ways for members to exchange information. These services are still an important part of the activities of business and trade associations.

CURRENT CONTEXTS

Business and trade associations today are among the most powerful organizations in the United States. They exert considerable political influence through political action committees (PACs), which lobby legislators to act in ways favorable to their industries. For the associations discussed here, much of the lobbying effort and contributions have been directed at Republican political candidates and legislators because they are often seen as more “pro-business” than Democrats. During the 1997–1998 election cycle, for instance, the Air Transport Association of America PAC contributed \$26,000 to candidates and parties, \$20,750 (80 percent) to Republicans and \$5,250 (20 percent) to Democrats. These percentages roughly parallel the 71.7 percent to Republicans and 28.3 percent to Democrats that the air transport industry contributed as a whole.

PAC lobbyists also keep a close watch on regulatory, judicial, and other agencies, always seeking to represent their industries and businesses in the best possible light and to encourage activities that will benefit their member companies. For some associations that represent a single industry, such as the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, the goals and aims of the members are clear and rarely contradictory; for others, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, which represents a broad spectrum of industries, the goals are necessarily more general and less narrowly defined.

CURRENT ISSUES AND ACTIVITIES

Manufacturing

Manufacturing groups discussed here are the American Furniture Manufacturers Association (AFMA), the American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI), the Chemical Manufacturers Association (CMA), the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States (DISCUS), the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA), the Printing Industries of America (PIA), the Semiconductor Industry Association (SIA), and the Technology Network (TechNet). The American Forest and Paper Association (AF&PA) and the National Mining Association (NMA) represent suppliers of raw materials for manufacturing. Some of the primary concerns of associations representing manufacturing in the late twentieth century revolved around trade issues, regulatory issues, and taxes.

Many of the concerns of the manufacturing groups center on issues of international trade, particularly the protection of American manufacturing interests in a global economy. In the 1990s, these groups focused much of their lobbying efforts on political and economic trade measures such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). One of the most influential associations in the formulation and implementation of these agreements was the National Association of Manufacturers. In 1991, for instance, NAM sponsored an international conference that furthered GATT negotiations. It was also influential in the negotiations preceding passage of NAFTA and in the debate over granting China “most favored nation” trading status.

Other issues of concern to these groups as a whole include the regulations of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), and other Federal agencies. Generally, these associations tend to act as watchdogs, working to protect their member companies from what they see as overregulation by the government. Efforts to reduce government intervention in their business take many forms, depending on the specific concerns and needs of each industry. The Chemical Manufacturers Association, for example, is working for revision of the regulations of and additional laws that followed the Emergency Planning and Community Right-to-Know Act of 1986, such as the Toxics Release Inventory (TRI) Phase 3, initiated by the EPA, because it requires manufacturers to release proprietary information (trade secrets) to the public and to competitors.

Taxes are another major concern of manufacturing associations. The Distilled Spirits Council of the United States, for instance, lobbies against increasing taxes on whiskey and other liquors, and the Printing Industries of America (PIA) supports repeal of the Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) because of its impact on small printing businesses. The PIA also supports capital gains tax reduction, repeal of estate taxes, and replacing the current tax code with a flat tax.

Utilities

The utility groups to be discussed include the Edison Electric Institute (EEI) and the Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI). Utility organizations all support deregulation of their industry, a process that accelerated during the 1990s. All utilities are concerned that an atmosphere of free and fair competition continues to exist in a newly deregulated marketplace. The EEI, for instance, is working to influence the nature of competition in the

new climate of deregulation. The organization says that it wants to ensure that all competitors are treated equally and that consumers will benefit from the competition. It is also concerned, however, about “stranded costs”—the costs to electricity providers of the move from being regulated to being unregulated—and it has worked to get Congress to recognize these costs as legitimate and recoverable.

The nuclear power industry has also had to respond to the era of deregulation, and the NEI has taken the lead in this area. In particular, it seeks to ensure that nuclear energy plants are not placed at a competitive disadvantage by deregulation.

Transport

Transport organizations covered here are the Aerospace Industries Association (AIA), the Air Transport Association (ATA), and the American Trucking Association.

The Air Transport Association was a major player during most of the twentieth century in coordinating the activities of airlines and regulatory agencies, and it continued in this role in the 1990s. The ATA has several programs that serve its members and the public, including the Airline Clearing House, the Airline Inventory Redistribution Systems (AIRS), the Industry Audit Program, the Universal Air Travel Plan, the Civil Reserve Air Fleet, and the Airline Scheduling Committees. Its main concerns are operations and safety, passenger and cargo services, and legislation affecting the air transport industry.

The American Trucking Associations works to protect the interests of its many member trucking companies. It focuses on advocating fewer taxes and fewer government regulations. It also sought during the 1990s to eliminate weight–distance taxes, reduce estate taxes, prevent tolls on interstate highways, promote “cost-effective and sound environmental policies,” eliminate the Single State Registration System, and reform hours of service for truckers.

Construction

Construction organizations included here are Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC) and the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB). Like many other associations, these organizations devote much of their effort to monitoring and seeking to influence governmental regulatory bodies such as OSHA and the EPA because these agencies have the largest impact on regulating the construction industry as a whole.

Environmental concerns are an important focus of

this industry. As an example, the National Association of Home Builders publishes informational “Fact Sheets” on environmental topics, and it sponsored the National Green Building Conference in 1999, the first conference devoted to “environmentally friendly home building practices.”

SUMMARY

Since the first trade associations were established in America in the eighteenth century, they have grown into powerful organizations that represent the interests of their industries both externally (seeking to influence public, economic, and governmental policy) and internally (working to provide their members with information and support). The industries represented by these associations are varied, but they all have one goal: supporting the needs of their member companies. As the twenty-first century unfolds, this support will most likely include the continuation of monitoring the global marketplace, responding to the impact of technology on business, and transforming the relationship between government and private industry.

VIVIAN WAGNER

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AEROSPACE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

The Aerospace Industries Association (AIA) represents the nation’s leading manufacturers of aircraft, spacecraft, and related products and technologies. AIA members include manufacturers of commercial, military, and business airplanes, helicopters, aircraft engines, missiles, spacecraft, and related components. Activities of the AIA include lobbying Congress on aerospace issues, research and technology development, public relations, and relations with federal agencies.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., AIA departments and divisions include communications; public relations; membership; policy and planning; compensation practices and labor issues; legislative affairs; research; international issues; environmental, safety, and health; government; procurement and finance; technical operations; engineering management; national aerospace standards; product support; manufacturing and material management; quality assurance; and supplier management. In addition, the AIA includes divisions that handle issues connected with various aspects of the aerospace industry, including civil aircraft, commercial aircraft, and military-related products and technologies.

The membership of the AIA includes all of the largest U.S. aerospace companies, as well as many smaller ones and numerous subcontractors to the big aerospace firms. Some of the better-known members of the organization are Allied Signal, Boeing, General Dynamics, General Electric, Gulfstream, Honeywell, Hughes Electronics, Hughes Space and Communications, IT&T Industries, Defense and Electronics, Litton Industries, Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon Company, and United Technologies.

Among the services to the industry that the AIA plans to provide in the coming years is establishing a framework to streamline the working relationship between prime contractors and their suppliers. This effort is needed, says the AIA, because of the end of the Cold War, the drop in defense spending, and the shrinking role of the Pentagon. “When one customer is the bulk

of the sales, their policies become the standard,” explained AIA president John Douglass. With commercial sales now dominating the industry, it is more difficult for suppliers to satisfy conflicting requirements of different customers.

HISTORY

The predecessor to the Aerospace Industries Association—the Aircraft Manufacturers’ Association (AMA)—was founded in 1917 and was originally concerned with technical issues, public relations, and business issues facing the industry. Following U.S. entry into the First World War—and the subsequent realization of the importance of aircraft to modern warfare—the AMA was recruited by the government to help convert civilian production to military needs.

The AIA itself was founded in 1919 and was first known as the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America (ACCA). Its initial membership of 100 aerospace pioneers—both individuals and companies, including Orville Wright and Glen Curtiss—pledged “to foster, advance, promulgate and promote aeronautics” and “do every act and thing which may be necessary and proper for the advancement” of American aircraft development.

During the Second World War, the ACCA all but ceased to function, as government-industry councils took up the burden of focusing the industry on military production. After the war, the ACCA came back to life and underwent a major reorganization, becoming a more traditional trade organization and focusing on the industry’s trade and commercial interests. It also changed its name to the Aircraft Industries Association of America (AIAA). In 1959, reflecting developments in the arena of air and space technologies, it again changed its name, to the Aerospace Industries Association.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Although Defense Department contracts now make up just 20 percent of the business of its members, the Aerospace Industries Association continues to push for increased defense purchasing. Specific projects, however, are usually promoted by the companies that will compete for the orders. The AIA also lobbies for government research and development money in both Defense Department and National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) budgets. A recent plan advocated by the AIA calls for a \$70 billion increase in government aerospace research and development contracts. The AIA says that new and ongoing operations—such as the 1999 air war in Kosovo—should not detract from research and development spending. Failure to increase research and development spending, the AIA argues, will jeopardize both U.S. military superiority and the American aerospace industry's ability to compete in the international marketplace.

At the same time, the AIA recognizes that international customers are an increasingly important source of business for the American aerospace industry. Some 40 percent of aerospace products produced by AIA members have been sold overseas in recent years. However, the government limits the export of the most advanced technologies developed by the American aerospace industry. The AIA would like to see major amendments to the current rules to allow fewer restrictions.

According to AIA president Douglass, Congress needs “to draft an Export Administration Act that is geared for the next century.” Among the aspects of such an act that the AIA seeks are rules that allow U.S. firms to sell products to all available markets. Unilateral controls—barring exports to all countries—should always be written as temporary measures, until more specific multilateral controls can be developed. Companies should be able to continue exporting a product they have already sold abroad, even if new sales are prohibited to a particular country. All restrictions should have time limits written into them, and economic sanctions should be of limited duration and end automatically unless they are renewed.

Critics argue that exporting sophisticated technologies creates a vicious circle that benefits only the aerospace industry. That is, America has set itself the goal of being one generation ahead of the rest of the world in terms of new military technologies. Thus, if the latest generation is sold, the United States has to put research

and development funds into the coffers of aerospace companies to develop new military technologies. In addition, critics point out that the purpose of existing restrictions is to limit sales of military technology to countries that have opposed the United States in the recent past, or that have violated international attitudes toward human rights. In addition to the moral considerations of dealing with human rights violators, critics say that sales of military technology to such countries threatens U.S. security.

Frustrated by 11 failures since 1994 to pass a new export act, the AIA has recently begun lobbying Congress to create a public-private entity to oversee export licensing. According to the AIA, this would spare the Defense and State Departments the burden of checking thousands of export licenses and also would allow these agencies to focus on the most sensitive technologies. The AIA also pushes U.S. trade officials to work on behalf of American aerospace companies in resolving trade disputes. In this arena, a recent case involves a European Union (EU) ban on so-called hushkits—or re-fit packages for aircraft designed before new and tighter EU noise restrictions were written. The EU claims that the hushkits do not meet the noise restrictions, but the AIA says the EU's decision is really another way to protect the European aerospace industry by banning U.S. aircraft. Under the EU rules, only the latest Airbus Industrie aircraft meet the standards.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Although it represents defense and aerospace manufacturers that individually and collectively give enormous sums to the campaign coffers of congressional and presidential candidates of both parties, the Aerospace Industries Association itself does not have a political action committee and does not donate sums either to political parties in the form of soft-money contributions or to candidates in the form of regular hard-money contributions.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION

The Air Transport Association (ATA) was the first—and is still the only—organization that represents the major U.S. airline carriers. It represents 22 U.S. airline companies and three foreign carriers, which together make up 95 percent of the country’s passenger and cargo airline industry. According to the ATA’s Articles of Association, airlines qualify as members if they are common carriers in air transportation of passengers or operate a minimum of 20 million revenue ton-miles (RTMs) annually. They must also operate for at least one year prior to their application for ATA membership and have a valid operating certificate as described by Section 604 of the Federal Aviation Act.

ATA divisions and departments mirror the divisions within the airline industry. Some of the important departments and divisions of the ATA deal with operations and safety, engineering, maintenance, airport operations, air traffic management, cargo, electronic data interchange, federal and state government affairs, international affairs, legal affairs, passenger and public relations, and security.

The ATA helps its members, it says, by promoting “the safety, cost effectiveness, and technological advancement of operations; advocating common industry positions before state and local governments; conducting designated industry-wide programs; and assuring governmental . . . understanding of all aspects of air transport.”

The U.S. members of the ATA include Alaska Airlines, Aloha Airlines, America West Airlines, American Airlines, American Trans Air, Continental Airlines, Delta Air Lines, DHL Airways, Emery Worldwide, Evergreen International Airlines, Federal Express, Hawaiian Airlines, KIWI International Air Lines, Midwest Express Airlines, Northwest Airlines, Polar Air Cargo, Reeve Aleutian Airways, Southwest Airlines, Trans World Airlines, United Airlines, United Parcel Service, and US Airways. Foreign members include Air Canada,

Canadian Airlines International, and KLM–Royal Dutch Airlines.

The ATA, through its Industry Services Department, also actively supports and administers programs that serve its members and the traveling public. Some of these industry-wide programs include the Airline Clearing House, the Airline Inventory Redistribution Systems, the Industry Audit Program, the Universal Air Travel Plan, the Civil Reserve Air Fleet, and the Airline Scheduling Committees.

Much of the work done by the ATA is done by its committees and councils. These are organized as follows:

The Law Council focuses on legal matters of concern to the industry, government rules and procedures, international trade, tourism, aviation policy, equal opportunity employment, affirmative action, and personnel matters, and includes the Litigation Committee, the International Affairs Committee, the Facilitation Committee, and the Human Resources Committee.

The Government and Public Affairs Council focuses on legislation and governmental issues at the local, state, and federal levels and includes the Federal Affairs Committee, the Public Affairs Committee, and the Public Relations Committee.

The Operations Council focuses on safety and efficiency within the industry and includes the Air Traffic Control Committee, the Airports Committee, the Air-space Systems Implementation Committee, the Aviation Safety Committee, the Flight Systems Integration Committee, the Meteorological Committee, the Security Committee, the Training Committee, the Cabin Operations Panel, the Communications Panel, and the Medical Panel.

The Engineering, Maintenance and Materiel Council develops standards, procedures, and positions regarding airworthiness, engineering and maintenance, aircraft performance, environment and industrial health, and digital data standards. It also represents these positions to regulatory, governmental, and industry groups. It is

divided into the Airworthiness and Engineering Committee, the Maintenance Engineering Committee, the Materiel Management Committee, the Environmental Committee, and the Technical Information and Communications Committee.

The Air Cargo Council handles concerns relating to cargo, such as mail transportation, air freight services, and the shipment of dangerous goods. It is divided into the Dangerous Goods Board, the Cargo Services Development Committee, and the Airlines Postal Advisory Committee.

Finally, the Passenger Council works on issues that affect airline passengers, such as fares, reservations, ticketing, baggage, and other services. It is divided into the Baggage Committee, the Reservations Committee, the Passenger Processing Committee, the ATA/IATA Reservations Interline Message Procedures Board, the Passenger Data Interchange Standards Board, and the Industry Fares and Rules Exchange Standards Board.

HISTORY

The ATA was founded by representatives of a group of airlines who met in Chicago on January 5, 1936. The founding members described their goal as follows:

. . . to promote and develop the business of transporting persons, goods and mail by aircraft between fixed termini, on regular schedules and through special service, to the end that the best interests of the public and the members of the Association be served, . . . [and] to promote aviation safety in general.

During the course of its history, the ATA has addressed air traffic control, all-weather operations, advanced navigational aids, the development of a collision-avoidance system, and antihijacking measures. The ATA received the Collier Trophy for its “high record of safety” in 1939, and in 1941 received a second Collier award for “pioneering world-wide air transportation vital to immediate defense and ultimate victory.”

The ATA has been known for working with its members for the national good in times of war and national emergency. In 1936, with the Army Air Corps and the Army War College, it began to formulate plans to mobilize its members in the event of war. Later, in conjunction with the Department of Defense, the ATA formed the Civil Reserve Fleet and the War Air Service Program.

The ATA helped in formulating the Civil Aeronau-

tics Act, which established the Civil Aeronautics Authority. This board later became the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), which was responsible for safety, technical, and economic regulation of air carrier operations. The ATA also helped to develop the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, which transferred responsibility for safety and technical regulations from the CAB to the Federal Aviation Administration and the National Transportation Safety Board. The ATA was also heavily involved in the formation of the Aviation Trust Fund. After the Second World War, the ATA worked with the U.S. Post Office to promote air mail and international parcel post.

Some of the programs developed by the ATA include the Universal Air Travel Plan, electronic reservation systems, improved methods of ticketing and baggage handling, and mechanized cargo loading. In the 1940s, its member airlines, via ATA’s Air Traffic Conference, established the travel agency information and reservations program that is still used universally. The Airlines Reporting Corporation now administers this program, which provides a unified national ticketing service for airline passengers.

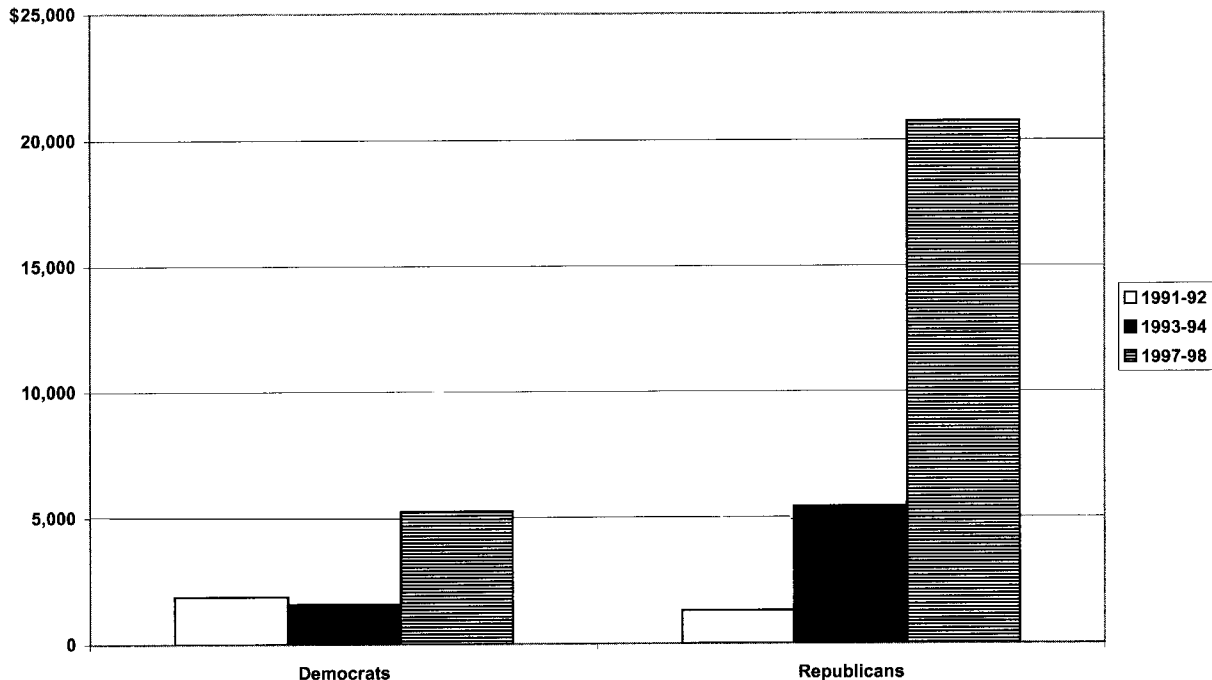
ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Three main areas of concern for the ATA are operations and safety, passenger and cargo services, and legislation. The ATA says that it desires “to promote safety by coordinating industry and government safety programs” and to serve as “a focal point for industry efforts to standardize practices and enhance the efficiency of the air transport system.” Its concerns also include the design and construction of airports and passenger terminal boarding spaces.

The lobbying efforts of the ATA are conducted by its Office of Government Affairs, which focuses on tracking the actions of Congress and various transportation-related committees, the Department of Transportation, and the Federal Aviation Administration. The Office of Government Affairs presents the interests of the association to Congress, the executive branch, and state and local governments; it also gathers information, presents testimony, and provides information about the industry to legislators.

Over the past few years, the ATA has been involved in a number of critical issues facing the airline industry. Perhaps the most important legislative item is the so-

**Air Transport Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1991–1998.

called passenger rights bill, proposed federal legislation currently being contemplated by Congress that would guarantee passengers the right to on-time travel and would regulate the wide variation in ticket prices, whereby some passengers pay many times more than others for the same kind of seat on the same flight. The ATA vehemently opposes such legislation, saying that it would cost the airlines too much and would hamper their ability to fill planes to capacity. Instead, the organization suggests a voluntary industry program that it calls “the customer service plan.”

As far as the growing number of delayed flights is concerned, the ATA supports its member airlines and says that many of the delays supposedly blamed on the airlines, are actually the fault of air traffic controllers. Thus, to blunt public anger and thwart passenger rights legislation, the organization is asking that the Department of Transportation change the method of measuring delays, so that it more accurately reflects the responsibility of air traffic controllers.

In the arena of labor rights, the ATA is fighting several measures that would affect pilots. The organization opposes new federal regulations that would require more rest time for pilots between flights.

Finally, the ATA actively opposes federal moves to regulate or prevent airline mergers. The organization says that, given the competitiveness of the airline industry, antitrust suits are dangerous. Moreover, it has tried to block federal legislation requiring more intense inspection of foreign carriers that have merged with American ones.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ATA has an annual operating budget of approximately \$27 million. During the 1997–1998 election cycle, the Air Transport Association of America political action committee (PAC) gave a total of \$26,000 in contributions to candidates and political parties, \$5,250 to Democrats and \$20,750 to Republicans. In the 1993–1994 election cycle, the organization donated \$6,909 to congressional candidates, including \$1,386 to Democrats and \$5,523 to Republicans. As these numbers indicate, the ATA tends to give about four times as much to Republicans as to Democrats. Moreover, there was roughly a fourfold increase between the election cycles

of 1993–1994 and 1997–1998, both of which involved congressional candidates only.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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AMERICAN FOREST AND PAPER ASSOCIATION

The American Forest and Paper Association (AF&PA) describes itself as “the national trade association of the forest, paper, and wood products industry, representing member companies engaged in growing, harvesting, and processing wood and wood fiber, manufacturing pulp, paper, and paperboard products from both virgin and recycled fiber, and producing engineered and traditional wood products. AF&PA represents a segment of industry which accounts for over 8 percent of the total U.S. manufacturing output.” It has 450 member companies across the United States, and it is active as both a trade organization and a lobbying association, with lobbying efforts at the federal and state levels.

Members of AF&PA include Boise Cascade, Champion International, Georgia-Pacific, International Paper, Mead, Plum Creek Timber, Procter & Gamble, Riverwood International, Stone Container, Union Camp, Westvaco, Weyerhaeuser, and Willamette Industries. Divisions of AF&PA include the American Wood Council; Containerboard and Kraft Paper; Forest Resources; and Paperboard, Paper, and Pulp.

HISTORY

The AF&PA was formed in 1992 as the result of a merger of the National Forest Products Association, the American Forest Council, and the American Paper Institute. In late 1995, the organization underwent a major restructuring, largely in response to numerous companies dropping out of the organization, complaining about high dues. Fort Howard withdrew in 1994 and Scott Paper in 1995. Moving away from a traditional loose organization of semiautonomous departments—each with its own budget and concerned with different aspects of the industry—the organization centralized its budgeting and consolidated its industrial components

into two large units, one for paper goods and one for forest resources. At the time, an AF&PA spokesperson said the reorganization would significantly lower operating costs and therefore membership dues.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The two most important issues that the AF&PA addresses in its lobbying efforts are trade and environmental legislation, which are often linked. The AF&PA is on record as supporting what it calls a “forest management” approach—that is, one that continues to support forestry on government-owned lands. It seeks to define itself as being balanced between supporting environmental concerns and defending the financial and political interests of the industry. The AF&PA has spoken out for the Estate Tax Rate Reduction Act (HR-8) and against the Clinton administration’s moratorium on forest road construction. It has also supported passage of the Ocean Shipping Reform Act, which lowered freight rates, and the Tucker Shuffle Relief Act for property rights. It helped to defeat a bill calling for new responsibilities under the previously passed Superfund legislation and worked to narrow the scope of an Environmental Protection Agency initiative on high production volume chemicals. It also promoted an amendment to the Clean Air Act to permit the continued use of methyl bromide, a poisonous gas used by the industry.

General issues that have concerned AF&PA lobbyists recently have included agriculture; the budget and appropriations; clean air and water; nuclear energy; environmental issues and the Superfund; health issues; labor, antitrust, and workplace issues; natural resources; real estate; land use and conservation; railroads, taxation, and the Internal Revenue code; domestic and foreign trade; and trucking and shipping.

In lobbying for domestic timber interests, the AF&PA has worked to increase U.S. access to the Japanese housing market and to protect U.S. exports of pallets, saw lumber, veneer, and plywood to Mexico. It also has been working to support growth opportunities via the proposed International Building Code and in other arenas. On trade issues generally, the AF&PA wants the government to press for lower tariffs around the world on forest and paper products, a position that is opposed by environmental groups who argue that lower prices would encourage more consumption of wood and paper products, leading to more logging and more destruction of forest habitats worldwide. The AF&PA, however, says that lower tariffs would probably increase consumption by no more than 3 or 4 percent.

Still, the AF&PA maintains that environmental concerns and recycling remain high on its list of priorities. As AF&PA president W. Henson Moore said in the organization's 1998 Annual Report, "This year, AF&PA introduced a three-to-five-year, 'inside-the-beltway' performance-based media campaign designed to position our industry as responsible, trustworthy stewards of the environment." The AF&PA has tried to counteract the antienvironmental image of the forest products industry by supporting programs and initiatives to benefit the environment. For instance, in 1998 it started the Sustainable Forestry Initiative (SFI) program, which chairman Rick R. Holley says, demonstrates "a commitment to future generations to ensure they will have the abundant forest and diverse wildlife we enjoy today while providing the forest and paper products that enrich our lives." The SFI program is based on the integration of responsible environmental policy and sound business practices. It includes voluntary SFI Verification Principles and Procedures and Qualification Criteria, which industry members can use to evaluate measure their environmental practices.

The AF&PA also supports the Agenda 2020 Sustainable Forestry Request by funding projects in four different research fields: biotechnology, basic physiology, soil productivity, and sensing. It has funded 21 projects in collaboration with federal agencies, universities, national laboratories, and industry. It also sponsors the annual Wildlife Stewardship Awards, which recognize outstanding wildlife stewardship on industrial forestlands, and it supports a national program called Project Learning Tree, which focuses on engaging students and teachers in environmental issues.

The AF&PA says that its recycling goal is to see 50 percent of paper recovered for recycling and reuse by

the year 2000. To support recycling, it sponsors the Paper Recycling Awards, which, as of 1999, were in their 10th year. This program honors the best paper recycling programs in America. At the same time, however, the organization has argued strongly—both in Washington and in the nation's press—that the United States needs to ease up on its harshly restrictive environmental laws, which raise the costs of U.S. wood products and make them noncompetitive in the world market. In particular, the AF&PA would like to see restrictions on the harvesting of timber on public lands substantially lifted.

In addition, the organization has opposed strong enforcement of the Endangered Species Act. Faced with continuing lawsuits that prevent timber cutting in the name of protecting such species, the AF&PA has been pushing Congress to enact legislation that would compensate owners of private timberlands for losses incurred when they are forced to stop cutting to protect endangered species. Again, environmental groups are opposed to such initiatives, arguing instead for laws that would provide incentives to protect endangered species.

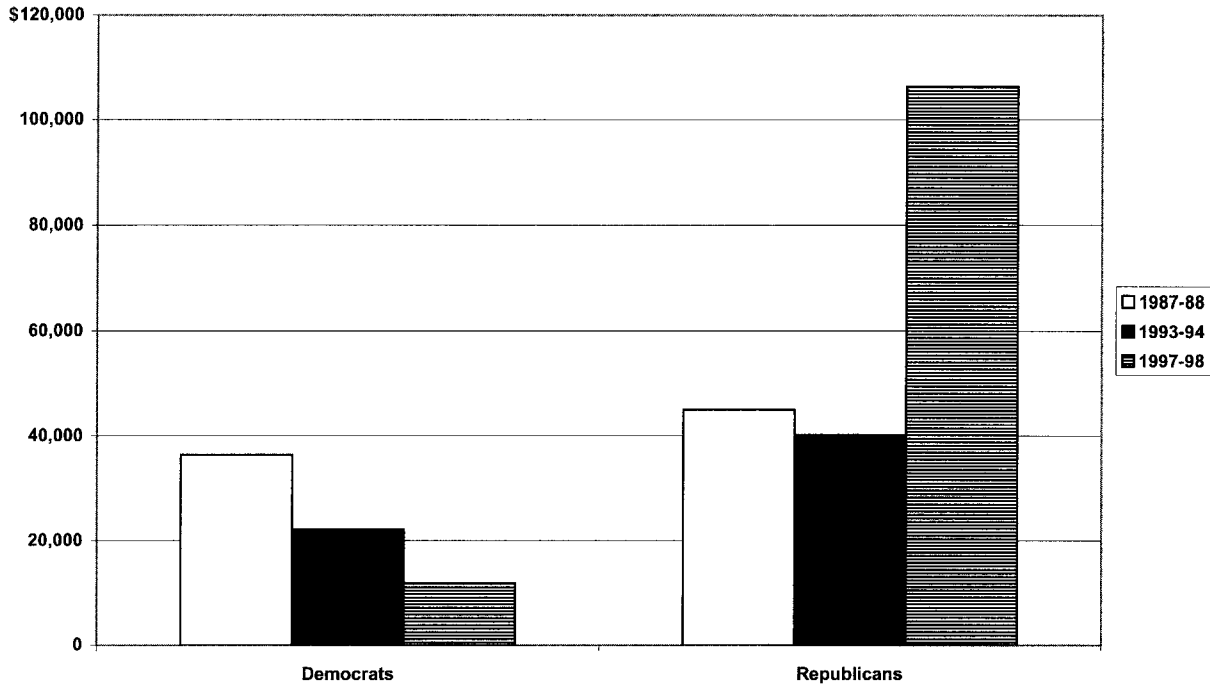
Other issues of concern to the AF&PA include mortgage and housing finance bills, U.S. Agriculture Department authorization and appropriation bills, the management of federal lands, measures meant to protect wilderness, U.S. Forest Service operations and budget, and federal timber sale contracts.

FINANCIAL FACTS

During the 1997–1998 election cycle, the AF&PA political action committee (PAC, formerly the Forest Industries PAC—FIPAC) received \$112,731 and spent \$124,231. The latter figure includes \$118,207 in contributions to candidates and political parties, \$106,407 to Republicans and \$11,800 to Democrats. During a previous congressional election cycle—1993–1994—the group donated \$62,328, \$40,212 to Republicans and \$22,116 to Democrats. In the 1995–1996 presidential election cycle, the AF&PA donated \$133,800 to congressional and presidential campaigns, all but \$11,000 going to Republicans. This overwhelming bias in favor of Republicans, experts say, reflects the fact that Democrats are often seen as more likely to sacrifice the interests of the forestry industry in favor of the environment.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

**American Forest and Paper Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

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AMERICAN FURNITURE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

The American Furniture Manufacturers Association (AFMA), the largest trade association for furniture manufacturers in the United States, represents 336 member manufacturers across the country. The association says that it is interested in the expansion of the furniture industry and improving the profitability of American furniture producers.

In addition to attending to the needs of the furniture industry and its members, the AFMA encourages communication and networking among manufacturers; aids in developing efficient management practices within the industry, promotes its members' legislative and regulatory interests, and sponsors technical, statistical, and research programs.

The AFMA's headquarters are located in High Point, North Carolina, and it also maintains a lobbying office in Washington, D.C., where there is a full-time staff devoted to lobbying Congress and other political groups on behalf of AFMA member companies. Reflecting the industry's varied concerns, the AFMA is divided into the following professional divisions: Finance, Human Resources/Safety, Manufacturing, Used Equipment, Fabric Remnants, Marketing, the Summer and Casual Furniture Manufacturers Association, Suppliers, and Transportation and Logistics. Each of these divisions is relatively independent, and some of them have their own board of directors.

The Finance division is composed of executives from AFMA member companies who have a particular interest in finance. It sponsors several meetings and events, including an annual information meeting, an annual financial management seminar, an economic forecast conference, and specialty seminars for financial management personnel. Among the publications the Finance division regularly sends to its members are the *Sales Planning Guide*, the *Survey of Current Business*, and the *Quarterly Economic Forecast*.

The Human Resources/Safety division, according to the AFMA, addresses labor management practice and

issues that effect the ability of furniture companies to remain competitive with foreign producers. This division provides human resources personnel in member companies with up-to-date information about the latest laws, standards, rulings, compliance procedures, and organized labor activities that affect the furniture manufacturing industry. It also produces surveys, information kits, educational programs, newsletters, an award program, and an annual Human Resources/Safety expo.

The manufacturing division provides its members with the latest information about techniques and developments within furniture manufacturing. It sponsors regular semiannual meetings and technical seminars for its members and operates the Advisory Committee on the Environment.

The Used Equipment and Fabric Remnants divisions makes it possible for members to search databases to locate and purchase used equipment and fabric remnants from fellow members.

The Marketing division keeps the marketing personnel within the industry abreast of changes in the marketing field through meetings, seminars, committees, publications, and surveys.

The Summer and Casual Furniture Manufacturers Association is an organization operating within the larger organization of the AFMA. Founded in 1959 to promote the interests of manufacturers in this field, it provides its members with legislative and regulatory updates and information about management techniques and sponsors research programs.

The Suppliers division has its own board of directors, committee structure, and membership directory. It provides its supplier members with statistical information, legislative news, and other benefits.

Like other professional organizations in the manufacturing industry, the AFMA supports external lobbying activities and internal professional development.

HISTORY

The AFMA was founded in 1984 when the Southern Furniture Manufacturers Association (SFMA) merged with the National Association of Furniture Manufacturers (NAFM). As most of the positions in the AFMA would be held by SFMA officials, some members of the NAFM feared that the SFMA would dominate the new organization. However, the merger went ahead, as most members of both organizations recognized the need to have the industry speak with one voice. It was also decided that the new organization would include associate members, such as fabric mills and suppliers, as well as regular members like furniture manufacturing companies.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The AFMA maintains a high profile in Washington, D.C., where its staff seeks to advance the interests of the industry with Congress and regulatory agencies. The AFMA represents manufacturers' concerns before Congress, the administration, the Consumer Product Safety Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Federal Trade Commission, the International Trade Commission, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

The AFMA also sponsors the Furniture Political Action Committee (FurnPAC), which according to its literature promotes itself as supporting "private enterprise candidates seeking election to the United States Senate and House of Representatives." A board of directors representing small, medium, and large furniture manufacturing companies—all members of the AFMA—runs the bipartisan FurnPAC.

On the state level, AFMA works on issues such as taxes, business practices, and environmental concerns. In addition to sharing in the lobbying and legislative efforts of the AFMA, the professional divisions within the organization all address their particular concerns, issues, and activities.

In the early 1990s, the organization worked with the EPA on regulating the use of volatile coatings in the manufacture of furniture. The EPA has insisted that furniture manufacturers reduce factory emissions, particularly those hazardous air pollutants caused by the use of

various coating materials. While the EPA has suggested stronger regulations, the AFMA has asked that furniture companies be permitted to emit a certain amount of hazardous air pollutants. Those who emitted less than allowed amounts of pollutants could then sell their pollution credits to other manufacturers who did not meet the requirements.

By 1999, however, the AFMA was asking the North Carolina government to exempt some 85 furniture companies from state rules designed to protect people from the highly toxic air pollutants resulting from the use of volatile coating materials. These exemptions would save the industry some \$850,000 in compliance costs. Environmental organizations vehemently oppose the exemptions. "We're seeing this as a piecemeal approach to eliminating the state health-based (air) standards," said Janet Zeller of the Blue Ridge Environmental Defense League. The state had turned down a request for wider exemptions in 1998, but may be willing to permit limited exemptions this time.

FINANCIAL FACTS

During the 1997–1998 election cycle, FurnPAC received \$212,005 in receipts and spent \$198,252. The latter figure includes \$158,750 in contributions to candidates and parties—\$21,000 to Democrats and \$137,750 to Republicans. During the previous Congress-only election cycle of 1993–1994, FurnPAC gave \$140,950 to candidate campaigns, with all but \$15,000 going to Republications. Similarly, there was a strong bias in favor of Republicans in the 1995–1996 presidential election cycle, when the organization gave \$126,200 to Republican presidential and congressional candidates, but only \$11,500 to Democrats.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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AMERICAN TEXTILE MANUFACTURERS INSTITUTE

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI), which is the national trade association for the United States textile industry, represents spinners, weavers, tufters, knitters, and finishers of textile products. The ATMI's membership represents about 80 percent of the U.S. textile manufacturing industry in more than 30 states. According to the ATMI, there are approximately 6,000 textile manufacturing units in the United States.

In addition to serving the internal interests of its members as a professional trade organization, ATMI represents the industry to the legislative and administrative branches of the government and to the news media. As it says about itself in its literature, "ATMI's activities encompass government relations, international trade, product and administrative services, communications and economic information."

ATMI also helped to organize the American Textile Foundation, which operates solely for charitable and educational purposes, as defined by Section (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue code of 1986. The foundation promotes and sponsors educational and research activities related to textile manufacturing, develops programs aimed at improving workplace safety, and fosters other activities that contribute to the fulfillment of its mission of assisting the American manufacturing industry.

HISTORY

The ATMI is the result of several mergers. The first merger came in 1949, when the American Cotton Manufacturers Association merged its largely southern membership with the largely northern membership of the Cotton Textile Institute. The resulting new association was named the American Textile Manufacturers Institute.

In 1958, ATMI merged with the National Federation of Textiles, bringing under its umbrella the silk-

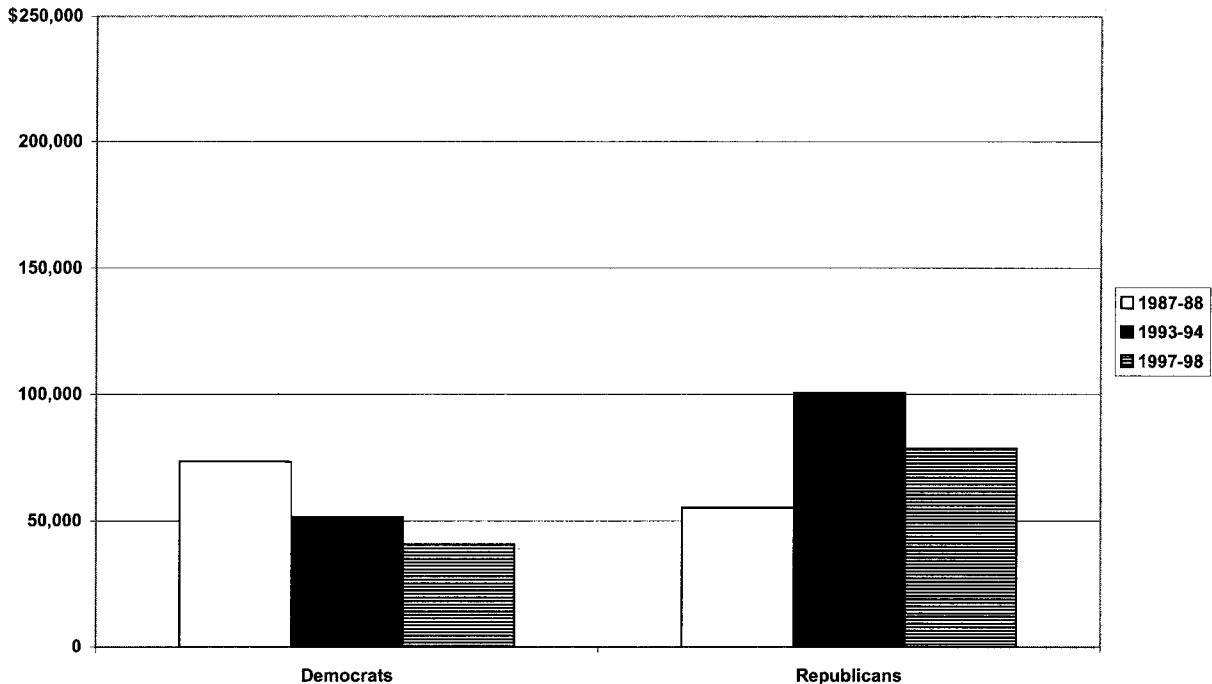
textile and man-made-fiber industries. Other trade groups that merged with ATMI were the Association of Finishers of Textile Fabrics in 1965, the National Association of Wool Manufacturers in 1971, and the Thread Institute in 1989.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Given the intensely competitive nature of the worldwide textile business, the ATMI has focused much of its lobbying efforts in Washington on trade issues. These include pushing antidumping action that would prevent the export of textiles by Asian exporters to the American market below production cost, pressing for action against the transshipping of textiles (that is, shipping textiles produced in a country that has met its quota of textile exports to the United States via another country that has not); free-trade pacts with textile-producing countries in the Caribbean and Africa that allow producers to export low-cost textile products to the American market; and the inclusion of extraterritorial dispute-resolution panels in future trade agreements.

On the dumping issue, the ATMI has frequently asked that the U.S. government look into charges that foreign countries are dumping textiles into the United States below cost to guarantee employment at home and to maintain a stronger position in the U.S. market. The problem, says the organization, has become particularly acute since the collapse of East Asian economies in 1997. Citing government statistics, the ATMI says that man-made fiber fabric imports increased 50 percent between 1997 and 1998, while prices of these imports declined by as much as 45 percent. "We're looking at the various products to see where there may have been dumping, to what extent, and see if we have enough evidence to present to the government," said Doug Bulcao, ATMI director of government relations, in 1998.

**American Textile Manufacturers Institute
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

Citing China as the worst abuser of transshipment practices, the ATMI has asked that the government push for standard labeling practices on all textiles imported to the United States. The organization says that a great many textiles produced in China are shipped via Hong Kong and Macao and are labeled as products of these two places. Moreover, the ATMI would like the government to be more vigilant in its anti-transshipping investigations.

And while the ATMI has expressed limited support for including Caribbean nations under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the organization says it would like to see Caribbean nations receive access to the American market for their apparel exports—similar to the access that Mexico has under NAFTA—but only so long as the apparel contains U.S.-made yarns and fabrics. At the same time, however, the ATMI has expressed concern about the Clinton initiative that would allow African countries to export textiles to the United States tariff free. Similarly, the organization would like to ensure that any future trade pact—including any with sub-Saharan Africa—would not include extraterritorial dispute-resolution panels. That is to say, the ATMI does not want panels with non-U.S. members to decide what

constitutes a breach of the treaty, especially as far as dumping and transshipping are concerned.

The ATMI opposes unfair trade practices and has denounced sweatshops. It is also concerned with the effect of low-cost Asian imports, and it continues to monitor the effect of NAFTA on the textile industry. Since it supports American manufacturers, the association is always on guard to protect the interests of American companies producing textiles within American borders, and it lobbies for positions that support the domestic industry.

In a code of conduct adopted by the ATMI board of directors on September 24, 1996, the ATMI says that “we strongly oppose and find repugnant any human rights violation including the exploitation of children, prison labor, discrimination based on race, gender, age, national or ethnic origin or religion. . . . We urge all companies that manufacture, import, distribute or sell textile products here and abroad to do all they can to protect the rights of their employees.”

Recently the ATMI has focused on environmental concerns within the industry. It created the Encouraging Environmental Excellence (E3) program in 1992 to address these concerns. ATMI representatives contend

that “the program’s main purpose is to challenge U.S. textile companies to strengthen their commitment to the environment by going beyond simply complying with environmental laws. E3 encourages U.S. textile companies to get out in front of regulations and set standards for other industries to follow.”

To qualify for E3 membership, a company must go beyond compliance with environmental laws and governmental regulations: it must also adopt 10 guidelines, developed by the ATMI to solidify its commitment to environmental concerns. After qualifying for membership, a company can display the E3 logo on its products and elsewhere in its marketing and trade-show participation. In response to the E3 program, the Environmental Protection Agency has said that the ATMI is among the most proactive trade associations on pollution prevention in the United States.

FINANCIAL FACTS

During the 1997–1998 election cycle, the ATMI Committee for Good Government contributed \$119,000 to the campaigns of congressional candidates, of which \$78,500 went to Republicans and \$40,500 went to Democrats. In the election cycle of 1993–1994, the committee gave \$152,650 to candidate campaigns, with \$100,100 going to Republicans and \$52,550 going to Democrats. This roughly two-to-one bias in favor of Republicans is reflected in the amount of campaign contributions going to the two parties’ presidential and

congressional candidates in the 1995–1996 election cycle. In those years, the committee contributed \$112,500 to Republicans and \$50,000 to Democrats.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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AMERICAN TRUCKING ASSOCIATIONS

The American Trucking Associations (ATA), a federation of trucking associations, represents 50 state associations and 13 affiliated national conferences. It is also a trade association representing 4,500 trucking companies across the United States.

The ATA’s membership is open to companies at all levels of the trucking industry, including motor carriers, private carriers, large or small companies, equipment suppliers, and service providers.

According to its mission statement, the ATA strives “to serve and represent the interests of the trucking industry with one united voice; to positively influence Federal and State governmental actions; to advance the trucking industry’s image, efficiency, competitiveness, and profitability; to provide educational programs and industry research; to promote highway and driving safety; and to strive for a healthy business environment.”

Some of the nonlobbying educational and advocacy programs of the ATA include America’s Road Team, National Truck Driver Appreciation Week, Highway Watch, and “How to Drive” press conferences. These programs are intended to increase public appreciation for the industry. The ATA publishes “Truckline,” a three-times-weekly fax featuring brief industry updates, statistical publications, a web site with information for its members and the public, and special announcements of events affecting the trucking industry.

The ATA has established national conferences and gatherings to address different issues within the trucking and transportation industry, including the following: American Movers Conference; Film, Air and Package Carriers Conference; Interstate Carriers Conference; Munitions Carriers Conference; National Automobile Transporters Association; National Tank Truck Carriers; Oil Field Haulers Association; Regional and Distribution Carriers Conference; Regular Common Carrier Conference; and Specialized Carriers & Rigging Association.

HISTORY

The ATA was formed by a number of trucking organizations in 1933. In the early years of the Great Depression, the association brought together various state and national trucking federations as a means of coping with economic troubles and of preparing for a toughening regulatory environment anticipated in the incoming Franklin Roosevelt administration. Indeed, just two years after the ATA was founded, Congress passed the Motor Carrier Act of 1935, which effectively placed the trucking industry under the regulatory control of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Many experts agree that in the years since, the ATA and the trucking industry have exercised enormous influence over the ICC.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The ATA in general advocates fewer taxes on and less governmental regulations of the trucking industry. The ATA’s literature informs prospective members that the organization will “save you from undue tax burdens and cut regulatory red tape . . . prevent government interference in your business . . . put money back in your pocket where it belongs.” The ATA works closely with Congress and regulatory agencies, in order to improve the profitability of the trucking industry.

The critical issues the ATA focuses on include emissions and pollution, accidents and truck safety, cross-border trucking issues, highway tolls, and highway crime. On the issue of emissions, the trucking industry is facing more intense scrutiny in recent years from regulatory agencies like the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), especially as emissions of other vehicles on the road—such as automobiles and light trucks—

become increasingly cleaner. Currently, diesel trucks and buses produce 26 percent of the nitrogen oxides and 70 percent of urban soot in the air.

Officially, the ATA says that it has never been opposed to strengthening heavy-duty diesel standards. However, the organization points out that locomotives, construction vehicles, and other diesel machines are regulated even less closely than motor carriers. Moreover, the ATA points out that only 2.5 percent of the vehicles on the road are diesel powered. While it has no objection to increasing the cleanliness of emissions of new vehicles, it is concerned that because diesel vehicles have a longer life on the road than most gasoline-powered vehicles, retroactive regulations may be too costly for truckers operating on marginal budgets.

Indeed, the ATA has even tried to stop the EPA from instituting sweeping regulatory changes of any kind. In 1999, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington ruled on behalf of the ATA that changes in the enforcement of the Clean Air Act were so sweeping that they actually constituted making legal changes, a power reserved to Congress.

On the issue of trucking and highway safety, the ATA also affirms that it is in agreement with the government—in this case, the Department of Transportation—that trucking accidents occur too frequently and should be reduced by 50 percent over the next few years. But consumer watchdog groups like Public Citizen say that the ATA is not being entirely honest in its publicly professed dedication to lowering trucking accident rates. Indeed, Public Citizen says that the Department of Transportation's increasingly weak enforcement of trucking safety is due to the fact that the department has become "a tool of the motor carrier industry." Public Citizen says that industry oversight should be moved to the Highway Traffic Safety Administration, a move the ATA opposes. "We disagree with anyone who tries to disparage the safety record of professional truck drivers," the ATA has declared. The organization also notes that the move to more "just-in-time delivery" has helped the economy but put economic pressure on truck drivers to make deadlines. In 1999, the ATA offered a proposal to shift responsibility for the safety and roadworthiness of intermodal transport containers and chassis (that is, those containers that have become commonplace in the past decade that are transferred directly from ships to trucks) from the truckers to the owners of the equipment or the shipping-terminal operators, a proposal that was strongly opposed by the American Association of Port Authorities.

Similarly, the ATA backs congressional moves to

raise the legal limits on truck weight and size, arguing that larger and heavier trucks actually increase safety since they reduce the overall number of trucks on the road. Consumer groups like Public Citizen vehemently oppose these changes.

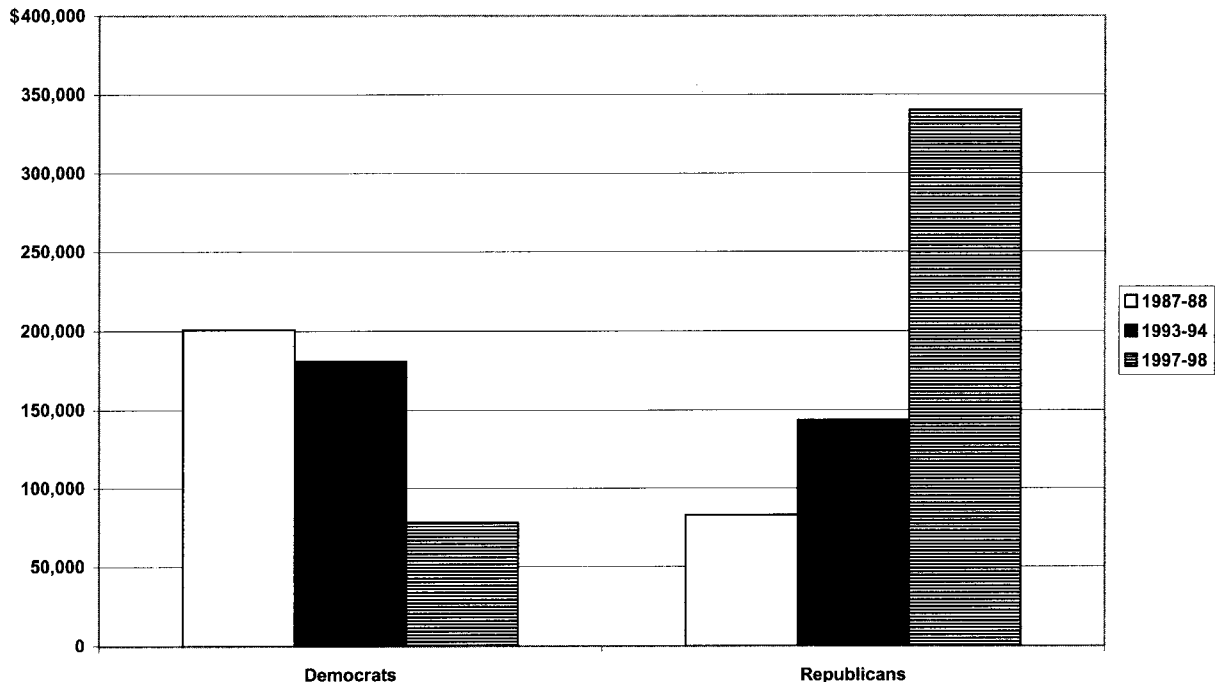
Concerning the issue of cross-border trucking, the ATA has sought to eliminate restrictions on the use of Mexican trucks and to ease the strictness of safety inspections required of these trucks at the U.S.-Mexican border. The organization says that NAFTA's trucking provisions must require all foreign carriers operating in the United States to abide by U.S. standards and regulations. Moreover, the long safety delays at the border mean that "trucking companies continue to operate in an inefficient transportation system—even as we face increasing levels of trade flows." Public interest groups oppose easing any such restrictions and safety inspections. In addition, the ATA says that it would like to see an end to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's policy of checking the papers of foreign nationals as they leave the United States to make sure that they have not overstayed their visas. The ATA opposes this practice because it creates enormous delays at the border that can cost truckers time, money, and cargo, especially if the latter contains perishable goods.

On the issue of crime, the ATA supports the 1999 Cargo Theft Deterrent Act currently awaiting review in the Senate. Provisions of the bill require a minimum three-year prison sentence for persons convicted of cargo theft; allocate \$3 million annually to the Interstate Theft Union for investigation, prosecution, and prevention of cargo theft; allocate an additional \$5 million for state and local cargo-theft task forces; and allow motor carriers more extensive access to employees' criminal records.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Over the past six election cycles—going back to the late 1980s—the ATA has given significant amounts of money to the campaigns of presidential and congressional candidates. Indeed, between the 1987–1988 and the 1997–1998 election cycles, this amount has steadily increased from \$284,372 to \$419,196, a remarkable increase given the fact that 1987–1988 was a presidential election cycle—which normally sees higher levels of campaign donations—and the 1997–98 was a Congress-only election cycle. Perhaps most unusual in the ATA's donation pattern has been the enormous fluctuations in donations to Democratic and Republican candidates.

**American Trucking Associations
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

Normally, lobbying groups tend to be consistent in giving more to one party than to another. The ATA donated roughly 70 percent to Democrats in the 1987–1988 election cycle, but only about 20 percent in the 1997–1998 election cycle.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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ASSOCIATED BUILDERS AND CONTRACTORS

Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC) is a national trade association representing subcontractors, material suppliers, and related firms in the construction industry. It represents more than 20,000 "merit-shop," or nonunion, construction and construction-related firms. At the base of the structure of ABC are 83 local chapters throughout the United States. The association maintains its headquarters in Arlington, Virginia, where it lobbies Congress, monitors Washington activity for its members with its *Government Affairs Update* and *Regulatory Update*, and represents the construction industry before the Department of Labor, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), and the Environmental Protection Agency. ABC's committees include Budget and Finance, Business Development, By-laws and Policy, Contract Documents, Craft Training, Insurance, Legal Rights and Strategy, Legislative, Management Education, Pension, Political Action, and Safety.

ABC, through its political action committee (PAC) and the PAC's subgroup, Contractors for Free Enterprise, is a strong supporter of merit-shop principles. In 1989 it created the Construction Legal Rights Foundation (CLRF), which helps its members in legal cases, and it also operates the Contractors Referral Service, which, it says, is the leading source for America's construction users to identify the best merit-shop firms.

Within its industry the association is active on issues concerning safety, training, and education. Through its chapters it supports a school-to-work program, which seeks to interest children in construction careers. It is also affiliated with the National Center for Construction Education and Research. Its primary publication is *ABC Today*, a semimonthly magazine aimed at merit-shop contractors.

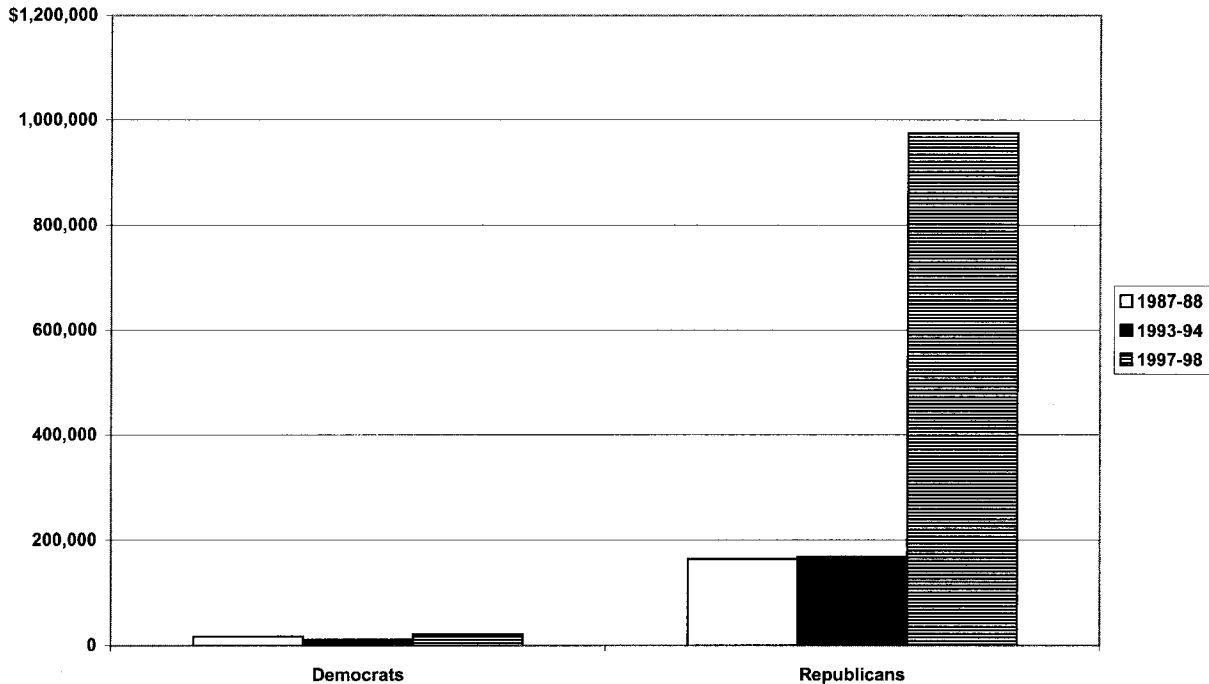
HISTORY

In 1950 Associated Builders and Contractors was founded as an interest group representing six contractors in the Baltimore area. Over the past 50 years, the organization has grown dramatically, appealing to thousands of construction firms and contractors who stand opposed to closed-shop, unionized construction sites. Indeed, it is this position, says the organization, that has made ABC the fastest-growing construction trade association in the country. According to ABC, open-shop contractors today perform over 70 percent of all construction nationwide and its membership includes over one-third of the top 400 construction companies in the United States.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Associated Builders and Contractors has made a name for itself in Washington as one of the strongest anti-union advocates of any manufacturing interest group and a firm opponent of government regulation of the construction industry. In 1999, ABC launched a major offensive against what it called federal blacklisting rules, which had been proposed by the Clinton administration and backed by presidential candidate and Vice President Albert Gore. Specifically, these rules would bar from receiving a government contract any firm that had a history of violating labor, environmental, or tax laws and regulations. ABC president David Bush says that the proposal is "one more tool that unscrupulous unions will use to attack merit shop [better known as open-shop] contractors." According to the organiza-

**Associated Builders and Contractors
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

tion, labor unions often file frivolous charges against nonunion construction firms in order to drive up their costs and make them less competitive. With a federal blacklist of such firms in operation, unions, the organization says, would be more encouraged to file such frivolous suits as a way to punish their open-shop opponents.

At the same time, ABC has been an active opponent of so-called project labor agreements, or PLAs. Under a PLA, a government agency that puts out bids for construction contracts can require that a company—even an open-shop company—must operate as a union shop for the duration of the project. ABC and other antiunion organizations won a significant victory in 1998 when a Boston area judge—in a case involving a school-renovation project—ruled that PLAs need not apply to small or medium construction projects. Until the ruling, PLAs were quite common on small- and medium-sized government construction sites throughout the United States.

Similarly, ABC has pushed for congressional legislation that would allow entry-level “helpers” on federal construction projects. Helpers—unskilled or semi-skilled, generally nonunion workers—are widely used on private-sector construction projects. Citing the need

for more entry-level positions, ABC says this practice should be extended to the government contracting sector of the industry. Unions generally have opposed the move, saying that it undermines union membership.

Finally, on regulations, ABC has been actively seeking to diminish the extent of OSHA rules on construction projects. Specifically, ABC wants OSHA to ease the record-keeping requirements for contractors on small- and medium-sized construction projects, saying that it places an inordinate paperwork burden on the generally smaller companies that work on such projects. But Knut Ringen, director of the Center to Protect Workers Rights, says continuing the record-keeping requirements is essential for both employers and workers. “One reason we’re seeing declines in injury rates is because employers’ reporting behaviors have changed,” he says. “They’re avoiding reporting injuries to save on workers’ compensation costs.”

FINANCIAL FACTS

Given its strong support for open-shop, antiunion hiring practices, it is not surprising that Associated

Builders and Contractors eschewed giving donations to the more pro-labor Democratic Party. Indeed, the amount of money given to Democrats has remained a tiny fraction of that given Republicans for the past half-dozen election cycles since 1987–1988, even as the organization's overall amount given to political campaigns has grown dramatically over that same time period. For example, in 1987–1988, ABC gave \$163,726 to political candidates for president and Congress, with over 90 percent going to Republicans. Ten years later, in the 1997–1998 election cycle, ABC gave congressional candidates a total of \$966,117, representing an increase of almost 600 percent. However, the \$21,000 given to Democrats in the latter cycle represented only 2 percent of the amount given to Republican candidates.

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BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE

The Business Roundtable (BRT) is an association of the chief executive officers (CEOs) of many of the largest corporations in the United States, including those in the manufacturing, extractive, transportation, communications, banking, insurance, and retailing sectors. Membership in the organization is by invitation only. And while the CEOs play a major role in BRT, their companies are the actual members; the CEOs are, technically speaking, merely their companies' representatives.

BRT is headed by a chairman, who serves for a year, although most serve for two consecutive terms. There are also two to four co-chairmen. Much of the analysis and policy-formulating work of BRT is conducted by task forces. These include Corporate Governance, Education, Environment, Federal Budget, Government Regulation, Health and Retirement, Human Resources, International Trade and Investment, Taxation, Tort Policy, and Construction Cost Effectiveness (the only industry-specific task force in BRT). The task forces—which often include experts drawn from industry and academe—and their chairmen draft position papers and use them in their advocacy efforts, which include testifying before Congress, working with scholars, and influencing public opinion through public relations and advertising. In general, the task forces focus on general policy principles, rather than on immediate and specific legislation.

For the most part, BRT focuses its analysis and lobbying efforts on major issues that affect business, including governmental fiscal and regulatory policy, environmental matters, international trade, and tort reform. While the organization is less well-known to the public than the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and other business advocacy organizations, experts say it is among the most powerful lobbying groups in Washington—a role it has achieved through the influence of its member companies' representatives. Overall, the CEOs who serve on BRT run companies that employ over 10 million people in the United States and millions more overseas. In addi-

tion, the member companies of BRT spend over \$100 million dollars annually lobbying Congress. BRT is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and every June its member companies' representatives hold a meeting to establish overall policy goals for the association.

HISTORY

BRT came into being in 1972, the result of a merger of three existing business organizations. These included the March Group, a group of CEOs who had been meeting informally to discuss public policy issues; the Construction Users Anti-Inflation Roundtable, an organization of businesspersons in the construction industry who were dedicated to fighting the rising costs of construction; and the Labor Law Study Committee, an organization of executives in the field of labor relations who were dedicated to containing the power of unions and establishing more managerial control over the workplace. Some of the key figures behind the formation of BRT included the CEOs of Alcoa, General Electric, and U.S. Steel (now USX).

The Business Roundtable has been cited as one of the key policy-formulating interest groups that helped elect Ronald Reagan president in 1980 and pushed for pro-corporate and pro-wealthy tax breaks during the first years of his administration. Indeed, BRT is seen as one of the key groups behind the rise of the conservative, pro-business climate of the 1980s and the Republican takeover of Congress in 1994.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

As noted above, BRT has focused its efforts largely on the most important public policy issues. These break

down roughly into the following categories: government regulation of the environment, working conditions, and corporate bookkeeping; overall government fiscal policy (currently focusing on the debate over Social Security reform); international trade; tort reform; and healthcare reform.

On issues of international trade, BRT has supported the North American Free Trade Agreement and further liberalization of U.S. commercial policy. It has also favored expansion of global agreements like the one that created the World Trade Organization to include more nations, such as China. BRT argues that since the United States is the world's largest exporter, it must be the world's leading proponent of free trade.

Some critics have accused BRT of being antienvironment. They point to the group's opposition to the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, an international agreement to limit the emission of carbon gases. The emission of carbon compounds—largely by industry and transportation—is seen by most scientists as the main culprit in the trend toward global warming. BRT's main objection to the Kyoto Protocol is economic. According to the association, the agreement requires the major industrialized countries—especially the United States—to take on the bulk of the reductions, a task that would hamper American economic growth and make the country less competitive in the world market, particularly against less industrialized countries that are not required to lower their emissions as much. And while BRT acknowledges that the protocol includes market-based incentives for carbon gas reduction, it believes that these do not go far enough. The association wants the U.S. government to oppose the protocol until it can demonstrate that the required reductions will not harm economic growth.

On the domestic front, perhaps the most critical issue BRT addressed in the late 1990s was healthcare reform. The association opposed the Dingell-Norwood bill, commonly known as the Patient's Bill of Rights, because it would have given healthcare consumers the right to sue their health insurance providers for denial of essential services. BRT argues that this would lead to costly, frivolous litigation, raise insurance rates, and force consumers to lose their plans. The association also claims it would subject employers to undue liabilities. Proponents of the bill dispute this charge, arguing that employers who hire third-party insurance companies and health maintenance organizations to provide healthcare will remain immune to such suits. Texas, they point out, enacted a patient's bill of rights more than a year ago, and workers have brought very few suits against

health insurance providers and virtually none involving employers.

On government fiscal policy, BRT has leaned heavily behind Republican lawmakers in Congress, advocating "spending restraint by keeping to the discretionary spending limits enacted in 1997." BRT strongly supports keeping Social Security off-budget surpluses separate—rather than using these surpluses to pay for domestic spending—and privatizing at least part of the Social Security system. Calling the current budget process flawed by an "inherent bias toward higher taxes and higher spending," BRT backs reductions in the capital gains tax and corporate tax rates. Many Democrats have denounced these proposals as "budget-busters." Consumer and labor groups say they would largely benefit the wealthy, while requiring vast cuts in domestic social spending.

Of more immediate concern to BRT members is regulatory reform. For several years, the association has promoted numerous bills with the same objective: lessening the regulatory impact on business. Specifically, the association wants regulations to be based on "science-based risk assessments" and cost-benefit analyses. The association also says it supports "open[ing] the rulemaking process by soliciting public participation." A bill to that effect, the 1999 Regulatory Right-to-Know Act, has been heavily pushed by BRT.

Critics charge that risk assessments and cost-benefit analyses are skewed in industry's favor, because they often gloss over large social and environmental costs, while focusing on the narrowest view of the impact of regulatory easing. They also dismiss corporate-sponsored "public participation" as "astroturf-root organizing" because it allows for Washington insiders to artificially mimic genuine grassroots organizing and unduly influence regulators and legislators.

BRT has also been pushing for tort reform—or a tightening of federal restrictions on the scope of litigation brought against corporations by consumers, workers, and the general public—and limits on the size of jury awards given to plaintiffs when corporations are found liable for civil damages. BRT argues that such limits are necessary to avoid costly settlements that unfairly penalize companies that were trying to act in good faith. Such settlements, the association claims, raise insurance rates, add to the costs of goods, and undermine economic growth. Critics counter that large punitive judgments, which tort reform aims to reduce, are the only way to keep corporations from making faulty products, damaging the environment, and relying on cost-benefit analyses that justify such actions.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Although it represents businesses that give enormous sums to congressional and presidential candidates of both parties, the Business Roundtable itself does not have a political action committee and does not donate sums either to political parties in the form of soft-money contributions or to candidates in the form of regular hard money contributions. However, it has been a very active force in Washington with one of the largest lobbying budgets of any organization. BRT spent \$9.4 million on lobbying in 1997 and \$11.6 million in 1998.

JAMES CIMENT

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CHEMICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

The Chemical Manufacturers Association (CMA) serves as the association for the chemical industry's legislative, regulatory, and legal concerns on the international, national and state levels. It has some 200 members and partners and "more than 2,000 scientists and engineers, [and] health, safety and environmental managers from CMA's member companies, who participate in CMA committees and task groups. Thousands more participate in activities to implement industry programs." The CMA acts as an advocate on issues of concern to the chemical manufacturing industry by meeting with government policy makers on the federal and state level, working with regulators, supporting grassroots programs, sponsoring meetings with legislators, forming coalitions with other industry leaders, and litigating on the industry's behalf.

HISTORY

The Chemical Manufacturers Association was founded in 1872 as the Manufacturing Chemists Association. It is one of the oldest trade associations in the United States. Some of its member companies have belonged to the organization for over one hundred years. In 1993, the CMA launched its anniversary awards to honor the companies that had been members for 50, 75, and 100 years. Other awards granted by the organization include its safety citations. Begun in 1951 and named for former CMA head Lamot du Pont, the safety awards are given to companies that work more than 20 million exposure hours annually without a serious health or safety mishap. In 1999, the CMA began a major restructuring campaign for the coming century. According to president Frederick Webber, the CMA simplified the organizational structure by reducing a number of levels of bureaucracy. This was done to focus on the group's key activities and to increase productivity.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Because of the thicket of laws and regulations covering this highly important but potentially environmentally dangerous business, the Chemical Manufacturers Association focuses much of its lobbying efforts on regulatory change and reduction. Specifically, it tries to convince government to ease the costs and difficulties of complying with current regulations and tries to influence the writing of future regulations to make them more industry-friendly. These regulations concern both environmental and worker-safety issues. In addition, the CMA attempts to influence laws that deal with the interaction between the public and the chemical industry, specifically in the realm of right-to-know laws and in the area of class action suits. The CMA is heavily involved in trying to influence trade issues, and has recently become engaged in the ongoing debate over electricity deregulation. As a major consumer of electricity, the chemical industry stands to make or lose a great deal of money, depending on the course this deregulation takes. In 1999, the CMA and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) published the results of a unique three-year collaborative project—the EPA/CMA Root Cause Analysis Pilot Project—that surveyed two dozen chemical companies involved in civil, judicial, or administrative enforcement actions to find out why they failed to comply and to discover ways to improve performance. The study found that unclear environmental regulations and a lack of compliance assistance by the government were at least partially to blame.

The CMA has backed congressional legislation that would require government agencies to calculate and disclose the costs of various regulations. Under the so-called Regulatory-Right-To-Know bill, the president would be required to submit to Congress an annual report—compiled by various executive department agencies—enumerating the total annual costs and benefits of

federal regulatory programs. While the CMA sees this as a cost-effective measure, the bill is strongly opposed by environmental groups, which say that such reports would siphon resources away from drafting and enforcing needed regulation.

In the workplace, the CMA, along with representatives of the petroleum industry, are seeking to speed up OSHA revisions of permissible exposure limits for hundreds of industrial chemicals. As far as the relationship between the public and the chemical industry is concerned, the CMA has been asking congressional leaders to get the EPA to delay a requirement that chemical plants submit “worst case scenario” disaster information on the Internet. Under the Clean Air Act of 1990, the industry is required to inform the public about some 66,000 toxic chemicals. But this requirement has been delayed over the years, partly because of CMA lobbying. The organization insists that such information would be an aid to terrorists. But the U.S. Public Interest Research Group, a consumer advocacy organization, says terrorism is not the issue. The chemical industry, the group says, is worried that disclosure could lead to increased protests and lawsuits.

Indeed, lawsuits—and particularly class action lawsuits—are another target of CMA lobbying. Arguing that there are “serious abuses in the class action process,” the CMA strongly supports legislation pending in Congress that would shift more such cases to the federal courts, which are generally friendlier to industry than state courts.

On the electricity deregulation issue, the CMA is pushing strongly for more states to deregulate the electrical utility industry. Experts say the chemical industry will save some 20 percent of electricity costs if competitive market forces are allowed to come into play because, as some of the biggest users of electricity, chemical companies will be able to bargain for the best rates.

FINANCIAL FACTS

By the standards of industry, the Chemical Manufacturers Association remains a relatively modest donor of funds to congressional and presidential campaigns. In the 1997–1998 election cycle, the CMA political action committee (PAC) contributed \$125,199. Of this

amount, \$96,370 (77 percent) went to Republican campaigns and \$28,829 (23 percent) went to Democratic campaigns. The total figures represent a substantial increase over those of previous election cycles. In the 1995–1996 presidential and congressional election cycle—presidential elections are usually times when donations go up significantly—the total amount donated by the CMA was just \$65,638, of which Republicans received \$54,638 (83 percent). These figures represent a major increase over those for the 1991–1992 presidential and congressional election cycle, when the CMA gave just \$26,250 overall.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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DISTILLED SPIRITS COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES

The Distilled Spirits Council of the United States (DISCUS) is the national trade association representing the producers, marketers, and distributors of distilled spirits products sold in the United States. With its 24 members it comprises more than 90 percent of this nation's distillers. DISCUS claims that the distilled spirits industry directly and indirectly employs 1,390,000 people, producing \$25 billion in U.S. wages and \$89 billion in economic activity.

HISTORY

DISCUS was founded in its current form in 1973, following the merger of the Distilled Spirits Institute, founded in 1933 after the end of Prohibition; the Bourbon Institute, founded in 1958; and Licensed Beverage Industries, founded in 1946. The new organization soon absorbed the Tax Council-Alcoholic Beverage Industries group. Over the years DISCUS has been involved in most major developments in the alcohol industry but has often been forced to fight a rearguard action in a declining market for distilled beverages and in an increasingly hostile anti-alcohol political and cultural environment.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

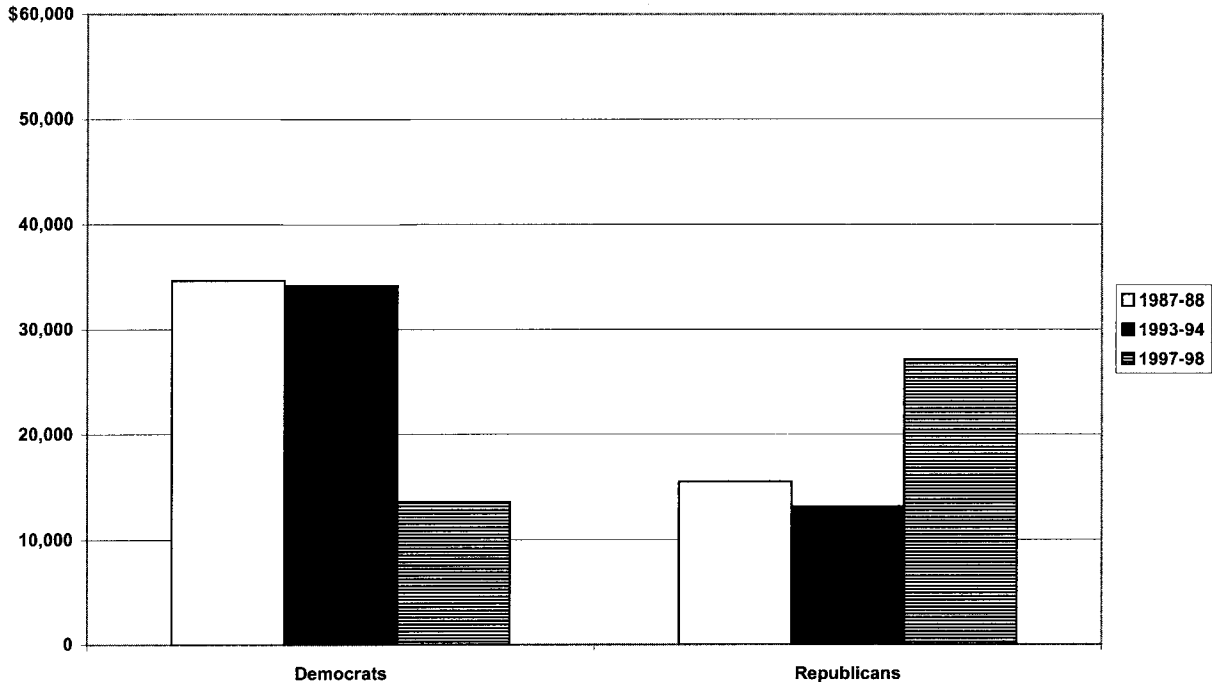
Much of DISCUS's lobbying effort has focused on taxes—working on both the federal and state level to lessen existing excise taxes and prevent increases. As it has said in a statement on the issue of taxes, “recent history has shown that higher distilled spirits taxes result in less government revenue, because the taxes are so high already that they have reached the point of diminishing returns. Despite two tax increases totaling 29 per-

cent since 1985, distilled spirits tax revenues are lower today than they were in 1980.” Other statistics DISCUS refers to in support of its position include the fact that in 1991, after the Federal Excise Tax was raised 8 percent, federal revenue from distilled spirits taxes fell by \$89 million. The organization also argues that raising liquor taxes does not deter alcohol abuse, but instead limits availability (through increased cost) to those who are not alcohol abusers. In response to the argument that the distilled spirits industry should pay the “social cost” of problem drinking through increased taxes, DISCUS emphasizes that this cost should be balanced against presumed health benefits of moderate drinking and that “all relevant information about beverage alcohol products—reported risks and benefits alike—should be taken into account in order that tax policy is both fair and non-discriminatory.”

On the issue of Blood Alcohol Content (BAC) levels, DISCUS says it “neither supports nor opposes any particular BAC level.” It says that “this is a state issue and should be decided by each state.” It does support improved data collection on BAC levels and traffic accidents and “mandatory BAC tests in fatal accidents and also mandatory testing for all substances, so that the relative role of alcohol versus illegal drugs could be determined.” And while the organization has come to accept warning labels on alcohol, it has fought recent moves to make those warnings more explicit. It successfully lobbied against a 1996 congressional bill that called for a rotating series of six different warning labels on all alcoholic beverage containers.

In recent years questions involving the advertising of alcohol have arisen for DISCUS. Faced with a Federal Trade Commission report in early 1999 that found beer companies to be advertising in ways that promote underage drinking, DISCUS has argued that the federal government should not get involved in decision making about the content of private advertising. Some of the controversy over alcohol advertising, however, has been self-created. In 1996 DISCUS announced that the in-

**Distilled Spirits Council
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

dustry was dropping its self-imposed ban on radio and TV ads that had been in effect for 60 years. The move was denounced by both President Bill Clinton and a number of congressional leaders. While Clinton insisted that the industry should maintain its voluntary ban, some congressional leaders talked of enacting a law to the same end, much like the quarter-century-old ban on television and radio advertising of tobacco products. DISCUS maintains that it is unfair to allow broadcast advertising for beer but not distilled spirits, given the fact that a typical 12-ounce beer contains the same amount of alcohol—that is, roughly 1.5 ounces—as a typical 4-ounce mixed drink.

On other issues DISCUS tries to present the industry as a responsible group of corporate citizens. For example, on environmentalism, DISCUS says that it “is committed to voluntary cooperation with government and a proactive stance on environmental issues.” It supports comprehensive recycling programs and has supported finding alternatives to heavy-metal packaging for liquor containers.

To protect itself in an increasingly hostile anti-alcohol environment, DISCUS is also heavily involved in various public education campaigns, printing brochures

and other materials for use by the media, educators, and the general public. Some of the topics of these materials have included alcohol abuse, consumption figures, industry trends, and excise taxes. However, many critics say that these public interest advertisements, which run on cable TV and radio, are really efforts to promote liquor drinking.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The Distilled Spirits Council’s political action committee (PAC)—DISPAC—has donated moderate sums to political campaigns over the past 12 years. In 1987–1988 it contributed \$50,178 to congressional and presidential candidates, including \$34,663 to Democrats and \$15,515 to Republicans. During the 1993–1994 Congress-only election cycle it donated \$45,633—once again to candidates of both parties, with the majority of the funds being contributed to Democrats. However, in the 1997–1998 election cycle, given the growing Democratic willingness to back higher taxes on alcohol, DISPAC gave more to Republicans for the first time in

many election cycles. Of its \$40,626 in campaign contributions, fully \$27,134, or roughly two-thirds, went to Republican congressional campaign coffers.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE

The Edison Electric Institute (EEI) is a national association representing 190 U.S. shareholder-owned electric companies. Together EEI member companies generate and distribute over 75 percent of the country's electricity and serve over 90 percent of the customers of the shareholder-owned segment of the electric industry and about 70 percent of all electric customers in the country. The EEI also has international affiliates, who provide electricity worldwide, and associates, who provide services to the electric industry.

The EEI represents its members in legislative and public forums and to the government at both the state and federal levels. It also provides a means of exchanging information about the industry among its members.

HISTORY

The EEI was organized in 1933, replacing the older National Electric Light Association (NELA), which voted to become the EEI at its annual convention of that year in Atlantic City. The decision grew out of the fact that the old NELA was seen as largely discredited, since it had been so unwilling to work with the government on spreading electricity to rural districts and other sections where power generation was not as profitable as in more populous areas. Indeed, there was a great fear as Franklin Roosevelt came to office that the government might seek to nationalize American utilities. Accepting the inevitability of utility regulation, the EEI has consistently tried to limit the extent of that regulation as much as possible, even as it has faced periodic threats of government takeover, most recently during the energy crises of the 1970s.

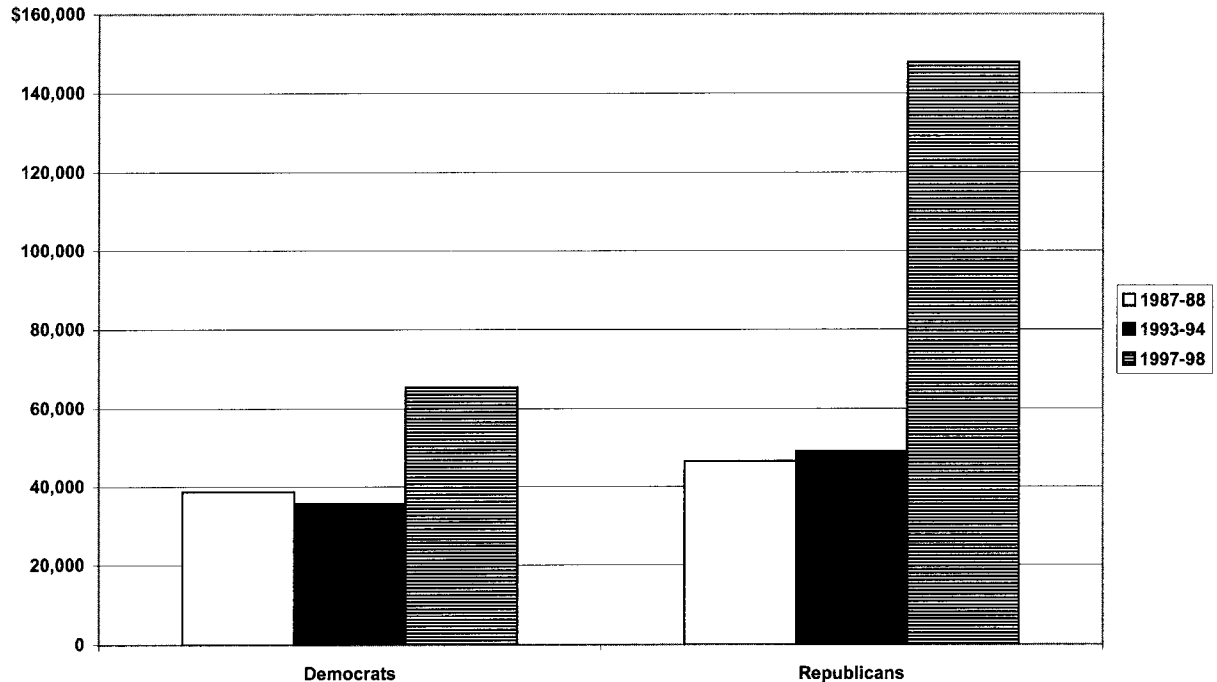
ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Many of the issues of concern to the EEI revolve around the topic of the increasing deregulation of, and resulting increased competition within, the electricity industry. The EEI is active in determining the nature of competition in the new climate of deregulation, with electricity providers given a chance at fair competition with one another. It wants to ensure universal electricity service is available to all consumers and to prevent cost-shifting from companies to consumers, and it supports the implementation and continuation of social and environmental programs along with the new climate of deregulation. In general the EEI says that it wants to make certain that all competitors are treated equally and that consumers will benefit from the competition. In particular it is concerned with controlling cross-subsidization in electrical utility regulation, and it maintains a close watch on the consolidation of the electric-power concerns.

In terms of deregulation in general, "stranded costs"—the costs electricity providers incur in the shift from being regulated to being deregulated—are a key issue of concern to the EEI. It supports viewing these costs of transition to competition and deregulation as legitimate, recoverable costs. In other words it endorses the idea of stranded cost recovery and is seeking ways to minimize the impact of the transition on electricity providers. In general it does not support cost-shifting from large companies to residential customers or small businesses, and it also does not believe that utility shareholders should be penalized for the shift. The primary source of cost recovery, therefore, is the government, and the EEI continues to support governmental relief from these stranded costs in order to maintain effective competition and avoid what it sees as cost-shifting.

Regarding the Public Utility Holding Company Act

**Edison Electric Institute
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

of 1935, the EEI is against the restrictions that it imposes on registered holding companies and subsidiaries, preventing them, the EEI argues, from responding quickly to consumer needs and from competing effectively in the modern marketplace. It sees the act as a barrier to efficient competition and thus supports legislation to repeal the act.

Still, the EEI has made it clear that it does not want to see the deregulation process controlled too extensively by the government. In 1993 it funded a policy paper on that process by the Progress and Freedom Foundation. In the paper the foundation warned that Congress still wanted to intervene in the electricity marketplace and that the industry should be wary of “regulatory wolves in free market clothing.” The paper offered twelve criteria to measure whether Congress was truly acting to deregulate the electric industry in a way that utilities could live with. The criteria included whether the federal government would let the states have control over the deregulation process, whether it would truly remove federal agencies from regulation of the industry, whether it would continue to force utilities to produce a certain percentage of their power from renewable resources, whether it would get out of the

electricity-generating business by selling the Tennessee Valley Authority, whether it would end favoritism to municipality-owned and cooperatively owned utilities over privately owned ones, and whether the bill would end the government’s right to make fuel-use decisions favoring renewable resources or would allow the market to make those decisions. This last element is particularly important because the industry does not want to see itself penalized for burning cheaper, but more pollution-causing, coal at its power plants.

Another key area of lobbying interest for the EEI is taxes. Specifically, the EEI has strongly backed provisions of a 1999 Republican-sponsored tax-cut bill that would facilitate utility mergers. One provision of the bill would make sure that the tax-preferred status of nuclear cleanup funds be passed along to the new purchasers of existing nuclear power plants. In addition the EEI is pushing to get the so-called double taxation clause removed when an American-owned utility buys a foreign one.

Finally, the EEI has been backing a bill introduced in Congress in 1999 that would help streamline the relicensing of existing hydropower projects. “The future contribution of hydroelectricity to the nation’s energy

portfolio must not be taken for granted,” said EEI president Thomas Kuhn. “Unless steps are taken to reduce burdensome relicensing requirements, we can expect the steady erosion of our hydro resources seen over the past decade to continue, if not worsen, well into the future.”

FINANCIAL FACTS

The EEI’s Political Action Committee (PAC)—POWERPAC—has given moderate sums of money to the political campaigns of both presidential and congressional candidates. Until the election cycle of 1997–1998 POWERPAC had consistently contributed between \$80,000 and \$90,000 collectively to Republican and Democratic candidates. In general, however, POWERPAC tended to favor Republican candidates, although not by margins as great as those of other industrial PACs. In 1987–1988, for instance, it gave \$85,300, with \$46,500 (55 percent) going to Republican presidential and congressional candidates and \$38,800 (45 percent) going to Democrats. Similarly, in 1993–1994, POWERPAC gave 58 percent of its \$84,750 in donations to Republicans and 42 percent to Democrats.

But in the 1997–1998 cycle things changed dramatically, both in the total contributed and the proportions that went to the two parties’ candidates. In this election cycle POWERPAC gave \$213,472 in contributions to congressional candidates, with \$147,967 (69 percent) going to Republicans, and \$65,505 (31 percent) destined for the coffers of Democratic candidates. This change reflects the increasingly politicized nature of electric-power generation as the move toward deregulation of the industry picks up momentum. Republicans are seen as favoring a faster and less government-

monitored deregulation process, positions with which EEI tends to agree.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOME BUILDERS

The National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) is a trade association representing 850 state and local builders associations, with a total of 195,000 members across the country. The NAHB's members include both home builders and remodelers, as well as people working in fields related to the housing industry.

Headquarters of the NAHB are in Washington, D.C., where it maintains a staff of more than 300. Calling itself "The Voice of America's Housing Industry," the NAHB says that its mission is "to enhance the climate for housing and the building industry, and to promote policies that will keep housing a national priority. Chief among [the] NAHB's goals is providing and expanding opportunities for all consumers to have safe, decent, and affordable housing." The NAHB's efforts include lobbying, research, analysis, and public relations on behalf of its members and the housing industry. It is also affiliated with two centers it sponsors: the NAHB National Research Center, Inc., which is devoted to research within the industry, and the Home Builders Institute, which develops educational and job-training programs. The association works with federal agencies to represent its industry in the formation of regulations regarding mortgage finance, codes, energy, and the environment.

The divisions of the NAHB are devoted to analyzing policy issues, representing the industry to the public, monitoring and improving the housing finance system, analyzing and forecasting economic and consumer trends, educating and training, and disseminating information to its members. The NAHB hosts an annual convention and exposition called the International Builders' Show.

The primary political action committee (PAC) of the NAHB is called the Build PAC of the National Association of Home Builders. Other affiliated PACs include the Colorado Association of Home Builders PAC, the Home Builders Association of Central Arizona PAC, and the Home Builders Association of Louisville PAC.

In addition to its lobbying efforts, NAHB is com-

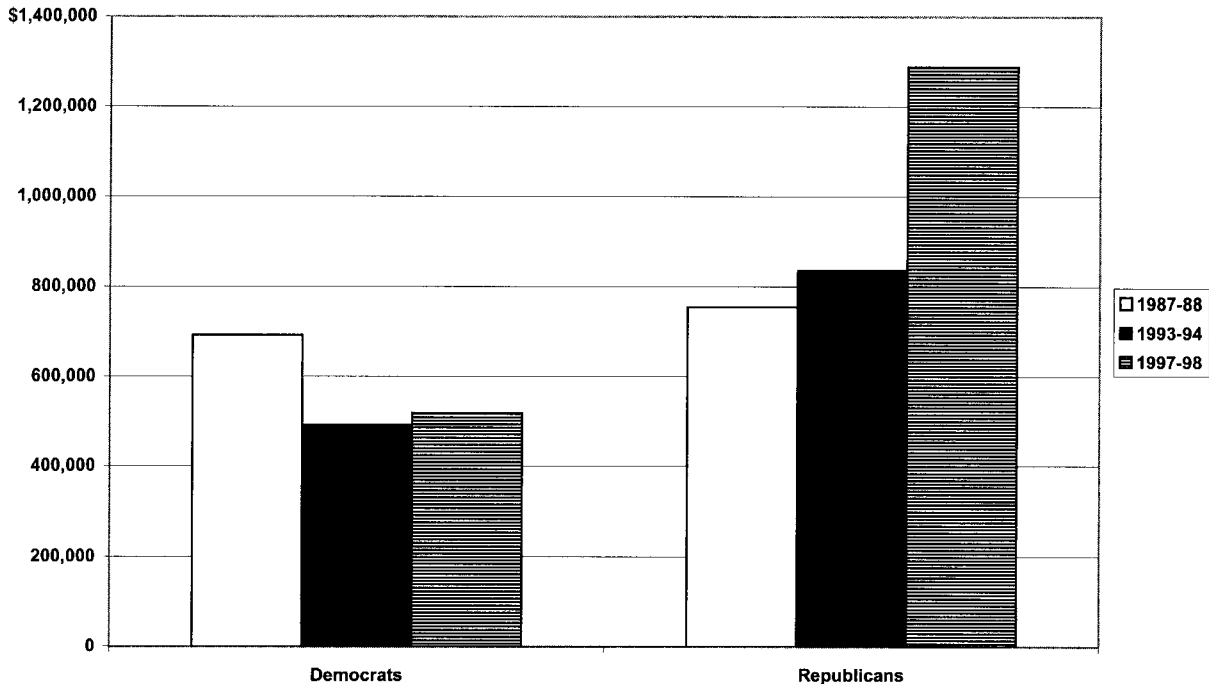
mitted to the education of its membership. Recently, for instance, the NAHB has devoted itself to educating its members about the revised building codes and accessibility requirements of the Fair Housing Act. As NAHB president Charles Ruma stated, "[the] NAHB supports the Fair Housing Act and encourages members to comply with the accessibility provisions of the law." To this end it held training sessions across the country for its members.

The NAHB has also been committed to increasing environmental awareness within the industry. It publishes a series of informational fact sheets on topics related to environmentalism, and in 1999 it sponsored the National Green Building Conference—the first conference devoted to "environmentally friendly home building practices."

HISTORY

The NAHB was founded in 1942, at a time of enormous housing shortages caused by wartime defense industry relocation. At that time, home-building companies around the United States felt that their expanding industry needed a single voice in Washington to maintain private control over the home building industry at a time when the federal government was getting involved in all aspects of private industry. In addition the founders of the NAHB were looking to the future, trying to prepare the member companies for what it hoped would be—and what would turn out to be—a rapidly expanding market for inexpensive housing in the postwar era. To that end the organization backed various measures to promote first-home buying by returning GIs. Over the years the organization has backed most government initiatives that help finance mortgages. Thus, the NAHB has been both an advocate of government involvement in financing of home buying, while at the same time trying to ward off any interference in the

**National Association of Home Builders
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

industry itself. In 1981 the association joined with the rival National Association of Home Manufacturers. Six years later it absorbed the much smaller, but growing, North American Log Homes Council.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

According to the NAHB, 15 percent of legislation introduced in Congress has a direct impact on the housing construction industry. The lobbying work of the NAHB focuses on issues affecting the industry, such as labor policy, mortgage-interest tax deductions, mortgage financing, and environmental issues. To that end the NAHB releases an annual agenda, written by its president, outlining its principles, activities, and goals; the 1999 edition is called “Preserving the American Dream: NAHB Agenda for 1999.”

As part of its long-standing tradition of supporting government initiatives to make home buying more affordable for moderate-income persons, the NAHB has strongly backed the Department of Housing and Urban

Development’s newly proposed efforts to expand its Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac programs for subsidizing mortgage costs. In the summer of 1999 Charles Ruma announced a joint effort by the NAHB, the Clinton administration, and the U.S. Conference of Mayors to construct 1 million new homes in the inner cities and close-in suburbs over the next 10 years. “This is a significant step forward and should contribute greatly to the common goal embraced by government, housing finance organizations and NAHB and the building industry generally to expand home ownership to an even greater percentage of American households,” Ruma said. The NAHB has also joined forces with Fannie Mae to encourage the development of more environmentally friendly housing. This includes housing that would be both more energy-efficient and closer to existing mass-transit lines. By building near such lines, the NAHB says, new home owners will use less energy to commute and will cause less pollution getting to and from work.

Still, all the talk of a greener home-building industry is not being advocated for purely altruistic reasons, say outside experts on the industry. Indeed, as the presidential candidacy of Democrat Al Gore shows, the subject

of suburban sprawl is likely to become an increasingly contentious political issue in coming years. The NAHB has made it clear that it stands against antidevelopment measures at the local, state, or federal level—even to the extent of opposing any kind of incentives to prevent suburban sprawl.

To bolster its position, the NAHB conducted a survey in 1999 that found that most Americans still want to live in single-family homes in the suburbs and expected to continue driving to work alone, though they supported measures to halt suburban sprawl and increase public transportation. The NAHB advocates construction of more urban housing and more multi-dwelling units as well as more traditional housing. “It takes generations to change attitudes,” says the secretary and vice president of the NAHB, Gary Garcyznski. “The one thing you never want to drop is choice.”

The NAHB is also opposed to legislation for the protection of farmland and wetlands that are threatened by new home construction and suburban sprawl. According to Ruma, farm acreage is actually on the rise. As for wetlands, the organization argues that there are already adequate laws on the books, an argument that environmental organizations say is a misreading of the facts and the law.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The electoral arm of the NAHB—also known as Build PAC—has been a major contributor to the campaign coffers of presidential and congressional candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties. However, over the past six election cycles there has been a general trend toward supporting Republicans over Democrats. Thus, in the 1987–1988 congressional and presidential election cycle, Build PAC gave \$1,448,560 in contributions, with \$755,885 (52 percent) going to Republican candidates and \$692,675 (48 percent) going to Democrats. By the 1993–1994 Congress-only election cycle, fully \$836,000 (63 percent) of its more than \$1.3

million in total contributions went to Republican candidates, while just \$491,799 (37 percent) went to Democrats. In the 1997–1998 Congress-only election cycle, the trend continued: Build PAC gave \$1,807,240 to candidates of both parties, with \$1,289,250 (71 percent) going to Republicans, and \$517,990 (29 percent) going to Democrats.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS

The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) is a restricted national umbrella organization representing the U.S. manufacturing industry. It has 14,000 member companies throughout the country.

NAM says that its mission is “to enhance the competitiveness of manufacturers and improve living standards for working Americans by shaping a legislative and regulatory environment conducive to U.S. economic growth, and to increase understanding among policy-makers, the media and the general public about the importance of manufacturing to America’s economic strength.” NAM has its headquarters in Washington, D.C., its national division office in Greenbelt, Maryland, its field headquarters in Arlington Heights, Illinois, and nine regional offices in cities across the country.

HISTORY

NAM was founded in January 1895 by a group of businessmen in Cincinnati, Ohio. It came into being during the 1890s depression, when struggling businesses were striving to find new markets for their products outside the United States.

The members of that original convention came up with these goals: “Retention and supply of home markets with U.S. products and extension of foreign trade; development of reciprocal trade relations between the U.S. and foreign governments; rehabilitation of the U.S. Merchant Marine; construction of a canal in Central America; and improvement and extension of U.S. waterways.” At the first annual convention in Chicago in January 1896, the organization adopted the title National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America. Although in its first incarnation NAM was an association of groups, it quickly evolved into an association for individual manufacturers.

Throughout its history it has been active in educa-

tional, advocacy, professional, and lobbying efforts. In the first two decades of its existence, it promoted trade overseas, and established education and advocacy programs on employee relations, intellectual property, vocational education, workplace safety, and fiscal responsibility. In 1917 it established the National Industrial Council and the National Safety Council.

During the 1930s and 1940s NAM was heavily involved in defense efforts. Before the Second World War started it formed the Committee on National Defense and Industrial Mobilization and during the war worked with the federal government to coordinate wartime production in plants throughout the country.

From the 1950s to the 1980s the association was involved in developing its public relations through new electronic media, advocating for labor legislation, documenting alleged union abuses of power, pressing for trade expansion, reforming the civil rights practices of its member companies, and providing training for undereducated workers. In 1974 NAM moved its headquarters from New York to Washington, D.C.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

NAM lobbies Congress on almost every conceivable issue that might affect U.S. manufacturing interests, although much of its work involves trade issues, the environment, labor, and the legal climate. As far as trade is concerned, much of NAM’s lobbying activity has focused on global economics and exports. Its position is that exports are vital to the livelihood of the U.S. manufacturing industry. In 1991 NAM helped the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiations along by sponsoring an international conference. It was also a major player in formulating the North American Free Trade Agreement and getting approval for China’s “most favored nation” status. It still continues to push

for fast-track legislation, whereby Congress would restrict itself to an up-or-down vote on any trade bill negotiated by the White House, rather than approving or rejecting specific provisions. On the environment NAM lobbied Congress diligently in 1998 and 1999 to pass legislation that would give industries credits for early action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, retroactive to 1991. While critics argue that industry would receive an unfair windfall for things they had already done, NAM says that such a credit plan would provide an incentive for industry support for greenhouse legislation.

As for labor issues, NAM has been a consistent opponent of stronger rules governing workplace safety. In 1999 the organization lobbied hard against a proposed Occupational Safety and Health Administration ruling that would make all employers establish workplace safety and health programs. "If the ultimate goal is to make workplaces safer, OSHA should encourage employers' innovative and effective approaches to safety instead of imposing a one-size-fits-all standard," says Jennifer Krese, director of employment policy for NAM. But worker advocacy groups say that such rules are necessary precisely because many NAM members have not developed a safe and healthy working environment.

On legal issues, NAM has gone on record as seeking legislation that would limit large jury awards against industry, especially in the case of class action suits. It is pushing for congressional legislation—the so-called Interstate Class Action Jurisdiction Act—that would force more of these class action suits into federal courts. There, NAM hopes, it will be more difficult for plaintiffs and plaintiff attorneys to win such cases or even get them heard, since federal courts make it more difficult to press class action suits. "Litigation in federal court is the best way to end frivolous class action lawsuits because it will stop plaintiff lawyers from shopping for favorable forums," said Lawrence Fineran, assistant vice president for regulatory policy for NAM. Public interest groups argue that frivolous class action suits are adequately dismissed in state court and that legitimate class action lawsuits are the only way to keep industry honest.

Finally, aside from individual issues, NAM seeks to create a more business-friendly environment in Congress. In the early 1990s, for instance, it established an educational and research affiliate called the Manufacturing Institute, after research showed that "policy-makers, congressional staff and others had an antiquated view of American industry and insufficient knowledge upon which to base sound policy choices." The Manufacturing Institute sends monthly mailings to Congress,

performs research into trade and manufacturing policies and procedures, conducts public opinion polls, and produces books and CD-ROMs as educational and informational tools. It has also established the Center for Workforce Success, which among other things awards excellent workers within the manufacturing industry.

In addition, as part of its educational and advocacy effort NAM sponsors an annual National Manufacturing Week Expo in Chicago, as well as a Mexican Manufacturing Week. It has also formed the Small and Medium Manufacturers Initiative, which among other things distributes a monthly publication called *Just in Time*, and has been behind the creation of the President's Council on Small Manufacturers Action Committee.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Although it represents manufacturers that individually and collectively give enormous sums to the campaign coffers of congressional and presidential candidates of both parties, NAM itself does not have a political action committee (PAC) and does not donate sums either to political parties in the form of soft-money contributions or to candidates in the form of regular hard-money contributions. Overall the organization operates on a budget of roughly \$20 million, much of it going for a variety of industry-supporting services, as well as for lobbying efforts.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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NATIONAL MINING ASSOCIATION

The National Mining Association (NMA) is the trade association representing the mining industry in the United States, with 550 coal and mining extraction companies as its members. It says that its membership includes “coal, metal and mineral hard-rock mining operators, mineral processors, bulk transporters, mining equipment manufacturers, financial and engineering firms, and other businesses related to the mining industry.”

Its headquarters are in Washington, D.C., and it has local offices in 42 states. The administration of the association is divided into the following offices: Office of the President, Administration and Finance, Government Affairs, Legal and Regulatory Affairs, Manufacturers and Services Division, Policy Analysis, Public and Constituent Relations, and Special Programs and Affiliates.

HISTORY

The NMA came into being in 1995 as the result of a merger between the National Coal Association, which was founded in 1917, and the American Mining Congress, which was founded in 1897. These two organizations were among the oldest trade groups in the United States. The merger of the two was effected to help further the interests of the mining industry as a whole, especially in the face of increasing environmental pressure. While the old National Coal Association’s political action committee (PAC) would continue to operate, the NMA would organize a new PAC to represent the interests of the nonferrous mining industry.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The lobbying efforts of the NMA are led by its two PACs, CoalPAC and MinePAC. These groups, to-

gether with the NMA, are advocates for the mining industry. Much of their recent focus has been on countering the move to curtail mining on the grounds of environmental concerns. The NMA has worked against the Kyoto Protocol on Global Warming portions of the Clean Air Act, and new EPA regulator proposals, as well as environmentalist attempts to ban mountaintop mining.

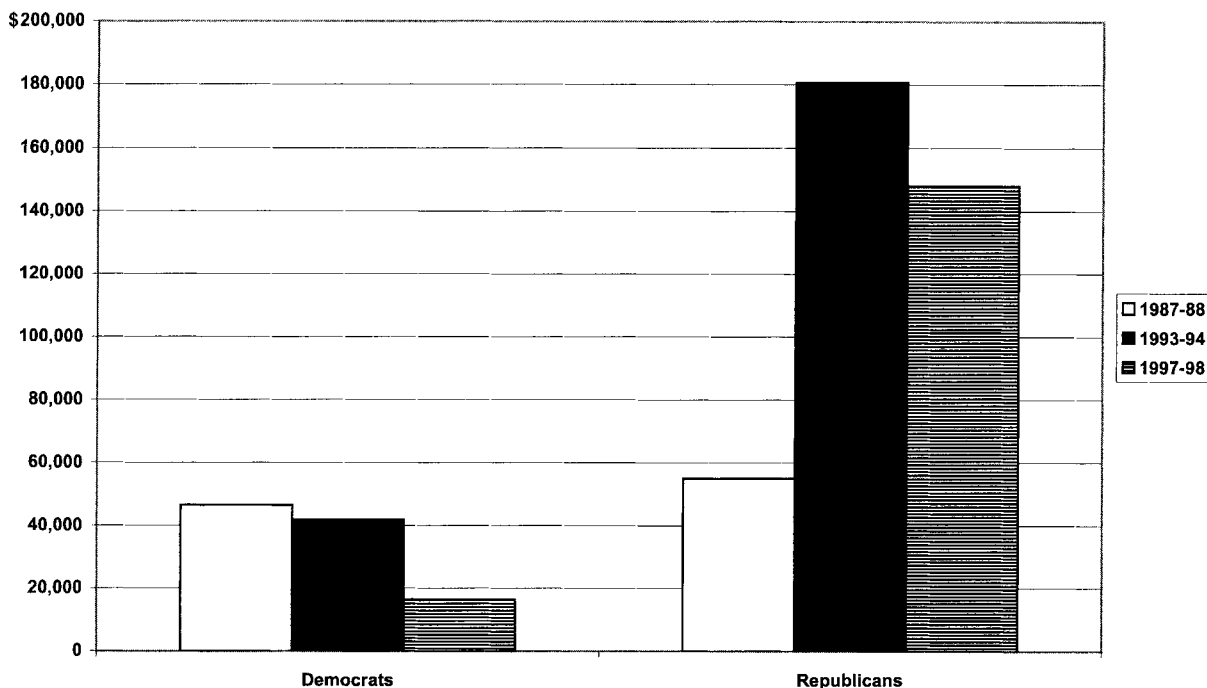
Since it represents the industry and not the workers, it remains at a distance from the union representing miners—the United Mine Workers of America—though in a recent statement the NMA president and CEO Richard L. Lawson said, “The National Mining Association supports the United Mine Workers of America in its endeavors to draw public, political and media focus to issues that require greater attention, including overzealous environmental policies that threaten the very existence of the nation’s coal industry.”

About the political climate facing mining in the 1990s, the NMA says that “few, if any, industries can surpass mining for the quantity, diversity and complexity of issues faced in the legislative and regulatory arena of Washington, D.C. In the nation’s capital during 1997, the industry once again confronted an almost daunting array of challenges, whose sources can ultimately be traced to groups and individuals dedicated to precluding mining activity in the United States.”

Its response, it says, has been to react “with a focused but comprehensive government and regulatory affairs effort, aimed not only at immediate response to specific activities in Congress and the regulatory agencies, but also at the longer term goal of educating target audiences that ‘everything begins with mining.’”

Specifically, the NMA has focused its lobbying attention in recent years on several key issues affecting the industry, most of which have to do with environmental regulations. It has backed Senate moves to block an Interior Department decision to limit a single five-acre mill site for each lode claim on public lands, preferring instead to have more access to land. NMA lobbyists have also been active in the ongoing struggle over mine noise

**National Mining Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

regulations. In addition, the organization has been challenging the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) authority to regulate carbon dioxide emissions. Citing an NMA-sponsored legal study, organization president Richard Lawson said, "There is no authority in the Clean Air Act (CAA) for EPA to regulate carbon dioxide, and the sections of the CAA cited by EPA's general counsel are not 'potentially applicable to carbon dioxide.'"

Finally, the NMA has been fighting the Office of Surface Mining's (OSM) recent decision on new ownership and control rules in the coal mining industry. These rules, enforced under the OSM's application violator system, can be used to prevent coal operators with past environmental and labor violations from getting new permits until and unless those old violations have been settled.

FINANCIAL FACTS

While the NMA is in the process of developing a PAC to provide contributions to congressional and presidential candidates from the nonferrous mining industry, the

coal industry PAC—or CoalPAC—has been a longtime participant in the political process. Indeed, CoalPAC has seen its contributions to candidates climb over 60 percent between the 1987–1988 and 1997–1998 election cycles. In the former it gave \$101,750 to presidential and congressional candidates, while in the latter it donated \$164,575 to congressional candidates only.

Reflecting the fact that Republicans are less active in the push for expanded environmental regulations, CoalPAC has given the majority of its donations to candidates from that party, especially in the last few years. In the 1987–1988 election cycle, for instance, CoalPAC gave \$55,100 (54 percent of its contributions) to Republicans. Ten years later, in the 1997–1998 cycle, CoalPAC gave \$148,075 (90 percent of its donations) to Republican congressional candidates.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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NUCLEAR ENERGY INSTITUTE

The Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI) is an organization representing approximately 300 members, both in the United States and throughout the world, involved in various aspects of the nuclear energy industry. Its headquarters are located in Washington, D.C. A 60-member board of directors, which includes representatives from a cross-section of the industry, governs the institute. A 15-member executive committee oversees its business and policy affairs.

Members of the NEI include, it says, “companies that operate nuclear energy plants in the U.S. and abroad, nuclear plant designers, architect and engineering firms, nuclear fuel suppliers, radiopharmaceutical manufacturers, law firms, consulting firms, labor unions, universities and research laboratories.” The NEI claims that its members “share a commitment to maintain nuclear energy as an option for the U.S. and the world—now and in the years to come.”

HISTORY

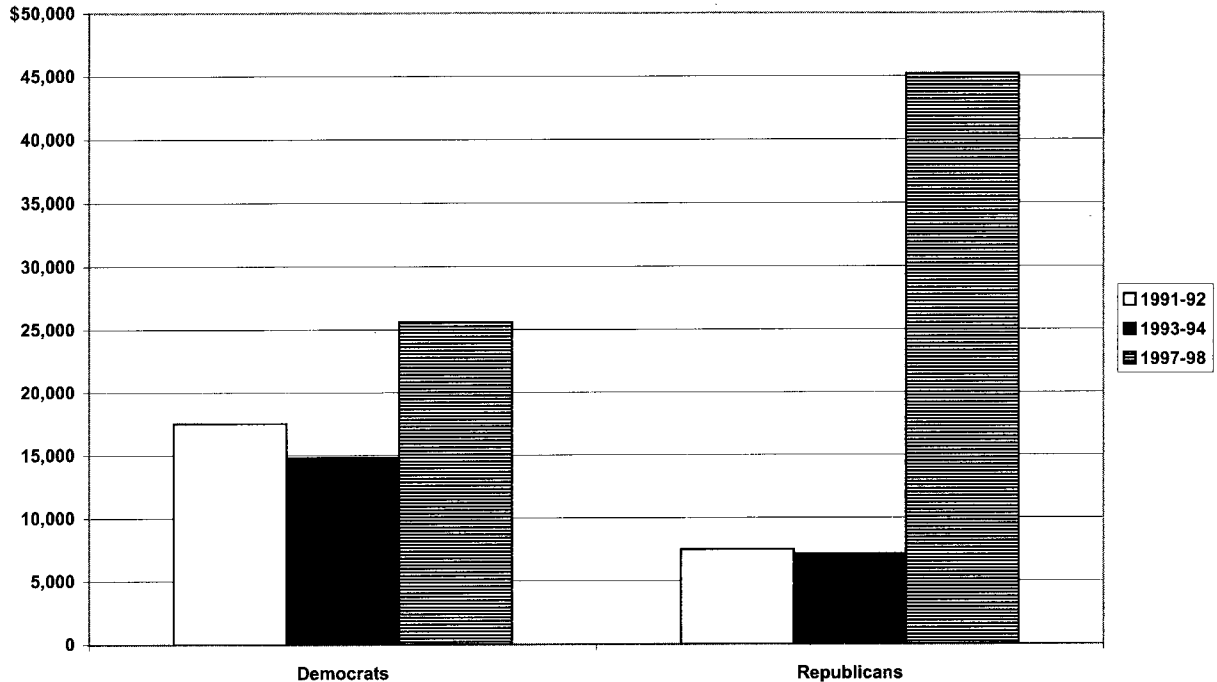
The NEI was created in 1994 as the result of a merger of the American Nuclear Energy Council, the industry’s congressional lobby; the Nuclear Management and Resources Council, the industry’s representative before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC); the U.S. Council for Energy Awareness, the industry’s public relations arm; and the nuclear power division of the Edison Electric Institute (EEI), which dealt with such technical issues as high- and low-level radioactive waste, advanced reactor development, and the extension of operating licenses on existing plants. While the merger did not change any of these activities, industry leaders believed that, faced with ongoing environmental challenges, they needed a single organizational voice to represent and further the interests of the nuclear power-generating industry.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

As the main interest group for what is arguably the most regulated and scrutinized industry in the United States, the NEI lobbies vigorously both to shape and reduce regulations issued by the NRC and other government agencies. Among its recent priorities, the NEI has filed petitions with the NRC to “risk-inform” the regulations governing commercial reactors. As one industry monitor explained, “risk-informing the regulations means that the definition of key terms in the regulations, such as the term safety-related, would be redefined to include only equipment and procedures which statistical analysis or probabilistic risk data, tempered by experience and judgment, show are important to safety.” The effect of such a change, says an industry observer, “could be the most sweeping and dramatic changes to NRC regulation since its inception.” Critics say it would be highly risky and would provide a financial windfall to the industry. Indeed, by some of the industry’s own predictions, such a change in the regulations would cut 10 to 15 percent off the cost of running a nuclear power plant.

Similarly, the NEI has been an active proponent of the Clinton administration’s efforts to deregulate the utility industry. But the NEI has made it clear that it does not want nuclear power plants to suffer in the transition to a deregulated utility industry. It says amendments to the 1954 Atomic Energy Act and the tax code are needed to protect the nuclear sector of the nation’s electricity-producing industry. Concerning the former, it wants provisions of the Atomic Energy Act that ban foreign ownership of nuclear power plants and that require antitrust reviews during proceedings for plant license transfers to be dropped. The NEI would also like legislation that allows the industry to charge consumers a fee for the decommissioning of nuclear power plants, closed either because of age or environmental concerns.

**Nuclear Energy Institute
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1991–1998.

As recent decommissionings indicate, these costs can be enormous, and a number of consumer and public interest groups strongly oppose such fees.

Along with decommissioning, the most contentious environmental issue facing the nuclear industry is waste. In terms of specific legislation reviewed by the NEI, it supports reforms in the federal management of used nuclear fuel that would ensure federal acceptance of used fuel and consolidate waste at over 100 commercial nuclear power plants in 40 states. The NEI has also been pushing the federal government to increase funding and speed up construction of the national nuclear waste storage facility at Yucca Mountain, Nevada. Geologic studies of the site—indicating recent tectonic activity and water seepage—have led environmental groups to seek further study of the site as a safe receptacle for the nation’s nuclear waste or to end the project altogether.

The NEI has also been following state legislation regarding the shipment and transportation of nuclear fuel and waste through states. It supports some of this legislation insofar as it prepares states to deal with interstate transportation issues. It is against other legislation, however, since, as it says, it creates “proce-

dural roadblocks to make shipments difficult, if not impossible.”

FINANCIAL FACTS

By the standards of the manufacturing sector generally, the NEI’s political action committee (PAC) has contributed modest amounts to presidential and congressional candidates of both major political parties, though the total have risen somewhat dramatically in the past decade. While the NEI gave \$25,053 to presidential and congressional candidates in the 1991–1992 election cycle, that figure had risen to \$70,819 by the 1997–1998 election cycle. The increase is even more dramatic because the latter cycle involved a Congress-only election, typically a cycle in which donations go down. Over the same years the proportion of campaign contributions going to Republican candidates has increased significantly. While just \$7,505 (30 percent) went to Republican congressional and presidential candidates in the 1991–1992 election cycle, fully \$45,195 (64 percent)

went to Republican congressional candidates in the 1997–1998 election cycle.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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PHARMACEUTICAL RESEARCH AND MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA

The Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) is a trade organization that represents approximately 100 U.S. companies that are primarily involved in pharmaceutical research and manufacturing. In its literature the PhRMA claims that the organization's mission involves "discovering, developing and bringing to market medicines that improve our health and quality of life—as well as reduce the overall cost of health care."

The PhRMA is divided into several committees: an executive committee that provides overall policy and runs the day-to-day operations of the organization, a nomination and compensation committee that deals with new membership and dues scheduling, a finance committee with oversight on budgets, an alliance committee that attempts to establish connections with other interest groups working in the fields related to pharmaceutical research and manufacturing, a communications committee responsible for press relations and outreach to the public, a Food and Drug Administration (FDA) committee that focuses on the relationship between the PhRMA and the federal regulatory agency most involved in the pharmaceutical industry, and an international committee that maintains relationships with other pharmaceutical groups and companies around the world. The organization also runs a philanthropic foundation that, in the PhRMA's words, "is dedicated to enhancing public health through biomedical technology and pharmaceutical scientific research."

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the PhRMA also maintains offices in Albany, New York; Sacramento, California; and Minneapolis, Minnesota. All three states are homes to major pharmaceutical industries. In addition, the PhRMA has two international offices: in Brussels, home to most of the agencies of the European Union, and in Tokyo.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

At the top of the current issue agenda for the PhRMA is the Clinton administration's plan to offer new pre-

scription coverage to all 39 million elderly and disabled Medicare beneficiaries. The PhRMA does not oppose such an initiative but is strongly against the attempt to impose price controls on the industry as part of the move to include pharmaceuticals under Medicare. According to the PhRMA, price caps would result in less money being spent on research into drugs that can aid the elderly. "Profits attract investment," PhRMA president Alan Holmer, is on record as saying, noting that investments pay for research into new drugs. If companies can't make enough money from selling drugs to the elderly, they'll cease developing new ones.

Lawmakers who want to add the drug benefit to Medicare say the pharmaceutical industry is trying to terrify the elderly through an extensive newspaper advertising campaign—and thereby pressure Congress. "What you have here is an extremely greedy and profitable industry that is ripping off the American people big time and using its profits to put extraordinary pressure on Congress, through campaign contributions to both parties, not to move forward to protect American consumers," says Independent Vermont Representative Bernard Sanders.

On a connected issue the PhRMA is working actively to block Medicaid drug restrictions, specifically an initiative by some states' Medicaid agencies that demand "prior authorization" of drugs. (Medicaid, as opposed to Medicare, is a federal program, administered through the states, which provides medical care for the poor.) According to the PhRMA, the "newest and most effective drugs"—and the most expensive—often are on the "prior authorization" list of drugs issued by state Medicaid agencies.

Because all of the products researched and manufactured by its member companies must meet the approval of the Federal Drug Administration (FDA), the PhRMA has actively lobbied Congress to make that approval process easier and faster. According to most observers of the industry, PhRMA lobbying was critical in the passage of the 1997 Food and Drug Administration Modernization Act (FDAMA), which was designed to bring new medications onto the market faster, supposedly without lowering safety

standards. But according to PhRMA officials, the FDA has been slow in implementing the changes called for in the law, particularly in the area of providing incentives for research and testing of drugs for children. The agency has also been slow, says the PhRMA, in speeding up the dissemination of scientific and healthcare information concerning new pharmaceuticals to doctors and other healthcare providers.

“In enacting FDAMA Congress did more than just streamline the drug discovery, development and approval process,” says PhRMA president Holmer. “It also helped create an environment that encourages research that will result in more new cures and therapies to help those with unmet medical needs.” Public interest groups and consumer activists, however, say that the recent spate of incidents in which medications were removed from the market due to health concerns reflects a policy of speeded-up new drug approvals.

Disagreeing with such criticism, the PhRMA is going one step further, lobbying for new fast-track approaches to meeting post-approval requirements. The PhRMA would like to fast-track drugs that have the potential to address “unmet medicinal needs,” especially if the “product . . . shows the potential to provide some meaningful therapeutic benefit to patients over existing treatments.”

On a different research issue the PhRMA has been actively lobbying Congress not to prohibit cloning technologies that could prevent potential cures from being developed. The PhRMA says that bans on cloning are unnecessary because unethical cloning practices are already prohibited by the FDA.

Finally, on advertising and marketing, the PhRMA has been asking Congress to stop the FDA from issuing new rules on the dissemination of off-label information for marketing drugs. (Off-label information dissemination refers to any advertisement in the press or on broadcast media that provides information to health providers or consumers about a prescription drug.) According to the PhRMA, the FDA “is confusing promotion and dissemination [of information]” and misreading what Congress wrote into the law, taking its regulatory function further than lawmakers intended as far as controlling drug advertising is concerned.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The PhRMA has been a modest contributor to congressional and presidential campaigns in the 1990s, at least by the standards of manufacturers. In each of the three election cycles from 1993–1994 to 1997–1998 the PhRMA has donated approximately \$40,000 to candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties. The peak cycle was 1995–1996—a presidential as well as congressional election—when the PhRMA gave \$43,152. Over the years the amount given to Democratic candidates has declined while the amount given to Republicans has risen. For example, in the 1993–1994 election cycle Democrats received \$19,306 (52 percent) of a total of \$36,993 donated to both parties. By 1997–1998 Republicans were receiving the majority of campaign funds from the PhRMA, \$24,367 (64 percent) out of a total of \$38,167 donated to all candidates.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA

Printing Industries of America, Inc. (PIA) is the largest trade association representing the graphic arts industry. Its headquarters are in Alexandria, Virginia.

PIA represents over 14,000 member companies, which belong to the association via 30 regional affiliate organizations in the United States, by joining the Canadian Printing Industries Association or—in the case of international, non-North American companies—by joining directly. Its members include commercial printers, graphic arts firms, equipment manufacturers, and suppliers. PIA says that its mission is to promote “programs, services, and an environment that help its members operate profitably.”

In addition to its primary association, PIA sponsors groups that focus on specialized concerns and fields within the industry. These include the Graphic Communications Association, Web Offset Association, Web Printing Association, Graphic Arts Marketing Information Service, International Thermographers Association, Label Printing Industries of America, and Binding Industries of America. It also recently announced a consolidation with the Graphic Arts Technical Foundation. In addition to advocating for its member companies in the realm of governmental and legislative affairs, PIA also sponsors and organizes research, management education, and technological information for its members.

HISTORY

PIA, one of the oldest trade organizations in the country, was founded in 1887. Originally consisting of 22 printing associations in Chicago, it was formed to fight union requests for a nine-hour workday for printing industry workers. At the organizing convention the members passed two strong resolutions on the labor question: the first read that the organization would

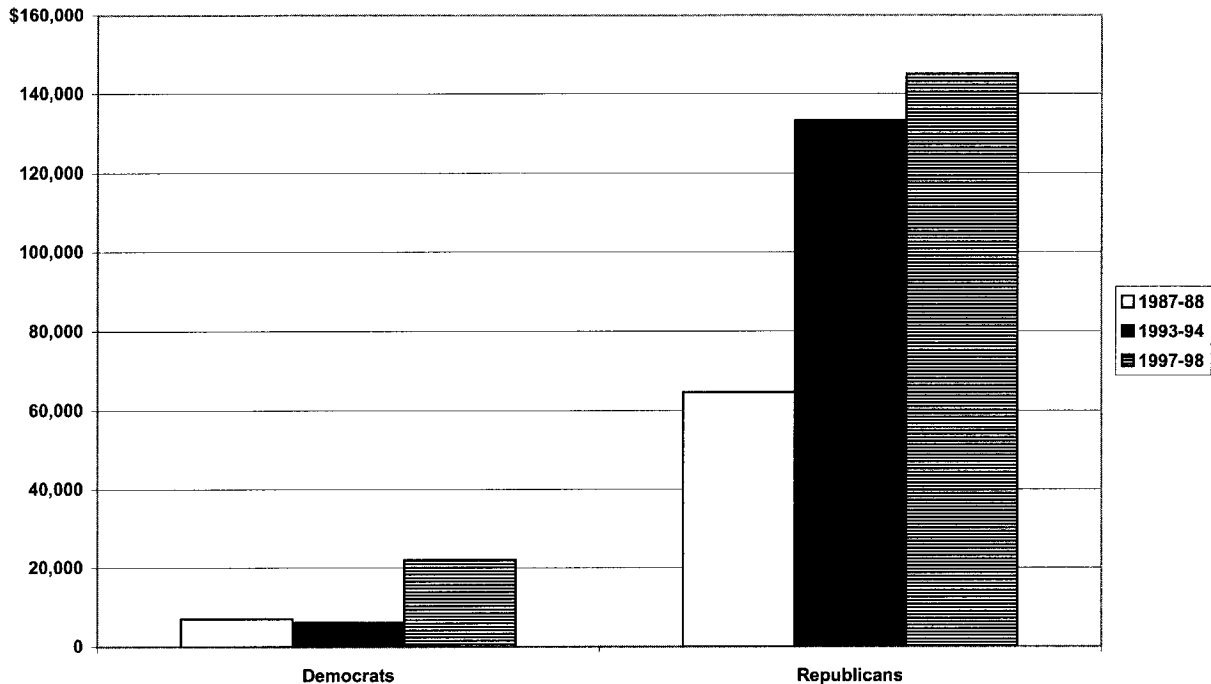
“henceforth not tolerate control of their employees by any Trades’ Union, to the exclusion of workmen who are not members of such unions”; the second said “that in the event of any office connected with this organization being compelled to meet a strike, we individually bind ourselves to render them all the moral and material aid within our power.” In the years since, PIA has developed two divisions to deal with labor issues. The Graphic Arts Employers of America works with printing companies that have union shops, while the Master Printers of America serves open-shop, or nonunion, printing companies. The latter division was founded in 1945. Labor relations continue to play an important role in the activities of PIA, with the two labor divisions receiving nearly 50 percent of the dues collected from PIA affiliates.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Some of the general issues of concern for PIA lobbyists include taxes, labor/job safety, environmental issues, healthcare, copyright concerns, and free trade. On the tax front, PIA supports the repeal or reform of the Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT), because of its impact on small printing businesses. It wants it to be eliminated so “the industry can again realize the full value of their adjustable and tax preferences without penalty.” PIA supports recent legislation calling for capital gain, tax relief, and the total repeal of estate taxes. PIA also favors abolishing the tax code and replacing it with a flat tax. This latter position was formed in direct response to a survey of PIA members in 1998 that revealed that 87 percent of its members supported abolishing the tax code—41 percent in favor of a flat tax and 40 percent in favor of some combination of a flat tax and a sales tax.

PIA is actively involved in following legislation af-

**Printing Industries of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

fecting the health and safety of printing industry workers. One recent ruling by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, which would require employers to have written safety and health programs, was not supported by PIA because the association prefers voluntary programs aimed at the needs of specific industries. PIA is not supportive of general safety rules. Thus, it says it will oppose the new rule and will lobby Capitol Hill to block its implementation. On the copyright front PIA is supportive of the Digital Millennium Copyright Act of 1998, which manages and protects Internet copyrights.

FINANCIAL FACTS

PIA's political action committee (PAC)—PRINTPAC—has been a major contributor of campaign funds to congressional and presidential candidates over the past 10 years. Indeed, overall contributions to candidates' campaigns have climbed from \$71,733 in the 1987–1988 election cycle to \$166,100 in the 1997–1998 cycle. This increase is even more significant in light of the fact that 1987–1988 was a cycle that involved both

a presidential and congressional election—which generally brings in more donations—while 1997–1998 was a Congress-only election cycle.

At the same time, PRINTPAC has given the majority of its campaign donations to Republican candidates for president and Congress. In 1987–1988 PIA gave \$64,623 (90 percent) of its donations to Republicans. Ten years later it gave just below 90 percent to Republican candidates.

An interesting aspect about PRINTPAC's donation strategy has been its traditional focus on nonincumbent candidates. Over the years it has led the business community in the support of such candidates for the House and Senate. Typically, it has supported 90 to 100 House candidates and 20 to 25 Senate candidates. Recently, however, PRINTPAC has announced that its strategy is changing. Beginning in the 1995–1996 election cycle and continuing through today, PIA says it will be focusing its support more narrowly, on only about 20 to 25 House members, in order, it says, to build close relationships with a few key legislators who can themselves develop a better understanding and knowledge of the needs of the printing industry.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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SEMICONDUCTOR INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION

The Semiconductor Industry Association (SIA) is the primary trade organization representing the computer chip industry, and is based in San Jose, California. Its 70 member companies are responsible for 90 percent of U.S. semiconductor production, including the manufacturer of integrated circuits, microprocessors, and discrete components. Altogether, the semiconductor industry employs more than 260,000 people in the United States.

The SIA says that its mission is “to provide leadership for U.S. chip manufacturers on the critical issues of trade, technology, environmental protection and worker safety and health.” The stated goals of the SIA are as follows: to achieve “free and open markets world wide, maintain U.S. leadership in technology, drive state-of-the-art programs to protect the environment and provide safe working conditions, and to maintain our top ranking in worldwide market share.”

The committees of the SIA include Communications, Environmental, Facilities and Building Standards, Law, Occupational Health, Technology, Trade and Public Policy, and Trade Statistics. In addition to its governmental relations and lobbying efforts, the SIA maintains statistics for the semiconductor industry. It is also affiliated with the Semiconductor Research Corporation and SEMATECH, both of which are research organizations.

HISTORY

The SIA was founded in 1977 by five businessmen in the field of microelectronics: Robert Noyce of Intel Corporation, Wilfred Corrigan of LSI Logic Corporation, Charles Sporck of National Semiconductor Corporation, W. J. Sanders III of Advanced Micro Devices, Inc., and John Welty of Motorola, Inc. It was founded largely as a way to focus the industry’s attention on environmental issues. Over the years it has become more

of a traditional trade association, lobbying the federal government on issues of concern to American semiconductor manufacturers. Because of the highly competitive global nature of the semiconductor business, the SIA has become much more focused on trade issues over the past two decades.

In 1982 the SIA formed the Semiconductor Research Corporation, which had two goals: sponsoring initiatives to provide the qualified technical personnel that the industry needs, and developing long-range technological research strategies for the industry. Five years later the SIA established an independently operated corporation called SEMATECH, with the objective of conducting technology development. At the same time, the SIA created the Semiconductor Technology Roadmap (STR). Utilizing technical contributors from industry, academe, and government, the STR was designed to coordinate the activities of the two research arms of the SIA and to develop better working relations with government and universities.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Trade is a key issue for the SIA. Indeed, there is a continuing tension within the semiconductor industry between competition and cooperation among the U.S. and the global semiconductor industries, and the SIA’s work with the STR and other initiatives is aimed at easing this tension. The SIA has predicted that the United States will be the largest market for semiconductors over the next four years, and it currently represents about one-third of worldwide chip revenues. But the Asia-Pacific, non-Japan market will most likely emerge as the second-largest worldwide chip market, after it gets over the Asian economic crisis. And Europe will be a key player in the semiconductor market as well. The SIA forecast that global semiconductor sales would

rise 12.1 percent during 1999, making it the first year of double-digit growth since 1995. Chip sales worldwide were expected to reach \$140.8 billion during 1999 and rise 15.4 percent to \$162.5 billion in 2000. Much of the growth of the market worldwide has been fueled by the phenomenal growth of the Internet, which does not appear to be slowing and will remain a major factor in SIA strategies.

In general the SIA supports free trade and has lobbied the Clinton administration to push for an end to trade barriers during upcoming World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations. In particular, it wants U.S. trade officials to get China to adopt new, more open trade arrangements on semiconductors. Darryl Hatano, the SIA's vice president of international affairs, recently told Congress that member companies of the SIA are struggling with curbs on direct sales to foreign customers—often hampered by U.S. national security issues—as well as with various “buy national” campaigns in countries with state-owned enterprises.

At the same time, the SIA is asking that U.S. trade negotiators not agree to South Korean and Japanese government attempts to weaken antidumping procedures with the WTO. Dumping involves the selling of semiconductors at below-cost prices in order to protect national industries and local jobs. Both the Korean and Japanese governments insist that companies in their countries do not engage in dumping practices.

Other matters of concern to the industry are immigration and Y2K problems. The SIA would like to have the United States modify its immigration regulations to allow an influx of high-tech workers. A strong economy, a lack of properly trained domestic workers, and Y2K pressures have led to a desperate shortage of high-skilled workers. Unions are opposed to these changes, saying that the industry should train more American workers rather than seek out high-skilled foreign workers who are willing to work for less. On the Y2K question the semiconductor industry pushed hard for legislation that would limit the liability of industry for damages caused by the so-called millennium bug. The Year 2000 Readiness and Responsibility Act and the Year 2000 Fairness and Responsibility Act encourage businesses to address Y2K issues by protecting those who mobilize prompt, good-faith efforts to make applications millennium-proof. The SIA, along with the semiconductor industry as a whole, boasts of strong support for environmental measures. And, indeed, it has worked with the World Semiconductor Council to come up with the goal of reducing emissions of perfluorocompounds (PFCs) to 10 percent below 1995 levels by the year 2010.

Other public policy priorities of the SIA for 1999 include supporting a reformed version of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) financial assistance package for Asia and working with the U.S. High-Tech Industry Coalition on China. Its technology priorities include ensuring a U.S.-based semiconductor capability, ensuring manufacturing excellence through cooperation, maintaining high standards for semiconductor research within the United States, and supporting tax depreciation reform. In addition the SIA would like to see more tax relief for companies with heavy research and development costs.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Although it represents manufacturers that individually and collectively give enormous sums to the campaign coffers of congressional and presidential candidates of both parties, the SIA itself does not have a political action committee (PAC) and does not donate sums either to political parties in the form of soft-money contributions or to candidates in the form of regular hard-money contributions. The annual budget of the SIA is approximately \$4.4 million.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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TECHNOLOGY NETWORK

The Technology Network (TechNet) is a national political organization representing over 140 high-technology industry leaders, with members ranging from the CEOs of a variety of small and large corporations to capital firms, investment banks, and law firms. Its headquarters are in Palo Alto, California.

TechNet says that it was formed “to help build bipartisan support for policies aimed at strengthening American leadership of the New Economy . . . [and that it has] experienced significant success in facilitating dialogues between business leaders and policy makers, educating lawmakers of the value about specific, tech-related legislation and broadening its membership.” It is the first group devoted to helping high-tech industry executives establish working relationships with the nation’s political leaders.

TechNet seeks to spread its influence through meeting with leading politicians, advocating public issues that will help to grow the New Economy—shorthand for an economy led by technology stocks and companies—form alliances with other technology organizations and leaders, and give financial support to political candidates. The technology industry as a whole has until recently been more focused on its own research agendas than on politics but, with the emergence of TechNet, this will likely change. Though in its infancy in 1999, TechNet is poised to become a major player in the political arena in the years to come.

HISTORY

TechNet was founded in July 1997 as the first industry-wide organization representing the interests of a variety of technology businesses, manufacturers, and researchers. The organization came about as many members of the computer and Internet industry realized that they had no real, unified voice in Washington that would speak to the interests of the burgeoning high-tech in-

dustry. Those who study the high-tech world of software development and the Internet say that with an industry largely composed of young entrepreneurs with little interest in politics and a strong penchant for free market values, it took a number of years for the realization to sink in that such a voice was needed in Washington. The formation of TechNet, say many experts on Washington interest groups, reflects the growing power of the Internet and software industries in the United States and their realization that they must work with government—particularly on trade and software piracy issues—if they want to maintain their global dominance.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

During 1998 TechNet successfully promoted the Uniform National Standards for Securities Litigation, which makes it more difficult for investors to file class action securities fraud suits against public companies. Its support for this legislation took the form of leading a coalition of industry leaders that ultimately achieved wide bipartisan support for the bill in Congress. TechNet has also supported legislation to raise the cap on H-1B visas for skilled workers, assisting Republican Senator Spencer Abraham of Michigan and other legislators to work up a compromise bill for what had seemed doomed legislation. It also threw its energies and power behind the Charter Public Schools Legislation in California. TechNet helped to get legislation passed that will expand the number of charter schools in the state and give parents more control over their children’s schools. The group plans to continue such involvement in social and educational issues. TechNet’s first year was also spent building relationships between high-ranking technology executives and politicians, and this work will most likely be a primary focus in future years as well. As of

1999 it claimed to have facilitated 120 meetings with top political leaders, including President Bill Clinton, Vice-President Al Gore, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, and a variety of congressional and state politicians.

TechNet says that its 1999 policy goals include strengthening the research and development agenda in the United States and achieving a permanent research and development tax credit. Protecting and increasing federal research funds is a primary part of the general research and development goal, since these funds have been behind much of the most progressive work within the technological fields. TechNet sees the future of the United States as tied to such federal support, particularly since American (and increasingly global) markets are fueled by technology stocks and the innovation that lies behind them. TechNet also seeks to protect employee ownership incentives for high-tech companies, supporting the maintenance of existing employee stock option accounting standards and seeking to prevent what it sees as unnecessary changes by the Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB). Other issues of concern for TechNet, on which it is working with its own members and other industry associations, include encryption and Y2K compliance standards for technology companies.

TechNet represents a large percentage of the technology companies responsible for much of the general market growth of the last decade of the twentieth century, and its political and other goals will be rooted in a desire to see this unprecedented growth continue. It

will most likely seek influence in the 2000 presidential race, particularly to make candidates aware of the global economic issues affecting the technology markets.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Because the Technology Network is such a new trade organization, it only began to contribute to the campaigns of candidates for federal office during the 1997–1998 Congress-only election cycle. Thus far, its donations remain modest by the standards of the manufacturing sector. In the 1997–1998 election cycle the TechNet political action committee (PAC) gave a total of \$42,191 in contributions to congressional candidates and parties, with \$13,034 (31 percent) going to Democrats and \$29,157 (69 percent) going to Republicans.

JAMES CIMENT AND VIVIAN WAGNER

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LOBBYISTS
in the United States

Volume Two

IMMANUEL NESS
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CONTENTS

VOLUME TWO

Section 8. Labor

Introduction	350
Airline Pilots Association	356
American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations	359
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees	363
American Federation of Teachers	366
American Postal Workers Union	369
Communications Workers of America	372
Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union	375
International Association of Fire Fighters	378
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers	381
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	384
International Brotherhood of Teamsters	387
International Union of Operating Engineers	390
Laborers International Union of North America	393
National Education Association	396
Seafarers International Union of North America	399
Service Employees International Union	401
Transport Workers Union of America	404
Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees	407
United Automobile Workers	410

United Food and Commercial Workers Union	413
United Steelworkers of America	416
United Transportation Union	419

Section 9. Civil and Human Rights

Introduction	422
ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now)	430
American Civil Liberties Union	433
Anti-Defamation League	435
Freedom House	438
Human Rights Watch	441
League of Women Voters of the United States	444
Legal Services Corporation	447
National Coalition for the Homeless	450
National Lawyers Guild	452

Section 10. Political, Religious, and Ideological

Introduction	454
American Conservative Union	460
American Enterprise Institute	463
Americans for Democratic Action	466
Americans for Tax Reform	469
Brookings Institution	472
Cato Institute	475
Center for Public Integrity	477
Center for Responsive Politics	479
Christian Coalition	481
Citizens for a Sound Economy	483

Common Cause	485
Economic Policy Institute	487
Heritage Foundation	490
The Hudson Institute	492
John Birch Society	494
National Council of the Churches of Christ	496
National Taxpayers Union	498
Public Citizen	500
United States Catholic Conference	502
U.S. Public Interest Research Group	504

Section 11. Single Issue

Introduction	506
Americans United for the Separation of Church and State	513
Citizens Flag Alliance	516
Council for a Livable World	518
Handgun Control	521
Mothers Against Drunk Driving	524
National Abortion and Reproduction Action League	526
National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare	529
National Rifle Association	532
National Right to Life Committee	536
People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals	539
Planned Parenthood Federation of America	542
Union of Concerned Scientists	545
U.S. English	547
U.S. Term Limits	550
Zero Population Growth	553

Section 12. Identity

Introduction	555
American Association of Retired Persons	561
American Indian Movement	564
American Legion	567
Congress of Racial Equality	569
Emily's List	572
Human Rights Campaign	575
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	578
National Gay and Lesbian Task Force	581
National Organization for Women	583

Section 13. Foreign

Introduction	586
China	591
Cuban Exiles	594
European Union	597
Israel	600
Japan	603
Mexico	606
Nigeria	609
Russia	611
Taiwan	614
Turkey	616

PART II. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES AND LOBBYISTS: TABLES AND FIGURES

Section 1. Political Action Committees

Introduction	621
Top Agriculture PACs	627
Top Livestock/Poultry PACs	628
Top Dairy PACs	629
Top Tobacco PACs	629
Top Forestry and Paper PACs	629
Top Business PACs	630
Top Food and Beverage PACs	631
Top Retail PACs	632
Top Miscellaneous Services PACs	632
Top Gambling/Recreation/Tourism PACs	632
Top Miscellaneous Business PACs	633
Top Construction PACs	633
Top Building Equipment/Materials PACs	634
Top Engineering/Architecture PACs	635
Top Contractors and Builders PACs	635
Top Defense PACs	636
Top Electronics/Communications PACs	638
Top Electronic/Computer Manufacturing PACs	639
Top Telephone PACs	639
Top TV/Music/Movies PACs	639
Top Telecommunications PACs	640
Top Printing and Publishing PACs	640
Top Energy/Resource PACs	641
Top Oil and Gas PACs	643
Top Mining PACs	644

Top Electric Utility PACs	645	Top Public Sector Union PACs	674
Top Nuclear/Misc. Energy PACs	645	Top Miscellaneous Union PACs	675
Top Waste Management/Environmental Service PACs	645	Top Soft-Money Donors, 1997-98 Election Cycle	676
Top Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate PACs	646		
Top Commercial Bank PACs	647	Section 2. Lobbyists	
Top Savings and Loan/ Credit Union PACs	648	Introduction	678
Top Finance/Credit Company PACs	649	Top Banking, Security, and Investment Companies Lobbying Expenditures	684
Top Security and Investment PACs	650	Top Business Associations Lobbying Expenditures	685
Top Insurance PACs	651	Top Computer Companies Lobbying Expenditures	686
Top Accounting PACs	652	Top Entertainment/Media Institutions Lobbying Expenditures	687
Top Real Estate PACs	652	Top Government Agencies Lobbying Expenditures	688
Top Health PACs	653	Top Health Professional Associations Lobbying Expenditures	688
Top Health Professional PACs	655	Top Insurance Companies Lobbying Expenditures	689
Top Hospital/Nursing Home PACs	656	Top Oil and Gas Companies Lobbying Expenditures	690
Top Pharmaceutical and Health Product PACs	656	Top Pharmaceutical/Health Product Companies Lobbying Expenditures	691
Top Democratic/Liberal PACs	657	Top Single Issue/Identity Groups Lobbying Expenditures	692
Top Republican/Conservative PACs	658	Top Tobacco Companies Lobbying Expenditures	693
Top Women's Issue PACs	659	Top Corporations/Associations Lobbying Expenditures	694
Top Miscellaneous Human Rights/Identity Groups PACs	660	Top Industries—Lobbying Expenditures	697
Top Law Firm PACs	661	Top Telephone/Utilities Lobbying Expenditures	699
Top Lobbyist Firm PACs	661	Top Transportation Companies Lobbying Expenditures	700
Top Manufacturing PACs	662	Top Lobbying Firms	701
Top Chemical Manufacturing PACs	663	Top Clients of Top Lobbying Firms	703
Top Steel PACs	663		
Top Textile PACs	664	Contact Information	705
Top Miscellaneous Manufacturing PACs	664	Glossary	719
Top Single-Issue PACs	665	Bibliography	725
Top Pro-Israel PACs	666	Index	739
Top Environment PACs	667		
Top Gun and Gun Control PACs	667		
Top Pro-Choice and Pro-Life PACs	667		
Top Miscellaneous Single-Issue PACs	667		
Top Transport PACs	668		
Top Air Transport PACs	669		
Top Automobile PACs	670		
Top Trucking PACs	670		
Top Railroad PACs	670		
Top Sea Transport PACs	670		
Top Union PACs	671		
Top Industrial Union PACs	672		
Top Transport Union PACs	673		
Top Building Trade Union PACs	674		

Encyclopedia of
INTEREST
GROUPS

★ ★ ★ ★ and ★ ★ ★ ★

LOBBYISTS
in the United States



SECTION EIGHT

LABOR



The American labor movement is considerably weaker and less effective in advancing the interests of workers than equivalent movements in Western Europe and Canada. In virtually every category of economic security American workers lag behind those in other advanced industrial countries. On average, American workers earn less and work longer hours than workers in countries with stronger labor movements.

Although American workers' conditions lag behind those in other nations, they are not necessarily any less militant or less interested in improving their living standards through collective action. Scholars attribute workers' inferior position in America to the weakness of labor unions to advance their powers with businesses and corporations, possibly because there has never been a major, labor-based political party in the United States. While effective labor-based parties have emerged in the early twentieth century throughout Europe, no equivalent party has formed in the United States.

In Germany, where a strong labor party has emerged, organized labor is viewed as an important arbiter in determining the distribution of government benefits such as healthcare, pensions, and education. Moreover, while industrial democracies in Europe with a history of labor activism have elaborate social safety nets, the American welfare system has always been less extensive, and at the dawn of the twenty-first century is getting even weaker. Significantly, the United States is the only advanced industrial country that has no universal health insurance system that guarantees healthcare as a right to all its citizens.

In the United States, labor unions are often viewed as special interest organizations because, rather than seeking to advance the interests of workers as a whole, unions—much like corporate interests—sometimes lobby government officials to gain special treatment for

industries that employ their members. For example, the United Steelworkers and United Auto Workers support tariffs and restrictions on the import of low-cost steel and automobiles that compete with American products and jeopardize the jobs of its members. Unions that represent workers in the public sector frequently seek to gain greater government funding for their industries. But organized labor also seeks to lobby government officials to improve the conditions for all workers in America. These efforts include support for raising the minimum wage, extending unemployment benefits, and support for universal healthcare.

The American organized labor movement historically has worked toward improving employees' relations with employers and supporting government programs that benefit working people. Unions believe that wages and benefits can be improved through bargaining with employers and through influencing government policies that affect workers as a whole. By engaging in political activities unions strive to defend labor through government programs.

RELATIONS WITH EMPLOYERS

Federal, state, and local laws, judicial decisions, and administrative policies regulate and oversee relations between employers and labor unions. Unions that formed at the turn of the twentieth century placed primary attention on improving organized labor's capacity to organize workers and bargain with employers. Samuel Gompers, president (with one brief interruption) of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) from 1886 until his death in 1924 believed that organized labor's primary goal should be advancing labor rights at the workplace, rather than seeking social advancements for workers

through the state. Unions affiliated with the AFL—which represented most organized workers in the early twentieth century—struggled to end child labor, attain and enforce the eight-hour day, improve working conditions, and raise poverty wages. Through organizing, membership mobilization, and political action, unions were able to change government law and alleviate sweatshop conditions.

Perhaps the most important goal for organized labor has been the struggle to organize workers into trade unions. Since the early 1800s, many employers have presented obstacles to prevent workers from forming unions. They have resorted to intimidation and union-busting tactics such as dismissing supporters of union organizing campaigns, temporarily raising wages, and actively campaigning against union drives. To combat these tactics, the labor movement worked to create legislation which keeps employers from interfering with workers' right to organize, a law they believe is protected by the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment, which guarantees the right to free association.

The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (also known as the Wagner Act) proved a milestone in American labor history. It vastly expanded trade unions' legal rights to organize industrial workers, and established procedures for union recognition and collective bargaining. Today, the union movement continues to advocate labor law reform to improve its ability to represent workers.

PRIVATE-SECTOR EMPLOYER RELATIONS

Defending and improving the legal balance of power at the workplace is critical in maintaining unions' ability to survive and grow. Without the right to organize, unions would not have the power to defend workers' rights against employers. Thus, unions are concerned with government policies that bear on their ability to represent workers and collectively bargain with employers. Unions seek to exert influence on the executive, legislative, and judicial levels of government to defend the interests of workers. On the executive level, unions historically have had considerably more influence on and access to Democratic presidents than Republican presidents. As chief executive, the president is in effect the employer of millions of government workers, including hundreds of thousands of union members. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan

struck a major blow to labor when he fired thousands of striking air traffic controllers who were employed by the government. The action legitimated the permanent replacement of striking workers in other industries. In the ensuing years, private employers have more frequently engaged in similar actions, crippling the power of the strike as a weapon.

The U.S. president appoints the executive members of the National Labor Relations Board, the agency that oversees labor-management relations. Presidential appointments to the board have great influence over labor's ability to prevent employers from illegally retaliating against workers who support unions. Moreover, the president may make policy directives that assist or undermine unions in organizing. For example, the president has the authority to call for "cooling-off" periods during strikes that have national implications, restricting the union's ability to defend the interests of workers through the strike weapon.

The labor movement also is concerned with legislative policy that affects its ability to organize and defend its members. Pushed through by a Republican Congress, the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 severely curtailed labor's ability to organize unions by outlawing sympathy strikes and sanctioning open shops that do not require workers who benefit from union contracts to join unions. A major priority for organized labor has been to overturn the law's most anti-union provisions.

The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), which formed in the merger of 1955, also opposes trade agreements that reduce tariffs for imported goods and jeopardize American jobs. In 1993, the federation was unsuccessful in preventing passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), an accord with Mexico and Canada that eliminated tariff barriers and exposed American workers to competition from lower-paid laborers. Democratic President Bill Clinton and the Republican Congress supported the agreement. However, four years later labor was successful in preventing the expansion of NAFTA to additional countries in Latin America.

SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL BENEFITS

Since the 1930s, the union movement also has been at the forefront of defending social welfare benefits—government-funded programs that protect Americans from

economic calamity and distress due to unemployment, old age, sickness, or destitution. The idea of social welfare is based on the belief that Americans cannot always depend exclusively on earned wages for their livelihood. Programs that have been supported by organized labor are unemployment insurance, Social Security, and universal healthcare, including Medicaid and Medicare. These programs, funded by worker contributions and tax dollars, are common throughout most industrial countries of Europe, North America, and East Asia. The United States, however, differs in that there is no universal healthcare system. The leading advocates for social benefit programs historically have been industrial and service unions that represent lower-paid workers. These unions see government as a key component in protecting the average American working family and reducing economic inequality.

The union movement also has supported government job programs for American workers. Since the 1950s unions representing government workers have grown more rapidly than private-sector unions, whose memberships have declined precipitously since the 1970s. A primary concern for public-sector unions in the last two decades of the twentieth century has been the subcontracting of government jobs to private employers. To defend workers from relentless privatization campaigns that undermine the wages of public-sector workers, unions have advocated living wage initiatives in localities throughout the United States. These campaigns have supported local legislation stipulating that workers employed by private firms that perform government subcontracted work are paid wages that are at least 100 percent above the poverty line. Public-sector unions also are concerned with the growth of workfare initiatives that have replaced decent-paying unionized jobs in the public sector with recipients of government assistance who work in exchange for their welfare check—which often does not even rise to the minimum wage.

Although unions are seeking to organize newly marginalized workers who are subject to government and industrial restructuring, they also are trying to defend government jobs. On state and local levels, public-sector unions frequently mobilize members and lobby governors and state legislatures to maintain and increase government funding for education, healthcare, services, and other programs that rely on public funding.

Government programs that safeguard jobs and income security are of great concern to most unions. The labor movement was a leading supporter of the Family and Medical Leave Act, signed into law in 1993. The law guarantees workers who must take a leave of ab-

sence due to catastrophic illness or childbirth the right to return to their jobs. However, this protection is not universal, covering only workers in medium and large companies, and does not provide income support during the worker's absence, as is the custom in most European countries with similar standards of living.

TYPES OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Industrial and craft unions represent workers in relations with management, while labor federations represent unionized workers across industry divisions. Local unions join labor federations on the national, state, or regional levels. Although unions and labor federations strive to advance workers' economic and political interests, they differ significantly in their individual objectives and capabilities.

Labor unions. The first labor unions in the United States tended to represent workers who were organized on the basis of craft. In the garment industry, for example, separate unions represented workers in the same company who performed different tasks. However, the growth of large-scale industry tended to homogenize distinct skill categories, and by the 1930s unions began to organize on an industry basis. Rather than organizing specific segments of workers in an industry, unions organized entire factories. Thus, the growth of the steel, automobile, and electronics industries produced a rapid growth of industrial-based unions. Although craft unions continue to represent some workers, most unionized workers today are represented by industrial unions.

Trade unions are structured on the basis of union locals, district councils, and international unions. Union locals generally represent workers in a given city or town, district councils represent workers in the same industry on a regional basis, and internationals usually represent workers in a distinct industry throughout the United States and Canada. Local unions typically organize and negotiate contracts with management on a local or regional level. International unions set policy and administer operations of union locals and bargain with management in industries that are national in scope—such as the airline, automobile, and steel industries.

Labor Federations: AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO represents virtually all union members on a national basis and coordinates the political activities of 86 national and international industrial and craft unions in the United

States and Canada. Formed in 1955, the AFL-CIO is a federation of diverse unions, seeking to unify organized labor on issues concerning workers. Thus, the organization's aims are less narrow than international unions that have labor market concerns related to their industries.

The president of the AFL-CIO has historically been one of the most politically influential leaders in the United States. In 1995, the AFL-CIO held one of its first contested races for president since its inception as the AFL in 1886. Insurgent international union leaders distressed with the moribund state of the AFL-CIO forced Lane Kirkland from office and elected John Sweeney as the new president of the association. Sweeney promised to support a program to revitalize the labor movement by organizing new members and encouraging the participation of women, minorities, and other groups who were frequently excluded from leadership positions.

OPPONENTS OF ORGANIZED LABOR

Interest groups that represent various segments of private business are the primary source of opposition to the American labor movement. Private business fundamentally opposes any interference by outside entities in their right to run their firms. Thus, many business leaders view labor unions as third-party meddlers who interfere with management decisions and raise the cost of doing business by organizing workers to demand higher wages and benefits. Leading political opponents of organized labor in Washington are the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the National Federation of Independent Business—organizations that represent commercial, manufacturing, and business interests. Business organizations contribute to candidates opposing government interference with the private market. For example, business lobbyists generally oppose raising the minimum wage, extending unemployment benefits, and other federal regulations governing labor. Moreover, business interests also oppose eliminating open-shop laws and other obstacles to organizing labor in the United States.

A leading legislative goal of organized labor's opponents in the 1990s has been restricting labor's use of union dues for political purposes. Political opponents of organized labor sponsored such legislation in several states. However, in 1998, a Republican-sponsored ref-

erendum calling for restrictions on the use of union dues for political purposes was defeated in California. On the national level, opponents of labor have sponsored legislation to further weaken unions by prohibiting labor organizations from collecting union dues as a condition of employment. The National Right to Work Committee, a leading national opponent of organized labor, is sponsoring the National Right to Work Act, which would greatly restrict unions' ability to function. Right to work laws have severely impeded labor's power in many states of the South and Southwest where corporations have opposed the expansion of labor power. Typically supported by Republicans who oppose labor, right to work laws currently cover about 35 percent of all workers in the United States. Organized labor contends that right to work laws are thinly disguised political efforts to restrict workers' democratic right to organize and defend themselves against management.

Conservative political think tanks are leading opponents of organized labor and oppose government social benefit programs that seek to protect workers' economic status. The Heritage Foundation, a leading right-wing think tank, provides research that exposes union abuses, usually without referring to the benefits that workers gain from union membership. The organization also resolutely opposes minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, and most government programs that interfere with the functioning of the private market.

LABOR UNIONS' POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The labor movement employs a wide range of strategies and activities to advance the political and economic status of workers in American society—from social protest, electoral politics, lobbying, and campaign contributions to sympathetic candidates and politicians. Since the election of John Sweeney as president of the AFL-CIO, the union movement has sought to emphasize organizing new members to stem a long period of decline and to reestablish the power of workers. A growing number of AFL-CIO unions have welcomed the new emphasis on organizing and have devoted greater attention, additional staff members, and significantly larger financial resources to recruiting new members.

However, organized labor asserts that if it is to successfully organize many new members, America's restrictive labor law must be reformed. For more than 50

years organized labor has considered labor laws in the United States unfavorable to organizing new members, in part because of Taft-Hartley.

KEY LEGISLATION

American labor law that does not adequately protect workers who seek to join unions is one of the most important factors in accounting for the failure of the labor movement to organize and grow. While workers in the United States have the nominal right to organize and form unions to represent them in bargaining with management over wages and working conditions, in practice, workers face massive obstacles if they wish to organize against the will of employers. The cornerstone of American labor law is the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), passed in 1935 during the height of the New Deal, that guaranteed organized labor the right to organize workers and represent them against management. The law established the National Labor Relations Board to oversee relations between the two parties. However, the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, passed over a veto by President Harry S. Truman, significantly eroded the provisions of the NLRA that provided the legal basis for organizing. The act outlawed sympathy strikes, purged Communist leaders who were instrumental in organizing new workers into the labor movement, and permitted the formation of open-shop unions, enabling employers to reduce the power of organized labor in the South where opposition to unions is stronger. Organized labor has sought without success to repeal the most restrictive elements of the Taft-Hartley Act that hinder unions' ability to organize and represent workers. Employers can violate labor law by firing organizers with minimal penalties.

Thus, a central campaign for the AFL-CIO and its member unions is the Right to Organize campaign, devoted to reducing the obstacles to joining unions. The right to organize is considered both a human right and a right to free speech that is curtailed in the United States and many foreign countries where employers freely intimidate workers for supporting unions.

The AFL-CIO and its constituent international unions participate integrally in government policy debates that affect American workers. For example, unions have actively participated in the debate to raise the minimum wage, extend unemployment insurance benefits, protect Social Security, oppose trade legislation that is detrimental to American workers, and defend the use of union dues.

International unions have sought to influence government legislation that directly affects workers in their industries. For example, industrial unions are frequently supportive of legislation placing limits on the import of foreign goods produced by lower-cost producers. But unions also seek to restrict corporate efforts to restructure industrial operations that lower wages, break unions, and jeopardize their members' jobs. Public-sector unions have sought to increase government funding for education, healthcare, and social service programs on a federal, state, and local basis because these expenditures are a major source of revenue that pays for workers in these segments of the economy. Without adequate funding, unions' ability to negotiate with management is curtailed. Trade unions representing service workers are interested in government regulations that may affect the vitality of the industries where their members work.

Unlike many other interest groups, unions do not only engage in campaign contributions to supportive politicians and in lobbying for their interests. Unions also seek to develop the political power of its own members through public education, citizenship classes, voter registration drives, membership mobilization, political rallies, campaign contributions, lobbying, and strikes. International unions have political action committees (PACs) that contribute money to candidates for public office and expend financial resources for media campaigns directed at defending the jobs and livelihood of their members.

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AIRLINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION

Although it represents just 53,000 members—a relatively small figure by comparison to some of its fellow AFL-CIO member unions—the Airline Pilots Association (ALPA) represents nevertheless a powerful voice in Washington, D.C., through its active membership, its large campaign donations, and its influence over one of the most critical industries in contemporary America. Its members—virtually all of whom are pilots and navigators—work for about 50 of the nation’s airlines, including some of the largest, such as Delta, Northwest, and United. But because the ALPA has been unable to negotiate a master contract with all the airlines, salaries, benefits, and working conditions vary greatly from airline to airline. Moreover, many of the pilots at the larger carriers—including American, Continental, and Southwest—have individual unions of their own. Still, the ALPA remains the dominant union in the industry and is often looked to for leadership on air travel and pilot issues by the other unions.

The ALPA consists of over 100 locals, usually located at a specific air hub. These locals are then included in pilot groups across the United States and Canada. Each pilot group consists of members working for a specific airline. The pilot groups enjoy considerable autonomy in governing internal affairs and negotiating contracts. Each group is headed by a master executive council, composed of several elected representatives of the group’s various locals. Local council representatives also comprise the board of directors for the union as a whole, which sets overall policy. The union’s executive board and executive council—elected at biennial meetings—run the day-to-day affairs. The international office—located in suburban Washington, D.C.—is headed by four national officers: president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer.

The ALPA—whose members are among the highest-paid workers in any industry—functions as both a union and a professional organization. Approximately 600 pilots serve on local and national safety committees, and the union donates 20 percent of its dues to support

aviation safety. In addition, union representatives are usually granted “interested party” status at major crash sites. Although the union does become involved with broader issues of concern for the labor movement, much of its energy in Washington, D.C., is spent lobbying on airline safety issues, which sometimes include work regulations for pilots.

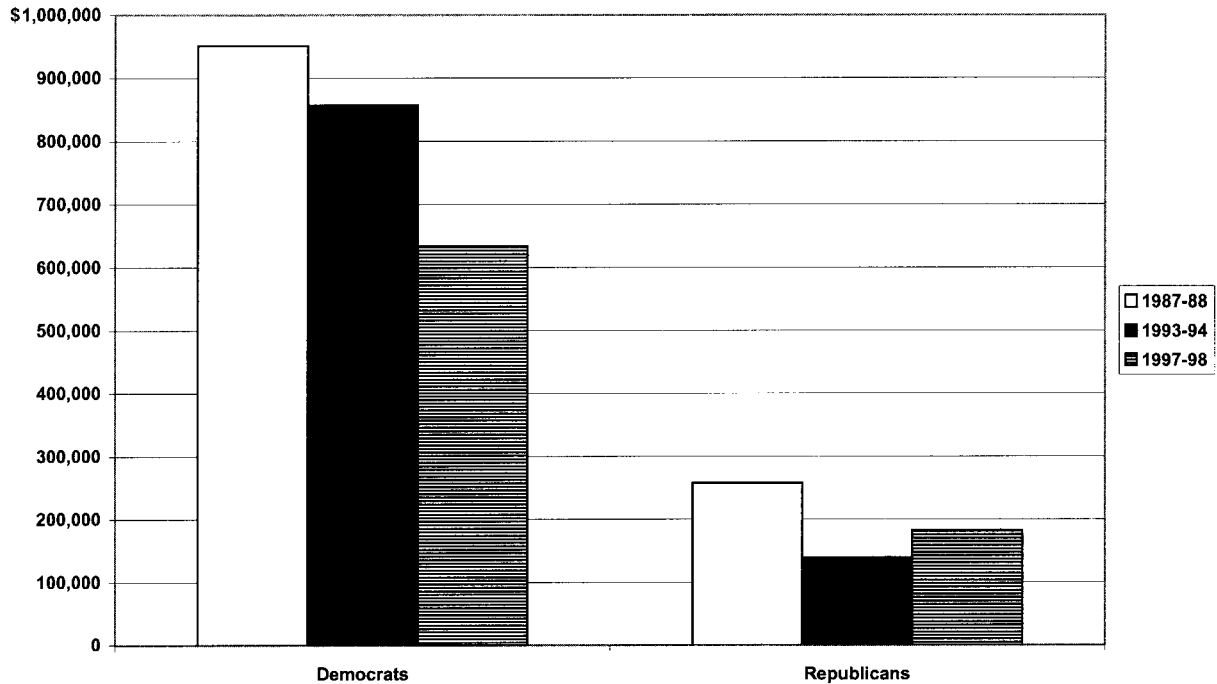
HISTORY

The ALPA was formed in 1931 by a Boeing Air Transport pilot. The union’s early grievances concerned poor working conditions, arbitrary management practices, and wage cuts caused by the Depression. In 1933, Congress passed legislation extending the job security and organizing rights of the Railway Labor Act to the airline industry. This provided a much-needed boost for the fledgling union in negotiating contracts. The ALPA grew slowly in the 1930s and 1940s, but came of age with the booming air transport industry of the 1950s and 1960s.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The ALPA’s lobbying activities in Washington, D.C., concern air safety, which involves working with both Congress and the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). One of the issues that the ALPA is involved with concerns aging aircraft. The union has strongly pushed the FAA to address the safety and reliability of aging aircraft systems by developing new tests and maintenance standards geared to such aircraft. The union has also been active in the area of air space safety, specifically pushing for a National Civil Aviation Review Commission (NCARC) to investigate the growing density

**Airline Pilots Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

of aircraft around major hubs and the distressing number of near collisions in the air. With the report issued in late 1997, the ALPA has been pushing for appropriate legislation to address the concerns raised by the NCARC. Specifically, the ALPA and the report advocate increased funding for the FAA, through cost-based user charges and fuel taxes. In addition, the ALPA would like to see more of the FAA’s general revenues devoted to the issue of air space safety.

On a related subject, the union has advocated that Congress push the FAA to take more action on the growing number of runway incursions, in which two aircraft end up on the same landing strip at the same time. As one union official told Congress, “Because the number of incursions has increased each year since 1993, it is vital that we analyze the effectiveness of the measures taken thus far and determine what additional actions are required.” The union says the problem has to do with an increase in flights without commensurate development in airport infrastructure, pilot unfamiliarity with airport layouts, and the FAA’s lack of leadership on the issue. Moreover, the union has advocated a restriction on what are called “land and hold short” operations (LAHSO), whereby two aircraft operate on

separate but intersecting runways. The union advocates the establishment of the recalculation of minimum stopping distances; better runway lighting, marking, and signage; and a ban on LAHSO operations on wet runways. Overall, the union has pushed the FAA to publish more data on flights as a way to assess air safety. But concerned that such data might be used against its members, the ALPA asked that the FAA publish all data cumulatively, so that individual pilots and union members cannot be identified individually.

Overcrowding in the airline industry, as the union understands, is not confined merely to aircraft. Increasingly crowded flights—and extended air time for passengers due to the growing number of hub connections—have produced tensions aboard aircraft and a rise in the number of disruptive passengers. Thus, the union has pushed both Congress and the airlines to do more to combat unpleasant and dangerous situations in which passengers get out of control. The union would like to see tougher prosecution of unruly passengers, both in the United States and abroad, stricter control over deportees transported by air, and the creation of a national database to track incidents and perpetrators.

Concerning pilots as union members, the ALPA has

been cautious in the establishment of emergency boards to deal with pilots' strikes. In the Northwest strike of 1998, for example, the union requested that President Bill Clinton not establish such a board to resolve the dispute. As a union official noted at the time: "Federal government intervention now in the Northwest Airlines matter would prevent workers from exercising their lawful right to strike and would set a very harmful precedent for future labor negotiations. Any federal action in this matter would signal other carriers that they, too, can thwart the collective bargaining process by simply asking the president to intervene."

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ALPA political action committee (ALPA PAC) is one of the largest political action committees of the labor movement—by amount of donation—in the country. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, the Com-

mittee on Political Education received \$1.15 million and spent \$1.1 million. This latter figure includes \$822,000 in contributions to candidates and parties—\$633,000 to Democrats and \$189,000 to Republicans.

The ALPA PAC has been one of the few unions that has seen its receipts, expenditures, and contributions decline significantly between 1987 and 1996. Receipts and expenditures have declined by about 3 percent, while contributions have fallen by 33 percent from \$1.5 million to just over \$1 million. At the same time, contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans, by four to six times as much, but this a comparatively lower ratio than for other unions.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR– CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL–CIO) is the largest association of organized labor in the United States. The organization was founded in 1955 with the merger of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the two leading federations of labor in the country. Subsequently, the AFL–CIO has expanded in importance to dominate the labor movement. By the end of the century, virtually all national and international unions in the United States had affiliated with the federation. As a consequence, the AFL–CIO has emerged as the leading federation without any competing organizations.

The AFL–CIO is comprised of 86 national and international unions with members employed in virtually every industry in the United States. While national and international unions tend to address issues in their respective industries, the AFL–CIO tries to unify the diverse interests of organized labor into a single voice. Thus, the AFL–CIO’s political concerns tend to mirror the collective interests of the labor movement. These concerns include reforming labor law to enable unions to organize workers, advocating on behalf of government social programs that improve the conditions of workers, and curbing corporate and industrial restructuring that erode labor’s bargaining power.

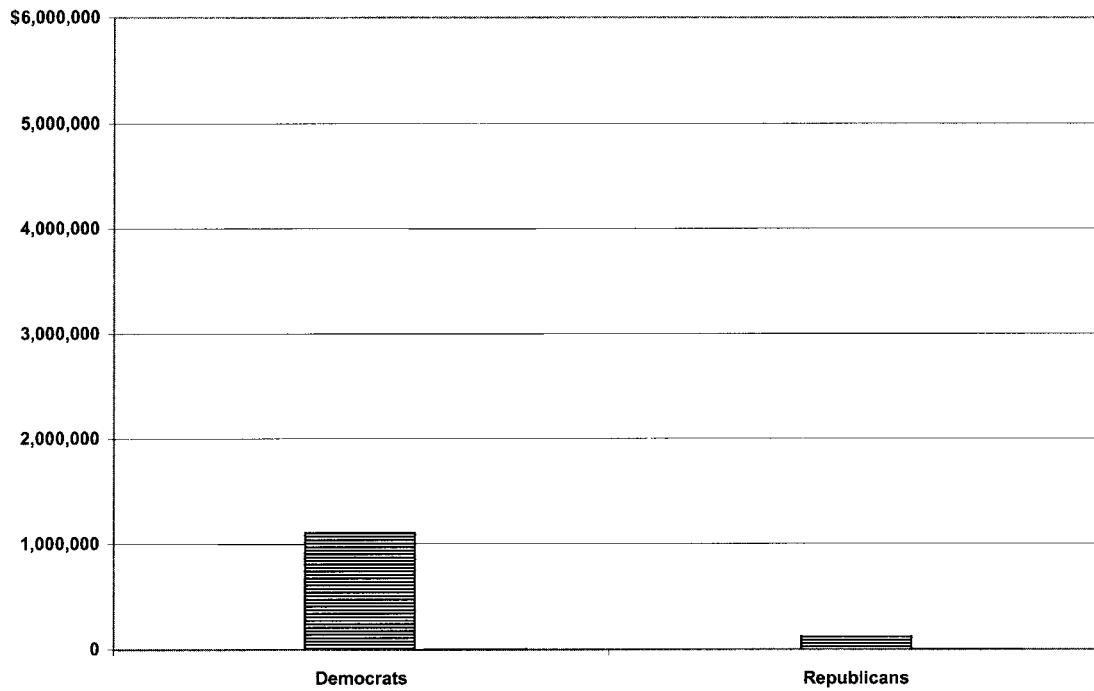
HISTORY

In 1881, leading trade unionists formed the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. Five years later, the organization was officially reorganized into the AFL and quickly emerged as the leading trade union federation in America. Under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, the AFL focused on the defense of the craft unions, which formed the majority of the federation, in opposition to the Knights of Labor, which often favored a more militant and far-

reaching strategy of labor mobilization. The AFL opposed the organization of unions on the basis of industrial plant-wide affiliation and encouraged member affiliations on the basis of skill and craft lines, such as construction, printing, and engineering trades. The AFL opposed organization of members on an industrial basis. Gompers and the AFL did not seek to advance labor’s standing through government programs but believed that social gains could be achieved exclusively at the workplace. The organization’s affiliates therefore sought higher wages and improved working conditions through bargaining with management.

The union movement expanded at the turn of the twentieth century through the recruitment of new industrial workers against aggressive opposition from America’s leading corporations and businesses. By 1905, however, in the face of this opposition, union membership stagnated and declined. A new spurt of growth in labor organizing emerged at the end of the First World War as demand for consumer goods and industrial production began to grow. However, by the early 1930s, the failure to organize the growing ranks of unskilled and semiskilled industrial workers reduced the AFL’s standing and led to challenges from competing union federations. In 1935, industrial unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization emerged as a challenger for dominance of the American labor movement. Later renamed the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the CIO expanded rapidly through organizing workers on an industrial basis. Moreover, under the leadership of charismatic president John L. Lewis, the CIO also advocated government social welfare programs to assist working Americans. Leading CIO organizing campaigns were waged in the auto and steel industry. This challenge for leadership by the CIO forced AFL unions to initiate industrial organizing, which also expanded the ranks of the AFL. The period of competition for industrial workers triggered the greatest growth spurt in organizing new unions into the American labor movement.

**American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations
Political Action Committee Contributions, 1997–1998**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1997–1998.

Labor's rapid growth in the 1930s and 1940s contributed to business alarm over the unions' rising influence and the potential for even further labor power. Labor's rise to power also sparked a backlash by anti-labor Republicans in Congress who advocated curbing labor's power to organize, strike, and protest. Against strong Democratic opposition, the Republican-dominated Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, overriding a veto by Democratic president Harry S. Truman. The new law significantly curbed labor's legal ability to organize new workers, rendered sympathy strikes illegal, and purged radicals in the labor movement, including Communist Party members. More than 50 years later, the Taft-Hartley Act remains a major legal impediment in the labor movement's expansion of its ranks of organized workers. AFL-CIO leadership has attempted to influence presidents and lobbied Congress to pass new legislation to change the most serious impediments to organizing.

The AFL and CIO merger in 1955 was intended to expand labor's collective power. For the next 20 years, wages among unionized workers in America grew faster than at any period in the century. Unions represented the vast majority of workers in leading industrial sectors

of the economy. Moreover, the organization of public-sector workers into unions continued to sustain trade union membership in the 1960s through the 1980s. However, with the downturn of the American economy in the early 1970s, wages in the manufacturing sector began to stagnate, due in part to growing competition from low-wage producers in the United States and abroad. The domestic and foreign competitive pressure reduced organized labor's ability to command improved wages and working conditions for its workers. Many unions engaged in concessionary bargaining with management and negotiated two-tier wage agreements for workers with seniority and those newly hired.

Internal tensions between rightist and leftist factions in the labor movement kept the federation divided. However, by the 1990s, with the reentry of the Teamsters into the AFL-CIO, most of the leading national and international unions in the United States affiliated with the federation. Despite the consolidation of the federation, however, membership has continued to spiral downward. The percentage of workers belonging to unions declined from about 35 percent in the late 1940s to about 14 percent by the century's close.

Some critics attribute labor's dwindling power to an

orientation toward business unionism, a form of trade unionism that emphasizes servicing the economic and workplace needs of existing members at the expense of organizing new members. In most unions, funds and personnel devoted to organizing dropped to almost nothing. Moreover, in the 1970s and 1980s, a swelling union bureaucracy and concessionary bargaining with management were seen as further impediments to attracting new members. Union membership continued to decline in the 1980s in response to the Reagan administration's failure to enforce labor laws protecting workers' right to organize. In the same period, millions of unionized manufacturing jobs were also lost to foreign competition from lower-wage producers.

By the mid 1990s, recognizing that the AFL-CIO needed to respond more vigorously to government and corporate challenges, leaders of several industrial unions challenged AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, who had presided over the federation's decline from 1979 to 1995. Moreover, under Kirkland, the AFL-CIO failed to prevent the ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that threatened to significantly jeopardize American manufacturing jobs. Although Kirkland initially refused calls from a growing number of international unions for his resignation, by early 1995 he resigned and appointed AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Thomas R. Donahue as the new president. However, key union leaders had already rallied around John Sweeney, then president of the Service Employees International Union, to become the new leader of the federation. The Sweeney slate had the support of the leading industrial unions, and advocated a more aggressive approach to rebuilding the strength of labor in the United States through organizing the unorganized. At the AFL-CIO convention in October 1995, Sweeney was elected as the new president, becoming the first modern challenger for the leadership of the federation to defeat an incumbent president.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The AFL-CIO uses a wide range of strategies to improve the wages and working conditions for working Americans. Politically, the organization supports candidates running for elected office that are sympathetic to the agenda of the labor movement. The AFL-CIO contributes funds to candidates and mobilizes rank-and-file members to vote for candidates of its choice. The

organization lobbies on behalf of issues that concern labor, such as the right to organize, raising the federal minimum wage, lengthening unemployment insurance eligibility periods, and defending Social Security. The AFL-CIO also mobilizes members to rally and demonstrate in support of critical issues. Since the United States does not have a labor party with direct links to the labor movement, the AFL-CIO overwhelmingly supports Democratic candidates, who tend to be more sympathetic than Republicans to labor's position. However, the organization maintains that now it is more careful about which candidates receive funds, because of some who made promises to labor during elections, only to vote against the movement once in office.

The AFL-CIO coordinates its national program on a state and local level through state and regional branches of the organization. The AFL-CIO is decentralized on state and local levels through 50 state federations of labor and more than 600 central labor councils. The independently administered bodies formulate national policy and coordinate state and regional activities. Since 1995, after many decades of dormancy, the AFL-CIO has encouraged state federations and central labor councils to support organizing efforts and actively support the national program to revitalize the labor movement. A number of labor councils have energized the local labor movement through becoming more active in union organizing efforts through educating and mobilizing members.

Perhaps the most important demand of the AFL-CIO in the current era is improving the ability of workers to organize and join unions. Since the early 1980s, nonunion employers typically have resisted union-organizing drives. Moreover, unionized employers have sought to avoid unions through moving to nonunion regions, subcontracting to nonunion firms, and closing unionized operations. Employers frequently fire and discriminate against workers who support unions. Thus, the AFL-CIO believes that existing laws must be enforced and new laws must be enacted that level the playing field between labor and management. In particular, the AFL-CIO believes that the anti-union provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 need to be overturned to improve workers' ability to organize into unions.

A key concern for the AFL-CIO is restricting the ability of corporations to evade wage rates and labor laws in the United States by moving production to low-wage countries that have few labor protections. As a result of this practice of shifting production abroad, millions of unionized American workers have lost their jobs in the last two decades. The AFL-CIO and its member organizations believe that the emergence of trade blocs

(NAFTA and other regional associations) and global trade groups (World Trade Organization) that are not subject to democratic control, significantly reduces the ability of American workers to have a say in their economic destiny.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Under Sweeney's leadership, the AFL-CIO has sought to energize the labor movement through encouraging organizing new workers into unions. The AFL-CIO has subsequently devoted significantly increased resources to facilitate new organizing and to help elect politicians who are sympathetic to organized labor and willing to support key legislative goals of the federation. In the 1995–1996 election cycle, the AFL-CIO devoted significant funds to elect Democratic congressional candidates running against Republicans who opposed organized labor's goals. The AFL-CIO devoted \$35 million to help elect a Democratic majority to the U.S. Congress.

Although the AFL-CIO dispenses political action committee (PAC) funds to candidates of its choice, the organization also helps to mobilize its membership to vote in key elections. Typically, contributions to Dem-

ocratic candidates far surpass contributions to Republican candidates. Democratic candidates received 99.7 percent of the AFL-CIO's \$1,113,140 in PAC campaign contributions during the 1997–1998 election cycle. Still, under the Sweeney administration, the AFL-CIO has placed greater emphasis on candidate support of labor's legislative goals rather than on party label.

IMMANUEL NESS AND JAMES CIMENT

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

As its name implies, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)—a member union of the AFL-CIO—represents approximately 1.3 million employees of governmental agencies below the federal level, making it the largest public employee union in the country. AFSCME also includes employees of private hospitals and universities, nonprofit organizations, and public school districts.

Reflecting the diversity of the services offered by government, AFSCME members are arrayed across a broad spectrum of occupations. With 200,000 secretarial and clerical workers, AFSCME is the largest union in this category. Similarly, with 100,000 and 75,000 members employed as social workers and correctional officers respectively, AFSCME is the nation's largest union in these categories as well. Approximately 325,000 healthcare and hospital workers are represented by AFSCME, as are 100,000 largely noninstructional school employees.

AFSCME is the second largest union in the country, representing highway employees, mental health workers, government inspectors, employment counselors, park and recreation workers, and a host of other occupations. AFSCME is organized into more than 3,400 locals, most of which are affiliated with one of the union's 63 councils. Local unions and councils enjoy their own constitutions, elect their own officers, and administer many of their own local services and affairs. The international office is run by a president and secretary-treasurer, elected by convention every four years. Along with 31 vice presidents—chosen at convention on a regional basis—the officers form an executive board, which meets quarterly to determine policy and implement resolutions arrived at by convention vote. In addition, the international office consists of a number of departments, including research, legislative, public policy, political action, fund-raising, legal, organization, education, public relations, and other services.

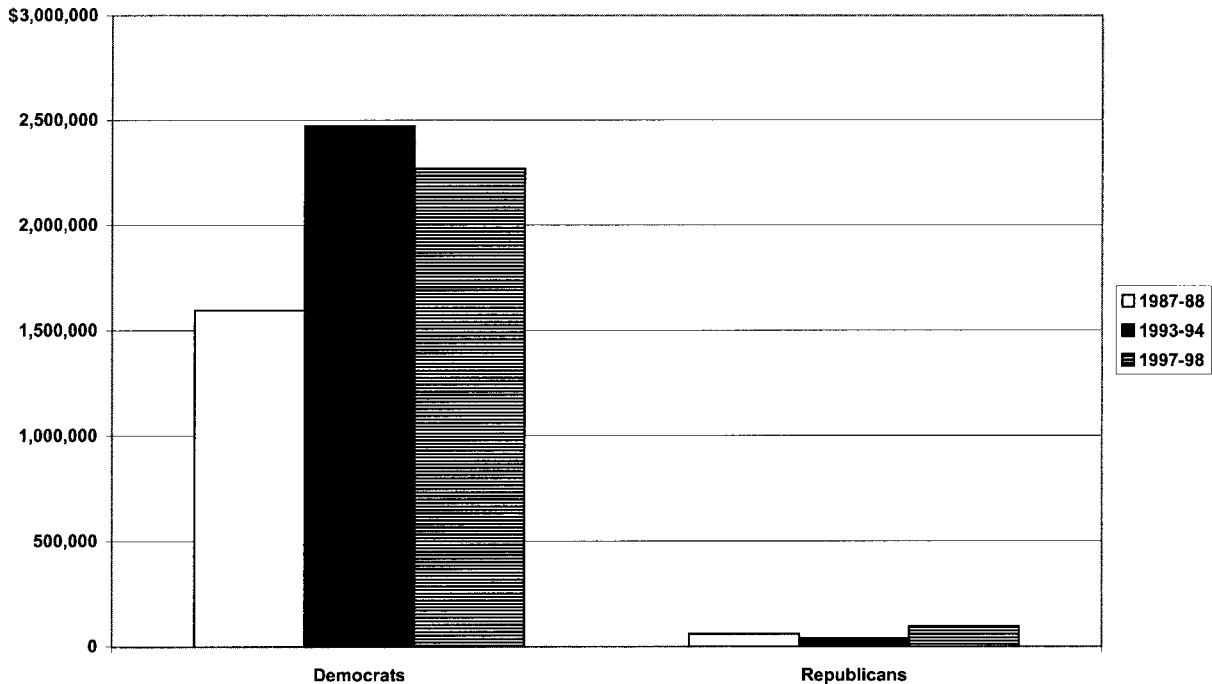
The legislative department employs a number of

full-time lobbyists who meet with Senate and House members to advocate the union's political agenda. At the same time, AFSCME's lobbyists work with federal agencies and the White House to push for regulations and the enforcement of regulations supported by union members. The political action department provides skilled personnel and other resources to help locals organize politically in the electoral and legislative arenas. This includes backing union representatives as delegates to state and national—usually Democratic Party—conventions, as well as grassroots political organizing for candidates and referenda. The union's public policy department conducts research into existing and proposed legislation—research that is then used for collective bargaining or political purposes. Finally, the Public Employees Organized to Promote Legislative Equality (PEOPLE) department represents AFSCME's fund-raising and political donation arm—relying, as per federal law, on voluntary contributions raised by members.

HISTORY

AFSCME's origins go back to Wisconsin in the 1930s, when a number of separate locals representing state employees joined to become a separate department within the American Federation of Government Employees in 1935. The following year, the union was chartered as a member of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). By the time the AFL merged with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1955, AFSCME represented about 100,000 members. Two years later, the union moved its headquarters from Madison, Wisconsin, to Washington, D.C. In 1978, the 200,000-member Civil Service Employees Association of New York State joined AFSCME, pushing its membership over the 1 million mark.

**American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

AFSCME is extremely active in the legislative arena for several reasons. First, because its employees range across so many different occupations and government agencies—as well as private, nonprofit institutions—a variety of issues facing the federal government affect AFSCME members. Second, AFSCME members have a dual interest in government programs and policies, since these affect them as both citizens and employees. Finally, because of its large political war chest, AFSCME often takes the lead in pushing the political and legislative agenda of organized labor overall.

Like most labor unions, AFSCME has had to balance a defensive lobbying approach to block initiatives promoted by members of Congress, many of whom are Republicans, who support anti-organized labor and antigovernmental program initiatives. At the same time, it has tried to work with Democrats in Congress and the White House to push for reforms and new programs that expand government services and protect laboring

Americans, particularly those working in the public sector.

Among the initiatives affecting labor and the labor movement overall that AFSCME is working to block are the so-called paycheck deception acts, changes to the 40-hour workweek, promotion of company unions, and Social Security privatization. Paycheck deception first emerged as an issue in 1998 when California placed Proposition 226 on the ballot, a referendum that would have prohibited the use of union dues for lobbying without the prior written consent of individual members. Supporters claimed that workers were “deceived” when union dues were taken out of their paychecks for political purposes. While the measure—which AFSCME and other unions believe would have crippled their lobbying—was defeated, Republican members of Congress have introduced similar measures in the House and Senate.

The Teamwork for Employees and Management Act has also been actively opposed by AFSCME, even though the act would not directly affect AFSCME members. According to unions, the law would overturn the 65-year-old National Labor Relations Act, allowing

companies to organize their own unions to counter organizing by independent trade unions. Efforts to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act—mandating overtime pay for most workers who work more than 40 hours in a week—are also being fought by AFSCME. Moreover, AFSCME opposes an effort by House Republicans to deal with the chronic shortfalls in federal funding for unemployment insurance by replacing the 60-year-old partnership between Washington, D.C., and the states with block grants to each of the 50 states. Block grants give states wide discretion in dispersing funds and would, says the union, lead to lower benefits and potential privatization of unemployment insurance. The union is also opposed to Republican attempts to limit Occupational Safety and Health Administration activities by loosening regulations, cutting budgets, and weakening whistle-blower protection.

AFSCME opposes any measure to privatize Social Security, and this for several reasons. First, the union says, despite gloomy political rhetoric the program is not in trouble financially and is not likely to be in the future. Second, it sees privatization as risky and unfair, jeopardizing pensions for workers while enriching Wall Street. Finally, argues AFSCME, privatization undermines the political consensus for a national social security program, in that better-off or more financially astute citizens remove themselves from the program.

AFSCME also opposes measures specifically affecting its own members. High on its agenda is a fight against repeals in labor protection for workers in juvenile justice areas. A House bill that would remove labor protections for state workers whose jobs are funded by federal juvenile justice grants is opposed by the union. In addition, AFSCME is working hard to defeat the push for school vouchers. Here, the dual agenda of AFSCME is most apparent. Opposed to vouchers because of its philosophical commitment to public education, the union also sees in vouchers the undermining of organized labor in public schools, which AFSCME represents.

At the same time, AFSCME is active politically in promoting a number of initiatives that benefit labor and organized labor generally, as well as bills that would aid its own members specifically. Among the former are expanded federal funding for child care, a consumer bill of rights for managed healthcare clients, a higher min-

imum wage, equal labor rights for workfare employees, and increased training for laid-off workers.

As for measures to help its own members specifically, AFSCME is pushing for bills that would guarantee collective bargaining rights for corrections officers; more protections for police officers charged with noncriminal disciplinary action; a ban on weight-lifting equipment for prisoners—as strengthened inmates allegedly endanger the safety of corrections officers; more federal funding for bulletproof vests for local law-enforcement departments; mandatory testing of prisoners for HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases—again, as a protection for corrections officers; a program to provide counseling for the families of slain police officers; and a scholarship fund for the children of corrections officers.

FINANCIAL FACTS

According to the union's own records, PEOPLE represents the second-largest political action committee (PAC)—based on donations—of the labor movement and one of the ten largest in the country. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, PEOPLE received over \$6 million and spent \$4.3 million. Nearly all of the \$2.5 million of PEOPLE's political contributions in 1995–1996 was given to Democratic candidates, while only \$41,925 went to Republicans. There has been a dramatic increase in PEOPLE's receipts, expenditures, and contributions over the past 10 years. Receipts and expenditures have more than doubled, while contributions have grown more than 25 percent—from \$1.658 million in the 1987–1988 election cycle. At the same time, contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans—25 to 60 times as much.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

The American Federation of Teachers (AFT)—an AFL-CIO member union—consists of some 950,000 educators from elementary school to university levels. In addition, the AFT represents several noninstructional educational professions, including nurses, counselors, and paraprofessionals.

The union—whose membership is expected to climb over the 1 million mark by the year 2000—is organized into three levels. At the bottom are the 2,100 local chapters, representing members in 43 states. The largest of these is the United Federation of Teachers in New York City, with 120,000 members. Locals are generally chartered to represent members employed by a single institution and provide most of the services the union offers, including negotiations with employers, grievance procedures, and other labor-management matters. Members of locals adopt their own constitutions and bylaws, set their own dues, elect their own officers, and hire and direct their own staffs. In addition, local unions elect their own delegates to AFT state and national conventions.

Above the locals are the state federations, which provide locals with services that they could not support on their own. They also serve as a means of communication among locals. State federations are also active in lobbying state governments—an important consideration, given the decentralized school system in the United States.

The national headquarters—located in Washington, D.C.—provides a nationwide system of support for the locals and is active in lobbying the federal government on issues pertaining to education. Delegates establish policy guidelines for the national union at semiannual conventions. They also elect the union's president, its secretary-treasurer, and 38 vice presidents, who are in charge of the different regions, different kinds of members (generally based on instructional levels), and different divisions of the AFT. Altogether, these elected officers form the executive council, which handles the day-to-day activities of the union. At all levels, the AFT

sponsors conferences and other events related to education. The AFT's national union includes departments managing the following activities: lobbying, political action, research and technical support, public relations, publications, leadership development and training, professional and workplace issues, organizing and affiliate services, legal defense, human rights, divisional issues, and international relations.

As its name implies, the AFT focuses politically on issues relating to education, including vouchers, privatization, academic standards, teacher accreditation, state takeovers of local school districts and, of course, educational funding, including new school construction.

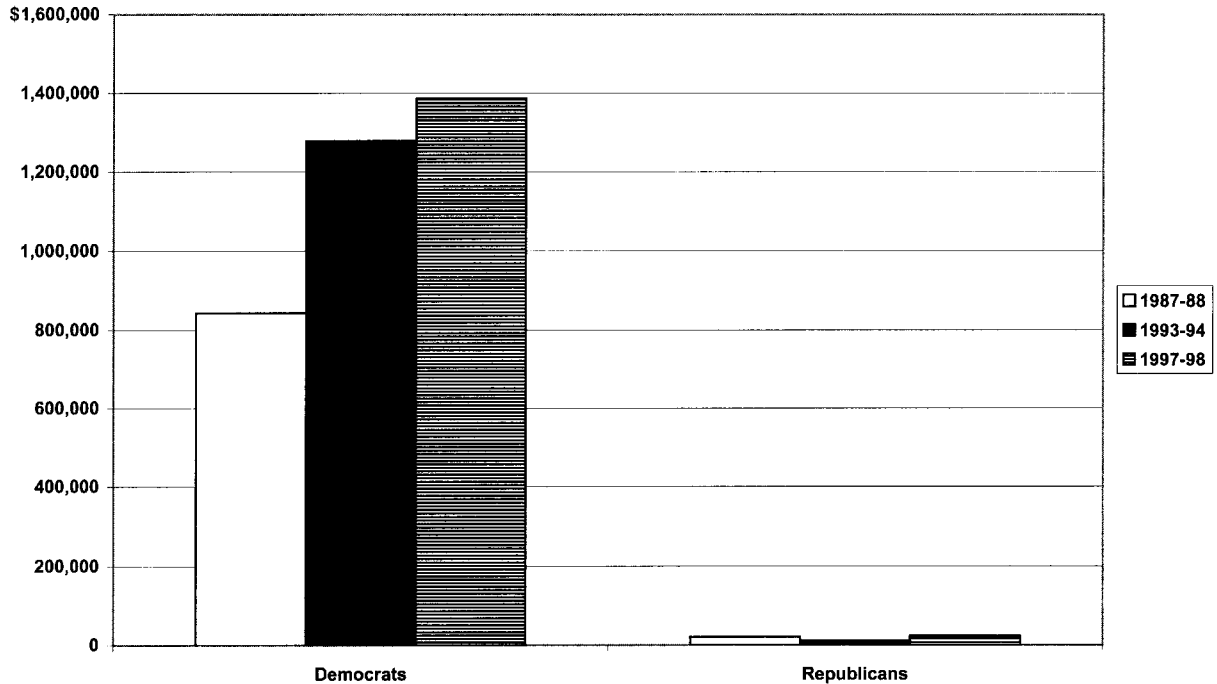
HISTORY

The AFT was founded in Winnetka, Illinois, in 1916. A group of teachers met to discuss the idea of a national organization that would represent their views, would be independent of existing organizations dominated by school administrators, and would be affiliated with the labor movement. Within the year, delegates from across the United States met to form the union.

From the 1920s to the 1950s, membership fluctuated, depending on organizing efforts, the expanding school system, and the overall economy. A major early problem concerned “yellow dog” contracts, whereby school districts would prohibit union members from teaching. Many AFT leaders lost their jobs during these years as a result of union activities. Redbaiting—that is, accusing members of Communist proclivities—also damaged the union, despite the fact that the union itself expelled locals with Communist sympathies in 1957. At the same time, it revoked the charters of any local that refused to admit African-American educators.

By 1960, the union had grown to 60,000 members. But its real rise to prominence came later in the decade, when its New York City local spearheaded a strike that

**American Federation of Teachers
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

won a collective bargaining agreement in the nation’s largest school system. By the early 1970s, almost half the teachers in America were engaged in collective bargaining negotiations, though not always under the aegis of the AFT.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Among the issues that the AFT has been involved with is the reauthorization of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), specifically efforts to prevent the inclusion of vouchers and block grants in the reauthorization bill. Block grants give states and localities wide discretion in dispersing funds. The AFT protests these moves because it believes that they would take funding away from the schools and school districts that serve the highest concentrations of children from families with limited financial means, which was the intent of the original ESEA. According to union president Sandra Feldman: “The risks with vouchers and block grants are great. Vouchers for a few would come at the

expense of the many, and block grants open the door to diverting Title I funds away from poor children. Either way, poor children stand to lose.”

The AFT has also been successful in promoting new funding for school construction, including a recent federal program earmarking \$145 million for improving low-performing schools in financially impoverished districts. Called the Comprehensive School Reform Demonstration program, it will fund schools to select and adopt whole school reform models, thus demonstrating the models’ effectiveness and proving that they can be replicated. Whole school reform is a comprehensive approach to change that involves instruction, assessment, professional development, classroom management, school management, and parent involvement.

At the same time, the AFT virulently opposes school privatization, which includes awarding franchises to private firms, distributing vouchers to citizens who then purchase services from a private for- or nonprofit institution, selling public assets to the private sector, and contracting with private corporations to provide non-instructional services. As the union notes, “AFT members in every constituency are increasingly threatened by privatization and contracting out.”

Instead of vouchers, privatization, and other “untested, radical alternatives” to improving public education, the AFT has sponsored a campaign—both in its lobbying efforts in the state capitals and Washington, D.C., and in its general publicity—which uses the slogan “Lessons for Life: Responsibility, Respect, Results.” According to the union, the campaign is based on the idea that “other education reforms may work; high standards of conduct and achievement do work—and nothing else can work without them.” Essentially, the campaign represents a voluntary effort by school districts, AFT locals, school personnel, and parents to set high standards and results, an effort that does not place mandatory expectations on schools. That is to say, the union opposes rigid testing that seeks to measure educational progress of students. The AFT says that such tests are not an adequate measure of learning and can be used to penalize schools that are performing poorly. Rather than penalties, the union believes these schools should be given more aid to help them improve.

The union has also registered its opposition to talk in Congress about establishing teacher testing, and it has opposed such measures in various states and school districts. The basis of the AFT’s opposition to teacher testing is that it circumvents collective bargaining agreements reached between AFT locals and school districts, under the guise of improving the classroom environment. In fact, says the union, such testing of teachers is as meaningless in assessing educational progress as national standards testing for students. Aside from the testing issue, the union has recently lobbied Congress on several other issues relating to teachers as employees, including a campaign to prevent the taxation of public-employee benefits and to maintain the deductibility of state and local taxes from the federal income tax, an issue

that, of course, affects virtually all workers in states and localities with income taxes.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The AFT’s Committee on Political Education (COPE) represents one of the largest political action committees (PACs) of the labor movement—by amount of donation—in the country. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, COPE received nearly \$2.8 million and spent more than \$2.6 million. This latter figure includes over \$1.6 million in contributions to candidates and parties—\$1.6 million to Democrats and \$19,750 to Republicans.

There was a dramatic increase in COPE’s receipts, expenditures, and contributions in the period between 1987 and 1996. Receipts and expenditures climbed more than 75 percent, while contributions grew from \$1.658 million to \$2.655 million. At the same time, contributions to Democrats far exceeded those to Republicans, by 40 to 75 times as much.

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AMERICAN POSTAL WORKERS UNION

The American Postal Workers Union (APWU), a member of the AFL-CIO, is the largest union of postal workers in the world, with 366,000 members from every state and territory. This represents an increase of over 100,000 since 1992. Virtually all members of the union are employed by the United States Postal Service (USPS). The APWU is recognized as the collective bargaining agent for postal clerks, motor vehicle service workers, maintenance personnel, and special delivery messengers. In addition, many APWU workers are employed in support services for the USPS, including materiel distribution centers, information service centers, mail equipment shops, and operating services facilities. Finally, the USPS represents a small number of workers in companies contracted by the USPS to haul mail.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the APWU has over 2,000 locals throughout the United States. Virtually all members of the union belong to one of these locals, whose officers are directly elected by the members and who conduct most of the day-to-day business. Locals may establish local dues and negotiate local contracts that supplement—but do not contravene—agreements reached by the national office. The locals are distributed across five regions, each with an office in charge of that region.

At the national level, the union's officers include a president, a vice president, a secretary-treasurer, national division officers, and department directors. The union is divided into four craft divisions, including clerical, maintenance, motor vehicle service, and support services. Each of these divisions maintains a force of officers in the field, who deal with locals. In addition, the national union maintains departments responsible for handling different functions and services. These departments are legislative, industrial relations, organization, research and education, human relations, and health plan. Finally, the APWU maintains a lobbying unit known as the Committee on Political Action

(COPA), which donates to congressional and presidential candidates.

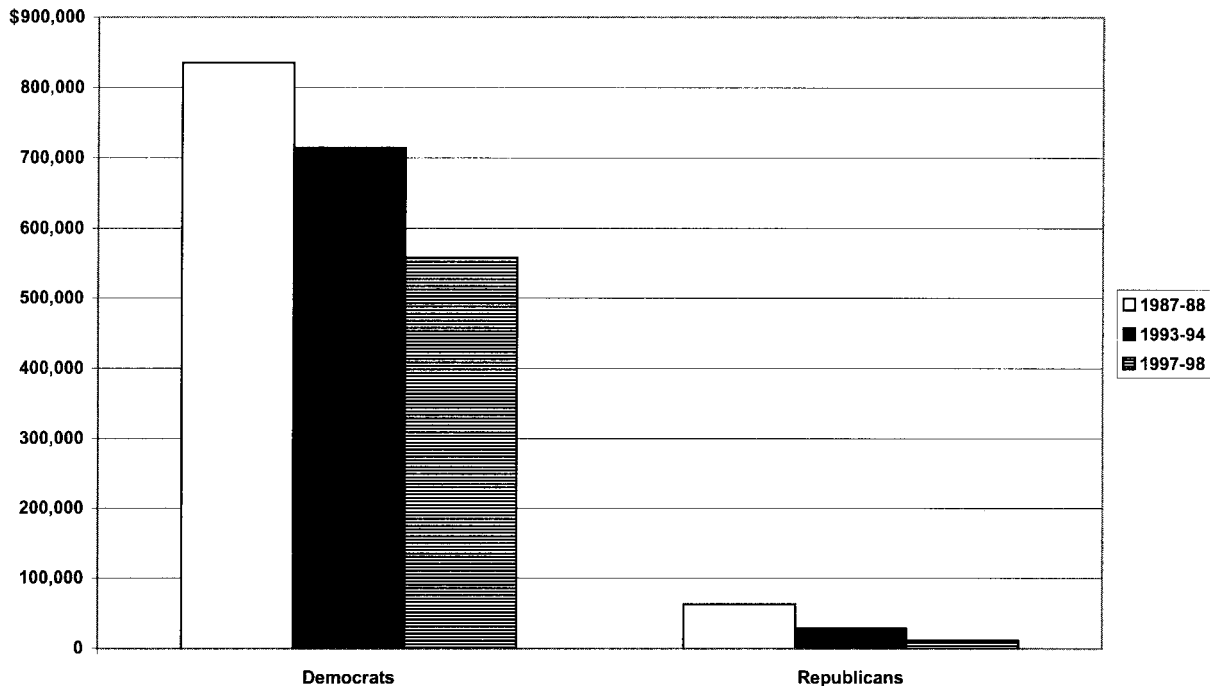
The top governing body of the APWU is the biennial national convention, though union policy is set by a 12-person executive board. Members of the board include the union president, vice president, and secretary-treasurer, the four craft division heads, the director of industrial relations, and the five regional coordinators.

Because the vast majority of APWU members are employees of the federal government, the union is interested in pensions and healthcare programs provided for federal employees, as well as ensuring that various labor regulations affecting occupation safety and health apply to federal employees. In addition, although it is not immediately affected, the APWU has sided with its fellow unions in opposing fast-track free trade legislation. The most important issue facing the union, however, is the privatization and contracting out of USPS services to private, nonunion shops.

HISTORY

The APWU was formed in 1971 by the merger of five independent postal unions: the United Federation of Postal Clerks, the National Postal Union, the National Association of Post Office and General Service Maintenance Employees, the National Federation of Motor Vehicle Employees, and the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers. The key element behind the merger was the passage of the 1970 Postal Reorganization Act, which effectively turned the United States Post Office, a cabinet-level branch of the federal government, into a semiprivate corporation. Under the act, postal unions were given the right to engage in collective bargaining concerning pay, benefits, and working hours and conditions.

**American Postal Workers Union
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The APWU's main legislative issue is the Postal Reform Act, which the union adamantly opposes. Under the proposed bill, letters for which the postage exceeded \$2 could be carried outside the postal service by private companies. Under current regulations, competitors are required to charge at least double the priority mail rate, which during 1999 stood at \$3.20. According to the union, the change could jeopardize as much as \$4 billion in annual USPS revenues, thereby undermining the amount of work going to postal workers versus potentially nonunionized employees of private contractors.

In addition, the act would require the postal service to define "universal service"—that is, sufficient postal service to all parts of the United States as required by law. A narrow definition of universal service would mean a further diminishment of USPS business and jobs. Finally, the act would establish an independent study by the National Academy of Public Administration, which would evaluate problems and recommend solutions to the "myriad of employee-management difficulties the

Postal Service has faced in recent years." The APWU has made it clear that it opposes any outside interference in the collective bargaining negotiations that occur between itself and the USPS. In defense of its position, the APWU has pointed out that its recent negotiations with the USPS went smoothly and were the first such agreement reached without resort to interest arbitration in over a decade. A related issue concerning the APWU has been the efforts by the USPS to contract out priority mail handling to Emery Worldwide Airlines. The APWU's opposition to this is based on several factors: Postal workers, it claims, are capable of handling the work to be contracted out; the contract will cost the USPS more money than if it handled the service itself; under the original priority mail agreement, all such deliveries were to be handled by the USPS; Emery has proved itself incapable of handling large volumes of packages efficiently and effectively; and most importantly, over 8,000 jobs will be shifted from unionized USPS employees to nonunionized Emery workers by 2005.

In order to block this privatization move, the APWU has won solidarity endorsements from its fellow AFL-CIO members, aired radio advertisements, con-

ducted letter-writing campaigns to the USPS and Congress, and organized pickets and protest marches, along with lobbying the USPS and Congress.

The APWU has also been actively fighting efforts by Congress to reduce the federal government's contribution toward federal employee health insurance, which would result in an increase in employee premiums. Although the APWU recognizes that the premiums paid by its own members would not increase—due to the fact that it negotiates with the semiprivate USPS directly—a premium increase could become an issue in the future.

On the safety front, the APWU supports measures to apply Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) regulations to postal facilities. Currently, OSHA inspects such facilities but cannot penalize them. The union has been working on a bill to extend OSHA penalties to the USPS while at the same time guaranteeing that small offices in rural areas, which might not meet OSHA requirements, are not closed because of those penalties. Instead, improvements should be made to lift them up to regulations.

Finally, the APWU has actively opposed all surveys conducted by the USPS to ascertain information about employees. The union's opposition is based on privacy issues and on the fact that the USPS could use such

information to influence the collective bargaining procedures it conducts with the union.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The APWU maintains a large fund devoted to lobbying and to providing donations to the campaigns of sympathetic congressional and presidential candidates, as well as for party functions. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, COPA received under \$1.1 million and spent nearly \$1.2 million. This latter figure includes almost \$656,000 in contributions to candidates and parties—\$628,410 to Democrats and \$24,500 to Republicans. For the past 10 years, donations to the Democratic Party have far exceeded contributions to the Republicans—between 15 and 30 times as much.

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COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA

The Communications Workers of America (CWA) is the largest union in the telecommunications industry, with some 630,000 members. Branches of the industry in which members work include manufacturing and construction of telecommunications equipment and infrastructure, telephone, cable, Internet, sound and electronics, media (print and electronic), and electric utilities. In addition, members are employed in the gas utility industry, as well as public service, healthcare, and general manufacturing. Some of the major corporations that have bargaining agreements with the CWA include AT&T, the regional Bell companies, GTE, and the NBC, ABC, and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television networks.

The CWA—a union affiliated with the AFL-CIO—has more than 1,200 locals in some 10,000 communities across the United States and Canada. It has negotiated over 1,000 bargaining agreements on wages, benefits, and working conditions for its members. Locals enjoy a great deal of independence, while the international office—headquartered in Washington, D.C.—offers help in the form of publicity, legislative affairs, organizing, and bargaining expertise. All local and national officers are elected by vote of the members. While overall policy for the union is set at quadrennial conventions—where national officers are also elected—the union’s day-to-day activities are run by an executive board consisting of the president, secretary-treasurer, executive vice president, and the regional vice presidents.

Critical legislative issues for the CWA include those pertaining to the labor movement as a whole, as well as to CWA members specifically. In recent years, the CWA has been involved in struggles over Social Security, Medicare, education, occupational safety and health, organized labor’s political rights, overtime, freelance and contract worker pay and benefits, and high-tech and telecommunications concerns.

HISTORY

The CWA’s roots go back to the great union-organizing era of the late 1930s. The union was founded as the National Federation of Telephone Workers in 1938, formed out of several dozen autonomous unions—some of which had been founded by telephone companies to preempt organizing by outside groups. The impetus for the creation of the CWA was the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, which outlawed company unions.

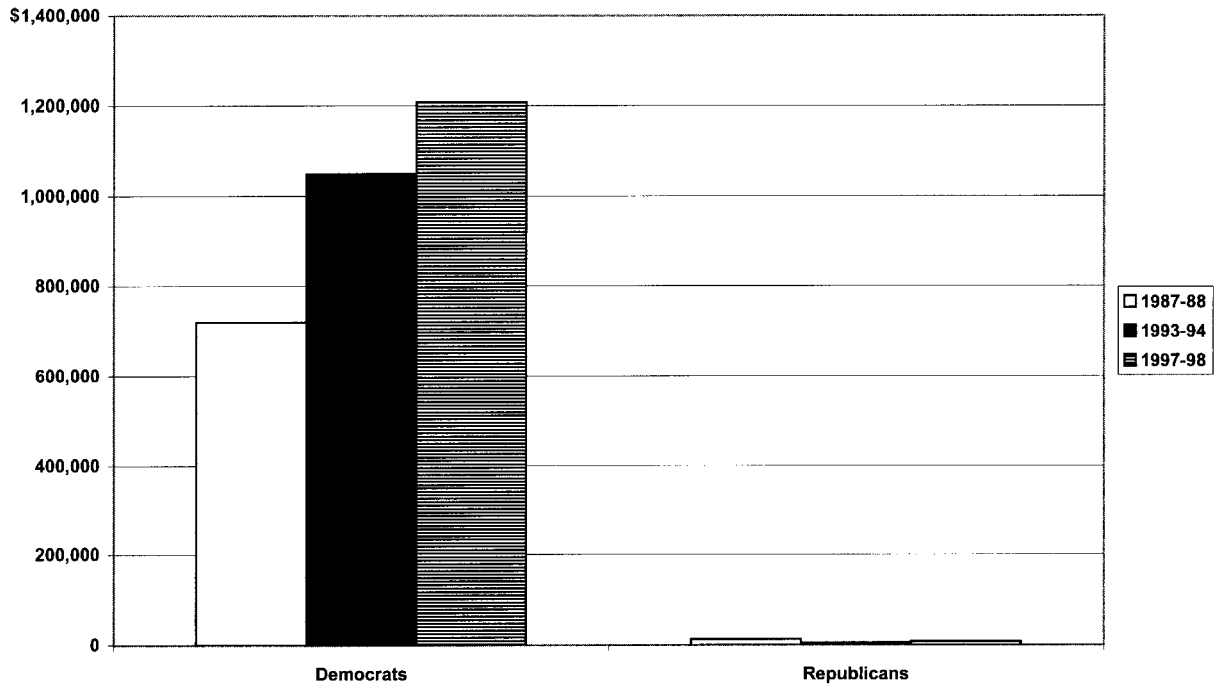
During its first decade, the union operated independently, refusing to accept the invitation of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to become an affiliate of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Although it resisted similar entreaties by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), it finally joined the CIO in 1948 and was merged with the Telephone Workers Organizing Committee.

With the growth of the telecommunications industry in the postwar era, the union has grown in numbers and increased its diversity, branching out into the many divisions of the industry. In 1987, the CWA absorbed the 58,000-member International Typographers Union—founded in 1852 and with 410 locals—which is now enrolled in the Printing, Publishing, and Media Workers section of the union. Seven years later, the CWA took in the Newspaper Guild and later the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

As noted above, the CWA’s legislative efforts involve issues relating to working people and the labor movement as a whole, as well as issues of direct concern to CWA members. Among the former are Social Se-

**Communications Workers of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

curity, Medicare, education, the census, occupational safety and health, organized labor’s political rights, and overtime.

The CWA supported President Bill Clinton’s efforts to set aside most of the current and near-future surpluses from the federal budget in order to guarantee the future of Social Security for the many baby boomers retiring in the first decades of the twenty-first century. At the same time, the union is more wary of talk by Clinton and Congress of privatizing some of the program, fearing that it would jeopardize Social Security payments to many recipients. On Medicare, the CWA also supports Clinton’s plan to use budget surpluses to assure the program’s viability for the future. In addition, the union has gone on record supporting measures that would allow workers aged 62–65 to buy into the program by paying a base premium now and a deferred premium during their post-65 Medicare enrollment. At the same time, the CWA stands opposed to a Republican initiative—known as the “Medicare Beneficiaries Freedom to Contract Act”—that would allow individuals to contract privately for Medicare services. The union claims this would weaken the overall Medicare program.

On education, the CWA backs measures—first in-

roduced in Texas—offering tax credits for a lifelong learning provision. At the federal level, the union supports the Labor Department’s efforts to consolidate some 70 training, vocational, and adult education programs into a “one-stop shopping” educational system that would be funded by block grants to states and localities. On worker issues, the CWA stands opposed to a variety of Republican-inspired initiatives to undermine overtime pay, to subvert union political contributions, to use welfare workers in public-sector employment (thereby undermining union workers), and to compromise occupational safety and health (of particular concern to the union’s many members who labor in dangerous and potentially unhealthy sectors of the telecommunications industry, including installation and manufacturing).

On issues of concern to the telecommunications industry and telecommunications workers specifically, the CWA is working with Congress to pass antislamming and anticramming legislation. Slamming is a practice whereby customers find their long-distance service switched from one company to another without their knowledge; cramming involves telephone companies adding for-pay services to a customer without the latter’s

knowledge. In addition, the union is fighting efforts by members of the software industry to allow exemptions in the immigration laws for technicians. Union leaders say that the industry's claim that there is a shortage of skilled workers is "hogwash" and a "hoax," seeing in this effort a plan to lower pay and undermine union organizing, representation, and bargaining.

Finally, because of the many freelance and contract workers associated with the union's media-based locals, the CWA is adamant in its opposition to recent congressional efforts to pass legislation allowing companies to reclassify freelance and part-time workers as subcontractors, thereby avoiding the requirements of providing benefits and paying contributions to pension plans.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The CWA's political action committee (PAC), the Committee on Political Education Political Contributions Committee, makes contributions to politicians who support legislation beneficial to workers employed in the telephone and communications industry. The

PAC also contributes to politicians supporting the goals and objectives of organized labor. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, CWA-COPE PCC received \$2.2 million and spent more than \$2.3 million. This latter figure includes more than \$1.3 million in contributions to candidates and parties—nearly \$1.3 million to Democrats and \$1,250 to Republicans.

The PAC's receipts, expenditures, and contributions have increased between 1987 and 1996. Receipts and expenditures climbed from nearly \$2.15 million in 1987–1988 to just over \$2.2 million in 1995–1996. At the same time, contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans, by 50 to several hundred times as much.

JAMES CIMENT

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☆☆

HOTEL EMPLOYEES AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION

The Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE) represents more than 300,000 workers employed in the hospitality industry in the United States and Canada. The union's members are employed in hotels, motels, restaurants and cafeterias, taverns, cocktail lounges, clubs, casinos and riverboats, hospitals, schools, airports, bus terminals, in-flight preparation services, concession food services, on trains, and in other lodging and food service establishments. The union's members include bellhops, porters, doormen, housemaids, cooks, busboys, waiters, and bartenders. Since the 1950s, membership has stagnated due to union-avoidance efforts by employers, nonunion competition, and lackluster organizing efforts by the union and its member locals. In New York City, as in other major tourist and business centers throughout the United States, union membership in the restaurant industry dwindled to less than 10 percent of the entire regional workforce.

The union's national headquarters is located in Washington, D.C. The national leadership is responsible for coordinating activities between local unions and the international union. These activities include organizing, contract negotiations, research, technological improvements, legislative activities, and communications. The international union communicates with its members through the *Catering Industry Employee*, a national bimonthly publication. The union is led by four key officers: the general president, general secretary-treasurer, director of organization, and general vice president. The four leading officers sit on the general executive board of the international union, along with 14 district vice presidents and 13 vice presidents-at-large, who are elected every five years by delegates to the international convention. The 300,000 members of the union are divided into 14 districts and 118 local unions, ranging in size from several hundred members to the more than 40,000 members in Las Vegas.

In the 1990s, HERE attempted to expand union membership by aggressively organizing new workers

and waging sustained campaigns against nonunion employers who undermine local wage and benefit standards set by local unions. The working poor comprise a large proportion of employees in the industry. The union believes that wages and working conditions in the industry can improve through organizing these workers into the union. The union maintains that, on average, members are better paid and enjoy far better working conditions than nonunion individuals performing the same work.

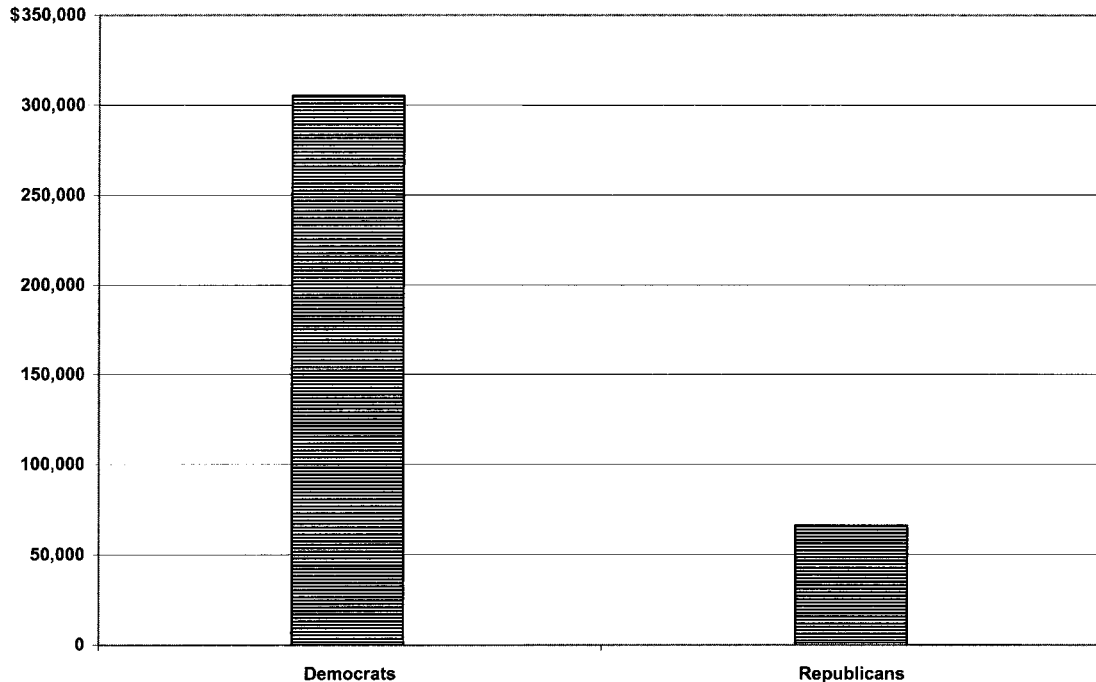
HISTORY

The origins of HERE can be traced to 1866, when German immigrants employed in restaurants and bars in Chicago formed the Bartenders and Waiters Union. In 1891, the diverse hotel and restaurant unions across the United States formally joined the Hotel and Restaurant Employees National Alliance and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The union locals typically formed on the basis of craft divisions. Thus, rather than representing the entire hotel and restaurant industry, the union locals represented only bartenders, cooks, waiters, or workers with similar skills. Under the successive leadership of Jere Sullivan, general secretary-treasurer, and Edward Flore, general president, the union grew from fewer than 10,000 members in 1901 to nearly 300,000 members in 1945.

The union has historically concentrated its organizing efforts in tourist and business centers in the United States and Canada that typically attract many travelers and diners. Some of the union organizing highlights in the post-World War II era occurred in Miami, Florida, where a three-year organizing drive between 1954 and 1957 culminated with a 10-year master agreement with the Miami Beach Hotel Association.

Subsequently, the union initiated organizing drives in other leading tourist centers, including Las Vegas, Atlantic City, and New Orleans. Since the mid 1980s,

**Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union
Political Action Committee Contributions, 1997–1998**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1997–1998.

HERE has made a sustained effort in organizing Las Vegas's casino and hotel industry. During the 1980s and 1990s, local union membership in Las Vegas increased by more than 20,000 workers. One of HERE's defining moments in Las Vegas occurred in 1998, when its Culinary Workers Union Local 226 and Bartenders Union Local 165 won a six-and-a-half-year strike that began in 1991 in which not one of the 550 strikers crossed the picket line. In October 1998, the union won an agreement to represent 4,300 workers at the new Bellagio Resort Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas. HERE was instrumental in the drive to unionize the thriving restaurant and hotel industry of New Orleans and to organize for the creation of a local ordinance that would raise the salary of city workers who are employed full time to above the poverty rate.

Following the election of Edward T. Hanley as general president in 1973, HERE initiated a program to consolidate union affiliates that were formed on the basis of craft into broader industrial unions representing workers on a regional basis. Thus, under the new program, the merged locals would represent all workers at a specific establishment. Under Hanley's leadership, HERE also established a strong legislative presence in

Washington, D.C. In August 1998, John W. Wilhelm, the chief HERE International Union organizer in the 1980s and 1990s who presided over the rapid growth in the union's membership in Las Vegas, was elected the general president.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

HERE's issues agenda addresses concerns that relate to improving organized labor's capacity to function as a social force in American society and issues pertaining more specifically to the hotel and restaurant industries. Issues of concern to the broader labor movement revolve around reducing the obstacles to the ability to organize members into unions and collectively bargain with management. Reforming labor law that hinders the ability of workers to join unions is at the core of this agenda. HERE has been actively involved in the struggle to enforce the National Labor Relations Act, which allows workers to organize and bargain with management. The union believes that, due to lack of enforce-

ment, labor law has not protected workers' right to organize. Due to the ability of employers to resist unionization, HERE has pursued an agenda to broaden worker power. On a local and regional basis, the union is a primary sponsor of card-recognition agreements with employers. These agreements would ease the ability of prospective members to organize into unions. Employers would be obliged to accept the union's right to negotiate on behalf of workers without going to a contested election. Instead, the union would simply be required to prove that a majority of workers support the union by signing recognition cards.

The union actively lobbies to support raising the minimum wage and is opposed to subminimum wages for youth, which drive down the industry wage and benefit standards. The union also supports the elimination of open-shop laws that allow workers to benefit from a union contract without actually joining. To energize its membership to become involved in politics, the union encourages members to become citizens and register to vote.

In matters related to the hotel and restaurant industry, HERE maintains active boycotts against hotels that are viewed as unfair to workers. In addition, the union is engaged in lobbying efforts to repeal state and local laws that are of concern to members. For example, the union opposes blue laws that ban the sale of alcoholic beverages on Sundays and religious holidays. The union lobbies against the inclusion of tip income for meeting minimum wage standards and supports legislation to repeal an Internal Revenue Service regulation requiring reporting of tips charged to credit cards. The union also

opposes federal tax reforms that seek to reduce deductions of business meals and convention expenses because they could also lead to reducing restaurant and hotel expenditures, and therefore jeopardize jobs.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Although HERE is the 15th-largest union in the United States in terms of membership, it devotes considerably fewer resources to federal political action than other unions its size. For example, the American Postal Workers, with 261,000 workers in 1995, expended about five times as much on political action contributions as did HERE. The union's PAC, known as TIP (To Insure Progress), expends about \$250,000 per year on the campaigns of political officials. Although TIP contributes to both major parties, the vast majority of its political contributions go to Democratic candidates who are more sympathetic to HERE's political positions such as increasing the minimum wage and other regulations that assist the working poor, who comprise a large share of the union's members.

IMMANUEL NESS AND JAMES CIMENT

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Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union: www.hereunion.org



INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FIRE FIGHTERS

The International Association of Fire Fighters (IAFF)—a union affiliated with the AFL-CIO—represents 151,000 professional firefighters across the United States and Canada. The union includes approximately 2,100 locals, usually based on locale. Locals enjoy a great deal of autonomy within the union and control the elections of their own officers, the negotiations of collective bargaining agreements, and the settlement of local grievances.

The international office, headquartered in Washington, D.C., is divided into several departments, including the office of the president, health and safety, education resources, governmental affairs, emergency medical services, hazardous materials, membership, the Canadian branch office, technical assistance, and communications. Overall, the IAFF helps locals analyze metropolitan budgets to make sure that fire departments and their employees are receiving a fair share of financial resources. In some municipalities, the IAFF offers help defending against efforts to turn city-run fire departments—where employees are paid civil servants—into voluntary or privately run outfits.

The union focuses its legislative and lobbying efforts on issues of concern to working people and the organized labor movement generally, as well as on issues of concern to fire fighters in particular. Among the former issues are Social Security and national collective bargaining rights; the latter issues concern federal funding for fire departments and safety and health regulations.

HISTORY

The origins of the fire fighters' union go back to the civil service battles of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when professional fire fighters fought to win civil service status. That was the key issue behind the formation of the first such union in Washington, D.C., in 1901. This first effort, however, failed,

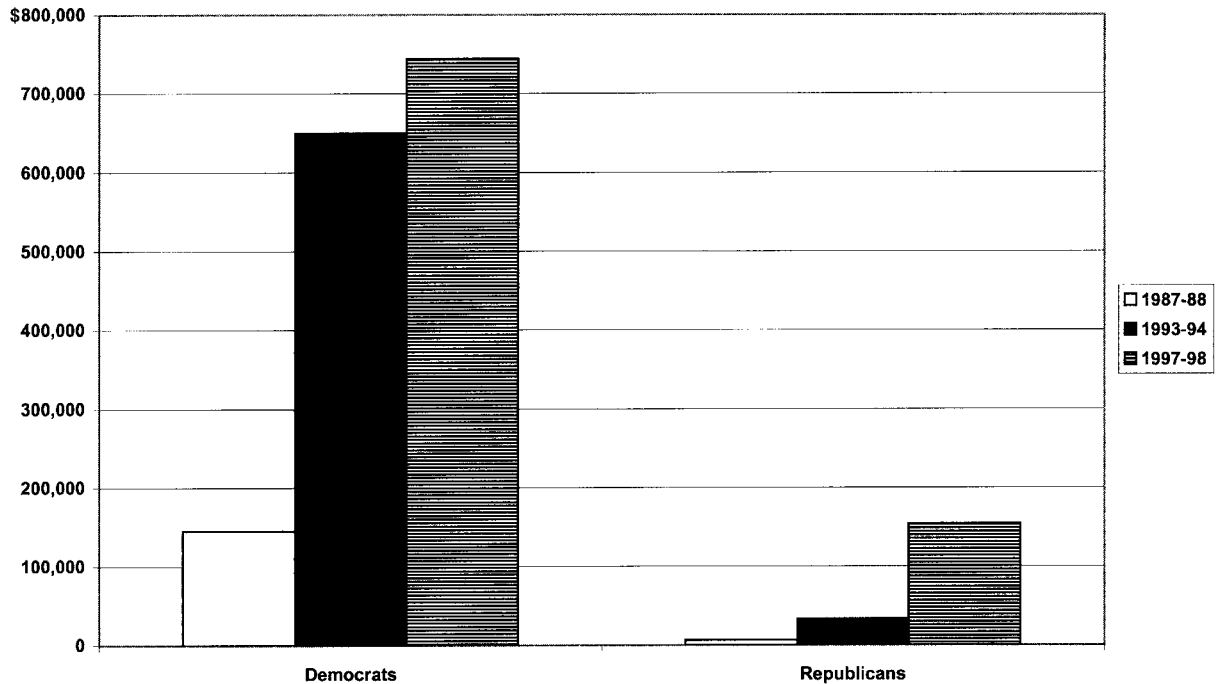
as internal dissent tore the union apart within two years. The direct antecedent of today's IAFF can be traced to the organization in Pittsburgh in 1903, which still retains distinction as Local Number One. In 1918, the IAFF affiliated itself with the American Federation of Labor and has grown steadily with the expansion and spread of professional fire-fighting systems in cities throughout North America.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The IAFF lobbies for and contributes to candidates who support a range of issues concerning working people and the labor movement generally, as well as issues directly affecting fire fighters. Several issues overlap both areas.

The first concerns Social Security. While the IAFF is a strong opponent of ongoing efforts to privatize or dismantle Social Security, it also seeks to maintain the current separate pension system for fire fighters. When the Social Security system was created in 1935, public employees were excluded. Fifteen years later, state and local governments received the option of joining the system or not. Fire fighters, however, were explicitly barred from receiving Social Security until 1994. Because of this exclusion, virtually all of them created pension systems of their own, geared to the special needs of fire fighters, many of whom retire early, experience high disability rates, and require extensive healthcare coverage. The IAFF is opposed to current efforts to establish a mandatory, universal Social Security system that would include fire fighters. Their opposition is based on several arguments. First, as noted above, a universal system does not take into account the special retirement, safety, and health needs of fire fighters. Second, because many fire fighters already pay into separate pensions, it would mean an “unfair” 6.2 percent addi-

**International Association of Fire Fighters
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

tional tax. Finally, requiring financially strapped municipalities to pay the employers' share of Social Security could lead to the layoffs of fire fighters and a diminution of fire departments.

Another concern of both the labor movement generally and fire fighters specifically concerns overtime pay. The 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA)—which required employers to establish a 40-hour work-week and overtime pay for additional hours of work—was amended in 1986 to protect state and local government workers, including fire fighters. The 1986 amendments included the stipulation that states and municipalities could not require employees to perform “volunteer” or unpaid work similar to their normal work activities for which they were paid. The prohibition was an appropriate one, says the union, because “this sort of coercion can be so subtle (for example, by rewarding workers who show ‘enthusiasm’ for their job by ‘volunteering’) that there is no realistic alternative to an outright ban on performing one’s duties for no pay.” Recently, the National Volunteer Fire Council and some municipalities have complained that the prohibition makes it difficult to recruit volunteer fire fighters.

Current legislation being considered by Congress

would exempt fire fighters and ambulance squad workers from the provisions of the 1986 amendments to the FLSA. The IAFF opposes such an exemption because it believes it undermines the idea of overtime pay and professional firefighting generally.

Related to this, the IAFF supports congressional action to give all public safety employees the right to collectively bargain, a right currently denied to them in 18 states. Although Republican opponents of such a measure argue it would jeopardize public safety, the IAFF disagrees, pointing out that much of what fire fighters bargain for collectively is directly related to improving fire and public safety. On another public safety-related issue, the IAFF is working to persuade Congress to pass legislation requiring all cellular phone networks to be connected to the 911 emergency system.

The IAFF supports the extension of the mandate of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to cover government workers. Currently, fire fighters are not covered by federal regulations requiring inspections of workplaces and working conditions. While some state governments have adopted OSHA standards for fire brigades, most utilize lesser safety standards. The IAFF favors a consistent national approach

to safety on the job for its members. "As [workers in] the nation's most dangerous profession," union officials note, "fire fighters must depend heavily on safe operating procedures and the quality of their protective gear and clothing. Fire fighters deserve universally enforceable minimum safety standards." According to the IAFF, over 1 million fire fighters have been injured and more than 1,000 have died since OSHA was enacted in 1970.

The IAFF is also fighting to overturn a recently passed small-business exemption from certain health and safety regulations. Whereas backers argue that the exemption allows small businesses to avoid unnecessary and burdensome paperwork, the union says that this paperwork includes critical information on hazardous materials. Also concerning this area, the IAFF has been involved in fighting for new legislation on the transport of hazardous materials. The union says it would like to see full operations training for fire fighters dealing with hazardous wastes, rather than "mere awareness-level training," and funding for Operation Respond, a computer software system that provides fire fighters with vital information at the scene of a hazardous material incident. In addition, the IAFF is fighting an effort to exempt the agricultural and chlorine gas industries from regulations requiring posting placards and carrying shipping papers.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The political action committee (PAC) of the IAFF is the International Association of Fire Fighters Interested in Registration and Education (also known as FIRE PAC). One of the largest political action committees of the U.S. labor movement—by amount of donation—FIRE PAC has recently increased contributions to federal candidates. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, FIRE PAC spent \$791,000, including \$704,000 in contributions to candidates and parties—\$631,800 to Democrats and \$71,075 to Republicans.

FIRE PAC's receipts, expenditures, and contributions have increased dramatically over the past 10 years. Receipts and expenditures more than tripled, and contributions have quadrupled from \$152,000 to \$704,000. At the same time, contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans, by nine to 24 times as much.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS AND AEROSPACE WORKERS

Representing some 534,000 members, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAMAW) has some 1,565 locals across the United States and Canada. IAMAW members are employed in about 200 basic industries, involving the manufacture of machine tools; the tending of metal-forming equipment; the construction of metal frames for jets, spacecraft, and other aerospace vehicles; and timber work. Headquartered in suburban Washington, D.C., the IAMAW is affiliated with the AFL-CIO and has opened talks with the United Steelworkers of America and the United Auto Workers about possible consolidation by the year 2000.

The IAMAW international office, which sets overall policy for the union and provides support services for the largely autonomous locals, is divided into five regional territories—the western, eastern, midwestern, and southern United States, and Canada. The union is headed by a president and general secretary-treasurer. These two officers, the five regional heads, and two general vice presidents—for headquarters and transportation—make up the executive board that runs the daily affairs of the international office and implements policy established by the delegates at quadrennial conventions. These conventions are also responsible for electing the nine officers.

The union operates a number of divisions. Under the president are divisions handling organizing, bylaws and internal disputes, collective bargaining, communications, community services and retirees, the High Performance Work Organization (a labor-management partnership), aerospace workers, wood and timber workers, human rights, international affairs, legal issues, political and legislative issues, occupational safety and health, strategic resources (largely research services), women's issues, and transportation. Under the general secretary-treasurer are arrayed divisions dealing with personnel, engineering and housekeeping, purchasing, accounting, information systems, and reports.

The IAMAW political department concerns itself

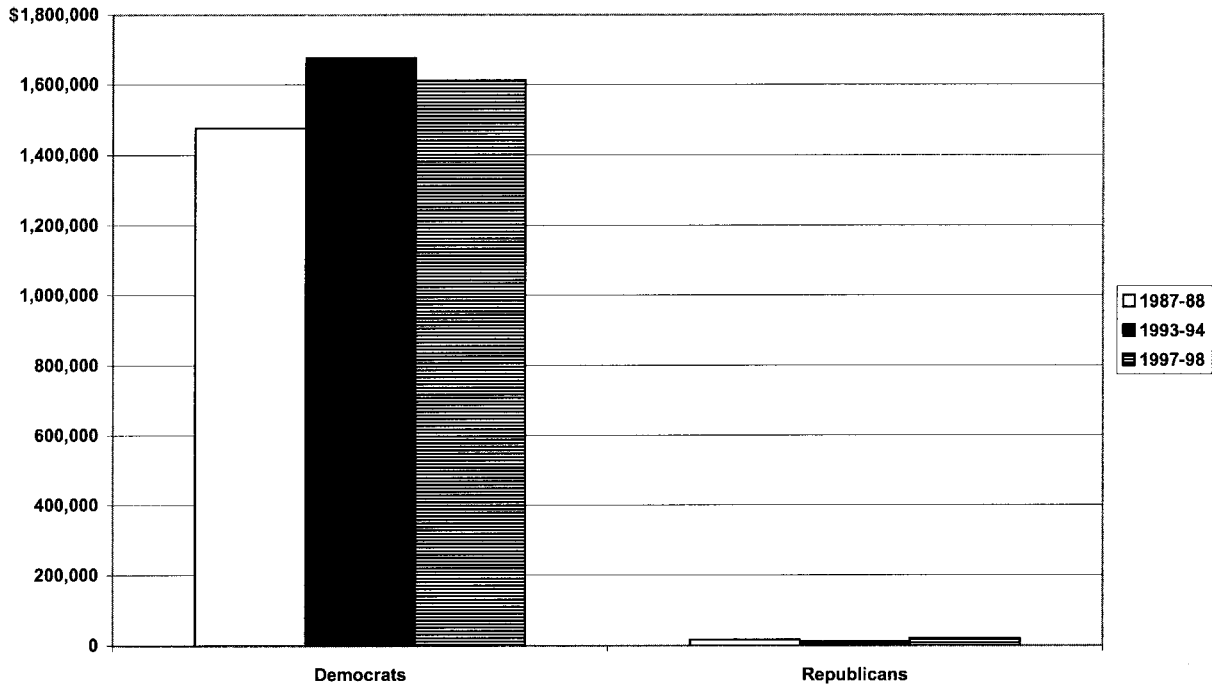
with a number of issues affecting working people and the labor movement generally, as well as issues particularly pertinent to its members. Under the former category fall healthcare, occupational safety and health, and union political rights. Issues of special concern to the membership include aircraft safety and forestry, since many members are involved in the timber industry.

HISTORY

The origins of the IAMAW lie in the labor activism of the late nineteenth century, when 19 machinists in Atlanta voted to form a trade union in 1888. The following year, some 34 locals sent delegates to the union's first convention, held in Georgia. By 1891, the union included some 145 locals, including one in Canada. It signed its first collective bargaining agreement with a railroad in 1892 and joined the American Federation of Labor (AFL) three years later. By 1905, when the first apprentices were admitted to membership, the union had grown to 769 locals. Three years later, the union established its metal trades department, and in 1911, women were admitted as members for the first time. In 1915, the union—then known as the International Association of Machinists—won the eight-hour day in many shops, and three years later its membership had grown to 331,000. In 1922, 79,000 railroad machinists joined the union and struck against a wage cut. The loss of that strike reduced membership to 148,000, and it continued to fall during the early years of the Great Depression to just 56,000.

Under the various pro-union labor acts of the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt—and because of the growing airplane industry—the union experienced a resurgence to 130,000 members by 1936. Three years later, the union signed its first collective bargaining agreement with the airplane industry. The labor shortage of the Second World War boosted mem-

**International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

bership enormously; by 1944, the union's membership had grown to 776,000. In 1948, the union dropped all race restrictions within its ranks. The booming economy of the 1950s and 1960s—particularly in the aerospace industry—led to a membership peak of approximately 1 million members by 1968. During the 1980s, however, the collapse of many rust-belt industries forced the layoffs of tens of thousands of IAMAW members, and the membership fell to roughly 500,000, where it has remained throughout the 1990s.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

As noted above, the union lobbies Congress and the White House on issues that concern workers generally and IAMAW members specifically. Under the former category of issues, the union has been particularly active in the area of healthcare, an important consideration for many of its members who work in hazardous industries such as timber and machine tools. The IAMAW has placed itself on record as supporting “legally enforceable

national standards to assure access to quality healthcare” for all workers. This includes network adequacy, access to specialists, an external appeals process for denied care, information disclosure, and the ability of workers to carry their health insurance from one job to another—an important issue in the volatile industries in which its members labor.

Again, given the hazardous work performed by many of the IAMAW's members, the union has been in the forefront of occupational safety and health issues. The union has made clear its opposition to various Republican-led efforts to cut the budget of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), as well as to allow employers to control review boards on OSHA recommendations. The union believes that this measure would lead to additional secrecy, in which employers could keep information about the reviews out of the public realm. In addition, the union opposes moves to establish a congressional office to oversee OSHA regulation implementation, believing that it would be a tool of labor's political opponents to further gut safety regulations for the workplace, especially in the area of hazardous materials handling.

Moreover, the union is concerned about efforts to

force OSHA to conduct specific company evaluations, rather than industry-wide ones, since it believes this would slow down the fact-finding and implementation process and thus endanger worker safety and health. In general, the union is against the general move to make investigation and enforcement of OSHA regulations more of a voluntary exercise performed by business. Similarly, the union does not like the idea of a move toward more warnings and fewer fines for businesses. Finally, the IAMAW stands opposed to efforts to shift fines from employers to employees in situations where protective-gear regulations are violated, particularly because there are efforts afoot to shift the cost of paying for such gear from employers to employees.

The IAMAW is also concerned that past efforts at the federal level to force unions to win written permission of members to use dues for political purposes will be revived. Specifically, the union cites the 1997 efforts of Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott to kill the campaign finance reform bill by adding such a measure. At the same time, the union has worked against such efforts at the state level as well, including the failed California Proposition 226 in 1998.

On issues of particular concern to members, the IAMAW supports ongoing bipartisan efforts to ensure airline safety by requiring all U.S. aircraft to be repaired and maintained by U.S. workers. The union, of course, supports this move because it ensures more jobs for its members.

The IAMAW has made it clear that it opposes U.S. Forest Service efforts to cut back on road construction for the purposes of timber extraction. Although the union insists that it stands behind preserving the environment, it supports this controversial program—whereby the Forest Service builds taxpayer-subsidized

roads that are used by timber companies—and would like to prevent any move to gut its funding. The IAMAW “supports all reasonable efforts to make corporations pay their fair share; however, congressional road construction funding calculations must take into consideration all of the benefits provided by programs under review. The Forest Service forest roads programs allow for timber harvesting activities that directly return funds to the federal government, support tens of thousands of jobs, and help fund public schools and essential public services in timber-dependent communities.”

FINANCIAL FACTS

The IAMAW supports well-funded and active lobbying efforts, which donate substantial sums to congressional and presidential campaigns. During the 1995–1996 political cycle, the group’s political action committee (PAC), the Machinists Nonpartisan Political League, received nearly \$3.7 million and spent \$3.6 million. This included almost \$2 million in political donations—\$1,977,925 to Democrats and only \$7,750 to Republicans. In the last 10 years, expenditures have grown from \$2.85 million in the 1987–1988 election cycle to \$3.6 million in 1995–1996.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW)—a member union of the AFL-CIO—represents approximately 730,000 workers in a variety of industries connected to the communications and electrical industries, primarily working on electrical systems. Industries represented by the IBEW include utility workers at electric power stations; electrical and natural gas lineworkers; residential, commercial, and industrial electrical system installers; electrical installers at missile and aerospace facilities; installers, repair workers, and operators of radio, television, telephone, and cable communications equipment; and railroad electrical repair and maintenance personnel.

In addition, IBEW members labor in the manufacturing of electrical equipment, including batteries, telephones, electric motors, televisions, radios, and household appliances. Major manufacturers where IBEW members work include General Electric, Westinghouse, RCA, GTE, Gould, Rockwell International, Cutler-Hammer, IT&T, AT&T, and Square D. Trade classifications in the union include electrical utilities, the gas industry, the telephone industry, inside electrical workers, the sign industry, electric railroads, electrical manufacturing, the communications industry, the government, and several other trade classifications.

Geographically, the union is organized into 10 regional districts, including one for Canada and one for railroad workers nationally. Structurally, the IBEW consists of the following departments: the several industrial departments listed above, technical assistance, research, media relations, human services, pensions/employee benefits, special projects, safety and health, education, bylaws and appeals, computer services, membership, accounting, and records keeping. The union's political affairs are handled by the IBEW's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

Aside from general union concerns—such as trade, Social Security, and union rights—the IBEW focuses its

attention on legislation concerning the utilities industry and federal construction programs.

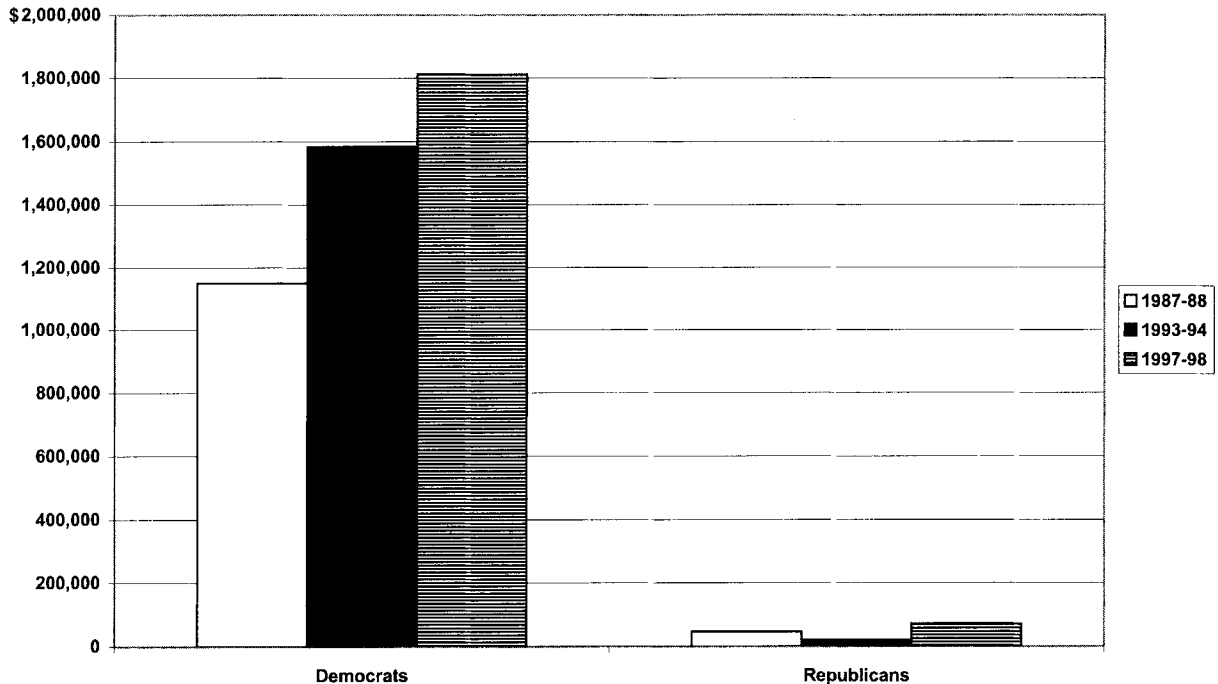
HISTORY

The origins of the IBEW stretch back to the formation of the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in 1891, making it one of the longest continuously operating unions in America. The first women were admitted to the union the following year, and the union's first journal was published a year after that. In 1895, telephone operators were accepted as members. The union went international with the admission of Canadian workers in 1899, after which the union changed its name to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. In 1971, the IBEW moved to its permanent headquarters in Washington, D.C., and its membership passed the 1 million mark the following year. It dropped below that figure in the 1980s.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Given the fact that Republicans—with their generally hostile approach to organized labor—control Congress, much of the IBEW's political action has been oriented toward blocking legislation it perceives as hostile to trade unions. Specifically, the IBEW's COPE has been extremely active in lobbying Congress to prevent the passage of fast-track legislation that would allow Congress a yes-or-no vote on trade agreements negotiated by the president and executive branch trade officials. Fast-track legislation would prevent congressional modification of such agreements—agreements that the IBEW, like other unions, fears would cost American

**International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

workers jobs. This issue is particularly important to the IBEW since many of its members work in the globally competitive electrical manufacturing industry. In addition, and again like other unions, the IBEW stands opposed to Social Security privatization, seeing it as a threat to the national pension system and as a financial windfall to Wall Street securities firms.

With its fellow unions, the IBEW stands opposed to measures that would promote company unions, overthrowing key elements of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. Under the so-called Truth in Employment Act, employer-supported unions would be permitted even if some workers at a given plant or company were members of independent trade unions. According to the union, “An employee’s right to organize is already seriously under attack”; it is not uncommon for many workers to be fired for union activity, employers to hire “union-busting” firms, and companies to force potential IBEW recruits to attend anti-union “education” sessions.

In addition, the IBEW has expressed its opposition to talk of an independent contractors bill contemplated by Republican members of the House and Senate. According to the union, the bill would allow employers to

reclassify millions of workers as “independent contractors,” thereby avoiding obligations to pay for healthcare, pensions, and other benefits. It also concerns the IBEW because it threatens job security and seniority. According to the IBEW, “When workers are reclassified as ‘independent contractors,’ it creates a two-tiered workplace in which some workers receive benefits and protections and others, performing exactly the same work, under the same conditions, do not.”

Aside from legislation that affects labor and the labor movement generally, COPE has been involved with bills that affect IBEW members in particular. These include changes in the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) code, electricity deregulation, payment protections for subcontractors and suppliers on federal projects, nuclear waste policy, and school construction.

As for the IRS code, there are two components of Section 415 that the IBEW is pushing to change. One concerns rules passed under the 1986 Tax Reform Act. Initially intended to limit early pensions for highly compensated chief executives, it hurts many members of the IBEW who rely on multi-employer pensions. Since many IBEW members work for several employers, they appear to fall under the rule. And because of the danger

and arduousness of the work performed by many union members, early retirement is common. Thus, the restrictions limit pension payments, and the IBEW would like to see an exemption made for persons employed in dangerous or arduous industries. A second aspect of the IRS code that the IBEW would like to change concerns “compensation-based limits,” which averages income over three consecutive years. Since IBEW members’ employment and wages fluctuate so greatly between years, this can have the effect of severely limiting benefits.

The IBEW opposes electricity deregulation. Aside from worries about the safety and reliability of the system under federally mandated deregulation—as well as potential costs to consumers—the union believes that the “cutthroat” competition it will promote is bound to have adverse effects on staffing levels and maintenance programs, the latter endangering worker safety. At the same time, the IBEW is promoting a bill that would require prime contractors on federal construction projects worth more than \$2,000 to provide a bond to indemnify all persons supplying labor and materiel to the job. While there are existing rules on the subject, the IBEW would like to see them strengthened.

On nuclear safety, the IBEW would like to see passage of currently debated legislation concerning the establishment of a permanent nuclear waste facility at Yucca Mountain, Nevada. While aware of the dangers of transporting such waste across the United States, the IBEW believes that existing arrangements, in which nuclear waste is stored on the grounds of the facilities that generate it, are dangerous to workers—many of whom are IBEW members who labor in proximity to the temporary storage facilities.

Finally, the IBEW stands behind President Bill Clinton’s \$4 billion initiative to raise tax-preferred bonds to repair the nation’s schools. The IBEW believes that the need is great and that the financing scheme for it is sound. In addition, such school repairs would provide jobs for many IBEW members.

FINANCIAL FACTS

During the 1995–1996 election cycle, the IBEW’s COPE received nearly \$3.4 million and spent just over \$3.4 million. The group contributed \$2 million to Democrats and just \$46,637 to Republicans. Contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans, by 25 to 45 times as much.

There has been a dramatic increase in COPE’s receipts, expenditures, and contributions over the past 10 years. Receipts and expenditures have climbed from \$2 million to \$3.3 million, while contributions have grown from nearly \$2.3 million to more than \$3.5 million.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT—or conventionally, the Teamsters), is the third largest union in the country. Based in Washington, D.C., the Teamsters represent more than 1.4 million union members in the United States and Canada. The union has 620 local chapters, 43 joint councils, and 10 state conferences.

The union primarily represents workers in trucking, distribution, and warehousing. However, since its origins in the early twentieth century the Teamsters have expanded to include service (maintenance, laundry, office, department store, cold storage), manufacturing (automobiles), beverage and brewery (soda, nonalcoholic beverages, and beer), building and construction trades, healthcare, and professional workers.

HISTORY

The IBT formed in 1903 with the merger of the Team Drivers International Union and the Teamsters National Union in Niagara Falls, New York. The locals represented workers employed as team drivers who typically distributed goods by horse-drawn carriage. From 1907 to 1952, Daniel J. Tobin, an Irish immigrant and Boston streetcar driver, headed the Teamsters as international president. In 1952, Tobin was succeeded by Dave Beck.

In the late 1950s, following charges of systematic corruption within the international union, the Teamsters drifted from the mainstream of the American labor movement to its margins. The Teamsters were thrown out of the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL–CIO) and were not allowed to rejoin until 1987. For many decades, key members of the international leadership of the Teamsters were implicated with organized crime groups. Although the union’s leaders were believed to be closely

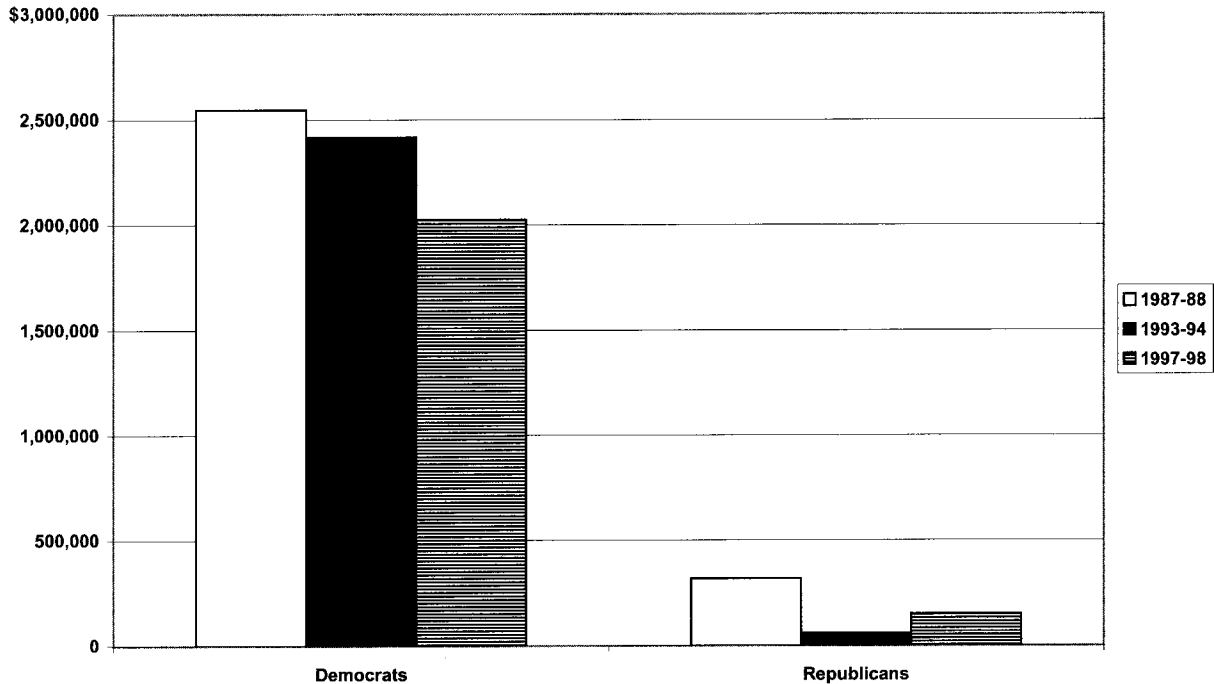
associated with crime figures, many of the union’s locals remained crime free.

James R. (Jimmy) Hoffa, perhaps the most well-known union leader in the Teamsters’ history, was charged with corruption in 1963. In 1967, Hoffa was convicted of jury tampering and sent to prison. Then in 1977, Hoffa, recently pardoned by President Richard Nixon, disappeared and is believed by many to have been murdered. The union leadership continued to be associated with organized crime figures through the 1970s and 1980s.

For about half a century, the Teamsters were a union dominated by organized crime and corruption until two factors led to its democratic transformation. First, Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), a dissident faction within the union, sought to bring about change through greater democracy and membership participation. From its origin in the mid 1970s, TDU mobilized rank-and-file support for rooting out cronyism and inserting democratic practices into the union’s international bylaws. Second, as a result of government investigations throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The federal government charged the Teamsters with violating the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations law by associating with organized crime and engaging in corrupt practices. In 1989, Teamster leaders accepted a consent decree that called for the union to be placed under a special court-supervised system of independent overseers, particularly addressing such matters as union structure, elections, and finances.

The Teamsters’ bylaws were modified to instill greater democracy through a new provision that allowed members to elect international officers directly. In 1991, Ron Carey, an insurgent union leader, was elected president of the international union with 48.5 percent of the votes. Carey was a dissident leader of a Teamster local in New York City that represented United Parcel Service (UPS) delivery workers. Follow-

**International Brotherhood of Teamsters
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

ing his election, Carey pledged to root out corruption in locals and devote greater resources and staff to organize workers into the union. Carey also sought to reverse decades of union concessions to employers that have severely eroded wages and benefits. Perhaps the most important achievement of the Carey administration was the UPS strike in the summer of 1997, when the negotiated agreement provided that the company create 10,000 full-time jobs.

In 1996, James P. Hoffa, the son of Jimmy Hoffa, challenged Ron Carey to the presidency. During the election, Hoffa charged that the Carey administration had mispent resources without serving the needs of the members. And after the election the federal government charged Carey with misuse of union funds to advance his reelection campaign. Amid allegations that contributions were made to Democratic Party operatives in exchange for kickbacks to his own campaign, the election was invalidated by the Justice Department, which ordered a new election. Carey was forced to resign the presidency and banned from running again. In 1999, Hoffa defeated several opponents by a large margin and was elected new president of the union. Hoffa immediately promised to remove any tinge of corruption in

the international union and its locals and to support the continuation of democratic elections for international office.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Teamster president James P. Hoffa promised to be more judicious in supporting candidates for political office than Ron Carey had been. Rather than exclusively supporting Democrats without concrete benefit to the union and its members, Hoffa said the Teamsters would be more vigilant in its political endorsements. Nevertheless, the union continued to criticize Republican legislative efforts. In 1999, the Teamsters opposed Republican efforts to cut taxes, arguing that the proposal was a “bonanza for wealthy Americans.” Instead, the Teamsters supported the Democrats’ efforts to shore up Social Security.

Primary objectives of the Teamsters are to organize new workers and enhance the economic power of its

members. The union contends that deregulation and global trade agreements have significantly eroded the economic security of working families in the United States. Hoffa cites federal reports that demonstrate that U.S. workers' median wages have not caught up to wage levels in 1974. The union supports legislation to enhance the right of workers who seek to improve their economic conditions to organize into unions. Currently, workers who seek to organize into unions without employer approval sometimes face retaliation and intimidation and are fired illegally.

The union is at the forefront of efforts to reduce international and regional competition from low-wage employers seeking to reduce wage costs by shifting operations from the United States. The Teamsters believe that international trade agreements impose restrictions on American business practices and do not take into account labor and human rights conditions in countries producing goods for the American market. The union believes that the World Trade Organization is shifting high-paying jobs to lower-wage markets abroad and lead to lower wages in the United States. In 1999, Hoffa strongly opposed provisions of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) that allowed Mexican trucks to cross the border into the United States, beginning January 1, 2000. Under the agreement Mexican truck drivers are able to drive to commercial centers within 20 miles of U.S. border cities. The Teamsters believe that opening the border to potentially unsafe Mexican trucks and unqualified Mexican drivers could threaten highway safety standards in the United States. Due to the lower operating costs of Mexican trucking companies, the union believes that if the agreement is implemented, unionized truck drivers face unfair competition and potential layoffs.

Preserving workplace safety and health is an important concern of the Teamsters. In 1999, the union opposed efforts by the U.S. House of Representatives to erode ergonomic standards that seek to protect workers from workplace hazards. For example, the union opposes efforts by the package delivery industry to increase weight limits on goods handled by workers. The union also seeks to advance legislation that improves truck safety.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The Teamsters are among the leading union contributors to politicians for federal office. Although the union's political action committee (PAC) has traditionally contributed the lion's share of its funds to Democrats, under the Carey administration the share of the union's contributions to Democrats increased to an even greater degree. In the 1987–1988 election cycle, only 9 percent of the union's \$2.85 million in PAC contributions went to Republicans. But, in the 1993–1994 cycle, the Carey regime gave Republicans only 2 percent of the union's nearly \$2.5 million in campaign contributions. Contributions to Republicans rose in the 1997–1998 cycle, but still remained less than half the amount contributed in 1987–1988. In 1999, incoming president James P. Hoffa promised to be more strategic in disbursing campaign contributions to the political campaigns of the two major parties. He indicated that rather than contributing nearly all the union's funds to the Democrats, the union would support Republicans that were sympathetic to the Teamsters' interests.

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INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS

The International Union of Operating Engineers (IUOE) represents approximately 400,000 persons in the field of stationary engineering—that is, persons involved in the maintenance, mechanics, and operation of heavy equipment, especially in building construction, but also in highway construction and workers who lay water, power, and sewage lines, and energy pipelines. Most workers are on construction sites but others labor at chemical plants and refineries. Heavy equipment includes front-end loaders, rollers, backhoes, graders, dredges, hoists, drills, pumps, and compressors. According to the union, if it can push, pull, pump, or lift material, and it rolls on tires or crawls on tracks, it falls under the union’s jurisdiction. It is the 12th-largest union within the AFL-CIO and the third largest in the Canadian Federation of Labor. The IUOE has signed master work agreements—involving all locals—with several major corporations, including General Electric and Westinghouse.

The union includes approximately 200 locals across North America, which enjoy a great deal of autonomy in running their own affairs, electing their own officers, negotiating agreements, and dealing with employers on grievances and arbitration. The international coordinates affairs of the various locals and provides technical and other services to the locals. It is headed by a president and a secretary-treasurer. These two officers are joined by 11 general vice presidents—each a business manager of a local. Together, the 13 officers form the executive board, which handles the day-to-day affairs of the union. In addition, five business managers serve as international trustees of the union. All officials, as well as overall policy, are voted upon by the delegates at quadrennial conventions. The international office—located in Washington, D.C.—includes departments handling the following: legal, legislative and political, research, senior affairs, civil rights, publications, and media and other affairs.

The IUOE takes a keen legislative interest in a number of issues pertaining to working people and the organized labor movement generally, including Medicare,

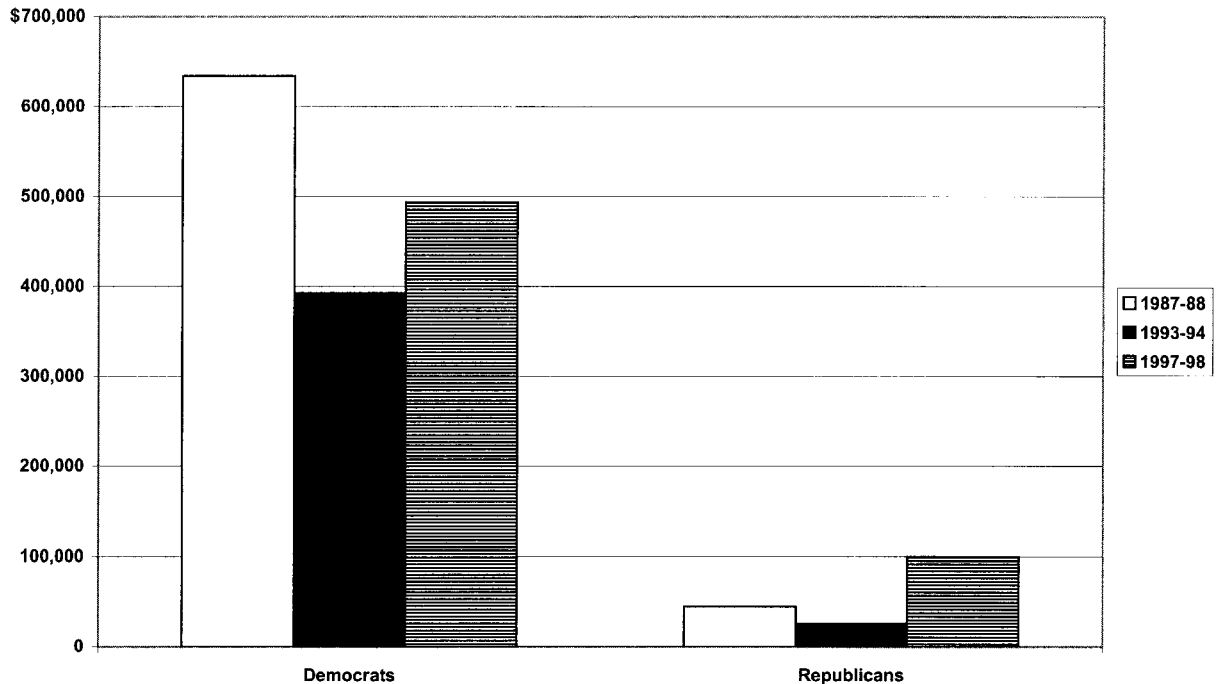
Social Security, compensation and benefit law, and—because of the hazards involved in the use of heavy machinery—workplace and worksite safety and health. It has also been involved in political efforts around issues of special interest to its own members, especially in the realm of promoting federal construction and cleanup projects.

HISTORY

The origin of the IUOE goes back to a small group of stationary engineers in Chicago, who met to form the National Union of Steam Engineers in 1896. (A steam gauge still figures prominently in the union logo.) At first, the union remained small and growth limited. The largest local had but 40 members and all but one represented workers who possessed the ability to operate dangerous steam boilers. In 1897, Canadian workers began to join the union, and the construction boom around the turn of the century led to the union’s expansion. Many members helped rebuild San Francisco after the great earthquake of 1906; others were involved in the construction of the Panama Canal, completed in 1914. In 1912, the union changed its name to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to reflect the growing diversity of its membership. With the switch to internal combustion and electric engines in the 1920s, the word “steam” was dropped from the union’s name.

With the passage of the Davis-Bacon Bill of 1931—guaranteeing higher wage rates on federal construction projects—the union was able to weather the Great Depression, though it lost significant membership. During the labor shortages of the World War II era, the union rebounded, joining forces with the Navy Seabees—or engineers—to build bases, airfields, roads, and temporary ports from Europe to the Pacific and on to Korea during the war there. The union’s membership, though on a generally downward trend since the 1950s, has

**International Union of Operating Engineers
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

been represented on the worksites of virtually every major construction project of the postwar era, including Chicago's Sears Tower, Toronto's CN Tower and Sky Dome, and the Alaskan oil pipeline.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Like other unions, the Operating Engineers have taken an active role in defeating a number of bills that they consider to be antilabor, proposed or introduced in the Republican-dominated Congress of the past few years. Specifically, they have stood against actions that would diminish the right of unions to make political contributions—without winning individual member approval. They have been heavily involved in trying to block efforts to change the nature of overtime compensation from straight time-and-a-half pay to flexible compensation, including time off and/or benefits, seeing in this measure a threat to the salaries of many of its members who often work odd hours on emergency and other construction projects. In addition, the union wants to

make sure that Medicare benefits are not cut and that Social Security is preserved for the future and is not privatized in any way in the short term.

At the same time, the union has been active promoting environmental cleanup projects and has fought to enhance the funding and activities of the federal government's Superfund program for hazardous waste, citing both job and environmental concerns for its support. However, on other issues, the union has been at loggerheads with some environmental groups. An active promoter of highway, airport, and pipeline construction, the union has disagreed with environmentalists over the impact of some of these projects. In addition, it has been active in promoting the safe cleanup of asbestos-contaminated worksites and has pursued class-action suits to further its aims.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The IUOE supports well-funded and active lobbying efforts and donates substantial sums to congressional and presidential campaigns. During the 1995–1996 political

cycle, the Engineers' Political Education Committee (EPEC) received just over \$1 million, but spent over \$1.4 million. This included over \$500,000 in political donations—\$476,200 to Democrats and \$27,750 to Republicans. The IUOE, like virtually all other trade unions, has donated far more to Democrats than Republicans, by 15 to 20 times as much.

There has been a substantial upward trend in EPEC donations to political candidates over the past 12 years, although the union significantly lowered its contributions temporarily after the 1992 presidential and congressional campaigns. Between the 1987–1988 and 1995–1996 political cycles, contributions rose approximately 18 percent. Finally, various locals of the IUOE

provide significant contributions of their own to congressional and presidential campaigns. For example, in the 1995–1996 election cycle, the top 18 locals contributed a total of approximately \$350,000, most of which went to Democratic candidates.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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LABORERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

The Laborers' International Union of North America (LIUNA)—a member of the AFL-CIO—has nearly 750,000 members, largely employed in construction, although the union also represents workers in a variety of industries. These include government employees, healthcare, mail handling, custodial services, shipbuilding, food service, and nonnuclear hazardous waste removal (such as lead and asbestos). Approximately 50,000 members are in Canada, and the rest are in the United States.

With its headquarters in Washington, D.C., LIUNA includes some 650 autonomously operated locals, organized by trade or by geographic region. In addition, each of the locals is affiliated with one of the 61 district councils. Most of the districts are organized along geographic lines, but with ever more diverse occupations represented by the union, an increasing number are organized by occupation. Above the district councils are the 12 regional offices (10 in the United States and two in Canada), which carry out the executive functions of the international and provide services to the locals.

At the top of the organization is the international union, which issues charters for locals and defines the power and jurisdictional areas of the local unions and district councils. The international also develops programs for the union as a whole, in the areas of training, health and safety, and labor-management cooperation. In addition, the international offers services in bargaining, research, public affairs, and legal and political action.

The international is divided into several divisions that manage the various occupational categories represented by members and provide services to union members. These divisions include construction, maintenance and service trades, environmental remediation, international affairs, investments, jurisdiction, legislative, benefits, organizing, public affairs, research and education, community development, defense conversion, health and welfare, pensions, membership assistance, and union privilege (credit union). The two chief offi-

cers, elected at convention every five years, are the president and general secretary-treasurer.

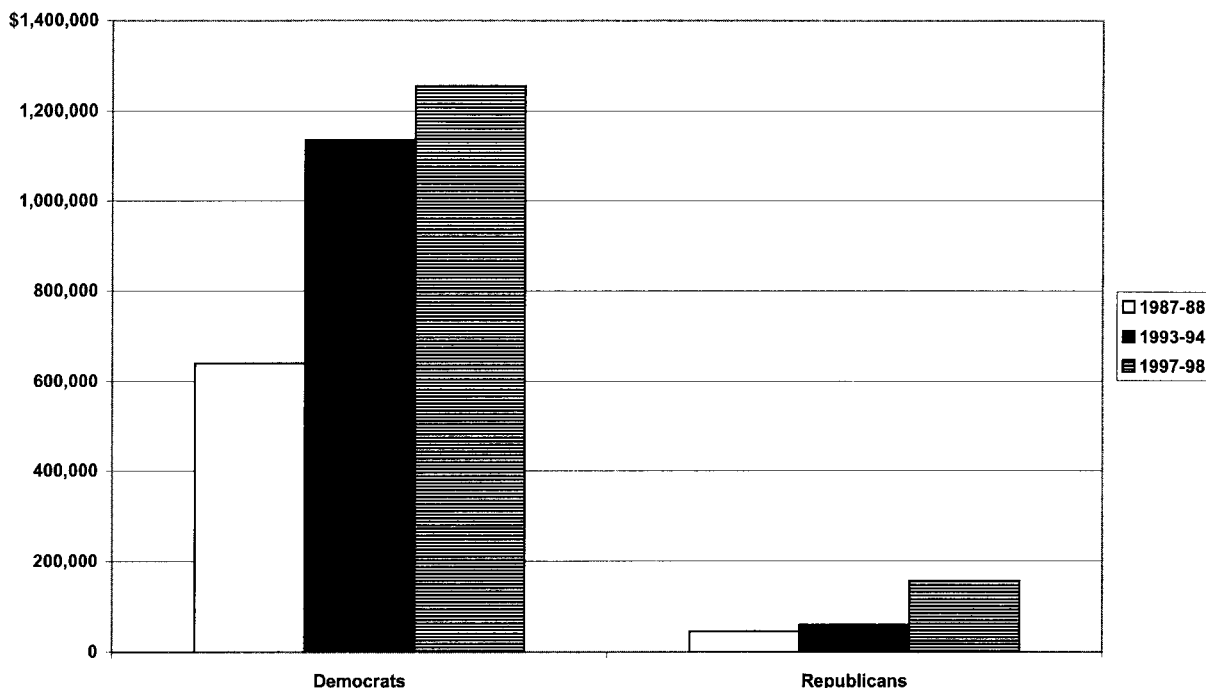
While LIUNA is involved in many of the issues that concern the union movement in general—including Social Security privatization and corporate influence in government—it is especially concerned with legislation affecting the construction industry and other issues that directly impinge on its members' well-being. The latter include defense conversion and hazardous waste law.

HISTORY

LIUNA was organized upon the urging of American Federation of Labor (AFL) president Samuel Gompers in 1903. Responding to Gompers's call, some 8,000 laborers met in Washington, D.C., to form the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union of America. The union experienced heavy growth in the 1920s, as the building boom of that decade expanded the industry. In addition, three amalgamations expanded the union's membership. During the 1920s, the International Compressed Air and Foundation Workers, the Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union, and the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Curb Setters, and Sheet Asphalt Pavers affiliated with the Hod Carriers. By the end of the decade, the union had more than 100,000 members.

Although the Great Depression shrank the rolls somewhat, the union expanded enormously during the Second World War, reaching 430,000 members as early as 1942. After the AFL merged with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1955, a further 60,000 construction workers from the CIO joined the Hod Carriers' ranks. A decade later, the union changed its name to the Laborers' International Union of North America. In 1968, 20,000 members of the Mail Handlers Union joined LIUNA. In 1995, the union signed an oversight agreement with the federal government to root out corruption and implement a reform program.

**Laborers' International Union of North America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

This action contributed to renewed efforts to organize low-wage workers who had been neglected by the union in past years.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Among the critical legislative items that LIUNA's Laborers' Political League has been involved with is campaign finance reform. Arguing that donations from corporations and wealthy individuals outstripped those by labor unions by more than eight to one—and that donations by the former have increased 20 times faster than those by the latter—LIUNA supported the McCain-Feingold political finance reform act. More vociferously, they opposed efforts by Majority Leader Trent Lott to kill the bill by adding the “poison pill” amendment, whereby unions would have to obtain written permission of individual members before spending their dues on political action. As the union officials noted, “Meaningful campaign finance reform must address the problem of corporate spending rather than just targeting

America's working families. Republicans [spent more than] Democrats by \$250 million in the last election (1998), and Senator Lott is trying to protect that advantage by killing real reform. . . . Corporations do not have any check on how they spend money.”

Another legislative issue that concerned LIUNA—although more parochial in nature—was Congress's efforts to exempt school construction jobs in the District of Columbia from prevailing wage rules. Helping to defeat the bill, LIUNA saw it as a wedge in which the Republican-controlled Congress could overturn the prevailing wage on other federally funded construction projects. Similarly, LIUNA has been active in overturning rules instituted during the administration of Ronald Reagan that allow for lower-paid helpers on federal construction projects.

LIUNA also stood opposed to a bill promoted in the House and Senate by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers whereby the Fair Labor Standards Act would be modified to allow for different forms of compensation for overtime. Under the act, overtime pay was set at 50 percent more than regular pay. The legislation would allow certain employers, many in the construction industry, either exemptions from the rule or to pay

their employees in comp time—future days off in exchange for working weekends, holidays, or overtime—and other forms of nonmonetary compensation, such as added pensions or health benefits. The union opposes this measure because it gives companies more decision-making power to determine worker pay and puts workers at risk of losing overtime compensation altogether if a company should go bankrupt, a relatively common occurrence in the volatile and seasonal construction industry. The bill would also allow employers to discriminate by rewarding workers who accepted nonmonetary compensation for overtime over those who refused it. Moreover, despite Democratic efforts to exempt construction workers from the bill, LIUNA opposes the legislation as a “bad deal” for all workers.

Another piece of legislation that the union has been fighting is a Republican-sponsored bill that would reclassify many workers—especially in the construction industry—as independent subcontractors, thus jeopardizing the Medicare and unemployment insurance they would be guaranteed as regular employees of prime contractors on federally funded construction projects. According to union officials: “This legislation aggravates an already bad situation. Because of funding cuts and a cumbersome process, the Internal Revenue Service can not adequately enforce the current law, which has led to massive misclassification of workers as independent contractors. Surveys indicate that as many as 20 percent of today’s independent contractors were formerly employees of the companies for which they now work as contractors—doing the same work!”

LIUNA also stands opposed to Republican-led efforts to push through changes in the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), including measures that would keep OSHA findings secret from workers, allow employers to act as peer reviewers of other employers accused of violating OSHA standards, and add burdensome regulations and rules that would delay implementation of OSHA rules and findings. On organizing, LIUNA is fighting a so-called antisalting bill that would place heavy restrictions on unions sending organizers into nonunion shops.

Finally, while generally supporting the administration of Bill Clinton, the union opposes its efforts to deny funds for highway construction in regions that fail to comply with clear air standards set by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Although LIUNA says that it supports environmental regulations, the union argues that the measure would cost thousands of construction jobs in 634 counties nationwide—according to the EPA’s own estimates—and could actually endanger American motorists, since many of the construction projects are necessary for highway safety.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The Laborers’ Political League—the union’s political action arm—is a major contributor of funds to federal campaigns, both congressional and presidential. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, the Laborers’ Political League received \$2.5 million and spent nearly \$2.4 million. This latter figure includes more than \$1.9 million in contributions to candidates and parties—\$1.75 million to Democrats and \$163,500 to Republicans. Contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans, by 12 to 20 times as much, though this multiple is somewhat below that for most trade unions.

There has been a dramatic increase in the Laborers’ Political League receipts, expenditures, and contributions over the past 10 years. Receipts and expenditures have climbed 175 percent, while contributions have almost tripled, from \$686,000 to \$1.9 million.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

With 2.4 million members, the National Education Association (NEA) is the largest professional employee organization in the United States. Its members include instructors at all levels, as well noninstructional educational staff. In addition, as a professional organization, the NEA includes retired educators, students earning their teaching degrees, and school administrators. Anyone who is employed at a public educational facility is eligible for membership. Though the NEA is the nation's largest union, the organization is not affiliated with the AFL-CIO. However, at the end of the century, the NEA was seriously investigating joining forces with the American Federation of Teachers.

The NEA is organized into four levels: 13,250 locals in all 50 states and Puerto Rico; 50 state organizations (as well as the Asociación de Maestros in Puerto Rico); six regional branches, and the national union, located in Washington, D.C. The top policy-making body of the NEA is the Representative Assembly, whose 10,000 delegates meet annually. The daily affairs of the union are run by the nine-member executive committee—consisting of the union's president, vice president, secretary-treasurer, and heads of the six regional branches—and the 159-member board of directors. Over 500 staff personnel are employed at the national office.

The national office operates several divisions, including affiliates, audiovisual, classroom issues, Gateway to Education Materials, higher education, legislative action, membership, benefits, foundation issues, New Unionism, press center, publications, Read Across America, retirees, recess issues, the NEA Student Program, locals support, personnel, and technology.

Much of the NEA's campaign contributions and lobbying are geared to support candidates who share educational policy ideas similar to the NEA's and to promote policies that jibe with NEA initiatives. Among these issues are school funding (federal and state), charter schools, vouchers, educational technology, school safety, and school construction, as well as issues connected to teachers as employees.

HISTORY

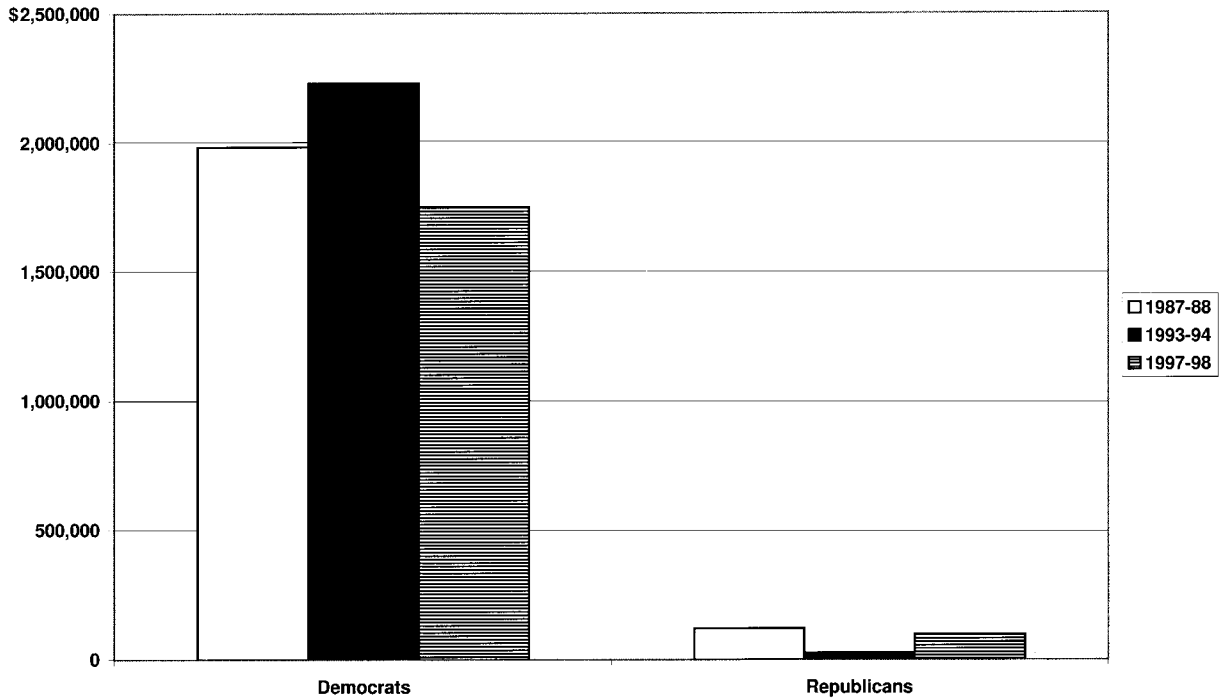
The NEA is the oldest and largest organization dedicated to public education in the United States. It was founded in 1857 by a group of educators in Philadelphia who said that their organization would serve to "advance the interest of the profession of teaching and to promote the cause of education in the United States." Over the years, the NEA has largely shifted from being a professional organization to a more traditional labor union. Aside from working on issues related to the teaching profession, the union has donated some \$70 million to improve public education directly since 1983, when the watershed report on American education—*A Nation at Risk*—was published.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Along with issues concerning working people and the organized labor movement as a whole—including Social Security privatization—the NEA is actively lobbying Congress on a number of issues concerning students, teachers, and the educational system in the United States.

The NEA advocates reductions in classroom size, as a measure benefiting both teachers and students. Citing a number of studies that show reduced class size leads to better student achievement and lower teacher turnover, the union lobbied Congress to expand and guarantee funding for a national class-size initiative, which would provide pay for 100,000 more teachers through mandatory spending of \$12 billion over the next seven years. In addition, the NEA advocates federal legislation to provide tax relief to states and localities so that they can build, repair, and modernize schools. Specifically, on this latter issue, the NEA would like to see Congress

**National Education Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

pass bond measures to raise \$200 billion nationally for school construction and repair, with a special emphasis on inner-city and rural facilities, as well as streamlining the administrative process whereby states and localities obtain federal funding. Similarly, the NEA proposes a number of measures designed to improve the safety of students and teachers. It advocates more funding for school safety and supports the Children’s Gun Violence Prevention Act, which seeks to protect children from gun-related violence in schools, communities, and homes.

Noting the importance of new technologies in preparing students for the postindustrial economy, the NEA is lobbying Congress for a host of initiatives designed to introduce new technologies to schools, especially in financially strapped districts. The union wants the federal government to provide tax-based assistance to states and localities for more Internet access, to enlarge libraries, and to provide teacher training in high-technology areas. At the same time, the NEA opposes the introduction of expensive, untried, and ineffective technology to filter content on the Internet. Instead, it would like Congress to encourage schools to implement

“acceptable-use” policies to assure proper student use of the Internet.

The NEA supports charter schools—that is, schools with unorthodox or specialized programs designed to draw a diverse array of students from throughout a school district. But the union insists that federal funding for charter schools be used to try to rectify some of the problems connected with this educational innovation, including the propensity of some charter schools to be racially or ethnically unbalanced and to exclude students with disabilities. Thus, the NEA proposes expanding federal funding to charter schools so long as the schools meet the requirements of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, enhance accountability, include quality requirements, and provide safeguards against racial and ethnic patterning. It proposes a prohibition on federal start-up grants to for-profit charter schools.

The NEA opposes the shift in federal funding from monies mandated for specific programs—with specific federal requirements attached to them—to general block grants, which leave spending decisions largely up to the states. While supporters of such grants argue that they would allow for more flexibility in meeting local needs, the NEA says that block grants would cause a

lack of focus on education, a weakening of accountability, and an inability to measure whether states were meeting national educational standards. Specifically, the NEA stands against proposed changes connected to the reauthorization of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). The union says that shifting to block grants would undermine the ESEA's original mandate to make sure that more funding goes to schools in impoverished areas, intended to lift them up to national standards. The NEA also believes that students with special educational needs will be shortchanged by block grants, since many of these students attend poorer schools. Ultimately, however, the NEA is against block grants because it sees them as ruses designed to lower funding for education. "The history of block grant proposals," notes the union, "indicates that they weaken our nation's commitment to education." As an alternative, the NEA proposes some changes in federal funding, including allowing states to submit consolidated applications rather than applications for each specific program, waivers for some mandates so long as the underlying purpose of the ESEA is met, and allowing states to include administrative costs in applications for general program funding.

These changes, the union believes, would target specific problems with the ESEA without throwing away the entire program, most of which functions well. At the same time, the union would like to see the ESEA expanded to include more reading programs.

The NEA strongly opposes vouchers as well, both nationally and at the experimental level in Washington, D.C., whose educational system comes under direct congressional scrutiny. The union's opposition to vouchers is based on several factors. First, it says that vouchers shift scarce resources from public schools, where the vast majority of students receive their elementary and secondary education. Second, vouchers are "irresponsible," aiding a small minority of students at the expense of the majority. Third, vouchers do not offer parents choice, since private and parochial schools—the intended beneficiaries of most vouchers—can exclude students for a variety of reasons, selecting only the best performers. Fourth, vouchers encourage "fly-by-night," for-profit schools. Fifth, support for

vouchers for parochial schools violates the separation of church and state. And finally, vouchers lead to "double taxation," as parents of students who do not attend private schools pay for those students who do. Parents are thus taxed to support both public and private schools.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The union's political action committee (NEAPAC) is one of the largest political action committees (PACs) of the U.S. labor movement—by amount of donation—and, indeed, is one of the largest PACs in the country overall. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, NEAPAC received nearly \$4.8 million and spent over \$5 million. This latter figure includes more than \$2.3 million in contribution to candidates and parties—\$2.3 million to Democrats and only \$11,850 to Republicans. Contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans, by 15 to over 200 times as much. This became especially marked during the 1990s, as Republicans in Congress were increasingly associated with educational reforms opposed by the NEA.

There has been a dramatic increase in NEAPAC's receipts, expenditures, and contributions over the past 10 years. From 1987–1988 to 1995–1996, receipts and expenditures have climbed from \$3.8 million to \$4.8 million, while contributions have risen from \$3.6 million to over \$5 million.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

The largest union of maritime workers in the United States, the Seafarers International Union of North America (SIU) represents approximately 80,000 maritime workers, including unlicensed U.S. merchant mariners working on ships plying the Pacific, Atlantic, and Gulf coasts and licensed mariners in the Great Lakes and inland waterway sectors. SIU members are largely employed in three shipboard departments—deck, engine, and steward—and work on a variety of vessels, including commercial containerships and tankers, military support ships, tugboats and barges, passenger ships, gaming vessels, and many more. In addition, SIU members work in the fishing and fish-canning industry, general manufacturing, marine safety, and the public sector.

The SIU—a union affiliated with the AFL-CIO, headquartered in suburban Washington, D.C.—includes a number of affiliated unions, including the Alaska Fish Cannery Workers Union, the Fishermen’s Union of America, the Industrial Professional Technical Workers International Union, the International Union of Petroleum and Industrial Workers, the Marine Fireman’s Union, the Mortuary Employees Union, the Professional Security Officers Association, the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Seafarers Commercial Fishermen’s Association, the Sugar Workers Union, the United Industrial Workers of North America, and the United Industrial, Service, Transportation, Professional, and Government Workers of North America.

HISTORY

The SIU’s roots go back to the formation of the Seafarers Union of the Pacific in 1891—itsself formed by the merger of the Coast Seaman’s Union and the Steamship Sailor’s Protective Association. The union then joined the American Federation of Labor (AFL) as a division of the International Seaman’s Union of North America (ISU). But when the ISU left the AFL in 1936 to join the rival and more radical Committee for Industrial Organization—forerunner of the Congress of

Industrial Organizations (CIO)—the SIU seceded from the ISU and remained part of the AFL. With the merger of the AFL and the CIO in 1955, the conservative SIU and the more militant National Maritime Union (NMU) found themselves under the same institutional roof. Disputes between the two kept them from merging, and the NMU eventually joined the National Marine Engineers’ Beneficial Association, another union affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

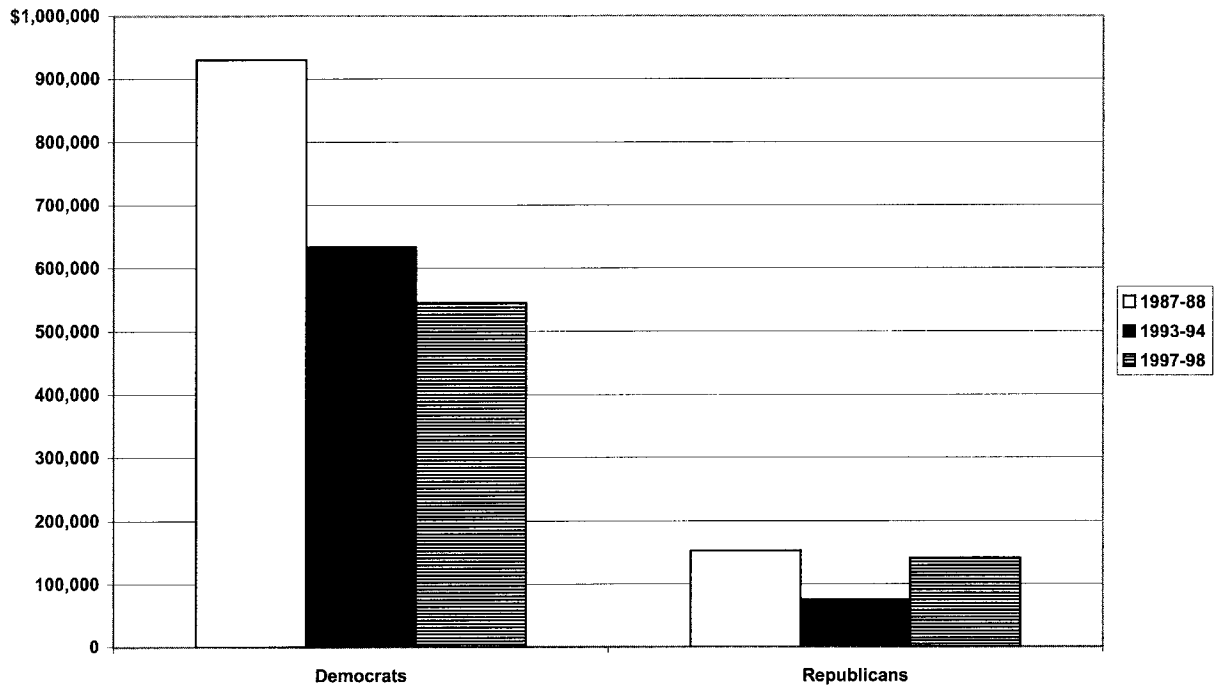
While involved in issues of concern to working people and the labor movement generally, the SIU devotes much of its legislative activity to concerns directly related to the well-being of the maritime industry and its members. Among the efforts of the SIU in recent years was support for an extension of veterans’ benefits to include World War II-era merchant mariners.

Concerning the industry itself, the union supports efforts by the administration of President Bill Clinton to establish a “Harbor Services Fund” for the purposes of providing maintenance and upkeep of the nation’s ports well into the twenty-first century. The need for such a fund goes back to a recent Supreme Court decision that ruled the once-existing Harbor Maintenance Tax unconstitutional. The new fund would raise \$800 million from a new users’ fee that would go to dredging, port construction, and installation of new navigation equipment.

Because SIU members labor in an industry in which international competition is inevitable, the union has pushed for legislation designed to protect American workers in the maritime industry. Among the measures supported by the SIU is a bill requiring foreign cruise ships to temporarily fly U.S. flags and hire U.S. crews when sailing in and out of American ports.

The union also backs a recent report to Congress by the Department of Transportation that calls for a series

**Seafarers International Union of North America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

of measures to strengthen the U.S.-flag merchant fleet, including continued support for the Maritime Security Program, designed to help fund militarily useful U.S.-flag vessels; continued support for the nation's shipbuilding and ship-repairing industries; continuance of cabotage laws, which require that commodities shipped from one U.S. port to another be transported by U.S.-flag and U.S.-crewed ships; continued support for the Ready Reserve Force of merchant marines; the upgrading of the nation's intramodal transport system, which allows easier transshipment of goods between planes, railroads, trucks, and ships; research into new maritime technologies; and continued government activism in preventing unfair trade practices by foreign shippers.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The Seafarers Political Action Donation Department (SPAD) is one of the largest political action committees

(PACs) of the U.S. labor movement—by amount of donation—though its contributions to candidates have dropped significantly over the past dozen years or so. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, SPAD received \$1.65 million and spent over \$1.6 million. This latter figure includes \$736,399 in contribution to candidates and parties—\$557,300 to Democrats and \$179,099 to Republicans.

SPAD's receipts, expenditures, and contributions increased dramatically over the past 10 years. Receipts and expenditures have climbed 34 percent, while contributions have grown 23 percent, from \$1.3 million to \$1.6 million. At the same time, contributions to Democrats have exceeded those to Republicans, by three to 10 times as much. Reflecting the basic conservatism of the SIU, this ratio is far lower than for other unions.

JAMES CIMENT

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Seafarers Log. 1976–1999.

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SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION

Representing some 1.2 million workers, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) is one of the largest AFL-CIO unions in the United States. The SEIU, which organizes workers across many industries, is one of the fastest growing unions in the world and is one of the few unions in the United States that experienced growth during the 1980s and 1990s, a period of declining union membership. The SEIU's membership has nearly doubled in the two decades between 1980 and 2000. The union attributes its rapid growth to an aggressive strategy of organizing new workers into the union and successfully negotiating contracts with employers. Part of the SEIU's growth also can be attributed to mergers with independent and unaffiliated unions. Much of this growth took place under the leadership of John Sweeney, who rose from a New York local representing maintenance workers to become president of the international. In 1995, Sweeney, who built his reputation on organizing, defeated Thomas Donahue to become the president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). In 1996, Andrew Stern, the new international president, continued the SEIU's commitment to growth through organizing. Part of this plan included electing a diverse leadership and becoming even more aggressive in the face of corporate and government restructuring that are designed for profitability but neglect the interests of workers and communities.

The union's membership includes doctors, nurses, healthcare workers, clerical workers, engineers, librarians, gas utility workers, lawyers, and janitors. The membership is employed by private employers, nonprofit organizations, and government agencies in the United States and Canada. About 585,000 of the union's members are public employees working in federal, state, county, and municipal governments, and in public schools. Nearly 500,000 of the union's members are healthcare workers employed in hospitals, nursing homes, health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and homecare facilities. Approximately 200,000 of the

union's members work as janitors, window cleaners, and security guards. Another 150,000 of the international membership are office workers, including clerical and administrative workers. About 80,000 members are employed at racetracks and sports arenas, and as jewelry and leather goods workers.

The SEIU contends that its members earn significantly higher wages under better working conditions than nonunion workers employed in similar occupations. The international's "Justice for Janitors" campaign has attempted to organize low-wage janitors working under poor conditions in major cities across the United States.

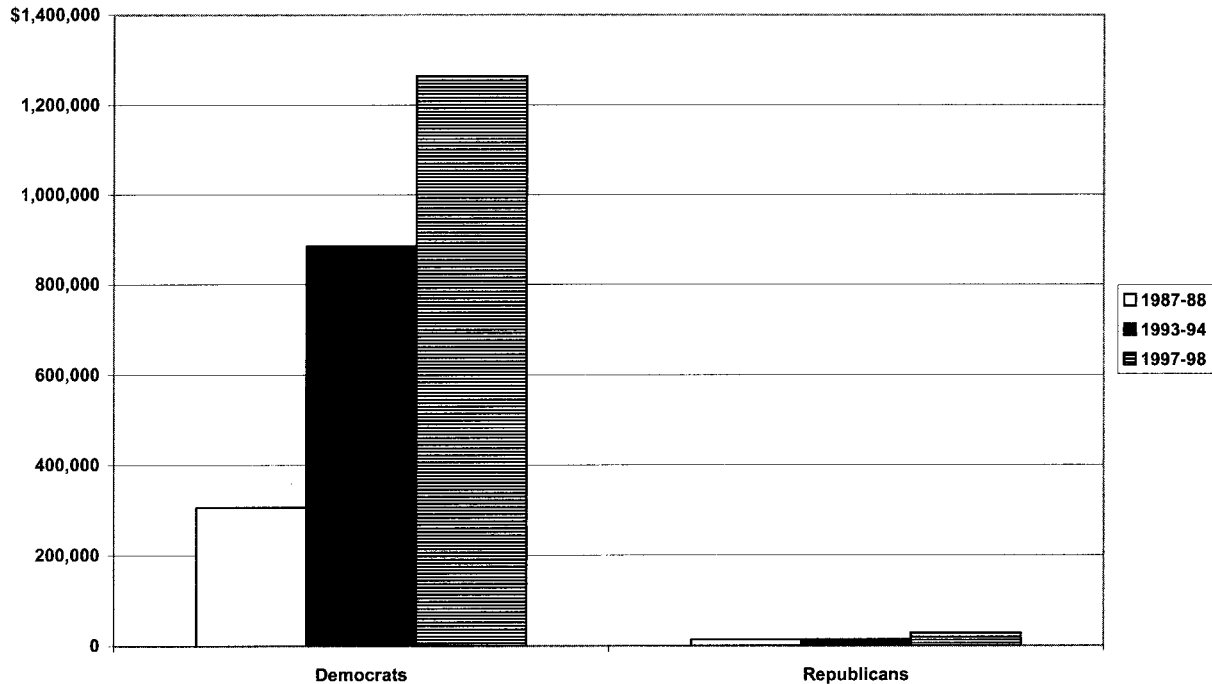
The SEIU is a diverse organization. In 1999, about 58 percent of the union's members were women, and more than one-third are people of color (African Americans, Latinos, Hispanics, Asian Pacific Islanders, Native Americans). Most of the union's members are over 35 years of age, with some 37 percent over 50 years of age. About 32 percent of the union's members earn \$35,000 or more per year, 32 percent earn between \$25,000 and \$35,000, and 36 percent earn under \$25,000.

HISTORY

Locals that later formed part of the SEIU were first chartered in the early twentieth century in the Chicago area to represent janitors. A primary objective of the seven unions who formed the original international union was to promote independence among the locals. Local unions continue to have independence in selecting officers, negotiating contracts, and determining priorities. The union is recognized for negotiating contracts that are the best in their regional industries. In 1921, the SEIU received a national charter from the AFL.

The SEIU represents workers employed in diverse occupations across an array of industries. In the 1940s and 1950s, the SEIU was the first union to organize

**Service Employees International Union
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

hospital and healthcare workers. By the end of the century, the SEIU has grown to become the largest healthcare workers union in the United States, representing some 500,000 members working in hospitals, HMOs, clinics, nursing homes, homecare organizations, and blood banks.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The SEIU's primary objective in the coming decade is to organize new members into the union to improve the condition of low-wage workers in the service sector. In recent years, the union has launched major drives to organize hospital workers, home healthcare attendants, nursing home workers, and building maintenance workers. Like most other unions, the SEIU supports changing the labor laws to enable workers to organize. The union believes that workers who want to join unions should not be subject to illegal firing and other recriminations.

Unlike most conventional interest groups, the

SEIU's political strategy is not directed primarily at lobbying government officials and contributing money to political action committees (PACs). The union does not exclusively engage in campaign contributions and political lobbying. The SEIU also seeks to influence labor policy that bears on union members through mobilizing rank-and-file workers to lobby members of Congress, publicly demonstrate and rally, and vote for politicians that support its members. As the healthcare industry restructures and cuts costs, the SEIU is lobbying and organizing to protect patients' rights and healthcare workers. The union believes that managed care and other changes directed at reducing healthcare costs frequently lead to declining patient access to needed medical care and the erosion of members' job security. The union has formed national and local coalitions with other labor unions and community organizations to advocate on behalf of members.

Through most of its history, the union has fought for racial and gender equality at the workplace to protect many of its members. The union has fought for equal rights and pay equity for women. The union's national policy agenda includes support for national healthcare reform, family and medical leave, and laws that protect the disabled and senior citizens, including defending So-

cial Security. The union also lobbies to support workplace safety and health. In particular the union seeks to increase protections from toxic chemicals, violence, sexual harassment, asbestos, disease, and other hazards that workers face on the job.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The SEIU's contributions to political candidates have increased dramatically in the last decade of the twentieth century, with more than a 400 percent increase between

the 1987–1988 and 1997–1998 election cycles—from \$320,000 to \$1,293,000. The vast majority of the union's PAC funds are contributed to Democratic candidates. In the 1997–1998 election cycle, Democrats received nearly 98 percent of the union's contributions.

IMMANUEL NESS AND JAMES CIMENT

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TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

The Transport Workers Union of America (TWUA) represents approximately 100,000 workers in the public bus, train, air transport, and resource distribution industries, the latter primarily involving the installation and repair of natural gas distribution systems. In addition, the union represents local government and university workers, largely in the maintenance field. Major institutions where the TWUA members are employed include Amtrak, Conrail, Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, Columbia University, and Brooklyn Union Gas. Most of the union's members live and work in the northeastern states.

Affiliated with the AFL-CIO and headquartered in New York City, the TWUA has over 100 locals. The union's internal structure consists of three levels: the international office, the industrial divisions, and the local affiliates. The latter are based on type of work performed, employing institution, or geographic location. Locals elect their own officers and have a great deal of latitude in running their own affairs and negotiating their own contracts. The various industrial divisions—handling workers in the employment areas discussed above—offer legal and other help to locals. The international office coordinates the activities of the industrial divisions and assists in local organizing drives, negotiations, and legislative efforts. The top policy-making body of the union is the international convention, held every four years. In addition, the conventions elect the international officers. Between conventions, the policy-making bodies of the union are the international executive council and the international executive board.

The legislative interests of the TWUA range from issues that concern working people and the labor movement generally to issues of particular concern to its own members. The latter include strong support for public transportation development and air safety.

HISTORY

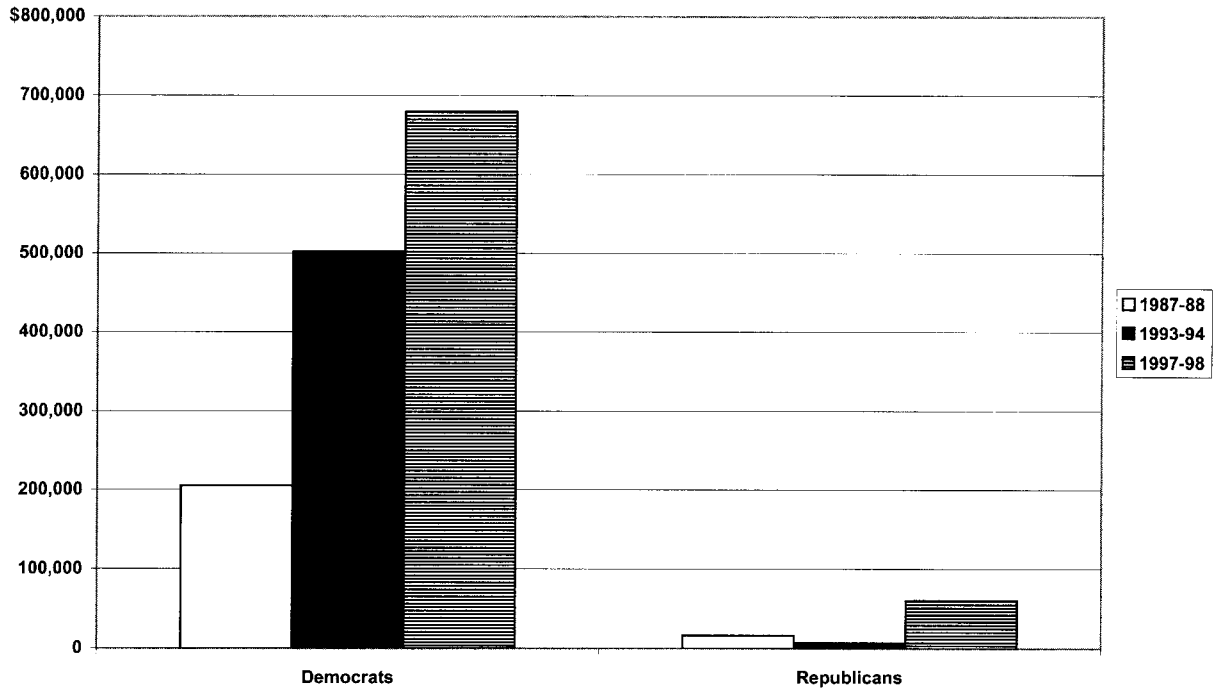
Following several failed efforts to organize transit workers in the New York City metropolitan area in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the TWUA was formed in 1934 to deal with Depression-era attempts by transit companies to cut wages and increase workload. Among the early leaders of the TWUA were subway worker Michael Quill and organizer Douglas McMahon. Early efforts by the union dealt with unsafe working conditions, leading to a successful two-day strike in 1935. More significant was the sit-down strike of 1937, whereby the union forced management to reemploy 600 workers who had been fired because of strike activities. The union's success—and pro-labor federal legislation—brought thousands into its ranks in a few months.

Outside New York City, the union was growing as well, organizing workers in Long Island, Ohio, Nebraska, and New Jersey by 1941. Philadelphia transit workers joined the union in 1944, after a seven-year struggle, followed by Houston workers in 1947 and San Francisco employees in 1950. Brooklyn Gas employees joined in 1941, and maintenance workers at Columbia University signed on two years later. During these same years, the union was expanding into the airline industry, organizing Pan Am and American in the 1940s. In 1954, the TWUA organized a railroad industrial division to deal with metropolitan and national rail systems.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The TWUA involves itself in the legislative process through lobbying and campaign contributions. It has been active in promoting measures of interest to working people generally or trying to block legislation it

**Transport Workers Union of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

deems inimical to working people and the labor movement. For example, it has actively backed legislative efforts to pass a patients’ “bill of rights,” which guarantees high-quality healthcare for worker-members of health maintenance organizations. At the same time, the union has tried to block Republican efforts to limit the effects of the bill to federally regulated health plans only, eliminating roughly two-thirds of the nation’s insured patients. As for uninsured patients, the union supports Democratic efforts to spend \$24 billion to provide healthcare for uninsured children. Moreover, it does not see the bill as adequate, citing the fact that up to 60 million persons will be uninsured by 2007, or 25 percent of the nonelderly population. Finally, on healthcare, the union is supporting measures to maintain medical record confidentiality.

The TWUA is also a strong supporter of public education, and has worked actively to get the Public School Excellence Act passed. This bill would reduce class size, rebuild and modernize 5,000 schools across the country, ensure qualified teachers in the classroom, and promote student activities in their local communities. Also on education, the union is backing the Safe Schools Act, which attempts to cut back on violence in

schools. For younger children and working families, the union has backed the Child Care Access Act, a comprehensive child-care package that provides tax relief to low- and middle-income families to help them pay for child care.

On pay and pensions, the union has actively supported bills to increase the minimum wage, alleviate the marriage penalty tax, and address the inequalities in pay for women who do equivalent work. The union is also working to pass the Retirement Accessibility, Security, and Portability Act, which would boost pension coverage and make it easier for employers to offer pension benefits. Finally, the union supports President Bill Clinton’s plan to devote much of the budget surplus to maintain Social Security, but questions the privatization component of the president’s initiative.

Concerning issues that pertain to TWUA members, the union is working to get the Airport Improvement Program Act passed. This act would make the Federal Aviation Association more independent, which the union says would limit political pressure on the agency from the White House and the Department of Transportation. In addition, the bill would make sure that all of the funds collected by federal aviation taxes would

go toward aviation concerns, rather than into the general treasury.

On rail transport, the TWUA supports a plan to allow freight transport on Amtrak's northeast passenger tracks. The move—which would save time and money for the freight carriers, thereby making them more competitive with the trucking industry—would also pour money into Amtrak coffers. With many union members employed by Amtrak and Conrail, the issue is of great concern to the TWUA.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The Transport Workers Union Political Contributions Committee (TWUPCC) is one of the largest political

action committees (PACs) of the U.S. labor movement by amount of donation. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, TWUPCC received \$454,000 and spent \$938,000. This latter figure includes \$703,000 in contributions to candidates and parties—\$631,363 to Democrats and \$57,400 to Republicans.

TWUPCC's receipts, expenditures, and contributions have fluctuated over the past 10 years. Although receipts and expenditures have climbed 25 percent, contributions have grown from \$222,000 to \$703,000. At the same time, contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans, by 11 to 70 times as much.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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UNION OF NEEDLETRADES, INDUSTRIAL, AND TEXTILE EMPLOYEES

The Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE) has a membership of roughly 300,000, out of the over 1.8 million workers in the apparel and textile industries of the United States and Canada. Its members work largely in the apparel and textile industries, but a significant minority are scattered across a host of related and unrelated businesses, including auto parts and auto supplies, millinery shops, shoe factories, glove and tanning businesses, bag and packaging plants, and retail shops. In addition, UNITE represents all 7,000 American and Canadian manufacturing workers at Xerox.

Among the more active unions in North America, UNITE includes well over 1,000 locals, all of whom enjoy considerable autonomy in negotiating and electing their own officers. The international headquarters of UNITE—which is affiliated with the AFL-CIO—is located in New York City, America’s garment capital. The international office supports its locals with negotiating and bargaining expertise, as well as providing overall organizing strategy and aid and conducting a legislative program in Washington, D.C.

HISTORY

UNITE is a relatively new union, having formed in 1995 through the merger of the 154,000-member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and the 145,000-member International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU). Despite its recent origins, UNITE—or more precisely, its predecessor unions—has an illustrious history within the labor movement of this country.

The ILGWU was founded in 1900 in New York City, largely by Jewish, Italian, and other European immigrant workers. Major strikes in 1909 and 1910 against shirtwaist and cloak-maker manufacturers, respectively, won important concessions, including the abolition of

exploitive home work schemes, establishment of arbitration procedures, and a six-day workweek, all major accomplishments for labor of that era. At the height of labor activism during the Great Depression, ILGWU president David Dubinsky became instrumental in the formation of the industrially oriented Committee for Industrial Organization—predecessor to the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). In 1938, the ILGWU pulled out of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Despite Dubinsky’s work on the CIO, the union opted to become independent. Two years later, it rejoined the AFL.

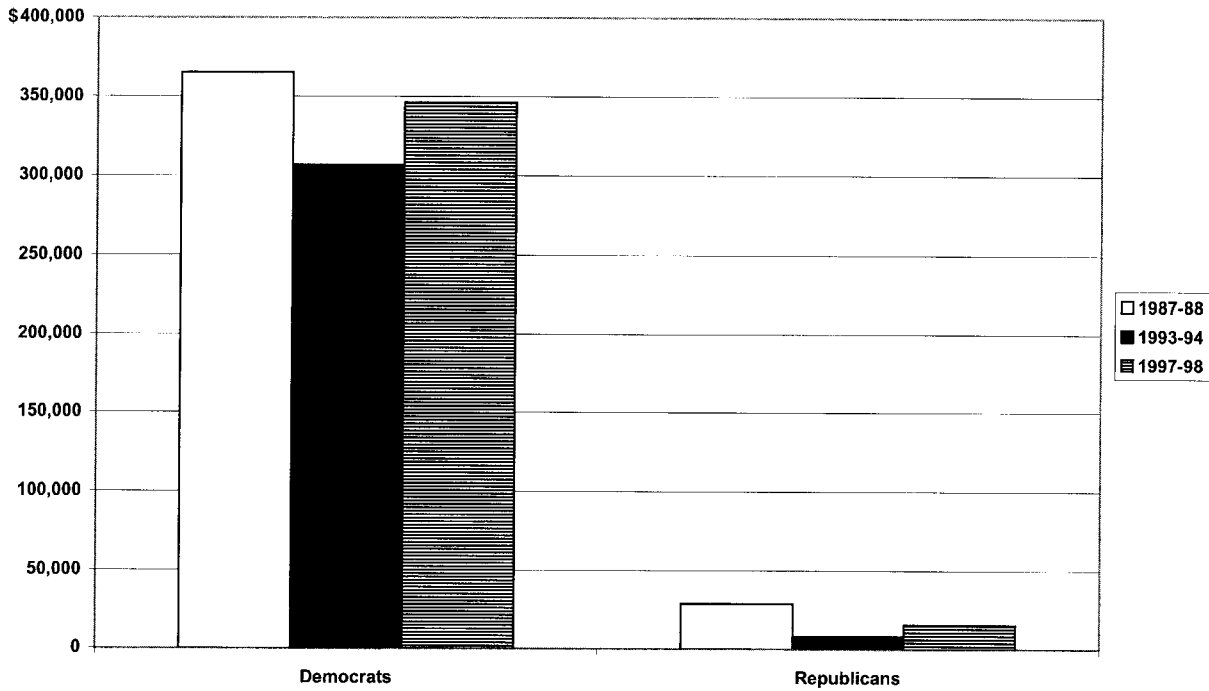
The ACTWU, meanwhile, had its origins in the formation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) in 1914, after several New York City locals ended their affiliation with the United Garment Workers Union. Famed labor leader Sidney Hillman became the first president of the new union and brought it into the AFL. During the 1920s, the ACWA became a pioneer in the establishment of cooperative housing and banking for union members. The ACWA broke with the AFL in 1938 to join the CIO. In 1976, the ACWA merged with the Textile Workers Union of America to form the ACTWU. By the end of the century, a larger proportion of its members was made up of first- and second-generation female immigrants from Latin America and East Asia.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Like other unions, UNITE is active in the political arena concerning legislation that affects workers and the union movement as a whole, as well as concerning issues that directly affect its members.

On issues affecting workers generally, UNITE is actively involved with legislation regarding Social Security, Medicare, and tax cuts for the wealthy. On union

**Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

matters, UNITE has been working to protect the right of unions to use union dues for political purposes and opposes both budget cuts and fast-track legislation. Concerning its members, the most important item on UNITE's agenda is sweatshop labor.

On Social Security, UNITE is on record as opposing any efforts to privatize the program, seeing in such moves an effort by Wall Street securities firms to gain a windfall in investment. The union also believes that privatization will jeopardize the financial position of Social Security and thereby the retirement pensions of millions of American workers, noting that two-thirds of American workers rely on Social Security for at least 50 percent of their retirement income. They also point out that the program is quite successful as is, with over 90 percent of elderly Americans now living above the poverty line.

UNITE also opposes moves by Congress to raise the eligibility age for Medicare from 65 to 67, saying that "such a move would dramatically increase the number of older Americans without health insurance, including many older workers whose employers have reduced or eliminated health coverage." It also believes that this would hike the cost of retiree health coverage and cause

employers to shift more costs to their retirees or drop coverage completely.

UNITE believes that budget surpluses should go toward assuring the financial future of Social Security and Medicare, as well as increasing social spending, rather than being given away in "tax cuts for the wealthy," as Republicans in Congress propose. A recent Senate bill, the union says, "contained big tax breaks for wealthy individuals and corporations—such as capital gains and estate tax reductions—but new meaningful reductions [in benefits] for working families."

UNITE has also been active on three other issues critical to working people: preventing fast-track legislation that would negate the right of Congress to amend economic treaties negotiated by the executive branch, preventing legislation that would allow employers to pay overtime in compensatory time rather than wage-and-a-half monetary compensation, and pushing for a patients' "bill of rights" that would allow customers of health maintenance organizations to have more control over the kinds of treatments and benefits they receive.

On issues of concern to the organized labor movement, UNITE has been active in three areas: assuring the right of unions to use dues for political purposes,

fighting budget cuts at the NLRB, and guaranteeing the continuing right of workers to freely organize into unions. On the first issue, the union opposes the so-called paycheck protection act, which would prevent unions from using union dues for political purposes without the written consent of individual members. This legislation would weaken labor's political muscle, UNITE argues, and "further skew the political balance of power in America against working families." Concerning budget cuts at the NLRB, the union notes that this is a favorite target of conservatives in Congress and that, despite a rising number of complaints by workers, the budget has already been cut by 11 percent since 1992, resulting in ever-longer delays in investigations and remedial action. On the right to organize, UNITE opposes recent legislation banning "salting," whereby union members seek jobs in industry for purposes of organizing. UNITE also opposes shifting the costs of labor investigations from employers to the NLRB and laws that would make single bargaining unit organization more difficult. Unions can negotiate more effectively when united in a single bargaining unit rather than separated in multiple units.

Finally, in an issue of special concern to UNITE members, the union has been out front in the struggle to ban the use of sweatshop workers both in the United States and overseas. Currently, says the union, there are no laws on the books in Washington, D.C., requiring corporations to ensure humane working conditions, respect human rights, or pay a living wage. With sweatshops flourishing both in the United States and abroad, the union says, members' wages experience downward pressure and companies are encouraged to shift production from union shops to sweatshops. Because sweatshop conditions mostly occur in subcontractors' shops, UNITE wants Congress to pass legislation that would make the major-label firms more responsible for the

conditions of employment in the shops that provide them with subcontracting work. Besides lobbying Congress, UNITE has organized demonstrations and boycotts against companies that are particularly notorious for this practice.

FINANCIAL FACTS

UNITE's Campaign Committee (UNITE-CC) is among the larger political action committees (PACs) of the U.S. labor movement—by amount of donation—though the amount of money it has contributed over the past dozen or so years has fluctuated greatly. During the 1997–1998 election cycle, UNITE-CC received \$878,615 and spent more than \$817,000. This latter figure includes \$364,000 in contributions to candidates and parties, 95 percent of it to Democrats and 4 percent to Republicans. Contributions to Democrats have exceeded those to Republicans, by 13 to 75 times as much.

There has been a slight decrease in UNITE-CC's receipts, expenditures, and contributions over the past 10 years. Receipts and expenditures have fallen 12 percent, while contributions have slipped from \$394,000 to \$327,000.

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UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS

Officially known as the United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, the United Automobile Workers—usually referred to as the UAW—is one of the most high-profile unions in America, largely as a result of the importance of the automobile industry to the American economy and to the activism and militancy of the union itself. The UAW—a union affiliated with the AFL-CIO—has about 840,000 members, distributed throughout the following industries: 27 percent in motor vehicle parts, 24 percent in motor vehicle assembly, 10 percent working for independent parts suppliers, 4 percent in aerospace, 4 percent in agricultural implements and machinery, 4 percent in civil service, and 27 percent in a host of other industries from healthcare to clerical to education. Virtually all of the major industries in the automotive and agricultural implements sector have UAW employees, including Ford, General Motors, DaimlerChrysler, AMC, International Harvester, and Deere & Company.

The UAW includes 1,430 locals and maintains over 2,300 collective bargaining agreements. The primary units of union self-government and administration, locals are made up of members organized in bargaining units consisting of one or several employers in a given region. If more than one group is involved in a bargaining unit, the local is referred to as an amalgamated local. Each local has an executive board that runs its affairs on a day-to-day basis. With amalgamated locals, decisions are reached at local joint council meetings. Virtually all UAW locals are organized into 12 regions—four of which are in Michigan, two in Ohio, and the remaining six covering the rest of the United States.

For collective bargaining purposes, the union is divided into nine departments: General Motors, Ford, DaimlerChrysler, aerospace, agricultural implements, competitive shops (that is, independent parts suppliers), heavy trucks, transnationals and joint ventures such as GM-Toyota and Ford-Mazda, and skilled trades and technical, office, and professional. In addition, the

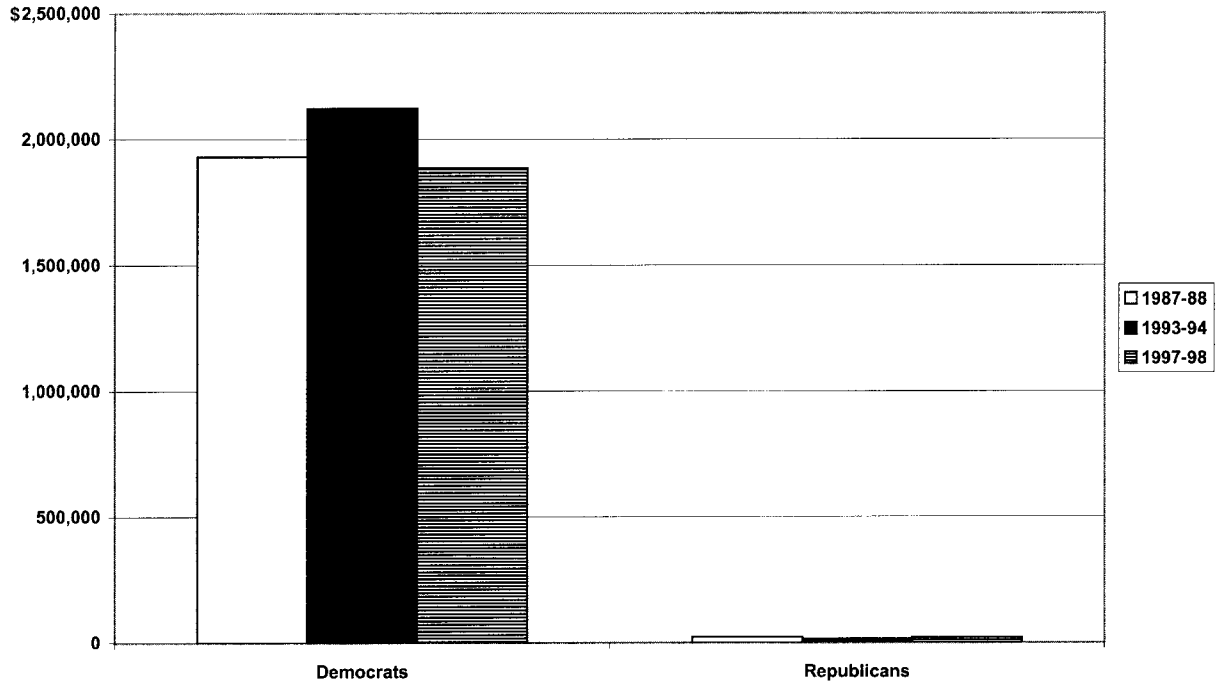
UAW maintains departments—under the international president—devoted to different activities of the union. These include arbitration, circulation (keeping track of membership), civil rights, community services, retired workers, conservation and resource development, consumer affairs, education, health and safety, information systems, legal, organizing, public relations and publications, recreation and leisure-time activities, research, Social Security, time study and engineering, women's issues, and the Washington, D.C., office (which handles governmental and international affairs and legislation). In addition, the following departments operate under the leadership of the secretary-treasurer's office: accounting, auditing, purchase and supply, strike insurance, and veterans affairs.

The officers of the UAW, which is headquartered in Detroit, include a president, secretary-treasurer, five vice presidents, and 12 regional directors. Collectively, these officers form the international executive board, which handles the day-to-day affairs of the union and implements policies set at the constitutional convention, held every four years. All UAW officers are also elected at these conventions.

HISTORY

The UAW has one of the most illustrious histories in all of the union movement. Founded during the extraordinary burst of organized labor activism in the 1930s, the union dates back to 1934, when several automobile workers unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor (AFL) met in Detroit and organized the National Council of Automobile Workers Unions. The following year, the AFL granted the UAW a charter but, in the tradition of craft unionism, limited the membership to assembly-line workers. Angry with this limitation, the UAW delegates to the second annual convention in 1936 broke away from the AFL to join

**United Automobile Workers
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

the more radical Committee for Industrial Organization, which was more oriented toward mass organization throughout different industries.

Then began the struggle for employer recognition. In 1937, the UAW struck at Chrysler and General Motors, the latter beginning with a sit-down strike in Flint, where workers refused to leave the factory until management recognized it. Eventually, the union won contracts from both employers. Ford proved a much harder nut to crack, employing all kinds of anti-union tactics, including the hiring of “goons” to violently break up picket lines. With the United States gearing up for the Second World War, the federal government finally put pressure on Ford to recognize the union, which it finally did in 1941.

Following the war, the union engaged in a lengthy strike against General Motors in 1946 over the issue of worker representation on the board of directors. After a devastating multiweek strike, the union backed down, accepting significant wage and benefit increases in lieu of a voice in management. At the same time, the union moved to oust Communists from its ranks during the anti-red hysteria of the period. Walter Reuther, founder and longtime president of the union, also became pres-

ident of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1952 and played a major role in the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955. Political and organizational disagreements with AFL-CIO president George Meany caused Reuther to pull the UAW out of the organization in 1968. The organization later reaffiliated with the AFL-CIO. Reuther died two years later in a plane crash. Seeing its membership diminish with the setbacks to the American automobile industry in the 1970s and 1980s, the UAW began to organize workers outside the industry.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Because of the diversity of its membership and because it is seen as a trend-setting union on political issues, the UAW’s legislative department and Voluntary Community Action Program (VCAP) have been involved in lobbying on a host of issues that affect working Americans generally and the organized labor movement in particular.

Given the global nature of the automobile industry and the fact that the top three automakers have shifted a great number of their assembly facilities to Mexico and other developing countries, the UAW has maintained strong opposition to fast-track legislation that limits the rights of Congress to modify trade treaties negotiated by the president and his trade officials. Indeed, the UAW was key in defeating fast-track legislation in 1997. At the same time, the UAW has supported efforts to prevent undocumented immigrants from entering or staying in the United States, seeing the employment of these persons as potentially leading to lower wages for American workers.

As for federal programs affecting working people, the UAW has made it clear to Congress and the White House that, while it would like to see Social Security and Medicare effectively funded, it does not want either of these programs to undergo any privatization. Moreover, it has actively opposed Republican efforts to cut benefits under the Medicare plan. Ultimately, although the UAW supports paying down the national debt, it does not want this done by sacrificing any of the benefits guaranteed by existing Social Security or Medicare programs. Similarly, the union is actively opposed to the call sounded by some Republicans for a flat tax, seeing in such a change a benefit for wealthier Americans at the expense of persons with more modest incomes. On education, the UAW has actively opposed both vouchers and privatization, seeing both as a threat to the public school system in which many of its members' children receive their education.

The UAW is also involved in legislation dealing with workplace and work-related issues. It has actively opposed the Teamwork for Employees and Management Act, which would overturn the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) clause against company unions and change the way overtime is compensated. At the same time, it has opposed Republican efforts to prevent union dues from being used for political action unless members individually approve. This effort, says the union, would undermine organized labor's ability to counter the enormous lobbying efforts of corporate America. At the same time, the UAW opposes efforts to scale back the activities of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration in the areas of inspection and enforcement of workplace regulations. It opposes the so-called SAFE Act, which would establish employer-

dominated committees to determine workplace safety—in violation, the union says, of the NLRA.

Finally, because of its large percentage of minority members and its growing number of women members, the UAW has taken an active role in promoting civil rights, including a strong pro-affirmative action position, a strong position on enforcing and expanding protections for women suffering sexual harassment, and advocacy of pay equity for women doing equivalent work in gender-dominated occupations.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The UAW's VCAP represents one of the largest political action committees (PACs) of the labor movement by amount of donation. Indeed, it is one of the largest PACs in Washington, D.C. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, VCAP received \$5.1 million and spent nearly \$4 million. This latter figure includes \$2.5 million in contributions to candidates and parties—\$2.4 million to Democrats and \$10,975 to Republicans. At the same time, contributions to Democrats far exceeded those to Republicans, by 80 to over 200 times as much.

There has been a dramatic increase in VCAP's receipts, expenditures, and contributions over the past 10 years. Receipts and expenditures have climbed 42 percent, while contributions have grown from \$3.1 million to \$4 million.

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UNITED FOOD AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

Representing approximately 1 million workers, the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW)—a member union of the AFL-CIO—is one of the largest private-sector unions in North America. As its name implies, membership in the union consists mainly of persons working in the food industry. The vast majority of these members work in the food retail industry, largely in the country's major supermarket chains, including Kroger, Safeway, A&P, American Stores, and Giant. In addition, the UFCW represents workers in the meatpacking and food processing industries, including the poultry, beef, fish, frozen vegetable, and condiment industries. These include ConAgra, Swift, Hormel, Heinz, Banquet, Frito-Lay, Kraft, Tyson Foods, Perdue, Butterball, Foster Farms, and Hershey Foods.

Other UFCW members work in a variety of businesses, including healthcare (Kaiser Permanente and Hillhaven), insurance (Prudential, John Hancock, and Metropolitan Life), department stores, garment and textile manufacturing (Levi Strauss, Lee Apparel, and Osh Kosh B'Gosh), fur and leather, shoes, hair care, and distilleries (Molson, Labatt's, Seagram, Jim Beam, Gallo, and Mogen David). Altogether, UFCW workers labor under some 18,000 contracts negotiated by their union.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the UFCW has over 500 locals and nine regional offices throughout the United States and Canada. Local unions have responsibility for representing members in negotiating contracts and the administration of collective bargaining agreements. Each local is chartered by the international union, which provides services to, and assures that proper democratic procedures occur, at the local level. The regional offices assist in organizing efforts, negotiating contracts, and coordinating activities among the locals.

The international union is divided into several departments, along with an executive division. The latter consists of the office of the president and the international secretary-treasurer, who oversees four depart-

ments: data processing, membership processing, auditing, and accounting. In addition, the international president appoints two officers to oversee organizing and collective bargaining for the nine regions.

Other departments include field services, which supplies to the locals a host of professional and support services related to organizing, collective bargaining, safety and health, education, communications, and research; legislative and political affairs, which deals with political education of members, grassroots political action, voter registration, and lobbying; the Active Ballot Club, which donates money to political campaigns; women's affairs; civil rights and community relations, concerned with minority rights; international and foreign affairs, which coordinates activities with counterpart unions around the world; legal; and personnel and services, providing routine administrative support services for employees of the international, regional offices, and locals.

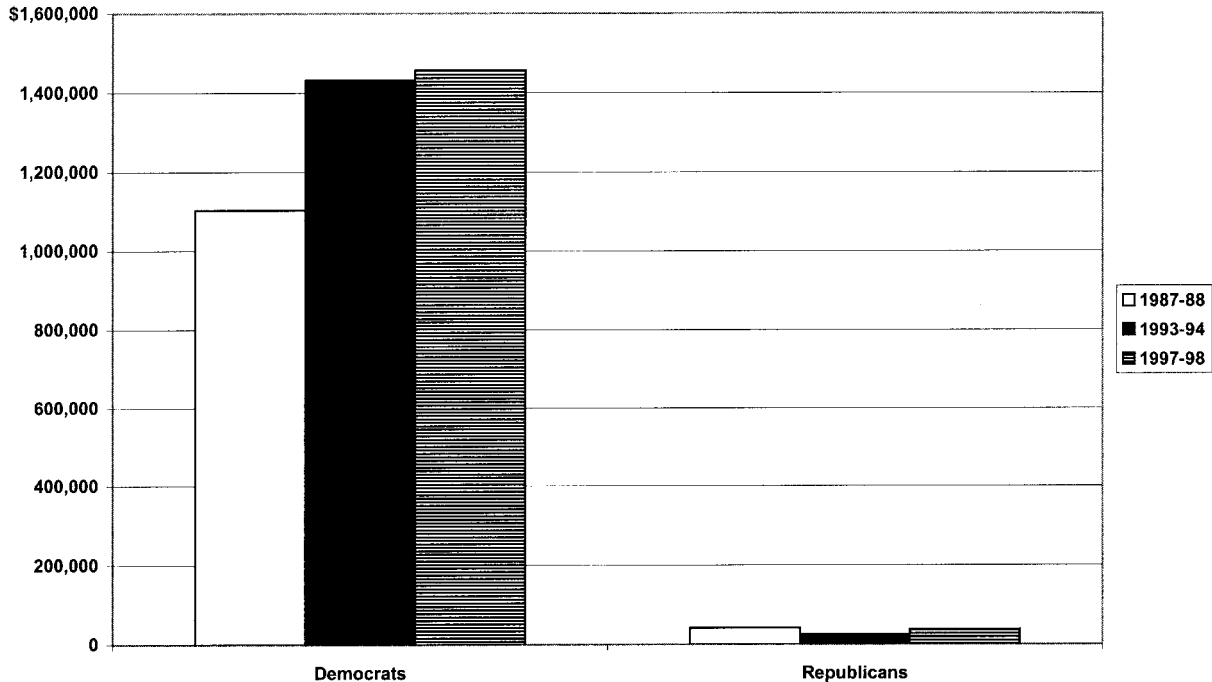
Finally, aside from representing its own workers, the UFCW has organized the Worker Advocacy Project, which helps nonmembers in the food industry redress grievances through dialogue with employers and, if necessary, legal action.

The UFCW focuses most of its attention on issues concerning labor, the labor movement, and food industries. This includes fighting for higher minimum wage laws, union rights, worker health and safety (a critical issue in the dangerous food-processing industry), and healthcare. With many of its workers in the low-income range, the UFCW has also emphasized a commitment to preserving poverty programs.

HISTORY

The UFCW is a relatively young union, having been formed in 1979 out of a merger of the Retail Clerks International Union and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, the latter

**United Food and Commercial Workers International Union
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

with roots in the late-nineteenth-century union movement. Since that 1979 merger, other unions have joined the UFCW. These include the Barbers, Beauticians, and Allied Industries Associations in 1980; the United Retail Workers in 1981; the Insurance Workers International Union in 1983; the Canadian Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink, and Distillery Workers in 1986; the International Union of Life Insurance Agents in 1994; the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union in 1994; the United Textile Workers of America in 1995; the Distillery, Wine and Allied Workers in 1995; and the International Chemical Workers Union in 1996. This gradual agglomeration of unions reflects a larger organized labor trend toward union consolidation, even across a diverse spectrum of industries.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Over the past five years, the UFCW has lobbied Congress (as well as the Canadian Parliament) on a number of critical issues affecting labor and the labor movement.

In the Senate, the UFCW has been active in trying to defeat several bills that it considers deleterious to its members and to the labor movement. The National “Right to Work” Act, the UFCW says, would “destroy labor unions by outlawing any form of collectively bargained union security protection, even when management agrees to it and members vote for it.” Specifically, the bill would overturn the section of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 that gives states the right to determine union security agreements. Union security agreements are more commonly known as “closed-shop” agreements, since they require that all employees of a workplace be members of a union if a majority of those workers vote to join the union in an official certification election. In place of this federal deferment to the states, the National “Right to Work” Act would institute a federal mandate making all such closed-shop agreements illegal in the United States.

Another Senate bill—the Teamwork for Employees and Management Act—has been actively opposed by the UFCW because it would sanction what are popularly known as “employer-controlled” unions. Under the National Labor Relations Act, such unions were effectively banned in the United States. Under the new

act, employers would have a right to form such unions, even if an independent union already existed or if employees were in the process of starting or joining an independent union.

Another bill that the UFCW opposed concerned providing the president with “fast-track” power in negotiating economic agreements with foreign countries. (Fast track means that Congress must approve or reject a pact, but cannot revise it.) Implicitly, the defeat of fast track was a defeat of the president’s efforts to expand the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to include Chile. Like other labor unions, the UFCW sees NAFTA and other such trade agreements as a way to export union jobs to low-wage countries and sidestep laws on wages, worker safety, and environmental protection.

The UFCW has also weighed in on several bills in the Senate—two concerning minimum wage and one concerning healthcare reform. One of the minimum wage acts would allow an exemption for small employers and for workers with less than six months’ tenure; the other calls for a simple raise in the minimum wage. The healthcare bill concerns the establishment of medical savings accounts. The UFCW has opposed such accounts since, it said, they “shift costs from employers and insurance companies to workers . . . [and] primarily benefit young, healthy participants at the expense of older people, since young persons’ premiums would be substantially lower.”

In the House of Representatives, the UFCW was active in opposing several bills, or portions of bills, including legislation intended to prevent the Occupational Safety and Health Administration from investigating and regulating such cumulative trauma disorders as carpal tunnel syndrome, to undermine overtime pay requirements, to allow employers to compensate workers for overtime in nonmonetary ways, to establish medical savings accounts, legislation that would ease federal regulations on nursing homes, to exempt small businesses and short-term employees from the minimum wage, and to permit the continued hiring of foreign nurses on a temporary basis (the UFCW maintains there are enough U.S. nurses to fill any nursing shortage).

Aside from petitioning the Labor Department on matters of organizing, negotiating, and other routine union concerns, the UFCW embarked on a campaign

in 1998 to get the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to investigate Wal-Mart Corporation’s “Buy American” advertising program. According to a 180-page report, the use of flags and other patriotic symbols to imply an American source for products sold at the stores is deceptive. The UFCW would like the FTC to investigate and eventually force Wal-Mart to either desist in this allegedly false advertising effort or, better still, to make a policy of actually buying American-made products.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The UFCW supports well-funded and active lobbying efforts, through which it donates substantial sums to congressional and presidential campaigns. During the 1995–1996 political cycle, the Active Ballot Club (ABC) received \$3 million and spent nearly \$3.2 million. This included \$2 million in political donations, of which almost all (\$1,993,245) went to Democrats and just \$23,050 to Republicans. The UFCW, like virtually all other trade unions, has donated far more to Democrats than to Republicans, by anywhere between 50 and 100 times as much.

There has been a substantial upward trend in ABC donations to political candidates over the past 12 years. Between the 1987–1988 and 1995–1996 political cycles, contributions rose approximately 41 percent. In addition, the Committee on Political Education of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, a division of the UFCW, has also donated smaller amounts to Democratic candidates. It has also given contributions to Democratic campaigns, largely for get-out-the-vote efforts that encourage supporters to go to the polls.

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UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

One of the pioneers of twentieth-century industrial unionism, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) represents approximately 700,000 workers in the steel, aluminum, copper, tin, plastics, rubber, stone, and glass industries. It also represents about 20,000 retail workers in Canada. The union has negotiated approximately 6,300 bargaining agreements that are currently in force. Some 2,600 locals in the United States, Canada, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands are divided into 13 geographic districts, 12 for the United States and its territories and one for Canada, each headed by a director. Locals of the USWA enjoy a great deal of autonomy. Local union officers are elected every three years by their members, and the locals have a great deal of control over grievances, bargaining, health and safety issues, education, civil rights, community service, and volunteer organizing.

The 13 regional directors, the four officers of the international—including the international president, secretary-treasurer, and two vice presidents—the Canadian national director, the executive vice presidents of the rubber plastics division for the United States and for Canada, and the director of the Aluminum, Brick, and Glass division comprise the international executive board, which oversees policy implementation and the day-to-day affairs of the international union, as well as aiding the locals in bargaining, grievances, organizing, and other affairs. These representatives are elected by the members every four years. Much of the union's policy is set at biennial conventions, with delegates chosen by the locals.

Along with the regular divisions that deal with membership, publications and media, legal affairs, legislative and political affairs, organizing, research, and others, the union also includes a special industry conference for the rubber and plastic workers, who were absorbed into the union in 1995.

Although the union's legislative affairs department deals with a host of issues connected to working people and the labor movement generally, the key legislative

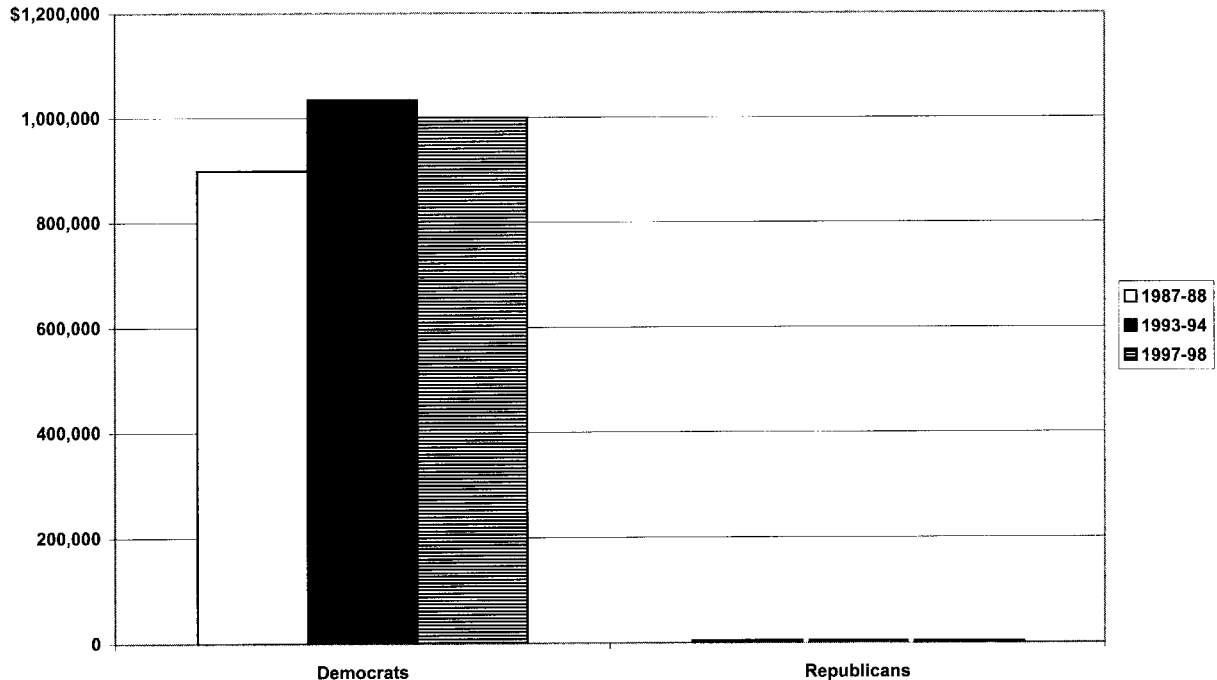
item it consistently pushes concerns trade, specifically alleged dumping of cheap foreign steel on the American market, which the union wants the federal government to stop.

HISTORY

The origins of the USWA go back to 1876, with the founding of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. After the USWA was founded in Pittsburgh on June 17, 1936—it was originally named the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC)—it absorbed the Amalgamated. The establishment of the SWOC was part of the national struggle for industrial unions, launched in part by United Mine Workers president John L. Lewis, who believed that the time had come to organize semiskilled and unskilled laborers across entire industries, an idea discounted at the time by the craft-oriented American Federation of Labor. The SWOC became the core union within the Committee for Industrial Organization, founded in 1935. United States Steel, the largest company in the industry, recognized the SWOC as a bargaining agent in 1937.

The organization was a major union from the beginning, changing its name to the United Steel Workers of America in 1942. Two years later, it absorbed the 45,000-member Aluminum Workers of America. In 1967, it took in the 40,000-member International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, which represented copper- and other metalworkers. Over the years, other unions have joined, including the 20,000-member United Stone and Allied Product Workers of America in 1971; District 50, Allied and Technical Workers (a former unit of the United Mine Workers, with 172,000 members) in 1972; the 35,000-member Upholsterers International Union of North America in 1985; the 25,000-member Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union of Canada in 1993; the 90,000-

**United Steelworkers of America
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

member United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum, and Plastic Workers of America in 1995; and the 40,000-member Aluminum, Brick, and Glass Workers International Union in 1997.

In 1973, the union and representatives of the major steel companies negotiated the pathbreaking Experimental Negotiating Agreement, designed to eliminate the pattern in which the steel companies would work overtime to build up inventories in preparation for strikes. In exchange for a no-strike clause, the companies agreed to submit unresolved disputes to arbitration. However, the decline of the steel industry in the 1980s saw new stresses placed on the industry, and a major loss of membership in the union.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

As noted above, the number-one issue for the USWA concerns quotas on foreign steel imported into the United States. In years past, the union has worked to get Congress and the president to set quotas on the

amount of steel imported from Asia and Brazil, in particular. Recently, the union has expressed growing concern about the import of cheap steel from Russia. The USWA wants the federal government to include Russia in a comprehensive global agreement on steel import quotas. According to union officials, “Instead of using his authority to commence a comprehensive agreement by self-initiating a Section 201 filing [that is, the existing legal mandate for such a measure], the President is using it to cut deals country by country, product by product. That simply won’t work.” The union contends that as many as 20,000 jobs are at stake over Russian imports.

Meanwhile, the union has expressed support for the Commerce Department’s determinations—in a joint case filed by the union and American steel companies—concerning alleged dumping of underpriced hot-rolled, flat-rolled, carbon-quality steel products imported from Brazil and Japan. “These preliminary antidumping margins on imports of hot-rolled steel products from Japan and Brazil confirm what we have said about steel dumping in the U.S. market,” says the union. “The unfairly traded steel is taking the jobs of American steelworkers and threatening to destroy their communities.”

At the same time, the USWA has made its opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) known by initiating, along with the Made in the USA Foundation—an institute founded in 1989 and sponsored by a number of unions to support American-made products—a federal lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the agreement. Specifically, says USWA president George Becker, NAFTA did not receive the constitutionally mandated two-thirds Senate vote. The government maintains that it was not a treaty—which would require such a majority—but an international economic agreement. The USWA opposes NAFTA because it believes it has led to the import of cheap Mexican steel, costing thousands of American steel industry jobs.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The United Steelworkers of America Political Action Fund (USWAPAC) is one of the largest political action committees (PACs) of the U.S. labor movement by amount of donation. During the 1997–1998 election cycle, the USWAPAC received \$1.95 million and spent

nearly \$1.92 million. This latter figure includes \$1.1 million in contributions to candidates, 99 percent of it going to Democrats. Contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans, by several hundred times as much. Indeed, in some years, the USWAPAC has given no money at all to Republican candidates.

While receipts into the USWAPAC have been relatively stable over the past 12 years, there has been a dramatic increase in its contributions to candidates, reflecting a unionwide trend toward greater participation in the political process at the federal level. While receipts have been increased by just over \$100,000, contributions have grown from \$1.56 million to \$1.92 million.

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UNITED TRANSPORTATION UNION

The United Transportation Union (UTU) represents approximately 125,000 active and retired railroad, bus, and mass transit workers in the United States and Canada. Most of its workers are involved in 45 metropolitan and regional, as well as national, transport systems, including Amtrak. Headquartered in Cleveland, the UTU is affiliated with the AFL-CIO and includes more than 700 locals across North America. Most of the union's members are drawn from the operating crafts in the railroad industry, including conductors, brakemen, switchmen, locomotive engineers, hostellers, yardmasters, and ground service personnel. In addition, the union includes some 8,000 workers in the bus industry, including drivers, mechanics, and workers in related occupations. Recently, the UTU moved to merge with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

The UTU's international headquarters houses the following departments: bus, general secretary and treasurer, legal, legislative, membership services, public relations, research, tax, Transportation Political Education League (its main lobbying and campaign fund-raising arm), insurance, and yardmasters. The international offers general policies and provides services for the locals, which are largely autonomous. A quadrennial convention helps set overall union policy and elects officers.

As its name implies, the UTU is actively involved in transport issues and is a strong supporter of more funding for rapid transit. Safety is also a primary concern for the union, and it is active in promoting regulations for safer rail transport and highways. Over the years, the UTU was instrumental in the formation of two quasi-public transportation companies—Amtrak and Conrail.

unions that merged to create the UTU in 1968. The first was the Order of Railway Conductors. This union began when a small group of Illinois Central conductors moved to form a brotherhood in 1868. Ten years later, the brotherhood adopted the name Order of Railway Conductors of America at its convention. In 1907, the union achieved its first major legislative victory, when it helped convince Congress to limit to 16 the number of hours in a day that a conductor could work. It was also instrumental in winning passage of the eight-hour day for railroad workers in 1916. During the Second World War, the union absorbed the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, and in 1954 the union changed its name to the Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen to reflect the fact that the union had been accepting the latter as members for over 20 years.

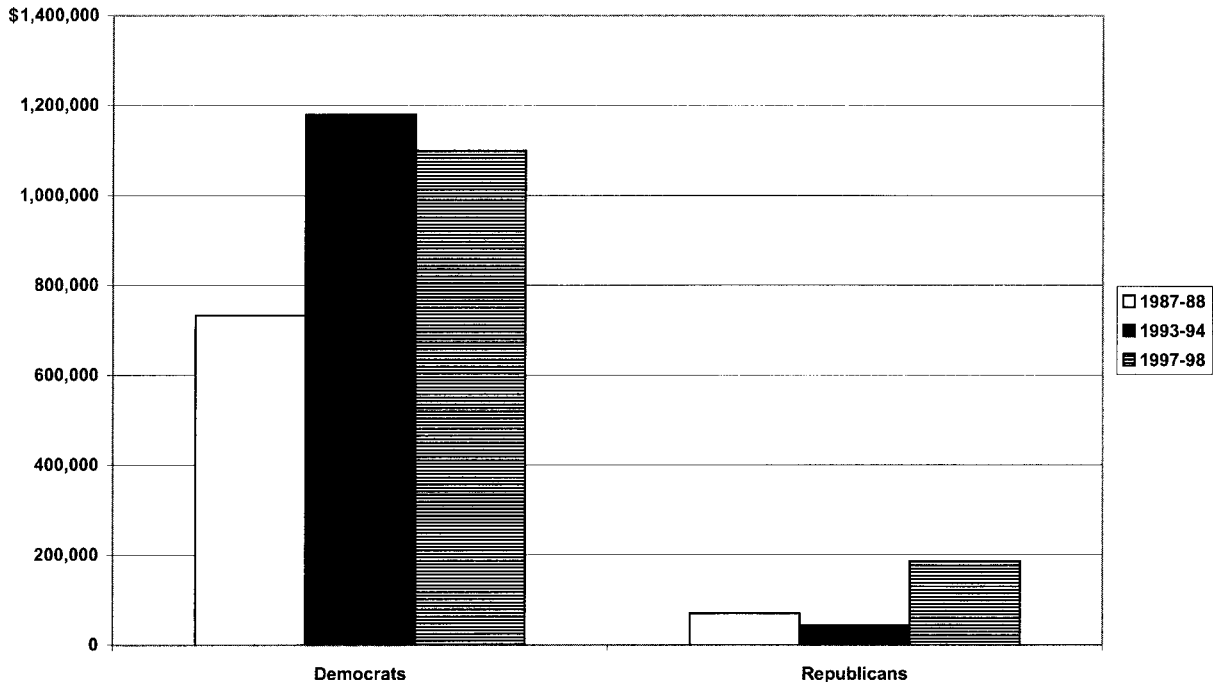
The second component union—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (BLFE)—began in 1873 in Port Jervis, New York. Within two years, it had 900 members in 31 lodges. The union was briefly led by future Socialist presidential candidate Eugene Debs in the 1880s. Because of the conservative, craft-oriented nature of the union, Debs went on to form the radical American Railway Union, which organized members on an industrial basis. (Rather than representing skilled workers exclusively on the basis of craft, industrial unions organize all workers in a company, irrespective of skill or craft.) Although the BLFE experienced slow but steady growth through the First World War, it lost members in the conservative 1920s and the Depression years of the 1930s.

The largest of the component unions of the UTU—the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (BRT)—was founded in 1883. Within three years, its membership had swollen to 8,000 members in some 244 lodges. Like the other component unions, the BRT was a conservative, craft-oriented union, with a mission to improve the conditions and wages of its members without involving itself in larger politics. In 1933, it began to organize interstate bus workers. It reached its peak mem-

HISTORY

The origins of the UTU go back to the late nineteenth century and the formation of the four main component

**United Transportation Union
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

bership in 1956, with about 220,000 members. In 1967, it became affiliated with the AFL-CIO. The last and smallest of the component unions of the UTU was the Switchmen's Union of North America, which was formed in Kansas City in 1894.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Like most other unions, the UTU is involved in a host of legislative issues of concern to working people across America. The UTU is strongly opposed to privatizing Social Security and is against various anti-union measures being pushed by the Republicans in Congress, including measures to limit overtime pay and to block the use of union dues for political activities without the written consent of individual members.

The UTU is also closely monitoring rapid transit funding and has consistently pushed for money to be shifted from support of highways to public transportation. Of particular concern has been the Amtrak

Reform and Accountability Act and various Amtrak appropriation bills, all of which involve steep cuts in the national passenger rail transport system. According to the UTU, these actions—which are being led by Republican senators—would affect service, jobs, and especially pensions: “[They] could have a catastrophic effect on our railroad retirement system. The loss of 23,000 people paying into railroad retirement could bankrupt the fund and cause all railroad employees in the United States to have their pensions in jeopardy.”

FINANCIAL FACTS

The UTU's Transportation Political Education League (TPEL) represents one of the larger political action committees (PACs) of the U.S. labor movement by amount of donation. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, the TPEL received more than \$2.5 million and spent nearly as much. Expenditures during the 1995–1996 cycle included over \$1.25 million in contributions to candidates

and parties—over \$1 million to Democrats and just under \$200,000 to Republicans. Contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans, six to 30 times as much.

There has been a dramatic increase in TPEL's receipts, expenditures, and contributions over the past 10 years. Receipts and expenditures have climbed about 35 percent, while contributions have increased from \$803,835 in 1987–1988 to more than \$1.25 million in 1995–1996.

JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

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SECTION NINE

CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS



For as long as there have been elected officials and policy-making institutions in American society, there have been interest groups seeking influence. As early as 1757, groups of merchants sought to influence George Washington's bid for office by trading liquor for votes. Thirty-one years later, James Madison penned the classic "Federalist No. 10," which addressed how a well-devised government can and should "break and control the violence of faction." During the next century, agricultural and labor organizations were formed in an effort to protect the economic bedrock of the nation and those who provide it, and professional associations began to proliferate. The event that galvanized and served to forecast the future power of organized interests, however, was the 1896 presidential election of William McKinley. In that contest, McKinley, a Republican, shored up the support of corporate America while his opponent, William Jennings Bryan, procured the support of labor and agricultural groups. Outspending Bryan 20-to-1, McKinley easily secured the White House.

Despite early attempts to control the influence of interests groups (most notably, the 1907 Tillman Act, a campaign finance law), it was clear by the turn of the century that organization was the key to influence and access in American government. Equally clear, however, was the advantage held by financially secure organizations. As Kay Lehman-Scholzman and John Tierney demonstrate in their 1986 book, *Organized Interests and American Democracy*, corporate, trade, and business interest groups have historically eclipsed all other categories. What this means is that the majority of these interest groups have had the organizational capacity, financial security, and—importantly—legitimacy in the eyes of government to protect and expand their interests. Civil, economic, and human rights groups, on the other hand, have historically been marginalized. Shut

out from the political system, economically disenfranchised, and incapable of effectively organizing, such groups found it difficult to articulate, much less pursue, an agenda. What further distinguishes these latter groups from all others is that they have endeavored to change attitudes and behavior to end discrimination. As such, civil, economic, and human rights interest groups have struggled to establish and articulate their interests. The great difficulty facing such groups is that they have had to battle a culture that attaches a great value to capitalism, majority rule, and the status quo.

CIVIL RIGHTS, ECONOMIC RIGHTS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS INTEREST GROUPS

This section profiles nine organizations and is divided among civil rights, economic rights, and human rights groups. The civil rights groups selected for inclusion in this anthology include the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), and the League of Women Voters (LWV). The economic groups include the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), Legal Services Corporation (LSC), and the National Coalition for the Homeless. The human rights organizations are Freedom House, Human Rights Watch (HRW), and the National Lawyers Guild (NLG).

The two questions that merit immediate attention are (1) Why are these three categories of groups unified under one section? and (2) Why are these nine groups in particular useful to our understanding of interest group activities? The answer to the first question is that civil, economic, and human rights groups share a com-

mitment to establishing a foundation for the protection of fundamental rights. Whereas civil rights groups typically operate on a domestic-policy plane, human rights groups seek to further similar rights globally. These rights generally include free speech, free press, and assembly rights; ethnic, racial, labor, and religious rights; as well as a host of sociopolitical rights, including governmental benefits, welfare, and freedom from exploitation. Importantly, one of the common denominators of the underrepresentation, exploitation, and denial of rights such groups seek to prevent is economic discrimination. Thus, economic interest groups are not meant to include those organizations representing corporate interests, but those representing the economic underclass. Economic interest groups exist, therefore, to provide a voice for the poor and the powerless, whose members disproportionately overlap other characteristics (e.g., ethnic, sexual, and racial) of “minority” groups broadly defined. In short, the logical interconnection here is that civil and economic rights are human rights.

The answer to the second question is more complex if for no other reason than that it runs the risk of revealing the sin of omission. The nine groups profiled in this section are by no means the only ones relevant to inquiry. They do, however, nicely represent the balance of unity and diversity that characterizes civil, economic, and human rights organizations.

The civil rights organizations, for example, share as their common denominator a commitment to securing equal protection under the law for persons and groups subjected to discriminatory governmental policies. The bases of discrimination relevant to these groups are generally the same as have been relevant to American civil rights law: ethnic, racial, religious, and sexual discrimination. What separates civil rights as a category from identity groups in particular, though, is the democratic equivalence between rights. The American Civil Liberties Union, for example, deliberately avoids issue or group favoritism; rather, it seeks to establish and protect the basic civil liberties and civil rights of even the most controversial groups in American society (e.g., the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis). In a similar fashion the Anti-Defamation League has become a champion of a variety of marginalized groups and issues despite its primary dedication to eradicating anti-Semitism. Importantly, such groups as the Anti-Defamation League recognize the interconnectedness of rights—that it is difficult and not particularly relevant to separate ethnic and religious discrimination. More useful, the organization believes, is an approach that advances the cause of both ethnic and religious tolerance for the population of the country

as a whole. By contrast, the League of Women Voters is, by definition, gender-specific. Although it was built on the foundation of the suffrage movement, the league has become increasingly sensitive to the need for a gender-neutral approach to women’s rights. Absent the galvanizing force of institutionalized sex discrimination pervasive prior to ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, for example, the league has become more broadly committed to participatory democracy. This was apparent in the group’s support for the National Voter Registration Act (the so-called Motor Voter Bill) and in its present commitment to children’s welfare, gun control, campaign finance reform, and healthcare reform.

The economic rights interest groups included in this section represent two national organizations that began as grassroots movements and one that was created by the government in order to provide a legal voice for the economic underclass. Although the literature on “economic” interest groups is large, the literature pertaining to “economic rights” is relatively sparse. While business, corporate, and labor groups share space under the rubric of the former, the latter concept is dedicated, in many respects, to what author Michael Harrington termed “the other America” in his book by the same name (*The Other America*, 1962). This “other” America has, by virtue of its financial status, been systematically denied property rights, government benefits, voting rights, legal representation, and political representation. The purpose of ACORN, the National Coalition for the Homeless, and the Legal Services Corporation has been to establish and protect such rights as fundamental. The great difficulty, however, is that these rights have been pushed so far to the periphery of American politics that even the most basic acts of conventional political activity—voting, organizing, letter writing—are difficult to accomplish. And with the prevalent attitude of “blaming the victim” in American society, there is rather little public or political support for the impoverished. Unlike race, gender, and ethnicity, the common argument is that individuals can do something about being poor, thereby absolving the government of responsibility for economic inequality. Consequently, while the government does fund the Legal Services Corporation’s efforts to provide legal representation in civil legal proceedings, ACORN has frequently had to engage in nonconventional political action in order to present its case, while the National Coalition for the Homeless enlists both currently and formerly homeless persons in its mission to attract attention to the plight of the economic underclass.

Finally, the human rights organizations include three

groups committed to social and political rights worldwide. Unlike Amnesty International (founded and headquartered in London, England), which is, perhaps, the most recognizable human rights group, Freedom House, Human Rights Watch, and the National Lawyers Guild are all American interest groups. The distinguishing characteristic of these interest groups is that they are not group specific, but issue specific. Their efforts involve domestic politics, but their major cause is to effect change globally. First and foremost, these changes involve the observance of basic human rights. To the National Lawyers Guild and Human Rights Watch, this entails research, pressure, and the utilization of legal machinery to hold those who violate civil and political rights accountable. To Freedom House, human rights are furthered not only through humanitarian and social justice campaigns, but through the creation of free market economies throughout the world. As the entries in this section illustrate, the core issues of human rights remain largely invariant while the methods of operation and policy priorities of different organizations tend to vary.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Although “Federalist No. 10” and even the most recent federal elections leave the impression that interest groups are a ubiquitous element of American politics, it must be understood that such groups do not simply and spontaneously spring into existence. On the contrary, as political scientist David Truman observed almost 40 years ago, there are events that trigger the creation and behavior of groups. And, as more contemporary scholars have argued, in addition to responding to a disturbance in the social and political system, it is necessary to develop leadership. The significance of leadership is that it serves to unify, coordinate, and motivate members of a group to articulate and accomplish a goal. In three instances in particular, the relationship between leadership, clout, and success can be attributed in no small part to the charisma, determination, and diligence of the organizations’ founders. ACORN, for example, was originally planned to be a local extension of the then-powerful National Welfare Rights Organization. Under Wade Rathke, the Little Rock, Arkansas, division successfully overcame key gaps in class, race, and economic status in order to create the economic and social justice organization then known as the Arkansas Community Organization for Reform Now. On the civil rights front, in 1913, Sigmound Livingston formed the Anti-

Defamation League by dedicating two members of his law office staff and \$2,000 in the aftermath of the lynching of Leo Frank in Marietta, Georgia. Frank, a Jew, was wrongly accused of killing a 14-year-old girl, and taken from jail by an angry mob who hanged him after his sentence was commuted to life in prison. Within the first years of its existence, the Anti-Defamation League successfully lobbied the White House to delete anti-Semitic language in military training manuals. It persuaded Henry Ford to cease publication of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, an anti-Semitic Russian publication based on European stereotypes of Jewish people cultivated since medieval times. The publication was run in serial form in the *Dearborn Independent*. Ford later publicly apologized. Extending into the realm of human rights, Eleanor Roosevelt was instrumental in the founding and operations of Freedom House in 1941. Just as her profound commitment to genuine democracy prompted her support for women’s rights, thereby making her the League of Women Voters’ most prominent member, it also engaged her in the movement to support democratization abroad. Specifically, with Freedom House, Eleanor Roosevelt was committed to American leadership in promoting democracy, economic (free market) reform, and respect for human rights wherever tyranny from the far left and the far right was perceived to exist. Due in no small part to Roosevelt’s stellar reputation and political connections, the organization has gathered accolades and support from luminaries ranging from Winston Churchill to President Bill Clinton.

While historical events and notable individuals can do much to stimulate support for an organization’s activities, they alone are insufficient for long-term success. The political and social systems must create an environment conducive to the acquisition of interest group goals. For rights-based groups, this environment emerged during the 1960s and 1970s. The reasons for this are twofold. First, the civil rights movement was salient throughout the 1950s and 1960s. During this time period, community activism, civil disobedience, and social movements were viewed as necessary avenues for social change. Because such actions occurred in the streets rather than in the election booths, American society was confronted with a flurry of activities structured around a single theme: civil rights and social justice. By entering the discursive terrain, rights groups became a more potent force to be reckoned with. Second, the doctrinal changes in judicial decisions and civil rights legislation during the 1950s and 1960s provided the legal foundation for groups to identify and fight for rights. Importantly, many of the major legal changes of the

time owe their origin to interest group action. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that, although all three of the economic rights groups profiled in this section emerged since 1970, only one human rights group and none of the civil rights groups profiled in this section emerged since the 1960s. Indeed, a deliberate attempt has been made in this section to profile the most durable and groundbreaking organizations—the ones that created the opportunity for others to emerge.

By fighting the legal, political, and social systems and winning, a variety of interest groups created space for new groups to address old problems. The ACLU, for example, was founded in 1920 as a public interest law firm dedicated exclusively to civil liberties and civil rights cases. At that time, the federal and state governments had a poor reputation for protecting such rights. Even the United States Supreme Court at the time devalued individual and group rights in pursuit of economic due process. This hostile environment created the social need for an organization such as the ACLU. Based on the notion that the courts are, in theory, the guardians of individual rights and that the Constitution articulates and demands respect for such rights, the ACLU began what would become the most prolific judicial track record of any interest group in history.

In a similar fashion, the National Lawyers Guild was formed in 1936 as an alternative to the all-white, generally antilabor American Bar Association. As the nation's first integrated bar association, it basically sought to expand ACLU-type activities worldwide. By addressing racial, ethnic, and economic discrimination in America and abroad (including participation in the Nuremberg trials), the National Lawyers Guild also became the nation's first human rights interest group.

The economic rights groups, however, did not flourish until the 1960s and 1970s. Although the Supreme Court was deeply interested in economic issues during the first 30 years of the twentieth century, it was not particularly interested in discrimination against the economic underclass. In many respects, indigents constituted the expendable segment of society—they were powerless and poorly organized, and seldom participated in politics. In the strategic environment that defined politics, it was unwise for politicians to represent them. In a capitalist society, it was generally acceptable to ignore them. Since the civil rights movement of the 1960s, however, it has become increasingly clear that discrimination has an economic dimension. This reality, coupled with Michael Harrington's *The Other America*, compelled American government and society to address its commitment to social welfare. An important conse-

quence of this critical introspection was the creation of the Legal Services Corporation.

While grassroots economic rights organizations had to struggle to gain exposure, acceptance, and influence, the Legal Services Corporation was created by the government in 1974 in order to provide civil legal protection and assistance to those who, according to national poverty guidelines, could not afford adequate legal services. The Legal Services Corporation is a restricted organization: it is almost exclusively judicial in nature, limited to civil claims, dependent upon the Congress for annual appropriations, and particularly susceptible to partisan transformations in government. Despite these restrictions, the Legal Services Corporation presently manages a \$300 million budget. Conversely, ACORN, with 120,000 members and offices nationwide, and the National Coalition for the Homeless—both of which came into existence in order to represent the interests of the economic underclass—rely on private support to finance their operations. As such, their activities are more broadly based and, indeed, often include nonconventional political activity such as rallies, demonstrations, and the like.

THE CURRENT CONTEXT

Membership and Money

In their book, *Interest Groups in American Campaigns: The New Face of Electioneering* (1999), political scientists Mark Rozell and Clyde Wilcox delineate the strategic context of interest group activities. Based on legal restrictions, resources, and the goals of organizations, there exists an opportunity structure for interest groups to influence the political process. Although legal restrictions such as lobbying activity, political action committee (PAC) activity, and fidelity to Internal Revenue Service (IRS) tax status apply to all groups without prejudice, it is more difficult for civil, economic, and human rights interest groups to form because of their relatively disadvantaged resource base. Specifically, groups that represent the poor, such as the National Coalition for the Homeless, have a considerably smaller resource base than, say, the American Medical Association.

In addition to the disparity that exists in raw dollar amounts, the methods by which “rights-based” interest groups procure and spend money deviates substantially from professional groups as well. Whereas professional interest groups routinely maintain PACs to raise and spend money for political campaigns, rights-based in-

terest groups rely primarily on individual contributions and grants to finance nonelectoral campaigns. Of course, a broad membership base means more individual contributions. As such, an organization's first order of business is gathering members. The core of support for such groups stems from the social movements that spawned the groups' existence in the first place; therefore, most groups maintain a cadre of extremely loyal and dedicated members. The extension of that inner circle, however, then includes those with the most to give in terms of ideological support, but typically the least to give in terms of financial support. The premium, therefore, is placed upon developing methods of reaching out to individuals who support—both ideologically and financially—the organization.

Regarding such outreach efforts, the one strategy common to these interest groups is that they all maintain a stellar commitment to the development of educational programs. Ranging from Internet sites to pamphlets, books, and public lectures, the cornerstone of their activities is information. While information is necessary in pursuit of policy goals, it is also vitally important to the quest for members, who, in turn, finance the operations of the organizations. Given that only one group included in this section maintains a leadership PAC, and only one is government financed, the significance of membership drives, public education campaigns, and grassroots activities cannot be overstated.

The citizen-centered character of these groups is reflected by their financial and tax status. Five of the interest groups included in this analysis are 501(c)(3) nonprofit organizations; two are 501(c)(4) (organizations that are engaged in public service and are therefore not taxed) with 501(c)(3) foundations; one is a 501(c)(4) organization with an affiliated leadership PAC; and another is a government corporation. As a government corporation, the Legal Services Corporation receives most of its money (minus some matching dollars from state and local grants) from congressional appropriations. Its budget for fiscal year 1999—\$300 million—eclipses those of other rights-based interest groups. The ACLU, for example, maintains 275,000 active members and has an operating budget of \$37 million. Human Rights Watch and Freedom House have fewer individual members, but still maintain multimillion-dollar budgets that reflect substantial contributions from charitable causes and prominent foundations. The National Lawyers Guild's 5,000 members contribute to the organization's budget through a graduated dues program. With consideration given to the type of law practiced and the level of accomplishment in the legal community, individual members basically pay dues on the basis

of their ability to do so. Still other groups, such as the National Coalition for the Homeless, operate on an annual budget of only \$500,000. With a membership list that actually includes segments of the homeless population, and with individual contributions accounting for 51 percent of the organization's total budget, the reasons for seeking foundation grants and corporate contributions are obvious.

The Institutional Capacity to Achieve Goals

Money and membership are obviously a significant part of an interest group's resource base. But equally important to a group's survival and effectiveness are the less easily quantifiable resources of skill, experience, organization, and specialization of labor. All told, a resource base accounts for what interest groups do and how well they do it.

The interest groups included in this section are all highly professionalized. With the exception of the Legal Services Corporation, whose officers are appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, each group is governed by a board of directors and managed internally by officers. Furthermore, each organization maintains a permanent, professional staff reflecting substantive and regional expertise, plus a number of affiliates. Organizations such as the ACLU and the National Lawyers Guild, for example, maintain professional staffs including attorneys, but a substantial amount of their work is done through attorneys affiliated with—but not permanently employed by—the organization. Organizations such as Freedom House and Human Rights Watch maintain a similar division of labor, matching expertise to issues internationally. As such, many of the internationally oriented interest groups rely on coordinated activities among linguistic, scholarly, and legal experts operating in the field, in research divisions, and in public awareness campaigns.

All of the organizations maintain regional offices, with civil and economic rights interest groups operating almost exclusively on the domestic front, while human rights groups operate internationally. The National Coalition for the Homeless, ACORN, the ACLU, the Legal Services Corporation, and the League of Women Voters operate between 269 (LSC) and 1,100 (LWV) state and local organizations nationwide, while the Anti-Defamation League operates 30 satellite offices, including divisions in Jerusalem and Vienna, outside its New York headquarters. Although the ADL is a national civil rights interest group, its mission of identifying and ending ethnic discrimination in general and anti-Semitism in particular has taken on an international

agenda. Conversely, the economic rights interest groups operate at the grassroots level throughout the country. The NCH and ACORN operate 600 and 500 state and local chapters, respectively, and seek to coordinate common activities among regional divisions. While regional divisions inevitably favor their own communities' issues, they do routinely participate in massive voter registration drives, "get out the vote" drives, and demonstrations.

In the realm of human rights, Freedom House and Human Rights Watch both maintain U.S. headquarters and a number of international headquarters. Given its historically central/eastern European focus and its goal of stimulating democracy and free-market economic development abroad, Freedom House currently operates divisions in Bucharest, Budapest, and Kiev. Human Rights Watch, on the other hand, currently operates in 10 locations, including New York, Washington, D.C., Brussels, Hong Kong, London, Los Angeles, Moscow, Rio de Janeiro, Saigon, and Tbilisi. Both Freedom House and Human Rights Watch maintain a number of regional and substantive divisions as well. These substantive divisions include, but are not limited to, religious persecution, the rights of women and children, academic freedom, the freedom of information, and the proliferation of hate groups.

ISSUES, ACTIVITIES, STRATEGIES, AND GOALS

What distinguishes the individual organizations featured in this section are the methods by which they seek to accomplish their goals. However, there are certain activities common to all groups. All of the groups included in this section maintain Internet sites in order to attract new members and inform existing ones of their current activities. For the same general purpose, all produce and distribute pamphlets, press releases, and issue-specific informational materials. Such materials range from the generic "who we are and what we do" pamphlets to well-developed and highly respected scholarly publications and official government documents.

Among the most notable publications produced by rights-based groups are those developed by Freedom House. In addition to a host of issue-specific periodicals (*Freedom Monitor*, *The First Freedom*, and *NGO News*, for example), Freedom House also publishes two major, original research books: *Freedom in the World* and *Nations in Transition*. Both books are widely read by

academics, activists, and government officials; indeed, *Freedom in the World* has become a primary reference book for the Department of Immigration and Naturalization Services.

In a similar fashion, both the Anti-Defamation League and the ACLU publish a variety of books on subjects ranging from right-wing extremism (e.g., *Danger on the Right*, by the ADL) to contemporary applications of individual rights (e.g., the ACLU's 21-part *Rights Of . . .* series). Most closely associated with the government, however, is the Legal Services Corporation (LSC). While the LSC produces a number of informative publications designed to increase awareness of its services, it is also responsible for drafting the government's eligibility requirements for civil legal assistance. Based upon federal poverty guidelines, the LSC report essentially defines eligibility for the services it provides.

Aside from the common practice of developing and distributing written documents, interest group activities diverge according to skill differentials and political clout. In many respects, this means that groups have discovered what they do best and have channeled considerable energy toward those methods. As such, the civil rights and economic rights interest group strategies in particular lend themselves to categorization. As the entries that follow indicate, different groups employ different combinations of means, including public advocacy, legislative/executive pressure, and/or unconventional policy behavior.

The model of judicial activity is manifest in the operations of the ACLU. Since its inception in 1920, the ACLU has participated in at least one major constitutional case per year. Just as the NAACP-Legal Defense Fund noticed that the concreteness and finality of judicial decisions can ultimately compel an otherwise reluctant government to enforce civil rights, the ACLU has successfully utilized the courts as agents of political change. By filing *amicus curiae* briefs, sponsoring cases, and developing test cases, the ACLU has defined itself as a "judicial" interest group. Indeed, aside from the Department of Justice, no other organization or agency has appeared more frequently before the United States Supreme Court than the ACLU.

Among the Court's sibling institutions, civil rights and economic rights interest groups routinely apply pressure by developing model legislation, participating in issue-advocacy campaigns, providing congressional testimony, and influencing elections through voter registration and participation. Not only has the Anti-Defamation League successfully pressured the White House to address early evidence of anti-Semitism, but it has

been a visible force in the movement to create and impose hate-crimes laws. It also provides valuable information regarding American foreign policy in the Middle East. Likewise, Freedom House has kept the attention of politicians on both sides of the partisan continuum by testifying on the status of human rights worldwide, the opening (and closing) of media and economic markets, and the furtherance of free-market capitalism. Still other groups, such as the League of Women Voters, the National Coalition for the Homeless, and ACORN, have been active in organizing grassroots support for voter initiatives such as the National Voter Registration Act (the Motor Voter Bill). In their respective spheres, the National Coalition for the Homeless provided the public leadership necessary to secure passage of the Stewart B. McKinney Homelessness Assistance Act in 1987; the League of Women Voters championed the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921, which provided federal aid for maternal and infant healthcare; and ACORN successfully negotiated a \$10 million partnership with NationsBank for low-income home-buyers assistance.

In the realm of nonconventional activity, organizations such as the National Lawyers Guild and ACORN have found it necessary to address certain issues in public. During the 1980s, both groups found it necessary to advocate resistance to a variety of Reagan-Bush policies. ACORN, for example, claimed fame by organizing the creation of "Reagan Ranches," demonstrations that involved approximately 15,000 ACORN activists setting up and settling in tents in 35 cities. The ranches were supposed to symbolize the homelessness presumed to result from President Reagan's effort to increase military spending and decrease social spending. One ranch was set up at the Republican Convention in Dallas, Texas, in 1984. The NLG also supplemented its conventional activities (defending affirmative action policies and operating its National Immigration Project, for example) by aggressively counteracting increasingly restrictive Reagan-Bush civil rights policies, the U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, and discriminatory immigration policies.

CONCLUSION

Among the nine interest groups profiled in this section, one issue that rises to the surface is the impact of the partisan composition of government on interest group

fortunes. While all of the groups in this section clearly grew out of a climate largely inhospitable to their claims, their success and failure is in no small way attributable to the receptiveness of government. ACORN, for example, experienced great frustration with the Reagan and Bush presidencies, both of which minimized the significance of poverty in America, as evidenced by their policies and programs. In President Bill Clinton, ACORN has found an administration (and Department of Housing and Urban Development leadership) more sympathetic to its cause.

In a similar fashion, the Legal Services Corporation, although created by a bipartisan effort of Congress, has had to tread lightly since the election of a Republican Congress in 1994. As the entry on the LSC in this section indicates, Congress in 1996 substantially modified (via restrictions) the rules of the game governing the provision of Legal Services Corporation services. Since Congress holds not only the power of the purse but also the power to create and dissolve agencies, the LSC has had to pay dutiful attention to the 1996 rule changes.

The implication of this is that the future of civil rights, economic rights, and human rights interest groups may depend less on internal commitment than on social and political tolerance. These groups depend in large part on a system's dedication to benevolent, humanitarian concerns. When such concerns lose political favor, the groups rapidly become expendable. Although such circumstances provide the breeding ground for social movements and renewed interest group activity, they also reveal the unfortunate state of affairs that necessitates their existence.

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ACORN

The Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) maintains its headquarters in Washington, D.C. In addition, it maintains 500 neighborhood chapters in 30 cities, and has a membership in excess of 120,000 individuals and families. Originally an offshoot of the National Welfare Rights Organization, ACORN was created in 1970 as a regional affiliate dedicated to the cause of social and economic justice. Since its inception, ACORN has represented low- to moderate-income families. Its primary areas of interest include community reinvestment and housing development (through its affiliates, ACORN Housing Corporation and ACORN Community Land Association), economic opportunity, school reform, union support, and voter registration and participation drives. Firmly rooted in the social movement and community activism spirit of the 1960s, ACORN's initial activities involved coalition building, grassroots organizing, and gaining or influencing control of local government. As the organization's institutional capacity increased, it became more active in lobbying, national electoral politics, providing congressional testimony, and—when necessary—organizing demonstrations.

HISTORY

Originally labeled the Arkansas Community Organizations for Reform Now, ACORN was created in Little Rock in 1970 in an attempt to further the cause of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). Although the NWRO was a central force of the 1960s social justice movement, with 170 branch divisions in 60 U.S. cities by 1966, as a single organization it was incapable of unifying and managing a nationwide campaign on behalf of low- to moderate-income families. In light of this reality, the NWRO sought to establish a network of organizations equally dedicated to social and economic justice. To this end, NWRO organizer Wade Rathke assumed the responsibility of establishing in Little Rock a network of diverse groups (including

middle-class, conservative, southern whites) that would support the NWRO's cause. It is in this spirit of creating a genuine social movement that ACORN was begun.

Through ACORN, Rathke succeeded in founding a movement that united races and neighborhoods, and bridged the gap between welfare recipients and working people. The group's early work focused on providing basic human needs—clothing, furniture, and food—to the indigent and disenfranchised. Beyond the common needs of welfare recipients and workers, ACORN mobilized efforts to provide free lunches for schoolchildren and to address labor movement concerns, veterans' rights, and availability of hospital care. In many respects, it was the organization's attempt to do too much that led to an early fracture in its membership. Specifically, welfare rights members who felt betrayed by the organization's increasingly broad mission withdrew from ACORN in order to maintain single-issue representation. Shortly thereafter, ACORN diversified along clearly established boundaries, with the Vietnam Veterans' Organizing Committee (VVOC) and the Unemployed Workers' Organizing Committee (UWOC) operating in spheres of relative autonomy.

ACORN's major activities are diverse and time specific. In the early 1970s, ACORN established itself as a powerful organization based upon the successful "Save the City" campaign in Little Rock, Arkansas, which addressed working-class concerns that neighborhoods were being destroyed by poorly designed traffic patterns and "block busting" (breaking up of existing neighborhoods) by unethical real estate agencies. From there, the organization began to grow geographically: with six regional offices in Arkansas, ACORN was able to successfully address statewide problems. In 1970, ACORN challenged and ultimately gained a victory over the Arkansas Power and Light Company's plan to build a coal-burning power plant in White Bluff, Arkansas. In 1972, ACORN entered electoral politics through its political action committee's (PAC) decision to officially back two candidates for the Little Rock school board. In 1974, 250 ACORN members ran as candidates for the Pulaski County Quorum Court—a 467-member,

citizen-based local legislature—and 195 won election. Although they were incapable of directly altering politics, they have been credited with laying the foundation for strict adherence to democratic procedures in the Quorum Court.

From the mid 1970s through the 1980s, ACORN became an increasingly prevalent and political organization. With new branches in Texas and South Dakota, the organization elected its first associate executive board and president, Steve McDonald, in December 1975. In 1978, ACORN held its first national convention in Memphis, Tennessee, coinciding with the National Democratic Party's "mini-convention" conference. Upon completion of a nine-point "People's Platform," ACORN members marched on the Democratic Party conference and demanded a meeting with President Jimmy Carter. Denied that meeting, ACORN conducted a demonstration in the street in order to make its presence—and the interests of low-to moderate-income families—known.

By 1980, ACORN operated branches in 20 states, drafted the ACORN 80 Plan and revised the People's Platform. With platform planks including energy, healthcare, taxes, housing, community development, wages, and rural concerns, these plans represented proposals for changes in the Democratic Party. Signed onto by the United Auto Workers, the International Association of Machinists, the AFL-CIO, and a variety of Democratic state and local parties, the new People's Platform could not be ignored by national party leaders. Indeed, 42 ACORN members served as Democratic delegates and alternates at the convention. On the Republican front, ACORN members testified before the Platform Committee and organized tours of destitute Detroit communities for Republican delegates. The goal was to draw attention to the plight of the economic underclass and flex the organization's growing political muscle.

The great value of ACORN 80 and the ACORN Commission, created at the Democratic Convention, was not so much that they transformed the lives of the downtrodden (they did not), but that they established their place on the discursive terrain and in the halls of government. By 1980 ACORN had over 30,000 members representing virtually every section of the country. Unfortunately for the organization, the Ronald Reagan years were troubling for ACORN. In many respects, ACORN represented exactly the opposite of the Reagan revolution. During that time, wealth flowed upwardly rather than downwardly, and the cultural mantra was individualism, not socialism. Shut out from access to the White House, ACORN participated in less-

conventional modes of political action, chiefly by establishing "Reagan Ranches" in over 35 cities in order to protest the Reagan administration's priorities and policies. The ranches were demonstrations that involved approximately 15,000 ACORN activists setting up and settling in tents to symbolize homelessness presumed to result from President Reagan's effort to increase military spending at the expense of social spending. With a more hospitable audience in Congress, ACORN members testified before a Congressional committee about the housing crisis, and staged its ultimate protest by creating a Reagan Ranch at the Republican Convention in Dallas in 1984. Part protest, part voter registration drive, the event involved 15,000 Dallas voters.

During the Reagan years, ACORN strengthened its PAC (APAC) and, through its support of Jesse Jackson in the primaries, gained political ties, experience, and clout in national electoral politics. As was true with the majority of civil rights, economic rights, and human rights organizations that spanned the decades, the social movement spirit that gave rise to ACORN had faded. As the 1980s led into the 1990s, the premium was placed upon organization and professionalization. To this end, ACORN maintained an association with the Rainbow Coalition, the United Labor Union became its official labor organizing arm, and the ACORN Housing Corporation was created.

With the transition from the 1980s to the 1990s, and with shifting partisan composition of Congress and the presidency, ACORN has had to modify its strategies. In President Bill Clinton and Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Secretary Henry Cisneros, ACORN found allies interested in the plight of the lower and middle classes. With the election of a Republican Congress in 1994, however, the organization realized that the institution holding the power of the purse would be disinclined to create or protect ACORN's interests. Consequently, it has redoubled its efforts on the presidency, HUD, and local communities, and in educational missions.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Since the 1990s, ACORN has dedicated much of its energy toward the issue of affordable housing. Ranging from radical demonstrations, such as a two-day takeover of the House Banking Committee hearing room, to mainstream attempts to influence HUD to designate

thousands of homes to low- to moderate-income people that would otherwise have been won at auction by wealthy bidders, ACORN's activities represented the divergent avenues of influence it cultivated during the Reagan years. It has diversified its efforts, however, to address the issues of health, public safety, education, representation, and workers' rights in recent years. With the election of a Democratic president, ACORN became increasingly involved in the National Voter Registration Act (the so-called Motor Voter Act), Project Vote, lobbying HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros to prevent interference with the ACORN Tenant Union, and negotiating a \$10 million partnership between ACORN and NationsBank for below-market mortgages to low-income home buyers. Most recently, the organization has engaged in educational missions, including a much publicized conference regarding education reform in Hempstead, N.Y., and in research, such as its study of the lending records of financial institutions in 15 metropolitan areas in 1997. These projects continue today.

As presently articulated, ACORN is committed to organizing the unorganized and maintaining a commitment to social and economic justice at the grassroots level. Aside from increasing the availability of affordable housing and stimulating community reinvestment, ACORN is committed to curbing campaign finances and improving the quality of education in the public school system.

FINANCIAL FACTS

ACORN is a nonprofit, non-tax-exempt organization. Funding for its annual budget is derived from membership dues, grassroots funding, and foundation grants. A nonpartisan but liberal organization, it maintains a PAC (APAC). During the 1995-1996 election cycle, the organization tabulated \$43,043 in receipts, \$34,111 in expenditures, and \$6,250 in contributions. APAC's 1999 year-end Report of Receipts and Disbursements reveals that for the period from November 24, 1998, until December 31, 1998, APAC had \$337,739.28 on hand at the beginning of the time period, \$2,570.41 in total receipts, and \$636.06 in total disbursements, leaving APAC with \$339,673.63 in cash on hand at the end of the reporting period.

BRIAN SMENTKOWSKI

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) maintains national headquarters in New York City, a legislative office in Washington, D.C., and 53 affiliate offices (one in each state, plus three local chapters). The permanent staff consists of 105 professionals and 45 support staff members, not including affiliates. The organization is regulated by an 82-member board of directors and has been headed by Ira Glasser, executive director, since 1978. There are 275,000 dues-paying members of the ACLU.

The ACLU represents a cause, not particular groups. The cause is “to preserve, defend, and expand application of the constitutional guarantees and freedoms set forth in the Bill of Rights.” As such, its main areas of interest include civil liberties and civil rights in general, and—in recent years—affirmative action, gay rights, and privacy rights in particular. Its primary method of operation is litigation, although it remains active in advertising, research, legislative monitoring, grassroots organizing, and sponsoring educational programs.

HISTORY

The ACLU was created as a nonpartisan organization in 1920. Founded by Roger Baldwin, Crystal Eastman, and Albert DeSilver, the ACLU was the first public interest law firm dedicated exclusively to compelling governmental compliance with the liberties articulated in the Bill of Rights. At the time of its founding, both the state and federal governments had a poor reputation for protecting the rights of racial, ethnic, sexual, religious, and political minorities. Indeed, the Supreme Court had not yet, at the time, upheld a First Amendment free speech claim, and the doctrine of selective incorporation of constitutional rights under the Fourteenth Amendment’s due process clause was barely on the horizon. Within the first five years of its existence, the ACLU

fought the infamous Palmer Raids, which sought to identify and purge American socialists, and secured the services of Clarence Darrow to defend John T. Scopes for teaching the theory of evolution to students in the legendary Scopes monkey case. In each decade since its inception, the ACLU has provided legal counsel for, or filed *amicus curiae* briefs in, landmark cases such as *Gitlow v. New York* (1925), *Hague v. CIO* (1939), *West Virginia v. Barnette* (1943), *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), *Roe v. Wade* (1973), *Texas v. Johnson* (1989), and *Romer v. Evans* (1996). Indeed, in a pamphlet called “77 Years, 77 Victories,” the ACLU identifies at least one major case per year in which the organization participated in some capacity.

Working with a cadre of more than 2,000 volunteer attorneys, the ACLU has handled approximately 6,000 cases per year in recent years. Throughout its history it has balanced its dedication to constitutional rights among a variety of issue areas. As such it has successfully argued some of the nation’s most important cases on behalf of the labor movement, the rights of the criminally accused, speech rights, the free exercise of religion, racial and ethnic minorities, women’s rights, privacy, and procreative freedom. Aside from the Department of Justice, the ACLU has appeared before the U.S. Supreme Court more frequently than any other organization.

In addition to its involvement in court cases, the ACLU has also engaged in lobbying activities. Coordinated through the Washington-based legislative office, the ACLU has spearheaded opposition to the nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court, has lobbied against rolling back affirmative action laws and the freedom of symbolic speech, and has pressured both the legislative and executive branches of government to reassess their operations respecting immigration and legal aliens’ rights (the latter of which are coordinated through the ACLU’s Immigration and Aliens’ Rights Task Force).

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The ACLU maintains a presence in the courts, in the capital, in public, and in cyberspace. It is best known for its litigation on behalf of marginalized and disenfranchised individuals and groups. Presently, the ACLU staff is involved in thousands of cases nationwide and at all levels of the judicial hierarchy. Among its main and affiliated offices, the ACLU receives thousands of requests for legal representation daily. In selecting cases, it seeks to represent persons and groups whose cases may serve as precedents for all others similarly affected under the law. In recent history, this has meant that the ACLU has provided legal representation for unpopular groups such as American Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan—not for the purposes of defending their views, but for protecting their constitutional rights.

From its legislative office in Washington, ACLU lobbyists research and track bills, create and recommend model legislation, and testify before Congress in attempts to influence the creation and passage of legislation that preserves or enhances, but never restricts, individual rights. The ACLU is also active in public education and grassroots activities. Its efforts are facilitated through the publication of reports, brochures, books, and videos. Presently, the ACLU lists 21 separate publications as part of the *Rights Of . . .* series; eight shorter publications ranging from *The Case Against the Death Penalty* to *Fighting Police Abuse: A Community Action Manual*; at least a dozen issue-specific briefing papers; and 24 recommended books by or about the ACLU and the issues to which it is committed. With the advent of the Internet, the ACLU has created and maintains a web page, titled the Freedom Network (www.aclu.org), which provides up-to-date information on organizational activities, conferences, research, and resources, and “Constitution Hall,” available through America OnLine at keyword: acLU.

The future of the ACLU appears secure. Not only the original but the leading public interest law firm dedicated to civil liberties and civil rights law, the ACLU maintains a steady course with its membership, volunteer staff, operating budget, and activities. While it an-

ticipates no changes in organization and operations, it continues to diversify the issues it represents. Largely a function of issue salience, legislative priorities, and temporally fixed acts of discrimination, the ACLU’s agenda manages to create space for “new” categories of cases. Among the current concerns predicted to be of great importance in the near future are affirmative action, gay and lesbian rights, abortion regulation, the right to privacy involving individuals and information, government regulation of the Internet, religious intolerance, and censorship of unpopular ideas. Among the new ideas for tackling such issues are the development of instructional materials for young readers and the production of manuals for campus organizing. Based upon the premise that a more educated and tolerant younger generation may grow up to create fewer laws that discriminate against citizens, thereby negating the need for constitutional challenges to such laws, the ACLU has created the Ask Sybil Liberties series to address pressing concerns from a student’s perspective.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ACLU is a nonprofit organization with 501(c)(4) IRS tax status. Its affiliate, the ACLU Foundation, is identified by the Internal Revenue Service as a 501(c)(3) organization. The ACLU’s budget for 1997–1998 equaled \$35 million, and was increased to \$37 million for the 1999 fiscal year. The ACLU receives no financial support from the government; its primary funding sources are private organizations and individuals. There are no political action committees (PACs) associated with the ACLU.

BRIAN SMENTKOWSKI

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) maintains headquarters in New York and operates a network of 30 regional and satellite offices located throughout the United States and in Jerusalem and Vienna. The organization is committed to fighting organized intolerance and bigotry in general, and anti-Semitism in particular. In addition, its areas of interest include combating racism, extremism, and hate crimes, and diverse work on political and security issues in Israel, Holocaust remembrance, and educational programs. The ADL is headed by Abraham H. Foxman, national director, and a nine-member national commission, plus a six-member national executive committee. Its affiliates include the Anti-Defamation League Foundation; Leon and Marilyn Klinghoffer Memorial Foundation of the Anti-Defamation League, Braun Holocaust Institute, Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers/ADL, Hidden Child Foundation/ADL, William and Naomi Gorowitz Institute on Terrorism and Extremism, and ADL: A World of Difference Institute. The Anti-Defamation League consists of 200 professionals and approximately 200 support staff members.

HISTORY

Founded in 1913 by Sigmund Livingston, the Anti-Defamation League was created to stem the tide of anti-Semitism that culminated in the lynching of Leo Frank in Marietta, Georgia. Frank, a Jew, was wrongly accused of killing a 14-year-old girl, and sentenced to death. When his sentence was commuted to life in prison, an angry mob took him from jail and hanged him. To Livingston and the Jewish community at large, this episode was but one manifestation of a growing anti-Semitic ideology that relegated Jews to subhuman status. As an attorney, Livingston donated the services of two staff members of his Chicago law office to efforts to appeal

to reason, humanity, and the law in order to halt the defamation of the Jewish people.

Beginning with modest support from the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith and culminating in what is now the most recognizable opponent of anti-Semitism, each decade since the founding of the Anti-Defamation League has experienced a defining moment. In its first 10 years the ADL pressured President Woodrow Wilson to recall military training manuals that mischaracterized Jews. The ADL also pressed Wilson to join former presidents William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt in compelling Henry Ford to halt publication and publicly apologize for circulating *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a Russian anti-Semitic publication based on European stereotypes of the Jewish people cultivated since medieval times, in his newspaper. In 1930, the ADL experienced its first major organizational change. It expanded its staff and began the fact-finding operation that has become a cumulative clearinghouse of information on extremism. With the Nazi Party's ascent to power and the Second World War, the ADL fought bigotry in the United States, chiefly against the German-American Bund (an organization of devoutly pro-Nazi ethnic Germans living in the United States), and instituted a successful "crack the quota" campaign against discriminatory housing, employment, and education laws. In 1948, in the case of *McCullum v. Board of Education*, the ADL filed its first church-state *amicus curiae* brief to the U.S. Supreme Court, and has filed one in virtually every such dispute thereafter.

During the late 1940s and 1950s, the ADL established its position on U.S. foreign policy regarding the newly created state of Israel, while on the domestic front it attacked racism by assisting a journalist to infiltrate the Ku Klux Klan in order to provide information to the ADL, which would ultimately be reported in the press and to the police. Another defining moment in civil rights history found the ADL filing *amicus curiae* briefs in *Brown v. Board of Education* and setting up regional divisions in order to assist in the implementation of the

Supreme Court's ruling in that case. The civil rights agenda dominated the organization's attention well into the 1960s, galvanizing support for the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the ADL stimulated American support for Israel in the wake of the Six-Day War and then again in the wake of the Yom Kippur War. The ADL also became the first Jewish organization to address right-wing extremism with the publication of *Danger on the Right*. This research tradition continued with an ADL-commissioned analysis of anti-Semitism in America. This effort resulted in several scholarly publications, portions of which were presented before the Vatican II Council. The presentation of this work succeeded in opening a dialogue between Christians and Jews, and ultimately laid the foundation for the ADL's continuing efforts to promote interfaith relations. In 1977, one of the first Holocaust awareness programs was created by the ADL.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the Braun Holocaust Institute became active in Holocaust remembrance and educational events. It addressed intolerance on campuses by writing and distributing materials on extremism, and tackled the emerging trend of revisionist history by developing an advertising campaign (and even conducting on-site counseling) aimed at delineating free speech and hate speech. The educational mission was enhanced with the creation of ADL: A World of Difference Institute and the Children of the Dream program, the former a television project aimed at young children in Israel, and the latter an American-Ethiopian-Israeli "shared experiences" project.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

While the ADL is chiefly dedicated to the struggle against anti-Semitism, it has, in recent years, expanded its commitment to the fight for civil liberties, children's welfare, and interfaith relations, while fighting against extremism, hate crimes, and terrorism. In addition to the host of new issues and phenomena addressed by the ADL, its methods of operation have changed as well. The ADL maintains an informative web page (www.adl.org) and uses the Internet as both an educational device and a vehicle to identify and monitor hate groups.

The ADL is a well-established, professionalized organization; as such it has considerable clout in Con-

gress—where it frequently provides testimony on ethnic and religious discrimination—within human rights circles, and in society in general. The ADL's reputation has been cultivated through its popular Holocaust remembrance and educational forums, its clearinghouse of information regarding the operation of extremist groups, and its advocacy of civil liberties.

Currently, the ADL is a leading advocate of hate crimes prevention and punishment legislation. It participated in the first White House Conference on Hate Crimes in December 1997, where it presented a program, *Hate Crimes: ADL Blueprint for Action*, and continues to present models of satisfactory legislation. In 1999, the ADL published *1999 Hate Crimes Laws* and produced a number of training programs, videos, and community-organizing materials used to detect and deter such crimes. The ADL's Legislative Action Center also provides a steady stream of pressure chiefly through advertising and writings in opposition to school voucher systems and the increased incidence of racial, ethnic, religious, and political extremism. Specifically, the ADL maintains a public awareness campaign regarding (a) laws that obfuscate the line separating church and state, (b) the activities of the neo-Nazi alliance (through programs stemming from the ADL's publication, *Explosion of Hate*), (c) vigilante and militia groups (based upon its book, *Vigilante Justice*), and (d) the Council of Conservative Citizens. Activities coordinated through the Braun Holocaust Institute continue to sensitize the world to the significance of anti-Semitism and human rights, and ADL: A World of Difference Institute presently promotes the value of tolerance through Israel's Education Television channel and its cable television Children's Channel. On the Internet, the ADL is committed to monitoring and countering the messages of white supremacist groups as well as pseudoscholarly Holocaust analysts and revisionist historians who deny that the Holocaust took place.

Most recently, the ADL has encountered some negative publicity from segments of both the African-American and Jewish communities. While the ADL is committed to a broad application of civil liberties and civil rights, it did take exception to some of the rallying points of the Million-Man March as well as statements made by Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. The ADL maintains that the foundation for civil liberties and civil rights is tolerance, and that specific anti-Semitic statements made during the Million-Man March and by Farrakhan represented an important difference in the quest for constitutionally protected rights. Within the Jewish community, a December 4, 1998, *Wall Street*

Journal op-ed by ADL director Abraham H. Foxman drew fire by delineating the “dangers” of restitution for the Holocaust. Because the Jewish community is by no means an entirely homogeneous group, Foxman’s argument that adding dollar values to the Holocaust detracts from the uniqueness and significance of the phenomenon was met with some internal resistance. There appears to have been no long-term damage to the organization, and its leadership and operations remain unaltered.

Although the commitment of the ADL remains constant, the number of directions and means to address them are expected to expand. In the future, the ADL’s technological capacity will certainly increase, thereby permitting more fruitful and productive investigations of the proliferation and impact of hate groups on the Internet and in wider society. The roots of this endeavor already exist through the ADL’s Terrorism on the Internet series and international terrorism research. The ADL’s Legislative Action Center is also expected to continue its research of legal solutions to hate-related crimes, and is expected to continue drafting model legislation for hate-crimes law. On this latter enterprise, the ADL is likely to find itself in different company than on past initiatives. Although certain civil liberties groups remain opposed to legal codes that distinguish between

“crimes” and “hate crimes,” the ADL is committed to laws dedicated to identifying and punishing criminal acts predicated upon racial, ethnic, and religious intolerance.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The ADL is a nonprofit organization with 501(c)(3) Internal Revenue Service (IRS) tax status. Its operations are funded by private contributions. For the 1999 fiscal year, the ADL’s budget totaled \$46 million. A nonpartisan, nonlobbying organization, the ADL is unaffiliated with political action committees (PACs) and does not participate in organized attempts to influence election outcomes.

BRIAN SMENTKOWSKI

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FREEDOM HOUSE

Although it merged with the National Forum Foundation (NFF) on July 1, 1997, the organization is still officially recognized as Freedom House. Freedom House is based in Washington, D.C., and New York City, and it operates satellite offices in Bucharest, Budapest, and Kiev. The organization has seven officers, including James S. Denton, executive director, Adrian Karatnycky, president, and Bette Bao Lord, chairman. The activities of the organization are overseen by a 35-member board of trustees. The board of trustees includes prominent (primarily conservative) former government officials, leading scholars, journalists, business leaders, and free-market activists. Among members of the board are Zbigniew Brzezinski, Steve Forbes, Samuel Huntington, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, P.J. O'Rourke, and Wendell L. Willkie II. In addition to the officers and board members, Freedom House maintains a staff of 40 permanent members.

Freedom House does not represent any one category of persons; rather, it seeks to promote its version of democracy, civil liberties, and civil rights throughout the world. As such, it monitors human rights conditions, sponsors public education campaigns, and provides training for efforts to promote free market economic reform. Its most well-known and highly regarded work includes testimony before Congress, field work (including internships and international professional exchange programs), and the publication of *Freedom in the World*, a well-respected and widely read annual assessment of the state of freedom in every country.

HISTORY

Freedom House was founded in 1941 by Eleanor Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie as a nonpartisan proponent of democracy and a staunch opponent of dictatorships representing both the far right and the far left. The rea-

son for its existence was not simply the notion that democracy should flourish worldwide, but that American leadership in international affairs is essential to that effort. Based upon the belief that respect for human rights constitutes the foundation of democratic government, Freedom House's advocacy role spans the decades through support for the Marshall Plan and NATO, the American civil rights movement, the Polish Solidarity movement, and efforts to halt acts of genocide in Bosnia and Rwanda, for example.

Freedom House's commitment to civil rights, economic rights, and democratization exist in practice as well as in spirit. The organization's board of trustees has historically provided a balance between scholars, writers, leaders of business, and former senior government officials representing all segments of the ideological and partisan continuum. It is this mixture of leadership that has provided a sense of direction with regard to the organization's efforts to open media markets, economic markets, and the political process in general.

As the significance of educational initiatives has become more obvious and prevalent, so too have been the organization's publications, conferences, and field work. In an effort to facilitate the organization's operations, Freedom House and the NFF joined forces on July 1, 1997. Retaining the name "Freedom House," the merger allowed two groups who share a common commitment to contribute their strength to a single, unified goal. Under the terms of the merger, former NFF president Jim Denton assumed responsibility for daily operations, publications, finance, and administration, while former Freedom House president Adrian Karatnycky retained his title and assumed responsibility for the organization's public profile, media outreach, fundraising, and research. The ultimate goal was to consolidate programs in an attempt to stimulate advances in advocacy, education, research, and training.

Since its creation, Freedom House has received considerable support from governments, politicians, and

human rights advocates. Specifically, its leading publication, *Freedom in the World*, is standard issue in Immigration and Naturalization Service offices. Along with *Nations in Transition*, *Freedom in the World* ranks among the primary sources that sensitize governments to the state of rights worldwide. As such, Freedom House has received accolades from such luminaries as Winston Churchill, Ambassador Kirkpatrick, Senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Bob Dole, President Bill Clinton, John Cardinal O'Connor, and USAID administrator Brian Atwood, among others.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The current activities of Freedom House range from a continuation of several of its most significant research enterprises to charting new territory in the protection of religious liberty in general, and Christianity in particular, throughout the world. Specifically, with its merger with NFF, new opportunities to enhance democratization have been open to Freedom House since 1997. Since that year, the merger produced a regional exchange program (REF) designed to provide nongovernmental organization staff members with the opportunity to form coalitions and become more instrumental agents of democratization and reform. Freedom House also has extended its reach into the private sector. With its recently launched corporate support regional initiative, Freedom House has embarked on an effort to explore partnerships between nonprofit and business sectors in central and eastern Europe in an attempt to facilitate the development of democratic governments and free market economies.

Most recently, Freedom House has been a leader in bringing the subject of Christian persecution to center stage. Through publications such as *The First Freedom*, published monthly by the organization's Center for Religious Freedom, Freedom House has provided up-to-date analyses of anti-Christian persecution in China, the Sudan, and Egypt, and has encouraged political action ranging from a boycott of Chinese-made Christmas ornaments to supporting the American government's adoption of the International Religious Freedom Act. Paul Marshall, a senior fellow at Freedom House, has spent much of the past year not only writing but lecturing on the subject of religious freedom and international affairs at various forums, conferences, and universities.

In addition to its profound commitment to religious liberty, Freedom House has also contributed new knowledge on the subject of press and media law throughout the world. Ranging from state-specific action in Romania to a comparative analysis of media restrictions in 43 countries, Freedom House presently is committed to drawing attention to the significance—and the absence—of a free press in young democracies.

Finally, Freedom House remains active in research and publishing. In addition to annual editions of *Freedom in the World*, it has also published *Nations in Transition*, as well as a spate of periodicals including *Freedom Monitor* and *The First Freedom*, and a variety of research reports. Among its newest endeavors is *NGO News: A Regional Newsletter for Non-Governmental Organizations*.

Freedom House's future involves continued publication of such standards as *Freedom in the World*, *Nations in Transition*, *Freedom Review*, and *The First Freedom*, as well as a major effort to expand its Visiting Fellow program and the American Volunteers in International Development program. It also opposes the current Cuban government through the Cuba Democracy project, and continues to train Romanian officials and communications personnel on opening both the economic and media markets. Finally, with the publication of *NGO News*, Freedom House is signaling its interest in providing regional organizations with the knowledge and assistance necessary to solve regional problems. While this is not a departure from the organization's commitment to establishing its version of democracy throughout the world, it is a clear statement that American leadership, though necessary and important, is insufficient to solve current and future dilemmas in international affairs.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Freedom House is a nonprofit organization. Its primary sources of funding are grants and private financial donations that are tax-deductible under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Service code. Major contributors include the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Byrne foundation, Carthage Foundation, Eurasia Foundation, Ford Foundation, Freedom Forum, Grace Foundation, Inc., Lilly Endowment, Inc., LWH Family Foundation, National Endowment for Democracy, Pew Charitable Trusts, Sarah Scaife Foundation,

Schloss Family Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, Inc., Soros Foundation, Unilever United States Foundation, Inc., U.S. Agency for International Development, and U.S. Information Agency. The revenue collected from these sources covers the cost of its publications, public education tasks, international research programs, conferences, fieldwork, and related activities. Freedom House is a nonpartisan, nonlobbying organization; as such, it maintains no political

action committees (PACs) and does not contribute to political campaigns.

BRIAN SMENTKOWSKI

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HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

Human Rights Watch (HRW) operates headquarters in New York and Washington, with regional branches and chapters in Brussels, Hong Kong, London, Los Angeles, Moscow, Rio de Janeiro, Saigon, and Tbilisi. The organization maintains a permanent staff of 127 members, plus 20 to 30 interns, divided among nine committees. The executive committee consists of Kenneth Roth, executive director, Susan Osnos, assistant director, Jennifer Gaboury, executive assistant, and Justine Hanson, associate. The activities of the organization are overseen by a 34-member board of directors.

In addition to its American headquarters, HRW operates regional divisions representing Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe, Central Asia, Middle East and Northern Africa; three substantive divisions—Arms division, Children’s Rights division, and Women’s Rights division; and Human Rights Watch California. There are 7,000 individual members associated with HRW.

HRW is dedicated to advancing the human rights of persons and groups throughout the world. To this end it investigates and exposes human rights violations and seeks to hold violators accountable for their actions. While its longstanding areas of interest include the furtherance of human rights and the punishment of perpetrators in general, its present agenda addresses such timely issues as children’s rights (including the use of children as soldiers and exploited labor), women’s rights, academic freedom and free expression, prison conditions, political violence, and crimes against humanity in such places as Bosnia, Indonesia, and Rwanda.

came Human Rights Watch/Helsinki. Based upon a call for assistance from local groups in Moscow, Warsaw, and Prague and charged with the responsibility of monitoring compliance with the Helsinki accord, HRW was begun. Shortly thereafter, Americas Watch (now Human Rights Watch/Americas) was established as a response to Reagan administration foreign policy that consistently tolerated human rights violations by right-wing governments, while deploring those of left-wing governments. By 1987, the regional organizations began to be folded into the divisions of what is now simply called Human Rights Watch.

Since its creation, HRW’s greatest success has been its research and publication on human rights issues. To date, it has published more than 1,000 reports on over 100 countries worldwide. Most of the reports are state-specific, and many have a substantive theme (e.g., “Russia—Too Little, Too Late: State Response of Violence Against Women”). Through the years these works have included books commonly read by activists, policy makers, academicians, students, and journalists.

Although HRW ranks among the most recognizable organizations worldwide, it has endured setbacks. Recently, board member Bruce Klatsky offered to resign his post after it was discovered that the corporation he heads (Phillips-Van Heusen) closed down the company’s only unionized factory in late 1998. Ordinarily, a decision to close a plant would not merit such attention, but the motivations (allegations of union busting) merited attention from an organization dedicated to workers’ rights. And since the factory was located in Guatemala, where human rights violations are rampant and HRW maintains a keen interest in the operation of *maquiladoras* (apparel factories), the closing of the only unionized *maquiladora* was at variance with the organization’s mission statement and professional commitment.

HISTORY

HRW was founded in 1978. At the time, the organization was known as Helsinki Watch, which later be-

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The precursor to solving problems is the careful identification of them. As such, HRW is, first and foremost, a research organization. With teams of linguistic, legal, and scholarly professionals and local volunteers stationed around the world, HRW is dedicated to identifying potential problems rather than simply reacting to them. Upon verification of atrocities or exploitation, the organization attempts to employ conventional legal machinery and propaganda to halt abuse. In its current work on executions, torture, detention, discrimination, and genocide, HRW applies standards (many relating to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) that have been accepted as universally applicable to the protection of civil and political rights in international law. To this end, HRW has been at the forefront of the movement to establish the International Criminal Court, which would be capable of conducting trials of alleged violators.

Like many human rights organizations (e.g., Freedom House), HRW believes that Western leadership and intervention are necessary to compel compliance with international law. However, whereas many organizations see the problem with compliance to international law as a local or regional problem, HRW is quick to note that many of the problems in using formal legal machinery and regimes to solve human rights problems come from the West, not those against which the West may be compared. Specifically, HRW has isolated as problematic the tendency of Western states to express a preference for economic prosperity over human rights commitments. By ranking economic development above human rights, the pursuit of the former often comes at the expense of the latter. As such, governments may open their markets, but close down avenues of expression, dissent, and access. In its commitment to human rights alone (which includes economic, political, and social justice), HRW stands apart from organizations such as Freedom House, whose mission includes a three-part plan to stimulate and support democratization, free-market economies, and human rights.

With Western nations reluctant in all but the most severe cases to employ the machinery of the legal community, HRW remains committed to publicity as a primary tool for drawing attention to a government and compelling political change. This is the case in present labor disputes involving *maquiladoras* in Latin America, the abduction and enslavement of children in Uganda,

and human rights violations in Asia. With the capture of dictator Augusto Pinochet of Chile, allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Yugoslavia, and recent allegations of genocide in Bosnia and Rwanda, HRW insists on the application of the rule of law in criminal trials against perpetrators.

The future of HRW appears secure due, in no small part, to the atrocities that define the conclusion to the century. The NATO airstrikes against Serbia in 1999 were precipitated by the disclosure of information regarding human rights violations and genocide in Bosnia provided by (among others) HRW. Regardless of the military endeavor, HRW remains committed not only to the termination of such atrocities, but to holding Serb leadership responsible for its actions against ethnic Albanians. In a broader sense it is committed to Arrest Now, its campaign to apprehend war criminals in the former Yugoslavia, and the establishment of the International Criminal Court. On other fronts, it remains committed to the abolition of land mines, the forced trafficking of young women, and sex discrimination in Mexican factories, as well as a legal conclusion to Pinochet's extradition.

As the United States's largest and best-known human rights organization, HRW intends to diversify the methods it uses to reach audiences. To this end it has added to its traditional methods of operation (coalition forming, research, and litigation) a host of awards programs, fellowships, international activities and film festivals, and internships. Similar to other organizations, HRW has made extensive use of its World Wide Web domain, www.hrw.org, as a vessel for providing up-to-date information on developments throughout the world as well as within the organization.

FINANCIAL FACTS

HRW is a nonprofit organization. Its primary sources of funding are grants and private financial donations that are tax-deductible under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Service code. A breakdown of contributions and contributors reveals that during the mid to late 1990s, 22 separate individuals or foundations provided contributions exceeding \$100,000, while 48 donated between \$25,000 and \$99,999. An additional 52 donors contributed between \$10,000 and \$24,999, and at least 79 donated between \$5,000 and \$9,999. The contributors represent an eclectic mix, ranging from the

Ford Foundation (a \$100,000+ contributor) to the Dr. Seuss Foundation and major television networks. Recent budget figures indicate that HRW maintains a budget in excess of \$14.3 million. A nonpartisan organization, HRW maintains no political action committees (PACs) and does not contribute to political campaigns.

BRIAN SMENTKOWSKI

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

The League of Women Voters of the United States (LWV) “encourages the informed and active participation of citizens in government and influences public policy through education and advocacy.” In order to achieve the league’s ultimate goal of involving all citizens in electoral democracy, this diverse, nonpartisan organization utilizes a variety of methods. Included among, but not limited to, these methods of operation are advertisements; awards programs; coalition forming; conferences and seminars; congressional testimony; grassroots organizing; initiative/referendum campaigns; legislative/regulatory monitoring; litigation; lobbying; media outreach; polling and research; voter registration drives; and sponsoring debates, forums, and community dialogue programs.

The LWV is comprised of more than 150,000 active individual members throughout its 50 state and local leagues. A strictly nonpartisan organization, the LWV supports or opposes issues, not candidates or political parties. With a total of 1,100 separate local leagues, the LWV is capable of influencing politics at the national, state, and local levels.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the LWV is supported by a staff of 51, including 30 professionals and 21 support staff members, plus 3 interns. The current executive director is Jane Gruenebaum, who was formerly the deputy director of the Center for Public Policy Education at the Brookings Institution.

HISTORY

The roots of the LWV are directly linked to the women’s suffrage movement. In fact, the league was founded on February 14, 1920—six months prior to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, granting women the right to vote—at the Chicago convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

(NAWSA). The NAWSA had been created in 1890 by uniting the National Woman Suffrage Association, which had worked toward the goal of a women’s suffrage amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and the American Woman Suffrage Association, which targeted state-level suffrage amendments. Carrie Chapman Catt is credited with reorganizing the NAWSA’s 2 million members into the League of Women Voters.

The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment was viewed by the league as the beginning, not the end, of its commitment to enhancing democratic participation. Although initially viewed as a single-issue organization, the league sees itself as an agent of change in helping to “finish the fight” for women’s rights in particular and fair democratic procedures in general. This is done chiefly through a variety of educational and interactive programs.

According to literature produced by the LWV, the organization’s hardest-won battle was also its first legislative victory—the passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1921, which provided federal aid for maternal and infant healthcare. In addition to providing funds for maternal and children’s programs, the passage of this act also offered evidence that the “league’s grassroots lobbying and coalition building were effective legislative tools.”

The league has continued to pursue multiple issues throughout its history. There are, however, specific issues that can be associated with specific time periods. In the 1940s, the league was a staunch supporter of international peace building through the promotion of international organizations such as the United Nations. In the 1950s, then-league president Percy Maxim Lee testified against Senator Joseph McCarthy’s abuse of Congressional investigative powers for the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. It was also during this decade that the League of Women Voters Education Fund was established, with the purpose of increasing citizen understanding of major public policy issues and promoting citizen involvement in government decision

making. In order to fulfill this goal, the fund has conducted research and produced numerous publications on a wide range of topics, including the environment, as well as social, international, and government issues.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the league would identify itself as a “foe of discrimination” in education, employment, and housing, and members were strong supporters in the civil and womens’ rights movements. During the 1970s, the league vigorously pursued the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, which, ironically, it had opposed in 1921 for fear of adversely affecting labor laws. In 1976, the league sponsored its first presidential debate, between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford. It should be noted, however, that this debate followed a tradition of furnishing voter information that can be traced back to 1928, when the league sponsored the first national radio broadcast of a candidate forum entitled “Meet the Candidates.”

During the 1970s and 1980s the league focused its attention on environmental regulation, halting the arms race, and furthering the cause of equality of opportunity. During the 1990s, the league’s attention was drawn primarily to the desire to end all remaining obstacles to voter registration, which culminated in the passage in 1993 of the National Voter Registration Act (also called the Motor Voter Act), which was intended to help enfranchise millions of American citizens by making voter registration more uniform and accessible. In addition, the league has placed a great deal of emphasis on the need for campaign finance reform. The focuses and intents of this objective are numerous, not the least of which is the need to open new opportunities to elective office for women and minorities, thus making government truly representative.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Currently, the LWV is concentrating on a number of broad-reaching issues in its pursuit of advocating, informing, and activating the participation of all citizens in government. Included among the league’s current concerns is campaign finance reform, which, according to the league, would allow candidates to compete more equitably for public office. Other issues the league is currently pursuing include children’s welfare through the promotion of policies and programs that provide for “the well-being, development, and safety of all children”; environmental issues such as resource manage-

ment, environmental protection, and pollution control; gun control; healthcare; and minimizing all remaining obstacles to voter registration and participation for all American citizens. In addition to these goals, the league is interested in the debate over school vouchers; the need to conduct a fair and accurate census in 2000 (of specific concern is the underrepresentation of racial minorities, the poor, and inner-city residents and how this ultimately translates into underrepresentation in government); and promoting “the league’s nonpartisan, grassroots approach to citizen involvement in democratic politics” to newly democratizing regions of the world.

From its roots in the women’s suffrage movement to its activist role as a committed fighter for child labor laws, the protection of civil rights for all, and equal pay for women, to the current desire to promote campaign finance reform, overhauling the U.S. healthcare system, and “making democracy work,” the LWV has had a rich and interesting history. Its future, however, appears to be less certain. Since its founding—and especially since 1970—the number of active members has dropped precipitously. The league is thus faced with the dilemma of how to expand its base support group.

In order to combat the organization’s dwindling numbers, the league is increasingly emphasizing diversity. Through this commitment, the LWV is reaching out to a wide variety of individuals, and by embracing diversity the league may be able to overcome the stereotype of being “just” a women’s organization. The league is aware that women’s organizations as a whole are facing many new challenges, such as the erroneous perceptions that women have truly achieved social, political, and economic equality; that as more women are working outside the home they have less time to dedicate to volunteer organizations; and that there currently seems to be a lack of any one galvanizing issue (e.g., abortion rights or the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment) that can bring and hold women together. Consequently, these traditional “women’s groups” are having to expand their bases, and the promotion of diversity (social, sexual, ethnic, and age-related) is one way to accomplish this goal. Nonetheless, the LWV continues to play an important role as a political—but not partisan—catalyst in this country by reconnecting citizens with their governments.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The LWV’s fiscal year 1999 budget totaled \$2.62 million. This nonprofit, nonpartisan organization receives

contributions from a number of sources including corporations, foundations, unions, and individual members. In fact, member payments account for 48 percent of the league's funding source. Additionally, direct mail contributions comprise 32 percent; nationally recruited members account for 8 percent; and investment income represents 5 percent. The LWV is classified as a 501(c)(4) organization under the Internal Revenue Service code. It maintains no political action committee (PAC), but does maintain one affiliate, the League of Women Voters Education Fund (LWVEF), which is classified as a 501(c)(3) organization under the Internal Revenue Service code, thus allowing it to accept tax-

deductible contributions. The combined expenditures of the national offices of the LWV and the LWVEF are approximately \$5.5 million.

BRIAN SMENTKOWSKI AND KATHRYN BETH ADKINS

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LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

The Legal Services Corporation (LSC) is a private, nonprofit corporation created by Congress in order to ensure equal access to the legal system for those who could not otherwise afford it. With headquarters in Washington, D.C., the corporation is headed by an 11-member board of directors. All board members are appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. The board is, by law, bipartisan, with no more than six members representing the same political party. John McKay is presently president of the LSC.

Operating under the authority of the board of directors are two separate divisions: an office of inspector general and an office of the president. The latter oversees the operations of eight additional offices, including, but not limited to, offices of general counsel, governmental and public affairs, program operations, and information technology.

The LSC itself does not provide legal services; rather, independent local programs that successfully compete for grants execute the LSC's operations. As of 1997, the LSC funded 269 local programs, effectively representing all congressional districts and territories. Native Americans and migrant workers have special areas dedicated to their claims.

Each of the LSC-funded local programs is governed by its own board of directors. The rules for local board membership require that a majority of each board shall be appointed by the local bar association, and that one-third of the members be client representatives appointed by client groups. Staff members are hired by the local board executive director, who is hired by the board. In accordance with established congressional parameters, each board has autonomy in selecting cases.

the economic underclass in the United States. The enabling legislation represented a bipartisan effort by Congress and easily won the support of President Richard M. Nixon. The primary concern of the legislative and executive branches of government was that the judiciary should be open to all parties, regardless of economic status. Since *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), the right of indigents to legal counsel in criminal cases has been recognized, but no such provision applied to civil matters. Since many of America's poor require legal assistance in order to realize certain basic rights and to guard themselves against discrimination in housing and employment, for example, the LSC was designed to address the civil legal needs of the poor by providing efficient, effective, civil legal assistance. There is still no right of the indigent to legal council in civil cases, but the LSC grants provide some access to counsel.

While the mission of the LSC has remained unchanged, as a corporation of the government it has had to contend with certain political realities. Chief among them is the impact of alternating partisan control of Congress. For the majority of the postwar era, the Democratic Party has held control of the House of Representatives and, therefore, has had primary control over the power of the purse. Given the party's overall support for social welfare programs, the House provided a relatively hospitable environment for the LSC. With the election of a Republican majority in 1994, however, the climate began to change. Specifically, in 1996, Congress imposed a variety of new restrictions on the operation of the LSC. Reflecting the new majority's attitude toward the poor and what it perceived to be expensive exploitation of the judicial system, the 1996 rules prohibited class-action lawsuits; challenges to welfare reform; rule-making, lobbying, and litigation on behalf of prisoners; representation in eviction cases involving allegations of drug use; and representation of certain immigrants. The LSC was also required to adopt a new system of competing for grants. Moreover, the new approach was designed to ensure greater efficiency and effectiveness of LSC-funded legal services.

HISTORY

The LSC was created by Congress in 1974. Coming on the heels of Michael Harrington's now-classic book, *The Other America*, which called attention to the plight of

At risk of losing its federal funding, the LSC rigorously enforces the new rules and restrictions. As such it has not been financially penalized with the partisan transformation of the Congress—only procedurally restricted. Its budget continues to increase modestly with annual appropriations, and the House Appropriations Committee, while challenging the organization, has not abandoned the primary cause for which the LSC was established.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Although the LSC does not engage in lobbying per se, it does seek to influence appropriations decisions. On March 3, 1999, for example, the LSC appeared before the House Appropriations Committee to request a \$340 million budget for the year 2000. The \$40 million in additional funds (based upon its \$300 million budget for fiscal year 1998–1999) has been defined as necessary for the continuation of existing grant programs and the addition of new initiatives.

In addition to making its annual budget requests and presentations before Congress, the LSC also schedules public hearings on various proposals, programs, and rules. In April 1999, for example, the LSC issued a Federal Register Notice of a public hearing on the subject of when certain immigrants must be present in the United States in order to qualify for legal assistance from LSC-funded programs. The hearing relates to a study undertaken by a recently appointed LSC special panel on legal assistance to eligible immigrants, which is itself a product of the increased demand for civil, human, and economic rights groups to respond to changes in immigration law and aliens' rights.

April 1999 was the effective date of new income eligibility requirements for LSC assistance. Pursuant to a legal requirement that the LSC establish maximum income levels for individuals eligible for legal assistance, the LSC amended its standards in order to reflect recent changes in federal poverty guidelines issued by the Department of Health and Human Services. Designed to equal 125 percent of the poverty guidelines, the LSC's report ("CFR Part 1611 Eligibility") documents the maximum income for families ranging in size from one to eight members, with special instructions for families exceeding the upper size parameter.

Aside from these largely administrative initiatives, the LSC is currently exploring new methods of availing

itself not only to independent programs seeking grants, but also to eligible individuals who need legal assistance. Among the most innovative endeavors has been the creation of a site on the World Wide Web. Located at www.ltsi.net/lsc/html, the corporation's web site has succeeded in advertising the LSC's services and establishing interaction among clients, personnel, and grant recipients. More importantly, perhaps, the web site informs the general public of the LSC's current priorities. These priorities include a substantial emphasis on family law, fair housing, government benefits, and consumer affairs.

Although the fortunes of the LSC are ultimately determined by Congress and, in particular, the prevailing ideology of the institution, the LSC has generally maintained the bipartisan support for its mission that prevailed at the time of its founding in 1974. In a report by LSC President John McKay in a March 3, 1999, appearance before a House Appropriations Committee, the bipartisan tone was apparent as only one substantive criticism was raised regarding audits conducted by the Office of the Inspector General. The balance of the meeting was spent identifying and addressing the unmet goals of the previous year as well as goals for future operations.

On the operational front, the LSC has identified six general goals for fiscal years 1998–2003. These goals include strengthening its legal services delivery system, ensuring compliance with legal restrictions (i.e., the 1996 rules changes), enhancing the quality of services to clients, expanding services through partnerships and initiatives financed by federal funds, expanding its commitment to equal access to justice, and maximizing efficiency and productivity of the corporation's internal operations.

The LSC's substantive goals for the immediate future are twofold. The corporation is dedicated to initiatives directed at assisting the victims of domestic violence and meeting the legal needs of children (an estimated \$298 million would be dedicated to these causes), in addition to its longstanding commitment to the elderly and those at risk of being evicted from their homes. Second, the LSC intends to dedicate an additional \$13 million in fiscal year 2000 to grants for programs designed to expand technological services and client self-help.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The LSC receives 100 percent of its funding from Congress. For the present fiscal year, the LSC maintains

a budget of \$300 million. Because of its unique status and relationship with the federal government, the LSC is unaffiliated with political action committees (PACs) and does not seek to influence the outcome of political campaigns and elections.

Although appropriations by Congress finance the operation of the LSC, local programs are permitted to supplement their LSC grants with additional funding from various sources. Local programs may, for example,

seek to procure additional funds from state and local governments, IOLTA (Interest on Lawyer Trust Accounts) programs, federal agencies, bar associations, and financial contributions from individuals, foundations, corporations, and charitable organizations.

BRIAN SMENTKOWSKI

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NATIONAL COALITION FOR THE HOMELESS

The National Coalition for the Homeless (NCH) is based in Washington, D.C. Mary Ann Gleason is the organization's executive director, and there is a 42-member board of directors including service providers, organizers, and academics. Approximately 31 percent of the board are homeless or formerly homeless men and women. In addition to the executive director and the board members, the NCH maintains a staff of seven members.

The NCH seeks to be an advocate for poor and homeless individuals in the United States. There are currently 600 organizations and 1,000 individuals who are members of the NCH. Some of the methods of operation for the organization include forming coalitions, hosting conferences and seminars, providing Congressional testimony, lobbying, and publishing *Safety Network*, a semimonthly newsletter.

HISTORY

The NCH was founded in 1982 by a coalition of local and state organizations whose primary mission was to end homelessness. Since then, the NCH has committed itself to increasing public awareness of homelessness and lobbying to influence public policy. The NCH's web site lists updated legislative alerts that deal with homelessness-related legislation.

The NCH sponsors many different projects ranging from educational programs to annual events. The National Homeless Civil Rights Organizing Project began to protect the civil rights of people who are homeless. The National Welfare Monitoring and Advocacy Partnership supports the monitoring of welfare at the local level. The Street Newspaper project was an undertaking by the staff at the NCH who assembled information on street newspapers that have been written, produced, and/or distributed by homeless people. The Educational Rights project increases awareness about the

educational rights of homeless children. These are a few of the many projects and efforts the NCH has worked on since 1982.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In keeping with its mission to end homelessness, the NCH engages in policy advocacy, public education, and grassroots organizing. With regard to policy advocacy, in 1987 the NCH provided leadership to pass the Stewart B. McKinney Homelessness Assistance Act, which was the first, and so far only, major federal legislative response to homelessness. Since the passage of the McKinney Act, the NCH has continued to ensure that billions of dollars are made available for McKinney programs such as education for homeless children and emergency shelter grants.

Public education is of vital importance to the NCH. The staff provides fact sheets, reports, and workshops to thousands of people each year, including the general public, community groups, and the media. The NCH serves as a national clearinghouse for information regarding homelessness and its library is the largest holding of its kind. The library provides research on homelessness and poverty—government reports, case studies, conference reports, evaluations, and more. The NCH also maintains a vast database on research, and members of the staff constantly respond to inquiries.

The NCH is continually organizing grassroots efforts across the country. It has developed dozens of local and state coalitions that have contributed to such efforts as the You Don't Need a Home to Vote campaign and the National Homeless Person's Memorial Day, which takes place every year on December 21. The NCH works to empower homeless people through these nationwide efforts because the organization believes that their voices are vital to the public policy debate.

Current concerns for the NCH include, but are not limited to, gaining access to holistic healthcare; locating affordable, quality housing; education; civil rights; welfare reform; and income maintenance. The NCH has a number of publications that are obtainable through the organization. Facts sheets are available on various aspects of homelessness, including employment, addiction disorders, and domestic violence. A few of the numerous publications include *The 1997 Empowerment Directory*; *Addiction on the Streets: Homelessness and Substance Abuse in America*; *Broken Lives: Denial of Education to Homeless Children*; and *A Directory of National, State, and Local Homeless and Housing Advocacy Organizations*.

The NCH's future activities include continuing to increase public awareness of the prevalence of homelessness and providing information to the general public, agencies, and legislators. In May 1999, the NCH hosted the National Summit on Homelessness in Washington, D.C., to discuss ways of combating homelessness in the twenty-first century. The NCH will continue its education projects, as well as promoting federal legislative priorities that include issues such as health, education, income, and civil rights.

The NCH will continue to host and promote conferences across the country that deal with the many issues associated with homelessness. The organization makes a special effort to ensure that people know that they can make a difference in the fight against homelessness. Whether it be working at a shelter or contrib-

uting clothes, money, or food, the NCH operates according to the premise that the only way that homelessness will be eradicated is if society as a whole contributes.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NCH is a nonprofit organization. Its funding is derived from individual donations, the Combined Federal campaign, foundation grants, and telemarketing. Of the total budget, individual donations make up 51 percent, foundation grants make up 20 percent, corporate donations are 12 percent, membership dues are 11 percent, and publications and conferences each make up 3 percent. Its annual budget averages approximately \$500,000, which helps to cover the cost of its educational projects, annual events, special campaigns, and publications. The NCH engages in lobbying to advocate policy; however, it does not contribute to individual political campaigns.

BRIAN SMENTKOWSKI AND THERESA HAUG

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NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The National Lawyers Guild (NLG) is the only public interest bar organization consisting of members who are active in virtually every area of civil and human rights practice. Headquartered in New York and operating 200 chapters nationwide, the NLG is actively engaged in the movement for social and economic justice. It is headed by a four-member national executive committee led by Karen Jo Koonan, president, six vice presidents, and eight regional vice presidents. A sophisticated organization, it maintains eight national executive committees, including the Economic Rights Task Force; the international committee; and the Corporations, the Constitution, and Human Rights committees. Its operations are facilitated through a total of 21 NLG committees, projects, and task forces. With more than 5,000 registered members and several thousand associates, the NLG Membership Network coordinates the acquisition of legal representation and the organization of movements for social change.

HISTORY

The NLG's creation occurred at an informal meeting of lawyers on December 1, 1936, at New York's City Club. The group discussed the formation of a progressive, multiracial bar organization that could serve as an alternative to the all-white and generally antilabor American Bar Association. Two months later, the NLG emerged as both the nation's first integrated bar association and the first human rights organization.

In its first decades, the NLG's main method of operation was organization. Operating in an area where racial and economic discrimination converge, the NLG organized support for the New Deal and industrial unions, as well as opposition to poll taxes and racial discrimination. In the aftermath of the Second World War, guild members participated in the Nuremberg trials, the founding of the United Nations, and investiga-

tions of race riots. During the 1950s, the NLG dedicated its legal skills to the defense of labor leaders, political activists, and dissidents accused of being un-American. Indeed, at the height of McCarthyism, the NLG was the only legal organization that did not require anti-Communist oaths of its members.

During the 1960s, the NLG experienced one of its most important organizational changes. In its effort to organize massive assistance to the southern civil rights movement, it created the Committee to Aid Southern Lawyers. This not only began the NLG's era of developing specialized committees to deal with particular sociolegal issues, but also demonstrated the organization's willingness and ability to adapt to new problems and methods of solving them. This was continued in the 1970s when the NLG defended draft resisters and antiwar activists in the United States and in Indochina, began its Prison Law project in support of prisoners' rights, and established legal defense teams for defendants from the siege at Wounded Knee and the Attica Prison uprising.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the NLG became increasingly active in advocating resistance to Reagan/Bush-era civil rights policy initiatives, U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, and discriminatory immigration policies. It organized and defended cases demanding affirmative action in law schools while its National Immigration Project served as a leader in providing defense and issue advocacy for legal aliens and immigrants.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

During the 1990s, educational initiatives have become the NLG's main method of operation. Through its writings, training seminars, and educational programs, the organization has been at the forefront of the labor and

workforce movement, and is a major advocate of immigrant and prisoners' rights.

With the publication of a 190-page manual, "Speaking Up for Affirmative Action," the NLG's Bay Area Affirmative Action Committee has been engaged in an educational program designed to protect affirmative action policies and to facilitate their implementation nationwide, although an immediate concern has been to address California's special circumstances emanating from Proposition 209, which eliminates affirmative action requirements. The manual provides statistical information on race and gender discrimination, and also includes a substantive analysis of the impact of weak and absent affirmative action policies in schools and the workplace. The manual has also become the foundation for a number of public education initiatives, including practical information on organizing local affirmative action speaker's bureaus.

The NLG also runs a National Immigration Project, which investigates discriminatory policies, provides legal challenges to such policies, and publishes a number of works dedicated to stemming the anti-immigration tide. These works include, but are not limited to, the NLG's quarterly *Immigration Newsletter*, its *Brief Bank Index*, and a number of books published by West Group on immigration law and naturalization.

The Prison Law project, which was reestablished in 1993, provides a formal mechanism for jailhouse lawyers to work with the NLG. The purpose of this enterprise is to establish a legal commitment to the premise that human rights should be viewed as more important than property rights. More pragmatically, the NLG is presently establishing a prisoners' rights education program, as well as a public education program about prison and criminal law issues. Part of this mission is to advocate the adoption of policies and laws that accommodate the work of jailhouse lawyers.

As is the case with most human rights organizations, the NLG is expected to monitor the proliferation and conduct of hate groups on the Internet and in society generally. The organization remains committed to eradicating race, sex, and economic discrimination, and is in

the process of charting new paths to address the various new manifestations of discrimination that have begun to emerge. These new challenges are, and will continue to be, evident in state and federal affirmative action policy changes, in the growing intolerance toward the economic underclass, and in efforts on behalf of gay and lesbian rights. The NLG has issued a call, in fact, for a rededication to progressive legal work. Since its inception in 1936 the NLG has been committed to bringing together "all those who regard adjustments to new conditions as more important than the veneration of precedent" (www.nlg.org). Its concern for the future is that law schools are training status quo-oriented public interest lawyers, rather than progressive, innovative lawyers who will use the law to change—rather than blindly serve—politics and government.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NLG is a nonprofit organization whose foundation maintains 501(c)(3) tax status. Its annual budgets are funded by individual contributions, foundation support, and personal membership dues. The membership dues themselves are structured according to income and legal status (e.g., law school students, practicing attorneys, and jailhouse lawyers all pay different membership rates). None of the organization's activities is financed by government grants. A nonlobbying organization, the NLG does not operate a political action committee (PAC) and does not participate in or finance electoral campaigns.

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SECTION TEN

POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND IDEOLOGICAL



Political, ideological, and religious interest groups represent political interests from across the ideological spectrum, from the far right to the left. Some were founded early in the twentieth century and have long records of political activism and influence. Most were founded during the wave of interest group formation that emerged after the 1960s. Some of the groups are nonmembership groups, as in the case of “think tanks” that focus on putting research and policy analyses into the hands of decision makers. Other groups draw their strength from a large and active membership that can be mobilized to bring pressure on elected officials. These membership bases are diverse, representing some of the traditionally active segments of the population with higher incomes and education but including more recently mobilized populations, for example, people who favor prayer in schools and oppose abortion rights. The financial resources of these groups run the gamut as well, from contributor-dependent groups with annual budgets of less than \$100,000 to corporate- and foundation-backed groups with annual budgets as high as \$50 million.

These groups are actively engaged in efforts to shape policies that affect every major political issue on the national agenda. These are groups that focus on international trade issues, national security and military issues, and other foreign policy issues. Almost all the groups are involved in domestic, economic, and budget issues, including tax reform, entitlement reform, the costs and benefits of economic regulation, and reducing the national debt. Many groups are concerned with social issues such as education, welfare policies, affirmative action, crime, and drug abuse. Many are engaged in cultural or “values” issues related to family concerns,

pornography, domestic violence, homosexuality, school prayer, and abortion. Political issues such as campaign finance reform, term limits, and ethics in government are also on some of their agendas.

These groups make use of virtually every tactic in the arsenal of pressure groups, including direct lobbying, grassroots mobilization, and media and public relations activities. Most are technologically sophisticated, relying on new technologies for influence and fund-raising. Almost all of the groups have a site on the World Wide Web, many of them elaborate, some of them award-winning and even regarded as path-breaking.

AREAS OF INTEREST

Interest groups have existed throughout American history. James Madison pointed out in the 1780s that their causes are “sown in the nature of man.” The social and economic climate in the United States, with its racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse population and competing economic interests, has also been hospitable to the formation of interest groups. The political structure in the United States has opened the door to the formation of a vigorous interest group system by providing many access points for those who seek to influence public policies. Although there is a long history of interest group activity, all the groups covered in this section are of relatively recent origin, having been founded in the twentieth century and, in fact, most were founded in the last four decades of the century.

The Brookings Institution is the oldest think tank. It was founded in 1916 to support research and reform in the area of efficiency and economy in government

during the Progressive Era, when expertise and rationality were the watchwords of government and industry. Americans for Democratic Action and the John Birch Society were founded in the early days of the Cold War and their missions are a reflection of the tensions of the time. Liberal academics, intellectuals, and politicians founded Americans for Democratic Action in 1947 to promote a liberal political agenda without the “taint” of communist influence. The John Birch Society was created as an anti-communist organization in 1958 by Robert Welch, a candy manufacturer who was convinced that an international communist conspiracy that included President Dwight Eisenhower had infiltrated the American government. All the other groups were founded after 1960 during what scholars regard as one of the great waves of interest-group formation in American history.

The 1960s saw a surge in the number of interest groups engaged in the political process, a surge that has continued for three decades and more. This expansion of groups came not only among traditional economic groups (such as business and trade associations) but also among public-interest citizen groups focusing on consumer protection or government ethics, for example, and political and religious groups focusing on a range of contentious issues, including what are considered the fundamental values of American society and culture. The proliferation of interest groups was accompanied by a centralization of group headquarters in Washington, D.C., as groups and their lobbyists took up permanent residence in the nation’s capital to plead their causes. It was also accompanied by a growing technological sophistication, with many groups developing elaborate systems for soliciting and communicating with members, mobilizing pressure on policy makers, and honing their messages for specific targets. A long-term trend toward higher levels of education provided an expanded pool of potential recruits.

A number of changes in the social, economic, and political climate contributed to the decades-long surge in interest group activity and to the particular mix of political and ideological interests that have been activated. In the 1960s and 1970s, the national government created or expanded major government programs in social welfare, education, and healthcare. It also passed new regulatory legislation in the areas of civil rights, consumer protection, and occupational health and safety. This greatly expanded role of government served as an impetus for the growth in the number of interest groups. New government agencies helped organize service providers or program beneficiaries to press for continued government action. Ideological opponents of

expanded government organized, forming the American Conservative Union, the National Taxpayers Union, and the Cato Institute. Business opponents of new regulation and new taxes pumped money into organizations such as the Heritage Foundation and, later, Citizens for a Sound Economy, to press the case against bigger government. A “tax revolt” in the late 1970s generated new energy for organized action to reduce the level of taxation. Supporters of more aggressive government regulation to protect consumers and the environment also organized, including Citizen Action, Public Citizen, and the U.S. Public Interest Research Group.

The increase in interest group activity also flowed from the social and cultural upheaval of the 1960s that carried into the 1970s. This was a period of social protest that challenged established practices and authorities, demanded more accountability from political leaders, and legitimated new grassroots political tactics. The civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movements were among the most visible elements of the new activism, but protest and social ferment emerged in various segments of society. Even the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church endorsed greater social and political engagement after Vatican II in 1965. The social protest movements also brought new demands for the recognition of rights for blacks, women, Hispanics, American Indians, prisoners, the mentally ill, the homeless, and gay men and lesbians. These demands added to the momentum of group formation.

By the late 1970s, a backlash began to emerge from the widening role of government and a sense among some segments of the population that government programs undermined traditional values and institutions, gave too much support to minorities, and were too expensive to operate. The election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980 was one element in a conservative tide in the 1980s that contributed to new vigor in political organizing by conservatives and corporations. Conservative groups such as Americans for Tax Reform supported the Reagan administration’s efforts to cut taxes and shrink social programs. Liberal groups critical of the Reagan administration’s economic policies and their impact on minorities and the poor also organized, including the National Coalition for the Homeless and the Economic Policy Institute. The late 1970s also marked the beginning of the political mobilization of religious conservatives. The emergence of the “electronic church” brought large television audiences to evangelical ministers and religious entrepreneurs such as Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, and Jim Bakker. The Christian school movement, formed out of the resis-

tance to racial integration as well as out of a reaction to secular trends in public schools and public life, also brought together a potential political constituency. The tax treatment of religious schools and the regulatory treatment of religious broadcasters, combined with increasingly prominent social issues such as abortion, school prayer, and family breakdown brought religious conservatives into the political arena through groups such as Moral Majority, Christian Voice, and one of the largest and most influential, the Christian Coalition, founded in 1989.

The decades since the 1960s also witnessed efforts by presidential administrations, elected officials, and interest groups to alter the legal terrain to support friendly interests and to undermine opposing groups. Tax code provisions regarding deductions for contributions to interest groups or for lobbying expenses, subsidies of postal rates for nonprofit groups, and rules for the registration and regulation of lobbyists influence those groups that thrive and those that struggle. The Reagan administration undertook a conscious effort to defund the left and mobilize its conservative allies, to restrict government funds that assisted political organizing by advocates of government programs or to challenge the tax-exempt status of its critics. The Clinton administration has evidently pursued similar tactics against groups that opposed its policies.

Finally, the creation and maintenance of interest groups require large amounts of capital. Many of the newly formed interest groups have been able to sustain their activities by developing new sources of funding outside their immediate membership. Political entrepreneurs and patrons of political action, including wealthy individuals, corporations, private foundations, and government agencies, have been willing to back groups supportive of their interests. Conservative think tanks have been especially successful at attracting the financial support necessary to build influential institutions and infrastructures. According to the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP), the top 20 conservative think tanks, including the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, and the Cato Institute, spent \$158 million in 1996. These think tanks have relied upon wealthy benefactors such as the Koch family (Kansas oil billionaires), conservative foundations such as the John M. Olin Foundation, and corporations and businesses such as Amway to build sophisticated political advocacy machines. The NCRP estimates that overall spending by conservative think tanks will have exceeded \$1 billion in the last decade of the twentieth century.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

Interest groups can be categorized in several ways. Some scholars group them according to the kind of interest they represent (economic or social, for example), whether they are open to all persons for membership or are restricted by occupational affiliation, or whether they are for-profit or nonprofit entities. Most of the groups in this section fall into one of two categories: citizen groups or think tanks. Citizen groups claim to represent a general, public interest and do not restrict membership on the basis of occupational or professional affiliation. Think tanks are private research-oriented groups that analyze public policy issues and advocate policy alternatives. Some citizen groups and think tanks are explicit about their political leanings and ideological commitments, such as the liberal Americans for Democratic Action, the conservative American Conservative Union, and the libertarian Cato Institute. Other groups insist that their interest is the public's interest, but most can also be placed on the ideological spectrum; for example, Public Citizen and Common Cause are regarded as liberal interest groups, whereas Citizens for a Sound Economy and Americans for Tax Reform are regarded as conservative interest groups.

Some of the groups do not offer membership. Think tanks such as the Brookings Institution and the American Enterprise Institute employ scholars, researchers, and other professional staff, and focus primarily on publishing policy analyses and disseminating the results among policy-makers and the public. Some of these "nonmember" interest groups solicit contributions from sponsors or patrons and provide newsletters, publications, discounts, or other benefits to contributors. Other groups are explicitly member organizations: members pay dues in exchange for various benefits.

Some of the membership groups are fairly small. The John Birch Society has a membership of around 40,000, and Americans for Democratic Action has about 60,000 members. Many of the groups report membership in the hundreds of thousands, although most are below 300,000. The Christian Coalition claims almost 2 million members. Some of the groups have other organizations as members. These organizations have memberships that do not necessarily join or support the interest group. For example, the National Council of Churches represents some 52 million members who have not necessarily expressed support for the group's advocacy agenda.

Studies have shown that most Americans do not join interest groups. Those who do share the demographic

characteristics of those most likely to vote: higher education and higher income. Unlike voting, though, joining a group carries more obvious costs, and interest group membership has an even more pronounced upper-status skew than voting. However, there are exceptions to the upper-class tilt of interest group membership. Populist groups with an anti-elitist, anti-establishment message have historically drawn support from lower-status citizens. In recent decades, this has been especially true of conservative groups whose emphasis has been on the threats to traditional values and institutions posed by the secular and economic developments of modern life promoted by “the establishment.” The John Birch Society, with its ultrapatriotism and aggressive defense of traditional morality, has drawn support from lower-income, less-educated, often rural citizens. The more recent religious conservative movement, sometimes referred to as the “Christian Right” and reflected in such groups as the Christian Coalition, has also been successful at mobilizing lower-status citizens. Aggressive and sophisticated direct-mail solicitation techniques have garnered conservative populist groups (and candidates) large amounts of money in small contributions from a large donor base. There is also some evidence that the religious right has made inroads into the more well-off, more-educated suburban population in the last decade.

The groups in this section have budgets that run from fairly modest, such as the \$600,000 annual budget of Americans for Democratic Action, to very robust, such as the \$43 million annual budget of the Heritage Foundation. Most of the groups in this section have annual budgets that exceed \$1 million, some have multimillion-dollar budgets, and a handful, including the Heritage Foundation, the Brookings Institution, American Enterprise Institute, Common Cause, and the Christian Coalition, have annual budgets that exceed \$10 million. The sources of revenue vary from group to group, as does the mix of revenue sources.

The main sources of income for these groups are contributions or dues from individuals, grants from charitable foundations, contributions from corporations, and grants from government agencies. Some receive income from investments, many receive income from the sale of publications, and some receive income from renting member or contributor lists to other groups. Many foundations support the research and organizing activities of interest groups, sometimes without regard to the political leanings of the group. Some foundations are clearly patrons of conservative groups, including the Sarah Scaife Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, the David H. Koch Charitable Foundation, Lynde and

Harry Bradley Foundation, Smith-Richardson Foundation, and Adolph Coors Foundation. Others are typically supporters of liberal groups, including the Florence and John Schumann Foundation, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, Joyce Foundation, and Charles Stewart Mott Foundation.

CURRENT ISSUES

Political, ideological, and religious interest groups attempt to influence public opinion and policy regarding virtually every issue on the national agenda. None of these groups confines its efforts to a single issue.

The general principles, as well as the detailed policies of international affairs issues, draw the attention of most of the groups in this section. Liberal groups, such as Americans for Democratic Action, have pressed the case for American foreign policies that emphasize human rights, economic assistance to underdeveloped countries, arms control, global environmental regulation, and support for international organizations such as the United Nations. Conservative groups, such as the Heritage Foundation, have argued for policies that clearly define and advance America’s own vital interests, provide maximum military power and technology, including a missile defense system, and limit economic assistance to countries that are not supportive of American interests and values. They are skeptical of global treaties and international organizations. The libertarian Cato Institute has argued for peaceful trade relations with all nations and entangling alliances with none. It has opposed most U.S. engagement abroad that involves covert or overt efforts to change or coerce other governments. The John Birch Society is fearful of a global conspiracy to create a one-world totalitarian government and has identified enemies of America in virtually every spot around the globe, enemies that should be guarded against rather than traded with.

On international trade issues, liberals such as Americans for Democratic Action or the U.S. Catholic Conference have argued for basing normal trade relations on the human rights and labor practices of the country in question. Conservatives such as Citizens for a Sound Economy have argued that free markets, and therefore free trade, benefit citizens in all countries over the long run.

Domestic economic issues have also engaged almost all of these interest groups. Liberal groups—including the Economic Policy Institute, Public Citizen, Citizen

Action, and Americans for Democratic Action—have pushed for an active government role in regulating corporate action to protect consumers against hazardous products, employees against hazards in the workplace, and citizens against hazards in the environment. They have pressed for greater funding for social welfare programs that provide food, education, housing, and healthcare assistance to low-income citizens. They have pressed for progressive income taxes that shift more of the tax burden to the wealthy and corporations.

Conservatives, including Americans for Tax Reform, the American Conservative Union, the National Taxpayers Union, and Citizens for a Sound Economy, have lobbied for lower and flatter tax rates, less government regulation in the areas of education, healthcare, the environment, the workplace, and product safety, and less government social spending overall. Plans to reduce government regulation and spending include proposals to privatize all or part of the Social Security and Medicare programs. Conservative groups have also favored balancing the federal budget. Some support the passage of a balanced budget constitutional amendment.

Social issues are the concern of many of these groups. On abortion, religious groups such as the U.S. Catholic Conference and the Christian Coalition join with conservative groups such as the John Birch Society to support efforts to criminalize most abortions. The libertarian Cato Institute joins with liberals such as Americans for Democratic Action to oppose legal restrictions on abortion. Some of the conservative groups that are focused on taxes and economic regulation studiously avoid the issue. The Christian Coalition joins with the Cato Institute and conservatives in opposition to gun control, while the U.S. Catholic Conference and the National Council of Churches join with liberals to support tighter legal restrictions on gun access and possession. The issues of gay rights, pornography, the death penalty, child care, and media depictions of sex and violence also concern many of these groups, with the ideological line-ups sometimes unpredictable.

Political issues such as term limits and campaign finance reform are also the focus of public education and lobbying efforts by many of these groups. Campaign finance and the relationship between special interests and politicians are especially the concern of Common Cause, Public Citizen, the Center for Public Integrity, and the Center for Responsive Politics. Some groups, especially the John Birch Society, aggressively pushed for the impeachment and removal of President Bill Clinton. Others, especially Americans for Democratic Action, were critical of the impeachment.

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

Despite differences in the kinds of interest groups represented here, all engage in a range of efforts designed to influence public debate and political decisions regarding public policies. The types of activities they engage in, however, are shaped by government regulations.

Most of the groups in this section are designated as tax-exempt organizations under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code, which stipulates that they may engage in educational activities but may not lobby for or against legislation. In some cases, however, 501(c)(3) organizations may spend 15 percent to 20 percent of their expenses on lobbying without paying a penalty. Other groups in this section are tax-exempt organizations under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue code, and they are allowed to lobby for or against legislation that will promote the general welfare but not benefit one single industry. There has always been a fine line between educational activities and lobbying, and groups have battled the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) over where the line falls. In 1999, the IRS ruled that certain Christian Coalition activities crossed into partisan activity, and it revoked the group's tax-exempt status, forcing it to reorganize as a for-profit, partisan lobbying group. Some political groups do engage in lobbying and also make contributions to political candidates.

Although most of these groups do not technically engage in lobbying and do not make contributions to candidates for public office, many still enter the electoral process. Several maintain and publish "scorecards" of the voting records of members of Congress, rating them on how often they vote the "correct" way on issues of importance to the group. The scorecards of the American Conservative Union and Americans for Democratic Action have become widely accepted measures of the political ideology of members of Congress. The Christian Coalition also publishes scorecards on the voting records of members of congress and distributes millions of these in churches across the country at election time.

Most of the groups publish policy analyses and positions on advocacy for sale or distribution. Think tanks such as American Enterprise Institute, Cato Institute, and the Brookings Institution have extensive publications, including scholarly monographs, trade books, and research reports. The John Birch Society runs a large-scale publishing operation, American Opinion Books, that publishes books and pamphlets that are

distributed through a chain of book outlets run by the society. Most of these groups also publish newsletters or magazines with information on issues and legislation for members or financial supporters.

Citizens for a Sound Economy is one of several of the groups that maintains a professional field staff to train volunteers across the country in organizing, media tactics, and public education techniques. The group, along with others, organizes state and local chapters to educate citizens and conduct letter-writing and phone campaigns, and it supports them with products and services that include position papers, videos, and bumper stickers.

Common Cause, Public Citizen, the Center for Responsive Politics, the Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute, the American Enterprise Institute, and many of the other groups also devote a significant effort to influencing the public debate in the media. Staff analysts, economists, and spokespersons write op-ed articles and appear on radio and television public affairs shows. They are available as speakers for local civic groups and colleges. Many of the groups organize seminars, conferences, and workshops, some of them overseas, to discuss issues of concern and to advance their point of view. These groups also target members of Congress and their staffs for “educational” activities, holding briefings, providing analyses, and drafting legislation and speeches. The Heritage Foundation and Citizens for a Sound Economy have been especially influential, forging close ties to the Republican congressional leadership in the 1990s.

Finally, almost all of the groups in this section main-

tain a site on the World Wide Web. Some of them are extensive and sophisticated. Many provide access to an extensive archive of policy reports and analysis. Issue briefings, legislative updates, links to other organizations, and recommendations for action are common on these sites. Some provide direct links to the offices of members of Congress, allowing visitors to e-mail their representatives and senators.

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AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION

The American Conservative Union (ACU) is the nation's oldest conservative lobbying organization. Founded in 1964 and headquartered in northern Virginia, the ACU's Statement of Principles lays out its strong support for capitalism, the doctrine of original intent of the framers of the Constitution, traditional moral values, and a strong national defense. Its mission is to communicate and advance the goals and principles of conservatism through one multi-issue, umbrella organization. With 500,000 members nationwide, the ACU engages in lobbying and public education activities on a wide range of issues.

The ACU devotes a significant amount of effort to mobilizing its members and supporters to influence the decisions made in Congress. Its recently launched site on the World Wide Web allows members to sign up for the ACU's e-mail service, Infonet, and receive memos, news releases, commentaries published by ACU leaders, and sample letters to Congress on key legislation. The site also allows visitors to join the ACU, register for conferences, access published materials, and do research on their representatives and senators. The ACU Ratings of Congress are archived back to 1971 on the site. These ratings give members of Congress a score based on how they voted on important issues throughout the year. The ACU rating is a widely accepted measure of the political ideology of representatives.

The ACU also collaborates with other groups in coalitions to mobilize the public on various issues and has even joined with liberal groups like Americans for Democratic Action when they share a common position. They have organized town meetings to help spread the conservative viewpoint. A media bureau provides the public and the media with information and commentary and an ACU speakers bureau provides community and civic groups with orators for their events. The ACU also publishes legislative guides for members of Congress and their staffs that provide conservative

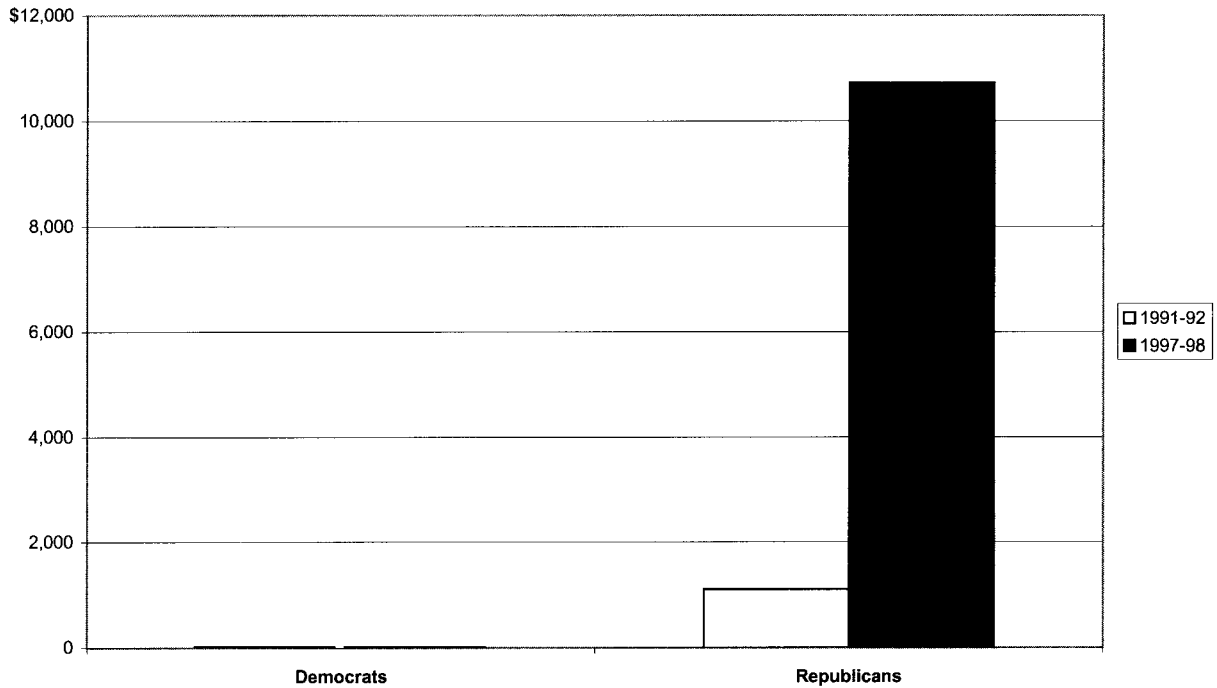
policy analysis and proposals. It also produces television and newspaper advertisements, and audio and video documentaries on various issues.

Since 1974, the ACU has hosted the annual Conservative Political Action Conference, where thousands of conservative leaders and activists meet to discuss current issues and policies. The conference has become one of the more prominent and prestigious events within the conservative movement and has attracted high-profile speakers and participants like Ronald Reagan, George Bush, Dan Quayle, Bob Dole, and Newt Gingrich.

HISTORY

The ACU was founded in 1964 by prominent conservatives, including Frank Meyer, John Ashbrook, William F. Buckley, L. Brent Bozell, and Robert Bauman. Its mission was to provide unified leadership to the conservative movement, mold public opinion, and stimulate responsible political action. In 1965, under the leadership of William Rusher, the ACU mounted a successful drive to expand its membership and create state affiliates. It also launched a lobbying and publication effort in the 1960s, and backed the election of Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew in 1968. In 1970, the ACU created the Conservative Victory Fund, one of the first conservative campaign war chests to support political candidates. In 1971 it began to publish the ACU ratings of members of Congress. The ACU eventually became critical of what it perceived to be a liberal drift in the Nixon administration, and it endorsed ACU founder John Ashbrook's bid for the 1972 Republican presidential nomination. In 1974, the ACU sponsored the first Conservative Political Action Conference to help train, inform, and inspire conservative activists. The ACU was unsuccessful in its effort to help Ronald

**American Conservative Union
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1991–1998.

Reagan won the Republican presidential nomination in 1976.

The ACU incorporated as a nonprofit organization in 1979. Financial difficulties plagued the organization throughout the 1980s, as it competed with emerging conservative groups for money and members. The election of Democrat Bill Clinton in 1992 prompted a resurgence in support and the ACU’s membership reached an all-time high in 1994. It was able to purchase a permanent headquarters in Alexandria, Virginia, in 1994 and its political action committee, ACU PAC was able to support many conservative candidates.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The ACU lobbies Congress on a range of issues. As the self-proclaimed “conservative voice in Washington,” the ACU has pushed for a balanced budget, lower taxes, less government regulation, less spending on social programs, more spending on the military, and stronger sup-

port for traditional moral values. Recently, the ACU supported the Tax Code Termination Act, which would have abolished the current tax code by a certain date. According to the ACU, this would open the way for a new tax system with lower and flatter rates. The group lobbied against increases in the minimum wage, arguing that the minimum wage law is a “job killer” because it would force employers who could not afford to raise wages to lay off workers.

The ACU has opposed the most prominent campaign finance reform proposals and instead has supported reforms that would abolish campaign contribution limits, terminate public financing of presidential elections, and strengthen disclosure and reporting requirements.

The ACU has supported various proposals for school choice, including school vouchers and tax-free educational savings accounts. It has also supported a ban on racial and gender preferences in federal contracting and hiring, claiming that such programs are the antithesis of civil rights. It has been in the forefront of the effort to pass a national ban on a late-term abortion procedure that critics call partial-birth

abortion. The ACU has lobbied to abolish the National Endowment for the Arts, claiming that it subsidizes “pornographic, blasphemous, and extremist political ‘art.’”

The ACU pressed Congress to reject the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty backed by the Clinton administration, arguing that the treaty would do irreparable damage to the U.S. nuclear weapons program and national security. It has supported abandoning the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and constructing a missile defense system. The ACU lobbied for rejection of the Chemical Weapons Treaty signed by President Clinton, and opposed the Kyoto Protocols which aims to reduce greenhouse gas emissions worldwide. Those pacts, the ACU argued, would weaken the U.S. military and limit American autonomy. The ACU has also pushed for tighter restrictions on U.S. commercial activities and trade with China.

FINANCIAL FACTS

ACU PAC, the political action committee of the American Conservative Union, has given increasing

sums to the campaign coffers of Republican candidates for Congress over the past decade, although these amounts remain relatively modest. In the 1991–1992 cycle, ACU PAC gave a little over \$1,000 to Republican candidates for Congress; during the 1997–1998 election cycle, that figure had climbed to just over \$10,000. Given its conservative ideological predilections, the American Conservative Union gives no money to the campaigns of Democratic candidates for Congress.

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AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE

The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI) is one of the largest and most respected think tanks in the United States. Founded in 1943 and based in Washington, D.C., AEI sponsors original research on government policy, the American economy, and American politics. It is a tax-exempt, nonpartisan organization, although it is recognized as one of the preeminent conservative think tanks in the nation's capital. Its self-proclaimed mission is to preserve and strengthen the foundations of freedom—limited government, private enterprise, vital cultural and political institutions, and a strong foreign policy and national defense. It employs a resident faculty of scholars and fellows and supports more than 100 adjunct scholars at universities and policy institutes throughout the United States and abroad. Its staff of scholars and writers includes prominent conservative academics and politicians.

AEI engages in a wide range of activities that are designed to influence public policy debates in the United States. Among its most important efforts is its book-publishing program. The AEI Press produces volumes by leading policy-makers and scholars on economics, foreign affairs, politics, and culture. Among its more provocative publications in recent years were *The Bell Curve*, by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein, and *The End of Racism*, by Dinesh D'Souza.

AEI also maintains an active government relations program, communicating its research findings and proposals to members of Congress and their staffs, officials and staff from the executive branch, federal judges, and state and local officials. AEI scholars testify regularly before congressional committees. The organization also holds numerous briefings each year for government officials and AEI events often feature presentations by government leaders. A survey of congressional aides and journalists by *Mediaweek* found AEI to be among the most influential think tanks in Washington, D.C.

AEI also provides support to numerous journalists and commentators whose columns appear in leading newspapers or who appear regularly on television news programs promoting AEI's point of view. The work of AEI scholars is cited more frequently in newspapers and newsmagazines than that of their peers at other research institutes. AEI also organizes nearly 200 seminars, conferences, lectures, and briefings each year. At its well-attended annual dinner in Washington, D.C., AEI presents the Frances Boyer Award to an individual who has made notable intellectual or practical contributions to American society.

AEI publishes a bimonthly magazine of politics, business, and culture, titled *The American Enterprise*. It also maintains a comprehensive site on the World Wide Web, where visitors can access a wide array of policy analyses and commentary, including audio files.

HISTORY

AEI was founded in 1943 by Lewis H. Brown, chairman of the Johns-Manville Corporation, to promote free market ideas. Its financial support came almost exclusively from corporations and business-minded individuals. In 1954, William J. Baroody, Sr., became its executive vice president, at a time when AEI had four full-time employees and an annual budget of \$85,000. Baroody developed AEI, becoming its president in 1962. Shortly thereafter its name was changed to the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Baroody was a key advisor to Senator Barry Goldwater during his 1964 presidential campaign and AEI was criticized as being a "cover" for political activities. By the early 1970s, Baroody had hired a public relations firm to promote AEI, begun a series of videotaped forums on current topics, and aggressively sought

to broaden support for AEI beyond the business community. AEI grew dramatically, employing a staff of over 100, with a budget of \$6 million. It launched a number of new periodicals, including *Regulation* and *Public Opinion*, and hired a number of former Nixon administration officials as fellows, including William Simon and Robert Bork. In 1977, former President Gerald Ford was named AEI's first "distinguished fellow."

AEI was aggressive in promoting its research among members of Congress and in the early 1980s gained influence in the Reagan White House, as a number of AEI fellows won appointments in the administration. It also began an effort to move to the ideological center, hiring a number of Democrats as staffers. In the mid 1980s, under the leadership of William J. Baroody, Jr., AEI fell upon hard times, suffering from budget deficits and poor management, and with conservative money shifting to newly formed conservative competitors, partly in response to AEI's move to the center. In 1986, Baroody was forced out as president of AEI and was replaced by Christopher C. DeMuth. DeMuth instituted a series of budget and staff cuts, sold off several publications, and initiated an aggressive fund-raising effort, including an "associates program" to solicit support from individuals.

In the 1990s, AEI was able to bring on board high-profile academics and former government officials, which contributed to its success in attracting more foundation and corporate support. It has been able to expand its presence in academe, the media, and the halls of government, and to solidify its reputation in the Washington policy community.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

AEI does not take an institutional position on policies and legislation, but it supports hundreds of scholars, writers, and journalists who research and comment on virtually every domestic and foreign policy issue and who support a wide range of policy proposals. Its research "shop" is divided into economic policy studies, foreign and defense policy studies, and social and political studies. These broad areas include hundreds of specific policy areas, such as business and enterprise, markets, trade, the environment, federalism, culture, re-

ligion, and the family. Although AEI scholars take positions that cover a broader swath of the ideological spectrum than do the more conservative Heritage Foundation or the more ideologically pure libertarian Cato Institute, conservative policy prescriptions clearly dominate. AEI writers have generally been hostile to the policies of the Clinton administration.

In the area of economics, AEI scholars generally advocate lower taxes, less regulation, less government spending on social programs, and entitlement reforms that rely on privatization. In the area of national defense, AEI scholars have generally argued for more defense spending, development of a missile defense system, a robust definition and defense of U.S. national interests, and skepticism about the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. AEI analysts have been critical of what they perceive to be liberal dominance in the educational system, criticizing especially the emphasis on diversity and multiculturalism. They have argued for more discipline and parental control, a traditional curriculum with traditional instructional methods, and experimentation with school vouchers. AEI scholars have been critical of affirmative action in education and in the workplace. Policies that strengthen the two-parent family have won support from AEI writers, as have policies that encourage traditional morality and discourage "alternative" lifestyles. In each of these areas, a range of views is expressed by various authors and commentators related to AEI.

FINANCIAL FACTS

AEI had revenue of \$19.6 million in 1998, excluding investment activity. The bulk of its revenue has been from contributions and gifts from foundations (42 percent), corporations (28 percent), and individuals (23 percent). Conference fees, publication sales, and miscellaneous sources account for 7 percent of revenue. The John M. Olin Foundation, Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, and Sarah Scaife Foundation are among the numerous foundations to provide support to AEI. AEI does not accept contract research.

In 1998, AEI spent \$15.3 million. Most of the spending (60 percent) supported its economic, social, political, foreign, and defense policy studies. Marketing, management, and administrative support accounted for 24 percent of expenditures, publications 11 percent, and conferences 5 percent.

AEI is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code, which means that contributions to AEI are tax deductible for contributors who itemize on their tax returns. Its 501(c)(3) status allows AEI to engage in public education activities but bars it from lobbying for or against particular legislation. It does not make contributions to political candidates.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) is an independent, liberal, political organization founded in 1947 by prominent liberal academics, activists, and politicians, including former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, economist John Kenneth Galbraith, historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, and former Vice President Hubert Humphrey. ADA is based in Washington, D.C., but also has close to two dozen state and local chapters nationwide, with approximately 60,000 members. Youth for Democratic Action (YDA) is the “under-30” arm of the ADA and is active in organizing on college campuses and in communities to promote a liberal political agenda.

ADA provides information and support to thousands of activists seeking to lobby Congress and the president and gives liberal values a public voice through appearances on talk radio and television, in public forums, and through electronic activism via the Internet. ADA’s *Annual Voting Record*, a scorecard rating of the voting records of members of Congress, has been published since 1947 and has become a widely accepted standard measure of the political ideology of members of Congress. *ADAction News & Notes* is published every week that Congress is in session and gives liberal activists a legislative update on crucial votes. ADA also publishes a quarterly magazine, *ADA Today*, and researches, publishes, and disseminates special reports and policy briefs on national issues.

Throughout its history, ADA has taken a lead in lobbying for civil rights, labor rights, minimum wage, nuclear arms control, women’s rights, and national health insurance. Its political action committee (PAC), ADA PAC, makes political contributions to liberal candidates for federal office.

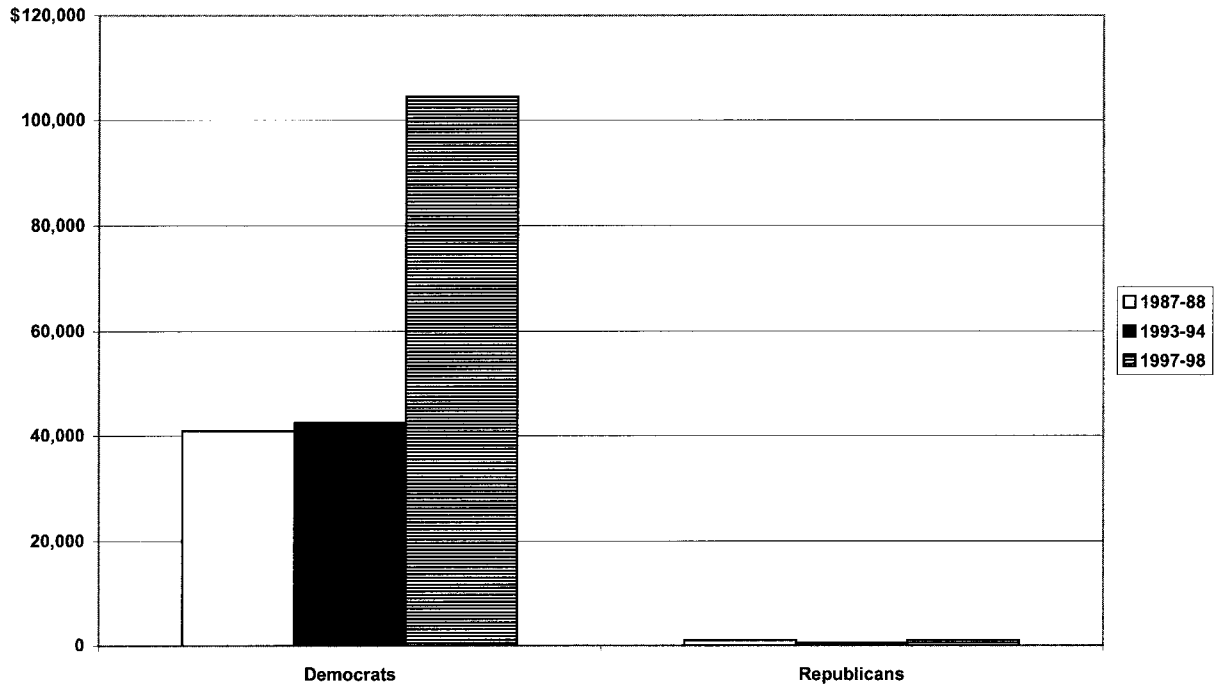
started in 1941 by dissident socialists who had split from the Socialist Party over its isolationism. The UDA was one of the few progressive political organizations in the 1940s that excluded Communists from membership, calling communism and fascism equal threats to democracy. Its membership and budget were dwarfed by other progressive organizations that included Communists and that had joined in a popular front to oppose fascism. In January 1947 the UDA met in Washington, D.C., at a conference organized by James Loeb, Jr., UDA’s executive secretary. At that conference, the organization’s name was changed to Americans for Democratic Action, and it attracted the support of prominent liberal and labor leaders. Its statement of principles included “insuring decent levels of health, nutrition, shelter, and education; civil liberties for all Americans regardless of race, color, creed, or sex; full support for the United Nations; and rejection of association with communists.”

In 1947, ADA backed the Truman Doctrine to contain communism, along with the Marshall Plan to help rebuild Europe, in the face of criticism by other progressive organizations. ADA competed with other organizations on the left, especially those loyal to former Vice President Henry Wallace, for the support of liberals and labor. In 1948, ADA successfully pushed the Democratic Party to adopt a civil rights plank in the party platform. After the 1948 elections, ADA emerged as a significant voice in American politics and in the Democratic Party for anti-Communist liberalism. It became a target of conservative critics for its advocacy of liberal politics. Vice President Richard Nixon referred to it as the “red ADA.” ADA was also criticized by such prominent leftists as sociologist C. Wright Mills, for its “pragmatic gradualism.” In the 1960 presidential election, ADA gave lukewarm support to John Kennedy, having preferred Hubert Humphrey for the Democratic nomination. After the election, however, President Kennedy drew generously on ADA for appointments

HISTORY

ADA was founded in 1947 out of the remnants of the Union for Democratic Action (UDA), which was

**Americans for Democratic Action
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

in his administration, including ADA members Theodore Sorensen, Harris Wofford, Abraham Ribicoff, and Archibald Cox.

ADA was heavily involved in lobbying for the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and in supporting President Johnson’s “War on Poverty.” By the late 1960s, the Vietnam War began to split the traditional Cold War liberals from a younger generation of reform liberals, steeped in the civil rights movement and skeptical of Cold War rhetoric and hard-line anti-Soviet politics. By the end of the 1960s, the antiwar, reform liberals, disillusioned with the moderation and pragmatism of the Democrats and the old ADA leadership, gained the upper hand within ADA.

In the 1970s, ADA’s positions on foreign policy shifted focus from east-west conflict and Communist containment, to north-south dialogue and addressing “the needs of the poorest countries.” ADA’s economic positions shifted to the left, emphasizing “democratic” control of economic organizations. Prominent socialist Michael Harrington was elected to the ADA national board. ADA criticized President Jimmy Carter’s moderation and in 1980 supported

Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy’s unsuccessful challenge to Carter for the Democratic nomination. After a divisive debate, ADA endorsed Carter in 1980 over ADA founding-member turned conservative Ronald Reagan. Reagan’s election, and the conservative ascendance of the 1980s left the ADA at an ebb of political influence.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

For over 50 years, ADA has been an influential voice in liberal politics and in the left wing of the Democratic Party. Its lobbying and organizing and its connection to Democratic presidents and members of Congress have given ADA a role in the passage of legislation on civil rights, welfare, healthcare, and arms control. At the end of the 1990s, ADA continued to lobby for liberal legislation and against much of the legislative agenda of the Republican-controlled Congress. ADA’s agenda for the 106th Congress (1999–2000) includes support for increasing the

minimum wage, campaign finance reform, a single-payer national health insurance system, abortion rights, and affirmative action. ADA opposes funding a missile defense system and supports cuts in the military budget. ADA has taken a position opposing privatization experiments with Social Security and instead has proposed an increase in the wages that are covered by the payroll tax. It has also called for tax reform that would make the federal income tax more progressive by increasing taxes on corporations and the top 20 percent of income earners. According to ADA, this would help generate revenue for more domestic spending, including the hiring of more public school teachers and the construction of new schools.

ADA also took a formal position opposing the impeachment of President Bill Clinton in 1998, asserting that the evidence did not support a bipartisan finding of "high crimes and misdemeanors" and that the impeachment was a partisan challenge to the constitutional separation of powers. ADA also opposed the renewal of the independent counsel law that establishes legal and prosecutorial oversight of the president.

ADA's lobbying effort in the late 1990s included the building of a constituent lobby network that recruits citizen lobbyists to lobby their own members of Congress. ADA notifies the members of this network of pending votes by phone, mail, fax, or e-mail. In 1999, Votenet named ADA's web site an "outstanding political web site."

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1997, ADA's total revenue was \$681,000, with expenses of \$650,000. Much of its revenue came from membership dues (\$236,000). Other income came from various programs, list rental, publications and subscriptions, and gifts and grants from individuals and foundations. Expenses were primarily for program services.

ADA is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue code, making it a nonprofit organization that allows it to lobby for or against specific legislation if such legislation promotes the social welfare and not a specific industry. Individuals may not deduct contributions to ADA.

The ADA also maintains a political action committee (PAC) that donates to the campaigns of liberal—usually Democratic Party—candidates. Over the years, these donations have risen dramatically, from \$42,000 in the 1987–1988 election cycle to \$105,551 in the 1997–1998 election cycle.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Americans for Tax Reform (ATR) is a nonprofit organization of over 80,000 taxpayers and taxpayer advocacy groups who oppose all tax increases at the federal and state levels. It serves as a clearinghouse for the grassroots taxpayers' movement by working with approximately 800 state- and county-level groups. ATR is affiliated with the research and education organization, Americans for Tax Reform Foundation. Founded in 1985, ATR is based in Washington, D.C. The group's ultimate goal is to cut government costs by one-half.

ATR promotes its small-government agenda through a broad array of political and educational activities. It devotes a significant amount of money to lobbying Congress and educating the public on tax and budget issues. Since 1986, ATR has sponsored the Taxpayer Protection Pledge, a written promise by legislators and candidates to oppose any effort to increase taxes on individuals and businesses. ATR also sponsors the calculation of "Cost of Government Day," which highlights how much time Americans spend working just to pay taxes. Cost of Government Day, ATR claims, marks the day that Americans stop working to pay their annual federal and state taxes and get to keep their income for themselves. ATR also rates members of Congress on the basis of their votes on tax and budget issues and gives them such awards as "Friends of the Taxpayer" or "Taxpayer Villains." ATR's Ronald Reagan Legacy Project campaigns to honor the former president by having at least one notable public landmark in each state named after him. Among its successes are the renaming of Washington's National Airport and Florida's turnpike system.

ATR also runs the K Street Project, which reports on the political affiliation, employment background, and political donations of members of Washington's premier lobbying firms, trade associations, and high-tech companies. The report is a compilation of Federal Election Commission filings for each individual's political contributions to candidates, parties, and political

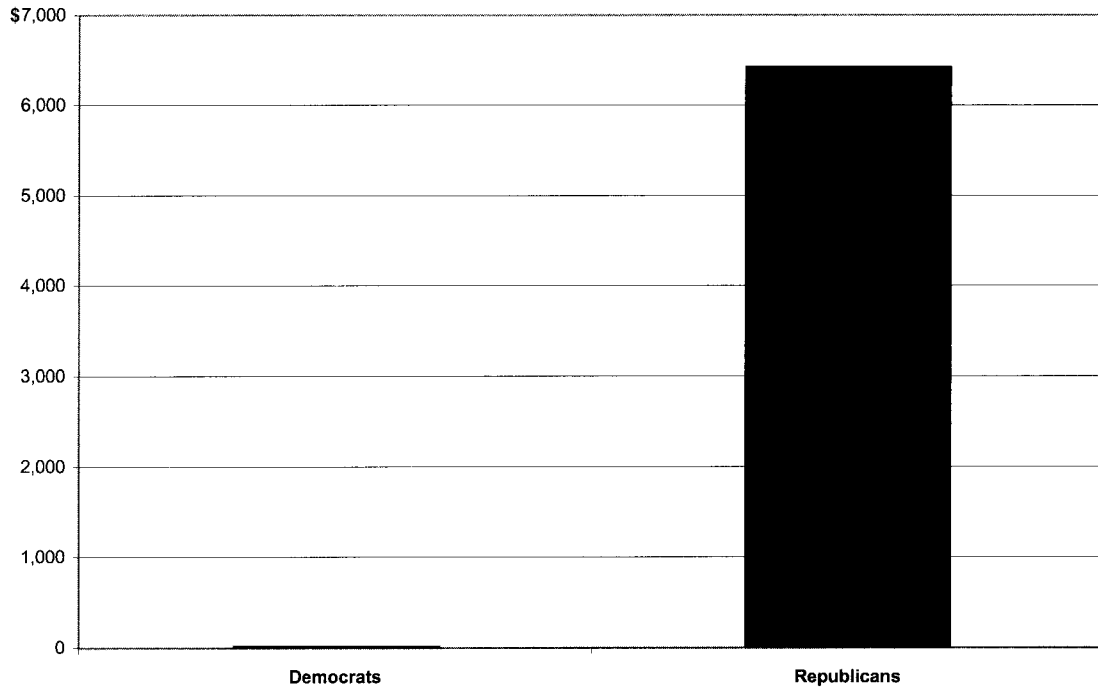
action committees (PACs) that are overwhelmingly partisan. ATR also hosts a Wednesday, invitation-only gathering of activists, policy analysts, candidates, journalists, and elected officials to discuss upcoming bills and initiatives and to organize and raise money for grassroots political efforts. Representatives from such groups as the National Rifle Association, Cato Institute, Christian Coalition, Heritage Foundation, and U.S. Term Limits regularly attend. ATR maintains a comprehensive web site that provides access to its reports, ratings, and press releases, and shows visitors how to join or contribute to ATR.

HISTORY

ATR was founded by Grover Norquist in 1985 at the suggestion of Reagan administration officials eager to organize grassroots support for the president's 1986 tax simplification legislation. Norquist graduated from Harvard in 1978 with a degree in economics and later earned an MBA from Harvard Business School. In the early 1980s he worked to reinvigorate the national College Republicans organization along with another young activist, Ralph Reed, who later headed the Christian Coalition. Before founding ATR, Norquist worked for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, National Taxpayers Union, Republican National Committee, and Reagan administration. He has earned a reputation as an effective, assertive, and zealous conservative activist.

ATR quickly gained attention for its aggressive effort to persuade political candidates to sign its Taxpayer Protection Pledge. Many in the ATR believe that Senator Bob Dole's refusal to sign the pledge in 1988 damaged his chances for the Republican presidential nomination. In the early 1990s, ATR helped organize the Leave Us Alone Coalition, bringing together such groups as big business, small business owners, farmers,

**Americans for Tax Reform
Political Action Committee Contributions, 1995–1996**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

gun owners, and the Christian Right to fight government regulation. ATR played an important role in the 1994 election that led to the first Republican majority in the House of Representatives in 40 years. Norquist became an unofficial advisor to Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich and maintained close relations with him throughout his speakership.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

ATR lobbies and organizes around a wide range of issues, with the goal of reducing taxes and government spending and regulation. According to Norquist, “If you privatize Social Security, if you voucherize education, if you sell \$270 billion worth of airports and wastewater treatment plants, eliminate welfare, and so on, you can get the federal government, state government, and local government [down] to basically half of its present level of costs.”

ATR has pushed a Social Security reform proposal that would allow workers to put Social Security contri-

butions into private savings accounts. They have argued that not only is the Social Security system headed for insolvency, but it limits freedom and provides a poor return on a worker’s investment. ATR has also promoted medical savings accounts as a way to bring down medical costs and reduce the role of government in the healthcare industry. ATR has supported school choice and voucher programs that would allow parents to use tax money to reduce the costs of the private or public school of their choice.

ATR has led the fight against a value-added tax (VAT), a proposed national sales tax that would replace the income tax. ATR argues that a VAT hides the costs of government from taxpayers. The organization has supported a flat income tax. ATR has also opposed recent plans to tax sales made on the Internet. ATR has opposed the Kyoto Protocol on global warming signed by President Bill Clinton, arguing that it would reduce economic growth and increase energy taxes. ATR has actively promoted the balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which would mandate a supermajority vote in Congress to raise taxes. ATR has also spearheaded the “Paycheck Protection Act,” which would prohibit unions from using union dues for po-

litical purposes without the explicit approval of union members.

At the end of the 1990s, ATR persuaded all candidates for the Republican presidential nomination to sign the Taxpayer Protection Pledge. This demonstrates the influence that ATR has achieved in Republican Party politics.

FINANCIAL FACTS

ATR has an annual budget of about \$8 million, almost all of it received from contributions and grants. In 1996 ATR received a controversial contribution from the Republican National Committee, of \$4.6 million, which was used to finance a television advertising campaign designed to help GOP candidates in the last weeks of the campaign.

ATR is a nonprofit 501(c)(4) lobbying organization. Contributions to ATR are not tax deductible; this status allows the group to lobby for or against legislation. The American Tax Reform Foundation is a 501(c)(3) research and educational organization. It does not engage in lobbying, and contributions to the foundation are tax deductible.

ATR also maintains an entirely separate political action committee that donates modest sums of money to conservative Republican candidates. In the 1995–1996 election cycle, the ATR political action committee gave roughly \$6,400 to Republican candidates.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

The Brookings Institution is a private, nonprofit think tank dedicated to improving the performance of American institutions by analyzing emerging public policy problems and offering practical solutions to them in books, reports, and articles that are available to policy-makers, experts, and the general public. Founded in 1916 and based in Washington, D.C., Brookings is one of the oldest, largest, and most respected public policy research organizations in the United States. It employs a staff of over 200, including dozens of resident scholars who conduct research on economics, government, foreign policy, and the social sciences. Long regarded as the preeminent liberal think tank in Washington, Brookings has recently established its credentials as a centrist policy organization and is currently led by a Republican and former Bush administration official, Michael Armacost.

A major part of Brookings's efforts to shape public policy debates is its book-publishing program. Its fellows conduct such programs as research in economic studies, foreign policy studies, and government studies. Their research is published by the Brookings Institution Press, which also publishes the books of outside scholars and distributes the books of several other nonprofit research organizations from the United States and abroad. Brookings also publishes two highly acclaimed journals, *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity: Macroeconomics* and *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity: Microeconomics*. *Brookings Review* is the institution's quarterly journal and is intended to make Brookings's research and policy proposals available to a wide audience. Brookings recently launched three new annual journals on international trade, education, and financial services.

Brookings also conducts a vigorous education and outreach program. At forums in Washington and in other cities and in partnership with other organizations, Brookings sponsors conferences, special briefings, policy debates, and town meetings to present research on policy issues in a timely manner. Some of its conferences are offered online through videoconferencing technol-

ogies. Brookings's outreach activities include the Brookings National Issues forum, the Brookings Policymaker series, Brookings Briefings for the Foreign Press, *Brookings Policy Brief Series*, and the *Brookings Quarterly Newsletter*. The Brookings Center for Public Policy Education conducts educational programs for leaders in business and government. Seven other policy centers, including a joint center with the American Enterprise Institute, conduct research and educational programs on a range of policy issues. A comprehensive and interactive site on the World Wide Web also helps Brookings reach a wide audience with its policy analysis and prescriptions.

HISTORY

Robert S. Brookings founded the Brookings Institution as the Institute for Government Research in 1916. Brookings made a fortune in timber and mining by the age of 30, and later became a civic leader and philanthropist and served on the War Industries Board during the First World War. In 1927, he merged the Institute for Government Research with two of his other creations, the Institute of Economics and the Robert Brookings Graduate School, to create the Brookings Institution. Its purpose was to conduct and foster research and education in economics, government administration, and the political and social sciences generally. In its early days, the Brookings Institution was regarded as a bastion of conservatism, and it depended on industry groups for support. In the 1930s, many of its scholars were critical of President Franklin Roosevelt and his social program called the New Deal, although it played a role in the creation of the Marshall Plan after the Second World War. In the 1940s, Brookings built an endowment, freeing it from dependence on any special interest, and hired a staff capable of conducting non-partisan research on public policy.

In the 1960s, Brookings developed a reputation as an activist, left-of-center think tank, as it helped shape the social and economic policies of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Its liberalism was less welcomed by the Nixon administration, as Watergate dirty tricksters unsuccessfully plotted to firebomb the institution. Brookings provided experts to help staff the Carter administration in the 1970s and provided a haven for Democrats in exile as Republicans controlled the White House in the 1980s. By the mid 1980s, Brookings began to reposition itself as a centrist, bipartisan policy organization able to offer policy analysis and advice to both parties. This was especially true in the 1990s, as Brookings attracted officials from former Republican administrations. Brookings president Michael Armacost remarked that “with a Democratic President and Republican Congress, most of the solutions to public problems that will pass muster politically are going to be in the center.” Brookings has also made an effort in the 1990s to move away from its more aloof, long-range research focus and to more aggressively engage in policy debates by getting timely policy briefs quickly into the hands of journalists and policy-makers.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Although Brookings does not take an institutional position on issues, its scholars routinely analyze and address a comprehensive array of domestic social and economic policies, as well as foreign policies. Brookings publishes a highly respected volume of policy analysis and prescription called *Setting National Priorities*. Its *Policy Briefs* and the op-ed columns of its scholars also stake out positions on numerous issues.

In the 1999 debate over the projected budget surplus, several Brookings scholars argued against the large tax cuts proposed by the Republican congressional leaders. They have taken a position more in line with President Bill Clinton’s, arguing that much of the surplus ought to be devoted to providing long-term repairs to Social Security and Medicare. Some have argued for lifting the stringent spending caps imposed in the most recent balanced budget legislation. They have argued for boosting public investment on infrastructure, such as highways and sewer systems. They have urged greater spending on education, targeted especially to early childhood programs aimed at low-income children. Also in the area of education, several Brookings papers

have argued for national standards for achievement, measured by national tests. Teacher competency and testing have also been advocated, as have various versions of school choice and competition.

Some Brookings papers have argued that the defense budget needs modest increases focused on unit readiness, including increased spending for salaries, spare parts, and maintenance. They have been critical of the Pentagon’s requests for large budget increases, arguing that they are not necessary in an era when the United States faces no major rivals.

A Brookings paper makes the case for experimenting with market-based solutions to environmental problems, and for more flexible regulations than those traditionally found in environmental legislation and the directives issued by the Environmental Protection Agency. Some scholars have also argued for passage of a global treaty to reduce greenhouse emissions, with a provision that richer countries pay poor countries to reduce their emissions.

Brookings scholars have typically taken positions in favor of an active global role for the United States, including a diplomatic and security role in promoting the Middle East peace process and a military role in suppressing ethnic violence in Kosovo, a province in the former Yugoslavia. Brookings writers have generally taken a position in favor of free trade, supporting the admission of China to the World Trade Organization and criticizing unilateral economic sanctions on nations with poor human rights records.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Brookings’s budget exceeds \$20 million annually. Gifts and grants from foundations, corporations, and individuals account for 35 percent of operating revenue. Support from its endowment provides 32 percent of operating revenue. Remaining funds comes from its Center for Public Policy Education seminars and conferences (16 percent), book publication and sales (9 percent), government support for research (4 percent), and miscellaneous revenue sources (4 percent). Brookings has an endowment of \$167 million, larger than that of any other think tank. Foundations providing support to Brookings include the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Research and associated costs for its economic studies, foreign policy studies, and government studies programs account for 62 percent of Brookings’s expenditures. Costs associated with conferences and seminars

sponsored by the Center for Public Policy Education account for 17 percent of expenditures; printing, marketing and distribution of Brookings books and publications receive 13 percent of expenditures; development and public affairs take 5 percent; and communications account for 3 percent.

Brookings is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code. Under this statute, it may engage in public education activities but it may not directly lobby for or against specific legislation. Brookings does not make contributions to candidates for public office.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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CATO INSTITUTE

The Cato Institute is a nonpartisan public policy research foundation based in Washington, D.C., It is the preeminent libertarian think tank in the United States, with 73 employees and 60 adjunct scholars, many of them internationally prominent advocates for free markets and limited government. Libertarians argue for the priority of individual liberty over other values, and they oppose most government regulation of the marketplace or individual choices. Cato has an extensive publications program, publishing books, monographs, and shorter studies that analyze public policy issues from a libertarian perspective and advocates policies aimed at eliminating government intervention in economic, social, and cultural life as much as possible. It also sponsors major public policy conferences and publishes the *Cato Journal*, the quarterly magazine *Regulation*, and a bimonthly newsletter, *Cato Policy Report*.

The Cato Institute undertakes significant public education activities through its publications, conferences, and web site. Its scholars and staff also actively seek to influence public opinion through op-ed columns in national newspapers and television appearances. In 1994, Cato scholars appeared on more than 100 television and radio shows criticizing President Bill Clinton's health-care plan.

HISTORY

The Cato Institute was founded in 1977 by Edward H. Crane and Charles G. Koch. Crane was a financial analyst and vice president of Alliance Capital Management Corporation. He had been a student activist at the University of California at Berkeley in the 1960s and was later a leader of the Libertarian Party. Koch was a multimillionaire oil company owner from Wichita, Kansas. The Institute is named for *Cato's Letters*, libertarian pamphlets circulated during the colonial period that helped shape the philosophical foundation of the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution. Crane and Koch founded the Cato Institute to broaden

public policy debates to include options more consistent with the principles of limited government, individual liberty, and peace. The institute describes its philosophy as libertarianism or "market liberalism" and "combines an appreciation for entrepreneurship, the market process, and lower taxes with strict respect for civil liberties and skepticism about the benefits of both the welfare state and foreign military adventurism."

In 1978, the institute launched a daily public affairs radio program, *Byline*, which was broadcast in more than 260 cities. It also began publishing classic manuscripts by authors such as the conservative free-market scholar Friedrich A. Hayek, along with policy reports and monographs on public policy issues like Social Security and healthcare. In 1981, the first issue of *The Cato Journal* was published. This scholarly journal has been published three times a year since.

In 1982, the Cato Institute published a volume of essays by Hayek, Milton Friedman, Ludwig von Mises, Michael Polanyi, and others, called *Solidarity with Liberty*, and smuggled it into Poland in an act that was denounced by the Polish embassy. In 1985, the institute had copies of its Russian-language collection of essays, *Friedman and Hayek on Freedom*, smuggled into the Soviet Union. In 1988, Cato sponsored the first free-market conference in China since the Communist takeover. In 1995, it published the first in a series of Cato Handbooks for Congress, detailing a program to reduce government spending, regulation, and power. It also launched a web site that has won the Four-Star Magellan award for excellence.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In the years since its inception, Cato's authors and speakers have tackled such issues as immigration, occupational licensing, education and school choice, drugs, welfare, trade, environmental policy, and foreign

policy. The Cato Institute has also sponsored conferences on these issues with renowned scholars and policy makers in Washington, D.C., and in cities around the world. These conferences are now broadcast live on the World Wide Web and archived for on-demand viewing.

Cato has argued that “the immense body of [government] regulations” is the greatest threat to American prosperity. Cato scholars claim that consumer interests would most effectively be protected by a “regulatory rollback” that relies on the incentive forces of the market to create competitive markets and to provide consumers with information. This position has been elaborated in policy proposals that would scrap much of the existing regulation in favor of policies that take advantage of market incentives, private property rights, and privatization. In the area of monetary policy, Cato has explored alternatives to government control of money and banking. In education, Cato has been a leading advocate for school choice and voucher initiatives, charter schools, and other experiments with privatization and deregulation.

Cato’s ideology and issue positions have been the basis for a sometimes contentious relationship with other conservative political organizations over the years. Its free-market economic positions critical of government regulation, spending, and taxes have won it support and influence among conservatives. Its economic theories and arguments were influential in the Reagan administration as well as with the Republican congressional majority elected in 1994. Its libertarian positions on “social issues”—support for gay rights and drug legalization, and opposition to censorship of pornography, for example—have earned it the condemnation of traditional conservative groups. The Cato Institute has also taken isolationist foreign policy positions, opposing “entangling alliances” abroad (warned of by President George Washington in his Farewell Address), U.S. military intervention in the Middle East and Bosnia, and U.S. intelligence activities during the Cold War. Its opposition to U.S. military action during the Persian Gulf crisis almost cost it the support of conservative foundations. It also took a position opposing NATO’s military action in Kosovo in the former Yugoslavia in 1999.

At the end of the 1990s, the Cato Institute continued to maintain a visible presence among Washington, D.C., think tanks and to exercise influence among conservative policy-makers, including those in the Republican congressional majority. The *Cato Handbook for Congress*, published in 1997, represents a comprehensive (550 pages) libertarian program for reform of virtually every government program. Despite its newfound access and influence, Cato’s president, Edward H. Crane, sees a unique role for the organization: “The traditional think tanks see themselves as government’s helper. We see ourselves as government’s adversary.”

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1998, the Cato Institute had a budget of \$12 million. The bulk of its revenue comes from foundations, including the Sarah Scaife Foundation and John M. Olin Foundation, as well as from businesses and individuals. A smaller percentage of revenue comes from the sale of publications, conference registration fees, mailing list rentals, royalties, and interest income. It accepts no government funding.

Cato’s largest expenditure is the production and distribution of its publications. It also has significant expenditures on its conferences and forums.

As a tax-exempt educational foundation under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code, Cato is generally prohibited from direct lobbying for or against specific legislation, although it may publish nonpartisan analysis as part of its educational activities. Contributions to Cato are considered charitable donations and are deductible for taxpayers who itemize.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY

The Center for Public Integrity (CPI) is a non-profit, nonpartisan, tax-exempt educational organization created to analyze and report in depth on important national issues. Founded in 1989 and based in Washington, D.C., CPI has been called “a watchdog in the corridors of power” for its investigative reports on ethics-related issues in politics and government. While the center is independent and has criticized alleged influence peddling in both major parties, it is generally regarded as a liberal public interest group. Only recently has it become a membership organization. It now has about 5,000 members.

With a small group of investigative reporters, CPI focuses less on individual cases of ethical misconduct and more on the overall effects of what it considers widespread unethical behavior in campaign financing and lobbying. Since its inception, the center has examined and disseminated a wide array of information in more than 30 published CPI reports. By writing and issuing reports and studies, writing articles to be published in various newspapers and magazines, and breaking national stories via television, the center believes it can help make government officials more accountable for their actions. Its experienced and reputable journalists produce reporting that is relied upon or cited by national news organizations.

Since 1994, the center has published a monthly newsletter, *The Public i*, which makes public the results of its investigations. In 1997, the center launched a new project, the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), a network of the world’s premier investigative reporters. ICIJ extends the center’s investigative approach to issues of international concern. It also gives the ICIJ Award for Outstanding International Investigative Reporting, a prize worth \$20,000. CPI maintains a comprehensive site on the World Wide Web.

HISTORY

The Center for Public Integrity was founded in 1989 by Charles Lewis, a former producer at *60 Minutes*, who had also worked at CBS News and ABC News. Lewis earned a B.A. degree in political science from the University of Delaware and a master’s degree from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He had twice received Emmy nominations in the Outstanding Investigative Reporting category. In the late 1980s Lewis grew frustrated that “America’s best and brightest reporters” too often were not investigating “the country’s biggest, most important stories.” He saw a need for insightful, analytic studies of the systemic and structural problems of Washington’s “mercenary culture.” To pursue such studies he founded CPI.

The center’s first study, “America’s Frontline Trade Officials,” a 90,000-word report released in 1990, analyzed the activities of some of the personnel at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. The report noted that 47 percent of former senior trade officials, or their firms, had registered as foreign agents for overseas companies or governments. During the 1996 presidential campaign, CPI broke the story of the Lincoln bedroom scandal, wherein hundreds of Clinton campaign contributors were invited to spend the night at the White House. For reporting this story, *The Public i* won the Society of Professional Journalists’ 1996 Sigma Delta Chi Award for Public Service in Newsletter Journalism. Another CPI report revealed that Larry Pratt, a co-chair of Patrick Buchanan’s campaign committee, had spoken at meetings attended by white supremacists from the Aryan Nations and the Christian Identity Movement. Buchanan immediately placed Pratt on leave from the campaign.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The CPI has focused its investigations on ethics and public integrity in public service. It has reported extensively on the “revolving door”—the exchange of personnel between government and lobbying groups—arguing that former officials are frequently hired by special interests to lobby their former agencies. The center has also argued that Americans’ privacy is being compromised and invaded as sensitive financial and personal data are collected, bought, and sold by thousands of companies. According to the center, legislation aimed at curbing various kinds of invasion of privacy have been killed in Congress at the behest of corporate interests. One CPI report argues that problems in airline safety have not been remedied as “Congress has repeatedly put the economic interests of the airline ahead of safety concerns.” Another report asserts that meatpacking continues to be one of the most dangerous professions and that the number of disease-producing agents in the nation’s food supply is growing, but “Congress continues to protect the food industry instead of the public health.” A similar argument is made in reports about pesticides and toxic wastes.

The root of the problem, according to the center, is the influence of money in Congress. In “The Buying of Congress,” the center argues: “Too frequently, on the most important public-policy issues of our time, at critical forks in the road between the broad public interest of the American people and the narrow, economic agenda of a few vested interests, Congress has taken the wrong path. That wrong path, more often than not, is illuminated by flashing, neon-green dollar signs.” “The

Buying of the President” raises similar issues regarding the presidency and presidential candidates. As a leading source of data and analysis about campaign contributions and lobbying, the Center for Public Integrity has been used by advocates of campaign finance reform, lobbying reform, conflict-of-interest disclosure, and other ethics-in-government campaigns.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1998, CPI had revenue of about \$2 million, almost all of it from grants and contributions, with smaller amounts from program services revenue, publications sales, editorial consulting, and interest on savings. Foundations that have supported the center include the Ford Foundation, Joyce Foundation, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and Florence and John Schumann Foundation. The center does not accept contributions from corporations, labor unions, or governments.

CPI’s expenses in 1998 were approximately \$2.1 million, most of which was devoted to program services and, in smaller amounts, to administration and fundraising. The center is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code. It does not take formal positions on legislation and does not engage in lobbying.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS

The Center for Responsive Politics (CRP) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan research organization founded to analyze the role that money plays in American politics and, more specifically, in Congress. Established in 1983 and based in Washington, D.C., CRP is a nonmembership organization with a staff numbering around 11. The center conducts computer-based research on campaign finance issues for the news media, academics, activists, and other observers of Congress. Former Executive Director Ellen Miller said CRP intends to be a “one-stop shopping center on money and politics.”

CRP’s Open Secrets project uses sophisticated computer-assisted analysis to track over 200,000 political action committee (PAC) contributions and over 800,000 individual contributions made to congressional and presidential candidates. These contributions are matched with the economic and ideological interests of the contributors in order to establish patterns of money and influence in federal campaigns.

The center also publishes *Capital Eye*, a bimonthly eight-page newsletter that provides substantive articles on the role of money in American politics. It is aimed at a readership of journalists and activists. CRP maintains a National Library on Money and Politics that houses sophisticated databases that make it possible to examine correlations between campaign contributions and lawmakers’ legislative records. The library responds to hundreds of individual requests for studies on money in politics from journalists, public interest groups, educators, activists, and other researchers. For information and arguments regarding political reform proposals journalists and advocates have relied on CRP reports and analyses and books like *Open Secrets: The Encyclopedia of Congressional Money and Politics*.

As part of their work of providing commentary and analysis for news organizations, CRP has developed regular consulting ties with CNN and other media outlets, including Congressional Quarterly and the *Wall Street*

Journal. CRP also hosts seminars and conferences. Many CRP databases can be accessed at its site on the World Wide Web. The site allows visitors to look up campaign finance information by categories like soft money, political action committees, donors, lobbyists, and politicians. Visitors can also subscribe to a Money and Politics alert that is e-mailed every Monday, highlighting special-interest legislation on Capitol Hill and who is giving money to whom.

HISTORY

The CRP was created in 1983 by former senators Hugh Scott (R-PA) and Frank Church (D-ID). In 1991, the center merged with the National Library on Money and Politics, a group founded by Philip Stern, a campaign-finance-reform advocate and author of *The Best Congress Money Can Buy*. Also in 1991, the center launched FEC Watch, the only independent watchdog observing the operations of the Federal Election Commission. In 1994, the center launched its newsletter, *Capital Eye*. For most of its history the CRP has been led by Ellen Miller, a former staffer in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Miller resigned from the CRP in 1999 and was succeeded by Larry Makinson.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

CRP has focused its analysis and educational activities on political contributions from individuals and special interests to political candidates and officials. It compiles an extensive database on political contributions that also includes information on interest groups’ expenditures

and lobbying. Recent studies on patterns of special interest contributions focus on the National Rifle Association, professional sports teams, and high-tech companies. Other studies reveal favors to members of Congress from corporations and pressure groups. CRP has also documented efforts by congressional leaders and their PACs to circumvent campaign finance laws, as well as a lack of vigorous FEC enforcement.

CRP does not lobby or take formal positions on specific legislation. However, an implication of its research and educational activities is that campaign finance and lobbying systems in the United States allow special interests to buy undue influence in the policy-making process. Its information and analyses have provided ammunition for those who advocate campaign finance reform, lobbying reform, and stronger ethics-in-government laws.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The CRP has an annual budget of \$1.2 million. Besides contributions from individuals, the center has received funding from the Carnegie Corporation, Ford Foundation, Joyce Foundation, Pew Charitable Trusts, and Florence and John Schumann Foundation.

CRP is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code. Its tax-exempt status bars it from lobbying on specific legislation. Contributions to CRP are tax deductible.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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CHRISTIAN COALITION

The Christian Coalition is a citizen action organization that promotes Christian values in government. Founded in 1989 and based in Chesapeake, Virginia, the Christian Coalition has about 1.5 million members and 1,500 local chapters in all 50 states. It is one of the largest political organizations of Christian conservatives and, in the mid 1990s, was widely recognized as one of the more powerful conservative interest groups, with influence especially in the Republican Party.

The Christian Coalition is committed to “pro-family activism” aimed at influencing public policy at all levels of government. One of its most visible forms of political action is its publication and distribution of Voter Guides and Scorecards that set forth candidates’ positions on various issues of interest to the Christian Coalition, including abortion, education, pornography, taxes, and gay rights. Tens of millions of these guides, customized for local elections, are distributed primarily through churches. The Christian Coalition and its local chapters also mobilize supporters at election time through mailings and phone calls.

The Christian Coalition also maintains a lobbying staff in Washington, D.C., and devotes a significant portion of its efforts to lobbying Congress. Out of hundreds of lobby groups, a study by the Center for Responsive Politics ranked the Christian Coalition thirteenth in lobbying expenditures (\$7.9 million) in 1997, just behind Blue Cross/Blue Shield. The Christian Coalition mobilizes its members and supporters as part of its grassroots lobbying efforts, using “Action Alert” postcards, phone calls, and e-mail. It also conducts training seminars to teach lobbying skills to citizen lobbyists and local organizations. Its annual “Road to Victory” national conference attracts thousands of conservative activists, along with prominent politicians, candidates, and celebrities. The Christian Coalition also runs a program that provides money to inner-city churches that minister to at-risk youth.

The Christian Coalition publishes several newslet-

ters, including *Religious Rights Watch*. Its Legislative Scorecards, policy position statements, and announcements of events are available on its comprehensive web site.

In 1996, the Federal Election Commission sued the Christian Coalition, charging that it was effectively acting as an arm of the Republican Party without reporting its political spending, a position rejected by a federal court in 1999. Also in 1999, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) ruled that the Christian Coalition is not entitled to tax-exempt status because it engages in partisan political activity.

HISTORY

The Christian Coalition was founded in 1989 by businessman and evangelist Pat Robertson. In the aftermath of his 1988 bid for the Republican presidential nomination, Robertson had been urged by supporters to take advantage of the mobilization of Christian conservatives who had backed his campaign. At a meeting in Atlanta that included Dr. James Kennedy, Beverly LaHaye, and Ralph Reed, the decision was made to create the Christian Coalition. They decided to base the organization in Chesapeake, Virginia, to avoid being drawn into what they perceived as the insider politics of Washington, D.C. Reed was given responsibility for building the organization. Using the list of Robertson’s campaign contributors, Reed was able to solicit money and members and begin to create local organizations. The Christian Coalition attracted national attention when it bought full page ads in the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, and *USA Today* denouncing the National Endowment for the Arts and warning members of Congress that they would risk the wrath of religious conservatives if they continued to fund it. The Christian Coalition offered critical support for the reelection of Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) in 1990 and the

nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court in 1991. It was also successful in recruiting and supporting conservative candidates at the local level, especially in school board races.

Membership in the Christian Coalition doubled after the election of Bill Clinton as president in 1992. By 1994 it had over 1 million members and a budget of \$12 million and was regarded as one of the more powerful political organizations of religious activists. It acquired influence especially within Republican Party politics. In 1994 the Christian Coalition backed the Republican "Contract with America" and helped the party win control of both houses. In 1997, Reed left the Christian Coalition to form his own political consulting business, and by the late 1990s, the Christian Coalition's fortunes had shifted. It had lost hundreds of thousands of members, its income was down, and senior staff members had quit. Its influence had waned and it was forced to reorganize after the IRS revoked its tax-exempt status, finding it had engaged in pro-Republican partisan activities prohibited by the Internal Revenue code.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The Christian Coalition lobbies on a broad range of issues. Arguing that human life begins at conception, it has been persistent in its efforts to extend full legal protections to the unborn. It has supported a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortions. It has also condemned the Supreme Court's rulings in favor of abortion rights and has worked to pass restrictions on abortions and federal funding of a late-term abortion procedure that critics call a partial-birth abortion.

The organization has also pressed for education reform, seeking to give maximum control over education to parents and local communities. It has opposed national education standards and national testing of students or schools. It has supported school choice proposals, including tuition vouchers, education savings accounts, tuition tax credits, and charter schools.

The Christian Coalition has argued that federal courts have misinterpreted the First Amendment in requiring strict separation of church and state. It has lobbied for voluntary prayer in public schools and has supported other public expressions of religious faith. It has also taken a position on campaign finance reform,

opposing many of the prominent proposals to impose tighter restrictions on campaign contributions and spending. The Christian Coalition favors lifting restrictions on contributions and spending, while requiring greater public disclosure and reporting of campaign finance activities.

The Christian Coalition has supported restrictions on pornography and opposed legislation to give civil rights protections to homosexuals. It has called for the abolition of the National Endowment for the Arts, arguing that government should not play a role in subsidizing the arts, especially art that is offensive to certain segments of society. It has also called for an end to government sponsorship of gambling, and has favored tax cuts and laws to give more protection to victims of crime. It supported the impeachment of President Bill Clinton and condemned his acquittal by the Senate as a "mockery of our nation's long history of equal justice under law."

FINANCIAL FACTS

The Christian Coalition has an annual budget of over \$15 million. Over 90 percent of its revenue comes from contributors, with other revenue coming from program services and other miscellaneous sources. Its biggest expenditure is on "legislative affairs," which covers lobbying activities.

In response to the IRS ruling that revoked its tax-exempt status, the Christian Coalition announced in 1999 that it was splitting into two new organizations. Christian Coalition International will be a not-for-profit, taxable corporation that will have the ability to form a political action committee (PAC) to raise and distribute funds directly to candidates. The other organization, Christian Coalition of America, will be a 501(c)(4) tax-exempt organization that will conduct nonpartisan get-out-the-vote efforts and distribute voter education materials.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY

Citizens for a Sound Economy (CSE) is a non-partisan think tank and grassroots political organization that advocates market-based solutions to public policy problems. Based in Washington, D.C., CSE also has nine state chapters and claims a membership of 250,000. Through a broad range of lobbying activities and grassroots mobilization efforts, CSE promotes an agenda of less government, lower taxes, and less regulation. With heavy financial backing from the business community, CSE has seen its budget and influence swell in the 1990s. It maintains close ties with the Republican congressional leadership, and *Roll Call* magazine has ranked CSE among the top five most influential lobby groups.

CSE devotes a significant amount of effort to producing and disseminating educational materials as part of an aggressive campaign to influence public policy debates from the grass roots. It seeks out individuals who want to get involved in public policy debates; trains them in organizing, media tactics, and public education techniques; and supports them with products and services, including position papers, videos, bumper stickers, buttons, and t-shirts. It runs an e-mail campaign to inform members about issues that are important to CSE, instructs them on effective letter-writing techniques, provides sample letters, and links members to their congressional offices. CSE also employs policy analysts and economists who brief congressional aides, write op-ed articles, and appear on radio and television news shows. CSE publishes a bimonthly newsletter for members, the *CSE Sentinel*, which provides updates and educational information on CSE campaigns and issues.

Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation (CSEF) is CSE's research and education division and has been home to some of the nation's top fiscal conservatives, including former Reagan administration budget director James Miller III.

CSE also has a "Key Vote" program that tracks the votes of members of Congress on issues of importance to CSE. A scorecard at the end of each congressional session is regarded as a gauge of members' adherence to free market principles, and a Jefferson Award is given to

members who vote with CSE on at least 80 percent of the key votes.

HISTORY

CSE was founded in 1984 by Richard H. Fink, a fiscally conservative economics professor at George Mason University with connections to the Koch family, oil industry billionaires and founders of several charitable foundations, who have pumped millions of dollars into conservative causes and organizations. Fink became CSE's first president. He had previously established the Center for the Study of Market Processes at George Mason, with the financial backing of David and Charles Koch. David Koch was the Libertarian Party vice presidential candidate in 1980.

CSE promoted free market economic principles and quickly became influential in public policy debates, especially within the Reagan administration. CSE economists were influential advisors in the 1987 privatization of Conrail.

In 1994, CSE demonstrated its political clout with its \$5 million campaign to defeat President Bill Clinton's proposed healthcare reforms. It has gained influence in the states on fiscal and regulatory issues and has established a number of state chapters.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

CSE is involved in a wide range of policy issues as part of its goal of reducing the role and scope of government. It has been especially active recently on environmental issues. CSE has opposed the enforcement of new clean air standards issued by the Environmental Protection Agency, arguing that they will increase government control and costs to businesses without realizing promised benefits. It has also opposed ratification of the

Global Warming Treaty, which aims to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, on grounds that the treaty is one-sided, costly, and likely to lead to tax increases.

In 1997, CSE unsuccessfully opposed the Balanced Budget Act, claiming that it actually slowed progress toward a balanced federal budget by increasing spending and creating new entitlements. The Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation has taken a lead in promoting tax simplification and fairness, partly through its “Scrap the Code Tour,” which features a debate over the merits of the flat tax versus a national sales tax. CSE has also promoted Social Security reform, advocating a version of privatization that would allow individuals to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes in private retirement accounts. CSE has opposed healthcare reform proposals that mandate specific insurance practices or coverage.

CSE has also promoted the reform of liability laws to reduce what it calls “frivolous” lawsuits and “outrageous” settlements. In the area of trade, CSE has advocated tariff reductions, normal trade relations with China, and, generally, free-trade arrangements. CSE has also been active on the issues of public utility deregulation, insurance reform, and the reform of the Food and Drug Administration. With the backing of businesses and trade associations, CSE has been able to promote its issue agenda through persistent lobbying, massive advertising campaigns, and a grassroots operation that generates tens of thousands of phone calls and letters to policy-makers.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1997, CSE had revenue of \$9.2 million, of which businesses contributed 68 percent. Koch Industries, an

oil and natural gas conglomerate that has backed many conservative causes, has been an especially important contributor. Trade associations, including the American Petroleum Institute and the National Association of Manufacturers, contributed 12 percent, and individuals contributed 15 percent. Other sources of revenue included interest on investments, publication sales, and conference fees. Expenditures in 1997 were \$8.6 million, 91 percent of it devoted to research and educational activities. In 1997 the CSEF had \$5.2 million in revenues and \$4.3 million in expenditures.

CSE is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501 (c)(4) of the Internal Revenue code, which stipulates that contributions to CSE are not deductible, and it is allowed under the law to lobby for or against specific legislation, but only if it is to promote the social welfare. CSEF is a 501 (c)(3) tax-exempt organization that is generally prohibited from direct lobbying for or against specific legislation, although it may publish nonpartisan analyses as part of its educational activities. Contributions to CSEF are considered charitable donations and are deductible for taxpayers who itemize. Neither CSE nor CSEF participates in local, state, or federal elections. The two related organizations maintain separate boards of directors, bank accounts, and financial statements.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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COMMON CAUSE

Common Cause is a nonprofit, nonpartisan interest group whose goals include ensuring open, honest, and accountable government at the national, state, and local levels. Founded in 1970 and based in Washington, D.C., Common Cause has approximately 200,000 members nationwide, with members and volunteers in every state. Common Cause employs a staff of 50 people at its national headquarters and approximately 60 staff members in state offices. They are assisted by hundreds of volunteers and interns. Common Cause is one of the oldest and largest “citizen lobbies” and is regarded as one of the most influential liberal public interest groups. A national governing board, elected by the membership to three-year terms, determines and oversees Common Cause’s issue, organizational, and financial activities.

Common Cause is registered with Congress as a formal lobbying group and focuses its efforts on lobbying Congress on issues of campaign finance, open government, freedom of information, waste in government, civil rights, and congressional reform, among others. With a staff of several dozen seasoned political veterans, Common Cause lobbies members of Congress in Washington and in their home districts. A sophisticated communications network between Washington and congressional districts that includes telephone chains, telegrams, and e-mail alerts allows Common Cause to mobilize thousands of volunteers to contact their representatives on Capitol Hill. Common Cause also does extensive research on issues of concern to its members and provides information and analysis to members of Congress and their staffs. Common Cause staffers sit in on bill-drafting sessions to bring added pressure on representatives. They also publicize their research and positions through newspaper columns, press conferences, letters to the editor, and speeches to community groups. Common Cause relies on an extensive network of volunteers nationwide to undertake these activities in communities and media across the country. Television and newspaper advertisements are also used. Common

Cause regularly publishes investigative studies on the effects of money in politics and reports on a variety of integrity-in-government issues. It also publishes a magazine, *Common Cause*, and often joins with other groups in coalitions to mobilize citizens or to lobby Congress.

Common Cause maintains a site on the World Wide Web that allows visitors to contact their representatives, read news and reports on current issues, find data on campaign finance issues, or sign up for CauseNet, Common Cause’s e-mail alert network.

HISTORY

Common Cause was founded in 1970 by John Gardner as a “nationwide, independent, nonpartisan organization for Americans who want to help in the rebuilding of the nation.” At the time, Gardner was the chairman of the Urban Coalition Action Council and had previously served as president of the Carnegie Foundation and as a cabinet member in the Johnson administration. Within a year, more than 100,000 people had joined Common Cause as it launched a grassroots effort to end the Vietnam War, reform the campaign finance system, pass the Equal Rights Amendment, and lower the voting age to 18. During the 1970s, Common Cause was involved in the successful efforts to pass campaign finance reform legislation, establish an independent counsel to investigate wrongdoing in the executive branch, open congressional meetings to the public, and pass legislation restricting gifts and fees from special interests to elected officials. Over the next two decades, Common Cause achieved prominence as a public watchdog, especially regarding the secrecy of government proceedings and the flow of special-interest money to politicians. It was led by a succession of high-profile presidents, including Archibald Cox, Fred Wertheimer, and Ann McBride.

Common Cause has consistently drawn its leader-

ship and membership from the better-educated, higher-income groups. Critics have called it elitist and radical in pushing too hard to eliminate the traditional political give-and-take that is said to make the system function smoothly. Supporters have praised it as a voice and force for the average citizen against the money and power of well-heeled lobbies.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Common Cause has lobbied Congress and rallied its members on numerous domestic and foreign policy issues. One of its highest priorities has been reform of the existing campaign finance system that it believes is corrupt and makes officials less responsive to voters than to special interests. It supports a ban on “soft money” (the unregulated contributions to political parties by corporations, unions, and individuals), along with spending limits and more stringent public disclosure requirements. Common Cause has also pressed for stronger ethics and conflict-of-interest laws that require financial disclosure for public officials, restrictions on the acceptance of gifts, and limits on post-employment activities of former public officials. Common Cause has also made a priority of pushing for more open government, with government records readily available to the public, and full disclosure by lobbyists of their activities and expenses.

Common Cause has had a record of activism in the area of civil rights, pressing for full political rights for those who have suffered from discrimination. It pushed President Bill Clinton to eliminate the ban on military service for gay men and lesbians. Common Cause also argued for cutting “corporate welfare,” the subsidies given to businesses, and protecting the progressivity of the income tax.

Common Cause opposed U.S. participation in the Gulf War and has opposed funding a missile defense system. It has called for reducing the levels of military spending, especially on nuclear weapons.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Common Cause has an annual budget of over \$10 million. About 90 percent of its revenue comes from member dues and contributions, most of it in amounts of \$100 or less. Other sources of revenue include sales of publications, interest on savings, and mailing-list rentals. It accepts no government or foundation grants and does not accept monetary contributions from corporations or labor unions in excess of \$100 in a calendar year.

Common Cause spends most of its budget on its programs, especially its lobbying programs that include monitoring government activity, communicating with legislators, and publicizing its positions at the national and state levels. Other expenditures include program development and management, as well as policy formation and litigation. Common Cause does not make contributions to political parties or candidates for public office.

Common Cause is recognized as a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue code. As a full-time lobbying organization, it is not considered a charitable organization, and contributions to Common Cause are not tax deductible.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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ECONOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE

The Economic Policy Institute (EPI) is a non-profit think tank whose mission is to provide high-quality research and education in order to promote a prosperous, fair, and sustainable economy. Founded in 1986, EPI is based in Washington, D.C., and employs a staff of approximately 35, with 11 Ph.D.-level researchers. EPI is nonpartisan, but it is regarded as one of the prominent liberal think tanks in Washington, focusing its research on the economic condition of low- and middle-income Americans and receiving some of its financial support from labor unions. It advocates a range of traditional economic policies, including increased government spending on social programs. It employs or supports several well-known liberal economists and has established a reputation as one of the main progressive alternatives to the conservative think tanks that have exercised great influence in economic policy debates in recent decades. It is one of the most frequently cited sources in the media on issues of poverty, living standards, and work issues.

EPI devotes significant effort to producing and disseminating analyses of the impact of economic trends and policies on low-income families. Its flagship book, *The State of Working America*, is published biennially, most recently in 1999. It is a comprehensive study of the living standards of working Americans and includes a significant amount of economic data. EPI publishes other books, as well as issue briefs, briefing papers, reports, and working papers that are available for sale. *EPI Journal*, a collection of issue perspectives and updates on EPI activities, has been published three times a year since 1990.

EPI also engages in public outreach and popular education activities as part of its effort to influence policy debates and decisions. Its reports, papers, and press releases are circulated to hundreds of journalists in the print and electronic media, and its staffers appear on radio and television news shows. In 1997, EPI's work was cited over 3,000 times in the print media, and EPI staff had over 200 radio and television appearances. In

addition, EPI economists wrote op-ed pieces for numerous newspapers across the country.

EPI organizes conferences, and its staffers participate in other sponsored conferences. In 1997, its conference, *Restoring Broadly Shared Prosperity*, was televised by C-SPAN. It also provides information to elected officials. Its work has been cited by President Bill Clinton's labor secretary, Alexis Herman, and members of Congress, including Representative David Bonior (D-MI) and Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA).

EPI maintains a site on the World Wide Web. It includes up-to-date economic data, charts, and graphs in its *DataZone* and a weekly critique of articles in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* in a section called *Reading Between the Lines*. The site was chosen as a Dow Jones Select Site because "it provides exceptional value" to its readers.

HISTORY

EPI was founded in 1986 by Jeff Faux, the current president of EPI; economist Barry Bluestone of the University of Massachusetts; Robert Kuttner, columnist for *Business Week* and *Newsweek* and the editor of *The American Prospect*; Ray Marshall, former U.S. labor secretary and professor at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs; Robert Reich, former labor secretary and professor at Brandeis University; and economist Lester Thurow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Sloan School of Management. These founders, liberal academics and activists, believed that as conservative money poured into think tanks and universities in the 1980s there was a need for serious, progressive economic analysis to fill a vacuum that existed in political debate. Their response was to create an organization that would focus on the economic conditions of low-income Americans while adhering to strict standards of sound, objective research and analysis.

EPI challenged the ideological and economic analysis and policies of the Reagan administration and later the Bush administration. Its early research, published in *The State of Working America*, pointed out adverse trends in income stagnation and the increasing economic squeeze on working families. EPI argued, against the dominant political and economic trends of the 1980s, that government could play a constructive role in increasing productivity and stimulating economic growth. It developed the capacity to compile economic data and analysis and to distribute it quickly to provide journalists, labor leaders, and politicians with the evidence and arguments to challenge the conservative Reagan and Bush administrations.

By the 1990s, EPI had developed a reputation for sound analysis and rapid response that gave it a strong presence among progressive activists in the nation's capital and in the states. Its publications, such as *The State of Working America*, and its staffers, including founder Jeff Faux, were relied upon to provide a liberal response to conservative think tanks and media. Although the Clinton administration has been more receptive to the agenda and analyses of EPI, the administration's centrist budget and trade policies have come under criticism by EPI.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

EPI engages in efforts to educate the public and policy makers about the living standards, working conditions, and limited economic opportunities for the lower class, minorities, and the poor. EPI has criticized policies that it believes favor the rich over the poor, and has advocated policies that provide assistance and opportunity to the economically disadvantaged.

EPI has been on the side of labor in arguing against free-trade policies and agreements—such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)—that, from its perspective, force American workers to compete against repressed, low-wage workers in Central and South America. It was at the forefront of efforts to block NAFTA and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It has opposed extending normal trade relations to China or admitting China to the World Trade Organization. It has been critical of U.S. support for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on

grounds that the IMF protects multinational banks but not average working people in debtor countries. EPI has supported the imposition of quotas on foreign steel imports, arguing that illegal dumping by foreign steel producers threatens a domestic steel industry that has made great gains in efficiency and contributed to the nation's growth and prosperity in the 1990s.

EPI has also pressed for increased government spending in education, job training, public transportation, and research and development, claiming that this type of public investment in physical infrastructure and human capital will make for a more broadly shared economic prosperity. According to EPI, the projected budget surpluses make it easier to expand government social investment. EPI has argued against using budget surpluses for tax cuts. It has also opposed proposals to devote large portions of the projected surplus to Social Security. According to EPI, Social Security can be protected by raising the caps on earnings subject to the Social Security tax and by increasing the payroll tax. It has opposed proposals to privatize parts of Social Security or Medicare.

EPI has been consistent in supporting an increase in the minimum wage. It has also argued that stringent environmental regulation and economic growth are compatible policy goals. While EPI has become a dependable source of information and analysis for liberal activists, conservatives have criticized it for misrepresenting or misinterpreting economic trends and developments.

FINANCIAL FACTS

EPI has a budget of about \$3 million. An overwhelming majority of its revenue (95 percent) comes from gifts or grants from individuals, foundations, businesses, and labor unions. Grants in recent years have come from the Henry J. Kaiser Institute, Carnegie Corporation, Rockefeller Foundation, and Ploughshares Fund. Government grants account for 4 percent of revenue and the remaining revenue comes from the sale of publications and interest on savings and investments. EPI does not accept contract research.

EPI's research, publications, and education activities account for a large majority of its expenses. Other expenses include management and administration, as well as fund-raising.

EPI is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code. Under this

code, contributions to EPI are tax deductible for contributors who itemize. Its tax-exempt status allows EPI to engage in educational activities but bars it from direct lobbying for or against a particular piece of legislation.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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HERITAGE FOUNDATION

The Heritage Foundation is a conservative think tank whose mission is to formulate and promote public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense. Founded in 1973, the Heritage Foundation has become one of the nation's largest public policy research organizations and one of the best-connected, most influential conservative organizations in national politics. According to an editorial in the *Washington Times*, "The rise of conservatism in Washington and the rise of the Heritage Foundation are linked together like strands of DNA."

The Heritage Foundation employs a staff of over 160. It engages in a wide array of research, public education, and political organizing activities. The foundation's educational activities include articulating and disseminating conservative policy analyses through publications, lectures, briefings for policy-makers, and commentary in the print and electronic media. The Heritage Foundation has published over 3,000 books, monographs, and policy studies since its inception. Its bimonthly magazine, *Policy Review*, seeks to "monitor conservative ideology as it moves from the realm of theory to the world of practical politics." It presents the works of prominent academics and conservative intellectuals and activists addressing a broad spectrum of public policy issues.

The Heritage Foundation hosts lectures by U.S. and foreign political leaders and sponsors panel discussions and seminars on major policy issues. Recent lecturers include House Majority Leader Richard Armey (R-TX), former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Conferences and seminars cover such topics as Social Security reform, missile defense, and family and cultural issues.

Member of Congress are the foundation's primary audience. It has a sophisticated government relations operation that seeks to advance conservative positions in the legislative process. In 1998, all congressional candidates received the foundation's *Issues 98: The Candidate's Briefing Book*, a 600-page summary and analysis of

key issues and policy recommendations. The foundation's Center for Data Analysis "scores" legislative proposals using advanced econometric modeling techniques that offer members of Congress data alternatives to those available from the Congressional Budget Office or the Office of Management and Budget. The Heritage Foundation also hosts luncheon briefings for congressional press secretaries, helps congressional committees identify conservative experts who could testify on major policy questions, and helps translate conservative themes into legislative proposals.

Its aggressive public relations efforts make the Heritage Foundation the single most frequently quoted conservative think tank in America, according to a survey by FAIR, a liberal media watchdog group. Through its op-ed program, more than 150 articles written by Heritage experts appeared in major national and local newspapers in 1998. Its experts also appeared on all of the major news and public affairs shows on cable and broadcast television stations. Major conservative radio hosts frequently rely on the Heritage Foundation for the information and analyses it supplies.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The Heritage Foundation's mission of promoting free enterprise, traditional values, and a strong defense has led it to address a comprehensive set of policy issues. It has opposed tax increases, made the case for indexing the tax code to protect against "bracket creep," supported the Reagan administration's "supply side" tax cuts, argued for the repeal of the death tax, and supported tax reform that would institute a flat tax.

It has also argued for free trade and supported the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It has argued for expanding NAFTA to include Chile and has

made the case for maintaining normal trade relations with China.

The Heritage Foundation has been a long-time advocate of a robust defense budget and the doctrine of peace through strength. It has pushed for increased defense spending, arguing that recent budget trends have weakened U.S. defense capabilities. It has argued that the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty is legally null and void and has supported the building of a missile defense system. The foundation has supported U.S. efforts to topple anti-American governments in Nicaragua in the 1980s and in Iraq in the 1990s. It has also been critical of what it perceives as subordination of U.S. interests in the United Nations.

The foundation has been a supporter of Social Security reform proposals that would allow citizens to invest in alternative private retirement plans. It has also supported market-oriented reforms of Medicare and other health insurance regulations. Market-oriented reforms that rely on privatization and competition have also been supported in other areas, including environmental protection and education.

The Heritage Foundation has argued that government social and economic policies have contributed to a breakdown of the role of the family in creating responsible citizens, workers, and neighbors. It has made the case that marriage and religious faith are central to addressing various social problems, including drug use, school violence, and poverty. In general, the foundation advocates a range of policies that it claims would reinforce traditional values and institutions.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The Heritage Foundation reported income of \$43.8 million in 1998. A large percentage is from contribu-

tions by individuals (61 percent), foundations (26 percent), and businesses (4 percent). The foundation attracted large contributions from individuals, foundations, and corporations that have traditionally supported conservative causes, including contributions of more \$100,000 from the Amway Corporation, Joseph Coors, Pfizer, Inc., the John M. Olin Foundation, and the Sarah Scaife Foundation, among others. More than 200,000 other contributors make the Heritage Foundation the most broadly supported think tank in America. It accepts no government funding and performs no contract work. Other sources of income include revenue from the sale of publications and from investments. In 1998, it launched a massive Leadership for America campaign designed to raise \$85 million, a goal it expected to fulfill before the end of 1999.

Almost half of the foundation's spending goes to marketing its ideas and proposals, with 25 percent of expenditures devoted to educational programs and 18 percent to media and government relations. Research receives 41 percent of spending, fund-raising receives 13 percent, and management and administration receive 3 percent.

The Heritage Foundation is a tax-exempt public policy research organization operating under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code. Under this statute, contributions to the foundation are tax deductible.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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HUDSON INSTITUTE

The Hudson Institute is a nonprofit public policy research organization that forecasts trends and develops solutions for government, businesses, and the public. Founded in New York City in 1961, the Hudson Institute is now based in Indianapolis, Indiana, and has more than 70 researchers and employees at eight offices worldwide, including Washington, D.C., Montreal, Canada, and Brussels, Belgium. The institute is nonpartisan and does not explicitly advocate a political ideology. It claims to hold a “futurist orientation” as well as optimism about technology and its role in solving problems. However, its ardent support for free-market solutions and its emphasis on traditional and religious values in public life make the institute one of the more prominent conservative think tanks.

The Hudson Institute publishes policy research and analysis on a wide range of issues, including agriculture, crime, education, the environment, healthcare, national security, trade, and labor. It supports policy centers focused on welfare, global food issues, workforce development, the digital future, and Central European and Eurasian studies. The Hudson Institute also sponsors domestic and international conferences and symposia, and its researchers and staff members engage in public policy discussions through newspaper editorials and feature articles, press conferences, participation in radio and television programs, and briefings and presentations for government and industry.

The Hudson Institute hosts various annual award dinners to honor individuals who have made significant contributions in American public policy. Award recipients in recent years include former Vice President Dan Quayle, former senator and presidential candidate Barry Goldwater, former president Ronald Reagan, and former secretary of state Henry Kissinger.

The institute publishes a quarterly review of its activities, *Vision*, as well as a quarterly magazine of articles, *American Outlook*. It also maintains a comprehensive web site.

HISTORY

The Hudson Institute was founded in 1961 by Herman Kahn, with Max Singer and Oscar Ruebhausen. Kahn was a physicist and consultant on military strategy. His arguments—that nuclear war would differ in degree but not type from past wars, that it would not annihilate civilization, and that strong civil defense measures could alleviate its effects—had made him a controversial figure. The Hudson Institute was conceived as a research organization “dedicated to thinking about the future from a contrarian point of view.” Donald Brennan was named the institute’s first president.

In 1962, the Hudson Institute published Kahn’s *On Thermonuclear War*, which examined in detail the consequences of nuclear proliferation. The Hudson Institute quickly began to organize seminars, studies, and research projects on various issues. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, it received funding and grants from various sources to study trends and policies relating to the environment, economic development, the Japanese economy, national defense, healthcare, gambling, and education. The institute also published several more books by Kahn, including *The Emerging Japanese Superstate* (1970) and *The Next 200 Years* (1976).

In 1976, the Hudson Institute opened an office in Montreal, Canada. In 1943, a year after the death of Herman Kahn, the Hudson Institute moved its headquarters to Indianapolis University–Purdue University at its Indianapolis campus. In 1986, it relocated to a turn-of-the-century mansion in Indianapolis, which was named the Herman Kahn Center. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Hudson Institute created several policy centers, including the Center for Global Food Issues and the Competitiveness Center, chaired by former Vice President Dan Quayle. It also became home to the Education Excellence Center and, in 1994, undertook a major project with the state of Wisconsin, “Wisconsin Works,” to revamp the state’s welfare system.

In 1997, Herbert London, John M. Olin Professor of Humanities at New York University, became the Hudson Institute's president. A quarterly magazine devoted to the study of the future, *American Outlook*, was established in 1998.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Hudson Institute researchers and staffers have examined and addressed a vast array of issues during its history. In the 1970s, the Hudson Institute was a leading critic of the environmental movement's emphasis on the limits to growth. In the 1980s, it argued that natural sources of acidification were at least as damaging to the environment as industrial pollutants. In the 1990s, it published *Saving the Planet with Pesticides and Plastic*, a study describing the environmental benefits of high-yield agriculture.

The Hudson Institute has taken a long-term interest in forecasting developments in Asian economies, especially in Japan. In the 1960s, it predicted that Japan's economic development would ultimately make the country an economic rival for the United States. Various Hudson Institute studies, including *The Japanese Challenge* (1979) and *The Competition: Dealing with Japan* (1985), continued this focus.

The Hudson Institute has also focused on education. In 1984, it published Herbert London's criticism of how schools teach about the future, *Why Are They Lying to Our Children?* Its evaluation of the nation's educational practices was published in Robert Probst's *Response and Analysis: Teaching Literature in Junior and Senior High Schools* (1988). The Hudson Institute's Center for Education and Employment explores the relationship between education, training, and employment. The institute was central in the creation of the Modern Red School House program, which seeks to "reinvent the virtues of the little red school house in the modern context."

Among the Hudson Institute's most recent projects is a collaboration with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce called "The Next Agenda," the purpose of which is to find solutions for upcoming post-Cold War problems. The Institute's emphasis continues to be on the virtues of free enterprise, free trade, a strong national defense, and the restoration of traditional community networks and values.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1997, the Hudson Institute had revenues of just under \$7 million and expenses of \$7.3 million. Most of the revenue (69 percent) was derived from restricted grants and contracts. Unrestricted grants and donations made up 23 percent of the revenue. The Sarah Scaife Foundation, John M. Olin Foundation, and Pew Charitable Trusts were among the supporters. Other sources of income included interest and income from endowment and government contracts, including contracts with the Department of Defense, Department of Justice, and city of Indianapolis. An aggressive new membership initiative was established in 1997 to solicit contributions from individuals, small businesses, corporations, and foundations.

Most of the Hudson Institute's expenses (85 percent) were devoted to its public-policy research activities. The institute is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code. As such, it is prohibited from lobbying for or against specific legislation, although it may publish nonpartisan policy analysis as part of its educational activities. Contributions to the Hudson Institute are tax deductible.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

The John Birch Society (JBS) is a political organization that seeks to educate Americans about constitutional and religious values, and to organize political action to resist perceived threats to those values. Founded in 1958 by Robert Welch in order to remove Communist influences from American government, the JBS became an influential organization among conservatives especially concerned about the spread of communism and various alleged conspiracies to subvert American values and institutions.

The JBS is organized into local chapters, with a membership of at least 40,000. Professional field coordinators assist local organizations to disseminate information and to organize political activities to influence policy decisions. Members receive the monthly *JBS Bulletin* with information and perspectives on political issues, along with recommendations for programs of action for immediate and long-range attention. Letter-writing campaigns, literature distribution, and petition drives are among the techniques used to reach the public and to influence legislators. The JBS does not endorse, finance, or recruit candidates for political office, emphasizing educational activities and the “mighty power of the pen.”

The JBS also maintains a speakers bureau that provides orators for service clubs, schools, public forums, and radio and television shows. It organizes seminars on important political issues and produces video and audio programs for sale or for use by local chapters. The JBS also runs a large-scale publishing operation, American Opinion Books, which produces hundreds of books and pamphlets that are available through a JBS chain of book outlets. A biweekly magazine of articles and opinions, *The New American*, is published by a JBS-affiliated corporation.

The Robert Welch University (RWU), formerly the John Birch University, is also affiliated with JBS. It offers summer camp courses from an “Americanist” perspective, with titles such as “Our Godly Heritage,” “Global Tyranny: The United Nations,” and “Exposing the Media Bias.” RWU houses a 30,000-volume

library and publishes books through its own RWU Press. The goal of the RWU is to develop a four-year, degree-granting college of liberal arts.

HISTORY

The JBS was founded in 1958 in Belmont, Massachusetts, by Robert Welch. An executive for a large candy manufacturer and a former director of the National Association of Manufacturers, Welch had become convinced that an international conspiracy was creating a worldwide totalitarian government. He identified President Dwight Eisenhower, among other prominent American political and military leaders, as a member of an international Communist conspiracy.

Welch created the JBS as an anti-collectivist, anti-Communist organization dedicated to defending both Judeo-Christian values and a capitalist, constitutional republic against the conspiracy. The JBS was founded as a hierarchical organization under the direction of Welch’s personal leadership. The society was named for John Birch, a Baptist missionary and American intelligence officer killed by the Communist government in China, becoming America’s first Cold War casualty, according to Welch.

In 1959, 40 local JBS chapters were formed in ten states. Among their first activities was to protest the visit to the United States of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev. In 1961, the JBS organized the Movement to Impeach Earl Warren, the liberal Chief Justice of the United States. The JBS began attracting national attention, much of which was criticism for its excessive anti-Communist zealotry and conspiracy mongering.

In the 1960s, membership in the JBS grew rapidly and included some members of Congress. It was persistent in its efforts to expose a Communist influence in the U.S. government and in 1965, created TACT (Truth About Civil Turmoil) to expose alleged Communist influence in the civil rights movement. It also

launched a weekly magazine, *The Review of the News*. In 1966, JBS TRAIN (To Restore American Independence Now) committees were organized to press for U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations. In the late 1960s, the JBS focused organizational energy on a campaign to restore traditional morality.

In the 1970s, the JBS was among the opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment, and it organized efforts to stop the treaty to give control of the Panama Canal to Panama. It also launched a program called TRIM (Tax Reform Immediately) to promote lower taxes.

In 1983, Robert Welch turned over the chairmanship of the JBS to Representative Larry McDonald (D-GA). McDonald was killed later that year in the crash of Korean Air Lines flight 007. Robert Welch died in 1985, the same year that the weekly magazine, *The Review of the News*, was merged with the monthly journal, *American Opinion*, to form *The New American*. In 1989, the JBS moved its headquarters to Appleton, Wisconsin. In the 1990s, the JBS continued to focus its efforts on exposing an alleged conspiracy of “insiders” who, according to the JBS, constitute an evil global organization intent on creating a “new world order” under totalitarian rule. The JBS celebrated its 40th anniversary in 1998.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The JBS was founded as an anti-Communist organization, based on the belief that Communists were conspiring to undermine American values and institutions. Its focus has been primarily on opposing communism abroad and all its perceived manifestations in the United States. This effort has included a defense of private enterprise and traditional morality, and opposition to many modern government programs. More recently, it has focused on a broader conspiracy of global “insiders” who, according to the JBS, use communism as one tool in an effort to subvert the United States. The JBS has sought to expose alleged Communist infiltration of the U.S. government and various social reform movements. It has been active in the opposition to legal abortion and gun control and has supported tax cuts. It has vigorously opposed United Nations activities and has long called for United States withdrawal from the United Nations. The JBS has opposed the effort to limit the terms of members of Congress on the grounds that political problems are related less to the amount of time spent in office than to

poor performance in public office. The JBS has also devoted significant effort to oppose a new constitutional convention that would add a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. It has argued that the actual intent for such a convention would be to make radical changes in the Constitution. The JBS was one of the earliest organizations to call for the impeachment of President Bill Clinton, accusing him of treason by accepting “bribes” from the Communist government in China in exchange for access to U.S. national security secrets. The JBS has also described the NATO military operation in Kosovo in the former Yugoslavia as a cynical effort to advance the cause of global government.

Although membership in the JBS is below what it was at its peak, its publications have influenced debate on numerous issues, and it has won praise from some prominent politicians.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The JBS budget figures are not made available to the public. However, according to its 1998 Annual Report to members, the JBS derives revenue from two primary sources. A portion of its revenue comes from business transactions (literature sales, including sales through American Opinion Books of close to \$1 million annually, subscriptions and advertising in *The New American*, etc.). Contributions (member dues, monthly donations, one-time gifts, etc.) make up 75 percent of revenue. Other sources of revenue include bequests from the estates of deceased members.

Expenditures are made for paying officers and field staff, publishing the *JBS Bulletin*, developing TRIM Bulletins, speaker tours, and legislative monitoring. The JBS is a nonprofit entity, but has never sought the Internal Revenue Service tax code 501(c)(3) nonprofit designation. The RWU is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization under the Internal Revenue code, for which contributions are tax deductible. The JBS owns all the stock of American Opinion Publishing, Inc., a for-profit corporation, and is the majority shareholder in Western Islands, another for-profit book-publishing firm.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, also known as the National Council of Churches (NCC), is the primary national expression of the movement for Christian unity in the United States. The NCC's member communions—thirty-five Protestant, Orthodox, and Anglican church bodies—work together on a wide range of activities that aim to further Christian unity and serve people throughout the world.

Founded in 1950 and headquartered in New York City, the NCC has been described as “the most influential spokesman for mainline Protestant churches in America.” The organization, which has a staff of about 350, wields economic, political, and intellectual influence in shaping and implementing public policy. Some 52 million Christians belong to churches that are NCC members, although not all support the group's political agenda, which is generally regarded as liberal. Many Christians have organized other groups that advocate more conservative positions.

The NCC operates a variety of offices and agencies that are involved in public policy issues. The Church World Service (CWS) works with local agencies, often Christian councils, to provide emergency relief and long-range development assistance around the globe. Its emergency aid goes to victims of famine, war, and natural disasters such as hurricanes. Its Immigration and Refugee Program assists with the resettlement of refugees. The CWS, along with Lutheran World Relief and the National Catholic Welfare Program created the Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP), a joint community hunger appeal. CROP has organized Friendship Food Trains and Friendship Food Ships to gather and deliver food contributions to relieve hunger. The CWS has used radio spots to communicate its message; for example, one recent radio message was recorded by Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa on the Kosovo crisis.

NCC officials testify before Congress on various public policy issues. They also issue press statements and

reports on social justice issues and urge federal officials to take specific actions on policy questions. The NCC's Friendship Press publishes educational resources on issues of concern. A recent World Wide Web publication, a “Web book,” dealt with Cuba. The NCC's sophisticated web site includes calendars of events, texts of press releases, and links to various offices and educational resources.

In 1996 the NCC joined with Catholic leaders to establish the Joseph Cardinal Bernadin Common Ground Award, a prize named for the late Chicago archbishop. The award recognizes “persons whose lives have shown dedication to the unity of people.” The NCC also publishes the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

HISTORY

The NCC was founded in 1950 in Cleveland, Ohio, by mainline Protestant churches seeking common ground in dealing with the religious and cultural challenges of the postwar world. Twelve previously existing ecumenical agencies were merged as part of the creation of the NCC. Early on, the group supported many liberal programs and causes, including Social Security, unemployment insurance, minimum wage laws, regulation of business, collective bargaining rights, and civil rights. It also backed the Korean War and NATO.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the NCC's political efforts reflected the upheaval of the times. It embraced the anti-war movement and supported affirmative action and school integration through busing. In the 1980s, the NCC consistently criticized the Reagan administration's domestic and foreign policies. It opposed cuts in social welfare programs and increases in the defense budget. In the 1990s, the NCC reached out to develop new interfaith ties with American Muslims, evangelical Protestants, and Roman Catholics. Its overtures to the

National Association of Evangelicals marked a new dialogue between the theologically conservative evangelicals and the more theologically liberal NCC.

In 1991, Joan Brown Campbell became the first ordained woman minister to serve as NCC general secretary, the group's top staff position. Her term expired at the end of 1999. The term of NCC President Craig B. Anderson also expired, and he was succeeded by Andrew Young, former representative and mayor of Atlanta.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The NCC addresses a wide range of religious and political issues in numerous ways. Its general assembly resolutions aim to influence opinions within member congregations as well as among the broader public. In many instances, the various ministries and offices are engaged in educational activities and programs that reflect the NCC philosophy. Most member churches take positions that support activism on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged. This has led the NCC toward activism for "social justice" at home and for peace, economic development, and human rights abroad.

The NCC has consistently supported full funding of government social welfare programs. In 1995, the NCC urged President Bill Clinton to veto Republican-sponsored budget cuts, saying, "We name them for what they are, an assault on those least able to defend themselves in order to reach self-imposed budget goals that include tax breaks for the more fortunate." The NCC has pressed for continued protection of Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps, and other government-assistance programs.

The NCC has also taken a strong position in support of public education, arguing that many of the most vulnerable children in society depend on public schools. It has opposed the school voucher movement that would allow tax money to subsidize the costs of private religious schools. Arguing that "public funds should be used

for public purposes," the NCC has advocated increased spending to reduce class size and modernize public school facilities.

The NCC has supported the environmental movement, arguing, "human beings are called to care for the earth." It has undertaken an educational and advocacy effort that includes public service announcements, and has endorsed the Kyoto Protocol on global warming.

A senior NCC official recently took a controversial position supporting a Planned Parenthood sex-education kit that failed to condemn abortion or homosexuality. The NCC backs civil rights for homosexuals and has denounced violence against gay men and lesbians. Another controversial position taken by the NCC urges the release of Leonard Peltier, a Native American imprisoned since 1977 for the murder of two FBI agents. Peltier maintains his innocence, and Amnesty International, the worldwide human rights group, regards him as a political prisoner.

The NCC has also supported economic and humanitarian assistance in poor countries. It favored economic sanctions against South Africa to help end apartheid, as well as sanctions against Iraq as an alternative to the Gulf War. In other instances it has questioned the use of sanctions because of the serious hardship such measures create for the civilian population.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NCC has an annual budget of \$60 million. It receives income from congregations and denominational headquarters, as well as from public appeals to churches, individuals, and foundations. In the 1990s it faced financial duress that required it to cut back on expenditures for programming and staff. In 1994, the NCC lost \$8 million from bad investments.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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NATIONAL TAXPAYERS UNION

The National Taxpayers Union (NTU) is a grassroots organization that lobbies for lower taxes and less government spending. Founded in 1969 and based in the Virginia suburbs of Washington, D.C., the NTU has 300,000 members in all 50 states. It has been called the “granddaddy” of tax revolt organizations. Its affiliated educational research organization, the National Taxpayers Union Foundation (NTUF), was founded in 1977 and conducts research on issues that concern taxpayers. The NTU and the NTUF are nonpartisan organizations whose positions are frequently consistent with those of Republican officials, although they are critical of Republicans who support tax increases or increases in government spending.

The NTU pursues its agenda of lower taxes and less government through lobbying, public education, and public relations campaigns. The NTU and the NTUF maintain a large library of statistics on items such as the federal debt and deficit, the distribution of taxes by wealth, the total tax burden on a typical family, comparisons of state and local tax rates, and past and projected growth of Social Security and Medicare spending. It conducts and compiles research on the effects of raising and lowering taxes, the impact of subsidies and corporate welfare, the cost to taxpayers of various interest groups’ agendas in Congress, and the effect of various tax and entitlement reform proposals. The NTU analysts help local activists determine the costs and benefits of government projects in their regions.

Since 1979, the NTU has conducted an annual Rating of Congress that shows how often each lawmaker voted to reduce or control taxes, spending, debt, and regulation. The NTUF’s Vote Tally and Bill Tally systems provide cost information for every significant piece of spending legislation before Congress and assign running cost tallies to lawmakers based on what they vote for or sponsor. The NTU also maintains a comprehensive database of pension estimates for members of Congress and for former and current presidents. They also maintain data on House office expenditures.

The NTU analysts and staff members lobby Congress and state legislatures on tax and spending legislation. They also appear on radio and television news programs and are interviewed by the press. They maintain a database of over 900 citizen activists and organizations across the country that can be enlisted to provide media commentary or speakers on local tax issues. The NTUF publishes the *Chartbook on Entitlements*, which analyzes the long-term problems of major entitlement programs and advocates solutions to those problems. It also regularly publishes issue briefs and policy papers on a wide range of topics of interest to taxpayers. Assistance is also given to NTU members in their efforts to become effective citizen lobbyists. Much of the research, analysis, and advocacy produced by the NTU and the NTUF is available on a comprehensive site maintained by the group on the World Wide Web. The NTU publishes *Dollars and Sense*, a magazine for members, six times a year, and the NTUF publishes *Capital Ideas*, a magazine for contributors.

HISTORY

The NTU was founded in 1969 by James D. Davidson, a 22-year-old political science graduate student at the University of Maryland, who had worked for the Nixon campaign. He formed the NTU to defend “the poor, neglected taxpayer” in policy debates. The NTU scored an early victory when it helped defeat the Nixon administration’s proposal to build a costly supersonic transport like the Concorde. In 1975, NTU initiated the campaign for a balanced-budget amendment, which has been a continuous part of the group’s agenda. In 1979, the NTU played a key role in the successful effort in California to pass Proposition 13, a tax-cutting initiative. In the early 1980s, President Ronald Reagan shared many of the NTU’s goals and credited its lob-

bying effort for helping to pass tax cut and income tax indexing proposals.

The NTU's persistent lobbying for tax cuts and its constant scrutiny of government spending programs have brought it into conflict with conservatives on several occasions. The NTU has even joined with liberal groups to promote cuts in military spending and anti-environmental corporate subsidies. Liberals, however, have criticized the NTU, claiming that its rating methods distort the voting records of members of Congress.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The NTU focuses on issues of taxes and spending at the federal as well as state levels. It has played a leading role in the effort to pass a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. The NTU has also supported an amendment that would make it more difficult for Congress to increase taxes. It constantly scrutinizes proposed legislation and criticizes spending proposals that it regards as wasteful, unnecessary, or inefficient. It played a role in stopping high-profile federal research projects such as the superconducting super collider, the advanced liquid metal reactor, and the advanced solid rocket motor. It has published analyses and criticism of the spending agendas of the League of Women Voters, the National Education Association, and the American Association of Retired Persons.

The NTU has advocated the elimination of various government bureaucracies and the reining in of others. It fought for a Taxpayers Bill of Rights that would include protections against "abuses" by the Internal Revenue Service. It fought to reduce the costs of Congress, opposing both congressional pay increases and the rising administrative costs of congressional offices.

The NTU has been an advocate of Social Security and Medicare reforms. It has supported proposals to privatize both of these programs through personal and medical savings accounts. The NTU has advocated other spending cuts, such as eliminating the space sta-

tion, closing military bases, and ending subsidies for corporations and low-income citizens. The NTU supports a tax reform proposal that would replace all federal income, payroll, and capital gains taxes with a national sales tax.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1998, the NTU had revenue of \$2.5 million, almost all of which came in contributions and grants from individuals, businesses, and foundations. Its expenses in 1998 totaled approximately \$2.8 million, with most going to program services, including research and public education, publications, and lobbying. Management, fund-raising, and other supporting services accounted for other expenses. The NTU is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue code. Contributions to the organization are not tax deductible.

The NTUF had revenues of \$3.2 million in 1998. Most of the revenue came in grants and contributions from individuals, businesses, and foundations. Over the years it has received grants from the John M. Olin Foundation, Sarah Scaife Foundation, and William H. Donner Foundation, among others. Some revenue also came from investments. The NTUF had expenses of \$2.7 million. Public education, research, conferences, and fund-raising were among the expenditures. The NTUF is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code. It may engage in public education activities but may not lobby for or against specific legislation. Contributions to NTUF are tax deductible.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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PUBLIC CITIZEN

Public Citizen is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, member-supported interest group that lobbies on behalf of issues related to consumer and workplace safety, environmental protection, safe energy sources, campaign finance reform, and ethics in government. It was founded by consumer advocate Ralph Nader in 1971 and is based in Washington, D.C. With about 150,000 members, Public Citizen is one of the most prominent liberal public interest groups formed during the period of social and political activism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is organized into six divisions: Congress Watch, the Health Research Group, the Litigation Group, the Critical Mass Energy Project, Global Trade Watch, and Buyers Up.

Public Citizen is one of a handful of public interest groups that pioneered many of the techniques used in contemporary grassroots lobbying. It organizes citizen pressure on members of Congress through letter writing, fax, e-mail, and telephone campaigns. It provides advice and assistance to citizens and local groups on public education activities and lobbying legislators, and joins with other national and local groups in grassroots coalitions. Its researchers prepare reports and fact sheets on issues of concern to its members. Its staffers organize press conferences, appear on television and radio news programs, write newspaper columns, and reach out to editorial boards to secure favorable press coverage of their issues and activities. Public Citizen's attorneys bring lawsuits in state and federal courts on behalf of citizens to force or block action on issues of concern and assist other lawyers on cases before the Supreme Court. Public Citizen's most influential effort in influencing policy is its relationship with members of Congress, especially liberal Democrats. Public Citizen has developed a reputation for providing credible information and expertise to counter the information provided by corporate lobbyists. Its experts testify before Congress and federal agencies and provide legal analysis and strategic advice to help pass or block legislation.

Public Citizen maintains a sophisticated site on the World Wide Web that includes action alerts that help citizens make informed inquiries or comments to mem-

bers of Congress on a range of issues. It also contains a comprehensive list of reports and publications that are available for purchase as well as full texts or excerpts from numerous Public Citizen publications. The site also has an abbreviated online version of *Public Citizen News*, the bimonthly membership newsletter of articles and editorials. Other regular Public Citizen publications include *Health Letter* and *Critical Mass Bulletin*.

Public Citizen Foundation is the tax-exempt affiliate of Public Citizen that provides research and litigation on issues pertaining to the environment, consumer affairs, organized labor, public health, corporate responsibility, and occupational safety.

HISTORY

Public Citizen was founded in 1971 by Ralph Nader. Nader had gained public attention in 1965 with the publication of his best-selling book, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, an exposé of the dangers in the operation of the Chevrolet Corvair. He quickly gained a reputation as an anticorporate consumer crusader and founded a number of public interest groups. Public Citizen became the umbrella group to raise and distribute funds to various other Nader projects. The Health Research Group was created in 1971 by Nader and Dr. Sidney Wolfe to promote research-based, systemwide changes in healthcare policy as well as to provide advice concerning drugs, medical devices, doctors and hospitals, and occupational health. The Litigation Group was created in 1972 as a public interest law firm litigating in the area of health, safety, and consumer rights. Congress Watch was created as the lobbying arm of Public Citizen by Joan Claybrook in 1973 to push for legislation on workplace safety, consumer protection, and open government. The Critical Mass Energy Project was created in 1974 to promote renewable energy and energy efficiency technologies and as a watchdog on nuclear safety issues. Global Trade Watch is the division created to promote government and corporate accountability, along with

consumer and environmental protection, by engaging in research and advocacy in the field of international trade and investment. In 1983, Buyers Up was created to help consumers pool their buying power and save money on home heating oil.

In its early years, Public Citizen relied on a collection of young lawyers and activists to pursue an “investigate-expose-lobby-lawsuit” strategy of attack. Pursuing a broad agenda and exploiting the activist political climate of Washington in the 1970s, Public Citizen achieved prominence in the public interest movement and exercised influence in a number of policy areas, forcing drug companies to withdraw dangerous drugs from the market, requiring health-warning labels on various products, pushing for the passage of community right-to-know laws, and helping to kill funding for a proposed plutonium breeder reactor at Clinch River, Tennessee.

By the 1990s, businesses had effectively organized to counter the successes of Public Citizen and other public interest groups. The era of government and social activism had ended, and there was less money and public support for the kinds of social or regulatory programs supported by Public Citizen. Some critics argued that Public Citizen represented middle-class activists who were insensitive to the economic costs of government regulations. Even supporters worried that Nader and his projects had spread themselves too thin. However, Public Citizen remains active and influential on a range of issues, supporting the successful Supreme Court case to overturn the Line Item Veto Act in 1997 and, more recently, blocking congressional efforts to weaken environmental and consumer protection regulations.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Public Citizen remains active in analyzing, publicizing, and lobbying in many policy areas. It has pushed for campaign finance reform, claiming that monied interests control the agenda in Congress because they control campaign purse strings. Public Citizen has long favored public financing of all federal campaigns, but it has supported the more limited proposals to ban “soft money” (that is, unregulated contributions made to political parties as opposed to contributions made directly to candidates) and to enhance disclosure and enforcement. Public Citizen has also supported reform of the Independent Counsel Act, a law that Public Citizen pushed for in the 1970s. In addition, Public Citizen has advo-

cated a number of reforms to protect investigators of executive branch wrongdoing from political pressures.

Public Citizen has also been an advocate for cuts in corporate welfare, that is, the corporate tax breaks, subsidies, and incentives that amount to public welfare for corporations. It has also opposed recent congressional efforts to “roll back” government regulations, arguing that antiregulatory extremists are seeking to weaken environmental, health, and safety laws. Public Citizen has also criticized congressional efforts to reach an agreement with the tobacco industry to limit its liability in lawsuits in exchange for a lump sum payment to the federal or state governments for healthcare costs related to tobacco use. It has generally been a critic of civil justice reform proposals that would limit the liability of companies in lawsuits brought against them for damages caused by their products.

Public Citizen has also opposed free trade accords, including the North American Free Trade Agreement and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, charging that these pacts allow corporations to evade environmental, health, safety, and labor regulations and that they cost American jobs. Public Citizen addresses a great many issues in healthcare, product liability, government ethics, and energy generation.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Public Citizen has an annual budget of about \$10 million. The largest source of revenue is gifts and grants from foundations, businesses, and individuals. Another large source of revenue is the sale of publications. Other sources include court-awarded attorney’s fees, mailing-list rentals, income from the Buyers Up program, and other miscellaneous sources. Major expenses include research, publication and distribution of publications, fund-raising, and staff support.

Public Citizen is recognized as a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue code. This designation allows Public Citizen to lobby for legislation that promotes the general social welfare, but contributions to Public Citizen are not tax deductible.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

The United States Catholic Conference (USCC) is the public policy agency of the American Catholic hierarchy. It is a civil, nonprofit organization incorporated in Washington, D.C. The USCC consists of five committees: Communications, Education, Campaign for Human Development, Domestic Policy, and International Policy. These committees consist of clergy and religious and lay people who develop policy and programs for approval by an administrative board and the body of bishops. The positions taken on political issues by the USCC, especially on federal budget and social welfare issues, are generally consistent with the positions of liberal interest groups.

The USCC, through its various departments, engages in a wide array of activities aimed at applying Catholic social teaching to major contemporary domestic and international issues that have significant moral and human dimensions. The Department of Social Development and World Peace advocates for the poor and disadvantaged, and for justice and peace, while helping build the capacity of the Church to act effectively in defense of human life, human dignity, and human rights. The USCC's Office of Domestic Social Development coordinates USCC policy on major national issues including healthcare, welfare reform, poverty, civil rights, housing, homelessness, and labor. The Office of International Justice and Peace also engages in similar development and advocacy activities in the areas of human rights, religious liberty, peace and disarmament, foreign assistance, and religious and ethnic conflicts. The Department of Social Development and World Peace sends out a bimonthly "issue mailing" to subscribers with information and materials to assist social justice activists.

The USCC also operates the U.S. Catholic Church's antipoverty program, the Campaign for Human Development (CHD). The CHD raises funds through a nationwide, parish-level collection and provides grants to low-income groups for projects such as job creation, improvement of work conditions, crime fighting,

school reform, and assistance for the elderly. The CHD distributes approximately \$8 million in grants annually. The Department of Communications provides reviews of movies, videos, and television shows and runs the Catholic News Service, an international wire service for Catholic newspapers worldwide. The Office of Government Liaison represents the bishops before Congress on a wide variety of public policy issues. It coordinates and directs the legislative activities of the USCC staff and other Church personnel in order to influence the actions of Congress.

The USCC, with the National Council of Catholic Bishops (NCCB), operates Publishing and Promotion Services, which publishes approximately 50 books, videos, and electronic compact disc products each year. Topics covered on the titles range from issues such as politics, violence, and substance abuse to sources of religious education. The USCC/NCCB also maintain a comprehensive web site that includes a broad range of information, position papers, and press releases.

HISTORY

The USCC was established by the American Catholic hierarchy in 1966, but it has its origins in the National Catholic War Council. The National Catholic War Council was created at the urging of James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore to enable Catholics to contribute funds and commit personnel to meet the spiritual and recreational needs of U.S. servicepersons during the First World War. The council demonstrated the value of episcopal collaboration at the national level and, with the encouragement of Pope Benedict XV's call for Catholics to work for peace and social justice, led the hierarchy to establish the National Catholic Welfare Council (NCWC) in 1919. The NCWC included the bishops in its annual meeting. A second entity, the NCWC, Inc., consisted of the bishops working through

their staffs in the areas of education, immigration, and social action. Both of these organizations were headquartered in Washington, D.C. They served the Church in the United States until 1966, when the hierarchy voted to establish the NCCB and the USCC.

The NCCB is a canonical entity made up exclusively of bishops. Through the NCCB, the bishops attend to Church-related affairs in the United States. In the USCC, the bishops collaborate with other Catholics to address broader issues that concern the Church as part of the larger society. By the 1990s, the USCC had established an elaborate organization of departments and committees that develop positions and programs on issues of concern to the bishops, and present those positions in the public policy process.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The USCC takes an interest in virtually every domestic and international policy issue on the national agenda. It has taken public positions over the years on issues relating to the nature of the U.S. economic system, disarmament, healthcare, economic inequality, education, and abortion. Its Legislative Program for the 106th Congress includes proposals on numerous issues. It calls for adequate funding for programs that serve the poor, including housing programs for the elderly and people with AIDS, nutrition programs, and healthcare programs. It criticizes proposals to cut spending on social programs. It calls for an increase in the minimum wage and for indexing the minimum wage to the cost of living. The USCC has supported reforms to preserve Social Security, with an emphasis on maintaining the redistributive properties of the program that ensure that the return to the poorest is greater than that to the wealthiest. It also has supported healthcare reform that would guarantee universal access to affordable health-

care. The USCC has also supported expansion of the Family and Medical Leave Act.

The USCC has supported gun control, including the requirement of child safety locks on handguns. It has consistently opposed the death penalty. It has taken the lead in promoting education reforms that include “school choice” provisions that would provide tax vouchers or credits for families that send children to private or religious schools. The USCC has also been at the forefront of anti-abortion lobbying efforts to ban tax subsidies for abortions, deny aid to international family planning organizations that support abortion, prevent importation or sale of chemical abortifacients, ban human cloning, and to prohibit research using fetal tissue.

The USCC has supported U.S. economic and humanitarian assistance to foreign countries. It has been critical of the tight economic sanctions maintained against Cuba, calling for an immediate end to the ban on the sale of food and medicine in Cuba. It has supported U.S. ratification of various recently negotiated international treaties, including those that would ban the use of landmines (the Ottawa Treaty) and ban nuclear testing (the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty). It has been favorable toward the Kyoto Protocol that would reduce global greenhouse gas emissions. The USCC has called for more liberal immigration policies and has championed human rights as a central element in U.S. foreign policy.

FINANCIAL FACTS

As a nonprofit organization, the USCC does not have a political action committee (PAC) and is prohibited by the Internal Revenue Service from contributing to electoral campaigns.

RAYMOND B. WRABLEY, JR.

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U.S. PUBLIC INTEREST RESEARCH GROUP

The United States Public Interest Research Group (US PIRG) calls itself a “watchdog for the public interest in the nation’s capital.” Founded in 1983 and headquartered in Washington, D.C., US PIRG has a staff of 20 and claims a membership of 1 million. It also has organizations in 22 states and on more than 100 college campuses. With origins in the liberal consumer and public interest movement of the 1970s, US PIRG focuses its grassroots organizing, advocacy, and litigation efforts on such issues as product safety, environmental protection, public health, consumer protection, and special-interest influence in government. An affiliated organization, US PIRG Education Fund (US PIRGEF), is its research and education arm. In 1997, US PIRGEF published 16 national studies and exposés on threats to the environment, consumer rights, and democracy. It also conducted workshops to train citizens in the skills that enhance their ability to influence public policy. US PIRGEF also participates in a workplace giving campaign through Earthshare.

US PIRG engages in a wide range of advocacy and educational activities. It distributes a Congressional Scorecard, which rates members of Congress according to their voting records on key public interest issues. In 1997, over 1 million scorecards were distributed in 282 congressional districts. US PIRG’s quarterly newsletter, *Citizen Agenda*, reports on its investigations and other PIRG activities. Staff attorneys bring lawsuits to protect consumers and punish corporate abuses. Other PIRG staffers attend congressional hearings, monitor legislation, and lobby Congress. They also provide information and analysis for the media, appear on public affairs programs, testify before Congress, and write op-ed columns. In coalition with other groups like the Sierra Club, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and the American Lung Association, US PIRG organizes grassroots campaigns to bring pressure on elected officials.

In 1997, US PIRG upgraded its presence on the World Wide Web. Its site provides visitors with instant

access to more than a dozen US PIRG reports and consumer surveys, as well as US PIRG’s Congressional Scorecards. An automatic e-mail consumer alert allows subscribers to receive periodic alerts on pressing consumer issues. Links on the site allow visitors to access information provided by other public interest and environmental groups.

HISTORY

US PIRG was created by the state PIRGs in 1983 to advocate for the public interest in the nation’s capital. The first state PIRGs were set up in 1971 by Ralph Nader, who had made a name for himself in the 1960s with his exposé of the safety problems of General Motors’ Chevrolet Corvair. Nader has founded many consumer groups, including Public Citizen. The early organizing of the PIRGs was based on college campuses with the idea that students would pool their financial resources to fund research on issues of interest and importance to the public. The PIRG would be a form of participatory democracy through which students would play a larger role in public affairs. By the end of the 1970s, there were 120 PIRG chapters in 25 states.

The funding method for the campus PIRGs has long generated controversy. Organizers succeeded in persuading many universities to enroll all undergraduates in the campus PIRG through a “negative checkoff” mechanism. When students paid tuition, a fee for PIRG membership was automatically assessed. Students could later request that the money be refunded. Opposition over the years, on grounds that PIRG’s tactics were deceptive or coercive, led to changes that reduced funding for the PIRGs.

The state PIRGs undertook many successful organizing and lobbying activities in the states in the 1970s and often joined with other consumer and environmental groups to promote the public-interest agenda. In

the 1980s, the creation of US PIRG allowed the public-interest movement to bolster its research and advocacy capabilities nationally. US PIRG also attracted foundation support and a large enough membership to become one of the more liberal and effective public interest lobbies.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

One of US PIRG's major concerns is what it regards as abuses by big business that receive protection from government while harming consumers. US PIRG argues that, without a vigilant watchdog, government officials cater to the special interests that finance their campaigns. PIRG consumer advocates investigate unsafe business practices and publicly name unsafe products. In recent years, PIRG exposés have focused on dangerous toys, lax antitheft protection for debit cards, excessive bank fees, and identity theft and anti-consumer practices by rent-to-own businesses, credit bureaus, and airlines.

Another major focus of PIRG lobbying has been the health threat posed by pollution. In 1997, PIRG teamed with other environmental groups to press for tough, new limits on smog and soot. It mobilized citizens to testify at Environmental Protection Agency hearings and helped gather 250,000 signatures on a petition delivered to President Bill Clinton and Congress. It participated in a "Tombstone Tour" that featured a 10-foot tombstone to commemorate the 15,000 Americans it claimed air pollution would kill in 1997. It also lobbied to strengthen the Endangered Species Act and to

oppose congressional efforts to weaken the Superfund toxic-waste cleanup law. US PIRG opposed a law that would allow the shipment of radioactive wastes on highways and rail lines, sought to cut government subsidies for polluters, and lobbied for increased support for clean energy alternatives.

US PIRG has also been a leading advocate of political reforms to reduce the role of special-interest money in political campaigns, supporting various state and federal campaign-finance reform efforts.

FINANCIAL FACTS

US PIRG and US PIRGEF have a combined annual budget of over \$600,000. About 80 percent of its revenues come from contributions by individuals and foundations, with lesser amounts from state PIRG contributions and other revenue. Foundations that have provided support include the Rockefeller Family Fund, Tom Creek Foundation, and Pew Charitable Trusts. Most of PIRG's expenses cover program services, and about 10 percent goes to fund-raising.

US PIRG is a tax-exempt organization covered by Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue code. It is allowed to engage in direct lobbying, and contributions are not tax deductible. Contributions to US PIRGEF, a 501(c)(3) organization, are tax deductible.

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SECTION ELEVEN

SINGLE ISSUE



Single-issue interest groups are political interest groups that form around one issue, or perhaps several related issues. More often than not, they are concerned with social rather than economic issues. Many, although not all, believe intensely in the righteousness of their cause and would be willing to use militant, confrontational means to achieve their ends. Almost since the beginning of America's modern democratic system, single-issue groups have been major players on our national stage. Some single-issue groups have had a lasting decisive effect on public policy, while others have come and gone without leaving much of a trace.

In 1794, with the American Republic not even a decade old, one of the first single-issue groups made its mark. In 1791, Congress had passed an excise tax on whiskey to help pay off the nation's debt. Small farmers in rural areas, who produced and consumed vast amounts of whiskey, were not pleased. In a move later referred to as the Whiskey Rebellion, farmers attacked federal collectors who tried to enforce the tax. In July 1794, 500 men attacked and burned the home of the regional tax collector in western Pennsylvania. The following month, President George Washington issued a proclamation ordering the rebels to return home and called up the militia from four of the neighboring states. After Washington ordered 13,000 troops into the area, the farmers returned to their homes, offering no resistance. Two of the rebel ringleaders were convicted of treason but later pardoned by the president. Troops occupied the area and enforced the collection of the tax. However, many single-issue, antitax groups, to this day, cite the reasons behind the Whiskey Rebellion—excessive taxation and overbearing government—as being as repugnant now as they were in the past.

THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT: FROM EXTREME TO MAINSTREAM

Most historians see the beginnings of modern democracy in America as starting in the late 1820s during the presidency of Andrew Jackson. Then, the rigid property qualifications required for voting by white males were dropped, and elections were no longer the exclusive exercise of wealthy, white property owners.

Almost immediately after that change, the New England Anti-Slavery Society, dedicated to ending slavery, was founded in 1831. The Liberty Party, also dedicated to ending slavery, was born in 1839, and the more mainstream abolitionist group—the Free Soil Party—was organized in 1848. These parties were seen as radical splinter groups well outside the mainstream of political thought, with little chance of influencing public policy. However, several events and trends helped the abolitionists move from the extreme to the mainstream. Those events and trends included the bloody struggles between pro- and antislavery forces in the Kansas and Nebraska territories, the Fugitive Slave Law allowing slave owners to capture runaway slaves, and northern industry's view of slavery as a source of cheap labor that would give southern industry an unfair, competitive advantage.

In 1856, the newly formed Republican Party, with General John Frémont as its candidate, ran on an anti-slavery expansion platform. In 1860, Republican Abraham Lincoln also ran on the platform of admitting no new slave states to the Union. His position on this issue was a key factor behind the outbreak of the Civil War. Even though Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, freeing the slaves, the famous abolitionist leader Wendell Phillips proclaimed that Lincoln could not have grown on the slavery issue “without us

watering him.” It is hard to see how the political climate would have changed over the decades, allowing passage of a constitutional amendment banning slavery, without the agitation of an intense—and some would say overzealous—single-interest group, the abolitionists.

THE “KNOW-NOTHING” PARTY: IMMIGRANTS NOT WELCOME

However, the abolitionists were not the only single-interest group trying to put a stamp on public policy in the mid 1800s. In the 1840s and 1850s the “Know-Nothing” Party was a force to be reckoned with. The party was originally founded as the Secret Order of the Star Spangled Banner. Their business meetings were conducted in private, and it was said all of their members were instructed to answer “I know nothing” when asked about those meetings. They managed to convince many that Catholic immigrants were polluting the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant base of the country. Outspokenly anti-immigrant, they were dedicated to keeping “lesser breeds” out of America and to making sure that the nation kept its white Protestant base intact and unsoiled. They held that no alien should be granted citizenship for 21 years, no foreign-born person should be allowed to hold office, and the number of new immigrants allowed to enter the nation should be drastically reduced, especially Catholic immigrants. “America for Americans” was one of their slogans.

Know-Nothing forces were believed to be responsible for the dynamiting of Catholic churches and other assorted acts of violence. However, this single-issue group was a powerful political force in the 1840s and 1850s. They elected a number of governors and congressmen in several states. In 1856, the Know-Nothings nominated ex-President Millard Fillmore, who gained some 25 percent of the vote in a three-way race. But as the issues of slavery and preserving the union came to a head, the Know-Nothings’ anti-immigrant platform lost its appeal. The party split on the slavery issue and soon was no longer a serious political force. One of Lincoln’s more famous quotes about the Know-Nothings read, “As a nation, we began by declaring ‘all men are created equal.’ We now read it ‘all men are created equal, except Negroes.’ When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read, ‘All men are created equal except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics.’ ”

FREE SILVER—THE “COWBIRD” OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT?

Another intensely committed, but ultimately unsuccessful, single-issue group that left its mark on the political scene was the Free Silver movement. Its members believed that the gold standard favored lenders over debtors and helped ensure that the big banks on the eastern seaboard would dominate the economy. They favored adopting the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. This new silver standard, it was argued, would increase the flow of money in the economy and help hard-pressed midwestern farmers to pay off their debts and ease their cash-flow problems.

The rising third-party group, the Populists, adopted a free silver plank in their 1892 platform. Then, in 1893, a depression rocked the country. The economic hardships strained the splits in the country between debtors and creditors, dirt-poor farmers and well-off industrialists, between the allied agrarian West and South and the industrial East. When the Republican Party met in 1896, it came out foursquare for the gold standard, declaring it must be preserved. A group of pro-silver western Republicans walked out of the convention and founded the National Silver Party, which would later endorse the Democratic nominee for president, William Jennings Bryan. The Democratic Party snubbed its pro-gold standard-bearer, President Grover Cleveland, and nominated pro-silver Democrat Bryan. In a famous speech at the convention, Bryan roused delegates to a fever pitch by declaring “. . . having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for the gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.”

A position that had been held only a few years ago by a fringe, single-issue group was now part of the political mainstream. Yet there were those at the time who deplored their success in making free silver the leading issue for the Democrats and Populists and, in doing so, harming both parties. Reformer Henry Demarest Lloyd complained: “Free silver is the cowbird of the Reform movement. It waits until the nest has been built by the labor and sacrifices of others, and then laid its eggs in it, pushing out the others which lie smashed on the ground. It is now flying around while we are expected to do the incubating.”

The other “eggs” that Lloyd believed had been pushed aside by the free silver movement included calls for a graduated income tax, public works to fight unemployment, stricter antimonopoly laws, and public ownership of the railroads. When Bryan and his populist allies lost in 1896 to Republican James McKinley, the free silver movement collapsed. The gold standard remained in place for the next 40 years until the Great Depression. Many believed that the overreliance of the Democrats on the issue of free silver hurt them with the broader public.

SUFFRAGISTS AND FEMINISTS

There have been similar criticisms aimed at the single-issue groups supporting women’s suffrage—their right to the ballot box. In 1848, the first convention dealing with the issue of women’s rights was called to order in Seneca Falls, New York. The document it produced was broad-based. Not only did it call for giving women voting rights, but it also addressed related areas of social and economic deprivations—the fact that women had few rights in wage and property matters, no rights in divorce proceedings, no equal opportunity in employment, and no access to advanced education. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, energies were for the most part focused on winning the right to vote. Wyoming was the first state to grant women that right, in 1890, after which the movement for women’s suffrage gathered momentum. In 1893, Colorado gave women the right to vote. Idaho followed suit in 1896. After a pause of a decade, more and more states recognized women’s rights in the voting booth. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified into law, giving all American women the same voting rights as men. On the surface it would seem that the single-issue groups had achieved an unqualified success. However, the criticism expressed by social reformers about the free silver movement’s single-minded focus on their goal hurting broader social causes was heard by leaders in the women’s movement at the turn of the century. Emma Goldman, the famous radical social activist said:

Our modern fetish is universal suffrage. . . . The women of Australia and New Zealand can vote, and help make laws. Are labor conditions better there. . . ?

The history of the political activities of man proves that they have given him absolutely nothing that he could not have achieved in a more direct, less costly, and more

lasting manner. As a matter of fact, every inch of ground he has gained through a constant fight, a ceaseless struggle for self-assertion, and not through suffrage. There is no reason whatever to assume that woman, in her climb to emancipation, has been, or will be, helped by the ballot.

Helen Keller, writing to a suffragist in England, echoed Goldman’s thoughts:

Our democracy is but a name. We vote? But what does it mean? It means that we chose between two bodies of real, though not avowed, autocrats. We chose between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. You ask for votes for women. What good can votes do when ten-elevenths of the land of Great Britain belongs to 200,000 and only one-eleventh of the land belongs to the rest of the 40,000,000. Have your men with their millions of votes freed themselves from this injustice?

The Nineteenth Amendment was ratified just in time for women to vote in the 1920 election. That election saw Warren Harding become president, one of the more conservative presidents of the twentieth century.

THE PROHIBITIONISTS—VICTIMS OF THEIR OWN SUCCESS?

The prohibitionists, a highly successful single-issue group, campaigned during the 1800s against the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages. The Prohibition Party, founded in 1869, embraced many issues beyond prohibition, including the right of women to vote, the direct election of president and vice president, a reduction in transportation rates, and less restrictive immigration policies. After several poor performances at the polls, however, the Prohibition Party dropped all other issues and focused on the evils of drink. Sure enough, the party polled a much larger vote in the 1884 and 1892 elections. By 1919, prohibition activists, working through the structures of the two parties, convinced 37 of the 48 states to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment, banning the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Not satisfied with this success, some of the more zealous advocates wanted to press for a worldwide prohibition, but national prohibition turned out to be such a failure in practice that it was repealed in 1933.

AMERICA FIRST: KEEPING THE UNITED STATES OUT OF WORLD WAR II

The threat of world war looming ever larger in the late 1930s gave rise to one of the most powerful single-issue groups ever active in American politics. On September 4, 1940, the America First Committee announced its formation, with national headquarters in Chicago. Its original statement of principles was very narrowly focused and straightforward:

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America.
2. No foreign power, nor group of powers, can successfully attack a prepared America.
3. American democracy can only be preserved by keeping out of the European War.
4. "Aid short of war" weakens national defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad.

Although most of the American people probably agreed with the committee that American troops not participate in the European war, polls showed that the public still wanted to supply England with the arms and tools it needed to fight Nazi Germany. Nevertheless, the America First Committee became a powerful influence, especially in the Midwest. By December 1941, it had 450 chapters and subchapters and about 850,000 members. Its prime mover and most active speaker was the popular hero-aviator, Charles Lindbergh. The committee had the active support of powerful senators and corporate chairmen. In 1940, President Franklin Roosevelt, in an effort to boost military preparedness, pushed a bill extending the term of military service beyond one year. It passed the House over the opposition of America First and other isolationist groups by a single vote.

But Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and Hitler's declaration of war against the United States cut the ground out from under the isolationist movement. The country rallied behind the war effort, and the America First Committee ceased to be a serious political force.

TILTING AT WINDMILLS: THE 1968 "DUMP JOHNSON" MOVEMENT

One of the most spectacularly successful single-issue groups, "Dump Johnson" in 1968, overcame what most

thought were impossible odds. In 1964, Lyndon Johnson was elected president by one of the largest landslides in political history, defeating Senator Barry Goldwater. In 1964 and 1965, he signed into law landmark social legislation, including the Voting Rights Act, the Medicare Act, and the Civil Rights Act. But from 1965 onward, he increased U.S. military involvement in the Vietnam War. As American casualties climbed from the hundreds into the thousands, with no victory in sight, the war became steadily more unpopular with the American people. Virtually all of the political experts—except one—thought it would be impossible to deny a powerful sitting president his own party's nomination in 1968.

Allard K. Lowenstein was a veteran political activist and organizer. He had been involved in many liberal causes, including registering blacks to vote in Mississippi and lobbying against South Africa's Apartheid government. Because the Vietnam War was so unpopular with the American people, he believed a movement to block Johnson's reelection could be mounted. He organized like-minded activists into an informal "Dump Johnson" campaign, recruiting support from such antiwar and liberal groups as the Americans for Democratic Action and Students Against Nuclear Extermination to go on record in support of a peace candidate if Johnson did not change his war policies. The movement was made up of Democratic Party activists who believed that Johnson had lied to them in the 1964 election when he pledged not to expand the war. They also believed that the increased spending for the war came at the expense of badly needed social programs. Lowenstein also convinced the National Students Association to organize an "alternative candidate task force." He aggressively recruited idealistic college students to join his movement. He organized lists of friendly contacts and raised money from those seeking to end the war. Later that year, several Democratic Party leaders signed on. Across the nation, Lowenstein helped nurture his movement through rallies, fund-raisers, and networking. At the end of the year, "Dump Johnson" got what it needed most—a candidate. Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota declared he would run against Lyndon Johnson in the presidential primaries on a Vietnam peace plank.

With the New Hampshire primary coming in March 1968, the outlook for the "Dump Johnson" movement looked bleak. McCarthy was not an inspiring candidate and trailed Johnson badly in the polls. But a few key events turned things around. The Communists launched the Tet Offensive in Vietnam in February, causing high American casualties and new doubts about

Johnson's war policies. An army of clean-cut college students who went "clean for Gene" invaded New Hampshire and, in March, McCarthy captured 42 percent of the vote to Johnson's 48 percent. Bigger shocks were yet to come.

On March 31, Johnson announced he was no longer a candidate for president and dropped out of the race. Most political observers saw Lowenstein's success in putting together a mainstream movement that defeated a powerful sitting president as a remarkable achievement. What was deemed "impossible" had come to pass. Although "Dump Johnson" succeeded in its immediate goal of denying Johnson reelection, it failed in its broader goal of electing an antiwar president. When antiwar candidate Robert Kennedy was assassinated in June 1968, after winning the California primary, the Democratic Party leadership saw to it that pro-war candidate and sitting Vice President Hubert Humphrey received the nomination. Humphrey received the nomination despite the fact that he had not run in any of the primary elections that year, and that almost 70 percent of all voters in the spring Democratic primaries had voted for peace candidates Kennedy or McCarthy. In the fall, voters were faced with a choice of Vietnam hawks Richard Nixon, George Wallace, or Humphrey. Nixon went on to win in November by a narrow margin. Some members of the antiwar and "Dump Johnson" movements took comfort in the fact that, upon taking office, Nixon steadily pulled American troops out of the war, slowly shifting the burden of the ground fighting to the South Vietnamese army.

PROPOSITION 13 AND THE ANTITAX MOVEMENT—TIDAL WAVE OUT OF CALIFORNIA

In 1978, few would have predicted that California would set the pace for a national tax revolt. After all, in 1973, popular Governor Ronald Reagan pressed for a tax-limiting measure that went down to defeat by a wide margin, even though his side had widely outspent the opposition. The leader of the antitax movement, Howard Jarvis, was a fringe political figure. He was the head of a small antitax group in the state and had trouble getting a decent turnout at his community meetings. Nevertheless, Jarvis pressed ahead with his proposed ballot initiative to roll back property taxes by more than

50 percent. His measure, Proposition 13, produced instant opposition from the AFL-CIO and the California Chamber of Commerce, among others. His ballot issue foes outspent him by a wide margin, to no avail. A few weeks before the vote in June 1978, tax assessment bills were mailed out to homeowners all across the state. In many cases, those assessments showed huge increases in the property tax burden. In the June election, Proposition 13 passed by an almost 2–1 margin. Angry voters turned out in record numbers to vent their rage at the high property taxes. Other antitax groups around the nation had been pushing ballot issues, limiting or rolling back state and local taxes. After Proposition 13 passed in June, those measures received an unmistakable boost. Of the 16 measures on the state ballots in 1978, either cutting taxes or limiting spending, more than three-quarters of them passed.

When Jarvis addressed Congress in 1978, he was treated as a hero by the Republican Party. Lowering taxes and shrinking big government became the mainstays of Reagan's presidential election campaign in 1980. In 1981, President Reagan signed the Kemp-Roth tax bill into law, radically cutting the income tax rate in America. After 1981, the tax-limitation movement seemed to lose some of its momentum. Other issues came to the fore, and the deep recession of 1982 underlined, in the minds of many voters, the need for some government spending. But the antitax movement was a victim of its own success. Once federal income and local property taxes were limited or cut, the American people wanted to move on to other issues. However, the spectacular success of this movement can hardly be denied. Many political observers believe that without Proposition 13's passing in 1978, Reagan and the Republican Party would not have swept into power in 1980.

FREEZING THE ARMS RACE: A GLASS HALF FULL OR HALF EMPTY?

With the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union deteriorated. Reagan pushed a major increase in the defense budget in 1981 and talked of "winnable" nuclear wars. The increased tension between the two superpowers and the increased public fear of a nuclear war gave rise to another single-issue group, the Nuclear Freeze Movement.

The Freeze was a grassroots collection of citizens groups with offices in St. Louis and New York. The Freeze platform called for a halt to the nuclear arms race and “a mutual freeze on the testing, production and development of all nuclear warheads, missiles and delivery systems.” The ultimate goal of the peace activists supporting the nuclear freeze movement was to reduce the nuclear weapons stockpiles of both the United States and USSR. “Freezing” the number of weapons where they were was seen as only a first step toward their total elimination.

Between 1979 and 1982, Freeze organizers helped put nuclear freeze initiatives on the ballot in 25 states and in 62 towns and cities. The nuclear freeze resolutions passed in 24 of the 25 states and in 59 of 62 towns and cities where they were on the ballot. Of the voters who had the chance to vote on the Freeze measures across the nation, 63 percent voted “Yes.” However, the Freeze initiatives were nonbinding. They did not have the force of law and were just a measure of public opinion. In 1983, Congress passed a nonbinding “sense of Congress” resolution endorsing the idea of eliminating nuclear weapons. That vote would probably not have been possible without the strong grassroots showing of the Freeze campaign across the nation. But, like the state and local ballot initiatives, the congressional vote did not carry the force of law. The same Congress that voted for a nonbinding resolution to eliminate nuclear weapons later voted for binding laws and spending bills that increased the nuclear arsenal. In 1987, the Nuclear Freeze movement ceased to exist as a separate organization—having merged with another peace group. However, when Vice President George Bush felt the need to remind voters that it was not “those Freeze folks” who brought about some limited federal steps to hold the line on nuclear weapon expansion, many in the Freeze movement believed they had received a backhanded compliment. Ever since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, there have been no major cuts in America’s defense budget. To many, this is the clearest sign of the ultimate failure of the Freeze movement.

BRINGING DOWN APARTHEID: DIVESTMENT AND DISINVESTMENT

During the years of the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union, America supported many governments based on their firm stand against communism,

without regard to how they treated their own people. For many Americans, one of the worst examples of this policy was United States’ support of the South African government, which used the Apartheid system to hold down and abuse the black majority. In the mid 1960s, a group of citizen activists decided to do something about the situation. Because Congress was unwilling to curtail corporate investments in a nation governed through repression, these activists decided to target American financial and industrial corporations having major investments in South Africa. Their strategy was to contact investors with big blocks of stock in these businesses and persuade them to let management know that they would divest, or sell off their stocks, unless the companies pulled out of South Africa, or disinvested from the Apartheid regime. At first, the South African activists received little support. They tried to organize church groups with stocks in companies or students at universities that owned stocks in different businesses, and tried to get them to attend shareholders meetings, threatening total divestment of their stock unless there was a disinvestment from South Africa. These activists were usually met with a wall of skepticism. Management believed that disinvesting from South Africa would not solve any problems. They believed some other business would just come along to fill in the gap. Disinvesting, many reasoned, would mean only that these companies would give up any leverage in influencing events in South Africa and would be an empty public gesture.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, divestment activists began organizing with college students, organizing churches with large stock holdings, and labor unions who were upset at how South Africa treated its labor unions and workers. Slowly, the movement gathered momentum. Eventually the leaders of hundreds of elite institutions, from religious groups, such as the United Church of Christ, to huge charities, such as the Ford Foundation, to Harvard University, began to question the morality of investing in companies operating in South Africa. During the late 1970s, many students protested their college’s investment in corporations that did business in South Africa. “Divest Now!” became a popular chant in more and more schools across the country. Organizers became increasingly active in convincing state and local governments to divest funds in firms that did business with Apartheid. In 1979, the city of Berkeley, California, voted to divest all city holdings in companies that invested in South Africa. By 1982, three cities (Philadelphia, Wilmington, Delaware, and Grand Rapids, Michigan) and three states (Connecticut, Mich-

igan, and Massachusetts) had approved the divestment of more than \$250 million in public monies. New York State followed in the mid 1980s. Many large corporations, responding both to increased public pressure in the United States and to increasing turmoil in South Africa, voluntarily shut down their operations in that country. From January 1, 1986, to April 30, 1988, 114 American companies disinvested from South Africa. Those firms included Control Data, Dow Chemical, Eastman Kodak, Exxon, Ford, General Electric, Good-year, Johnson Controls, Merck, Newmont Mining, and Unisys.

As the 1980s progressed, and violence and instability inside South Africa became increasingly worse, the divestment movement won the day, as Congress, in 1986, overrode President Reagan's veto and imposed economic sanctions on South Africa. The Apartheid system eventually collapsed and free elections were held in the country in 1994. South Africa's new president and anti-Apartheid fighter Nelson Mandela publicly credited the divestment movement with helping to bring about the overthrow of Apartheid.

Throughout our history, some single-issue groups have had spectacular successes, and others, spectacular failures. But win, lose, or draw, as long as there are heated issues that stir the nation's passions, these single-

issue groups will continue to have a role in our political system.

GLENN DAIGON

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AMERICANS UNITED FOR THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Americans United for the Separation of Church and State (AU) is a national organization of 60,000 members dedicated to keeping the boundaries between church and state activity separate. Its headquarters is in Washington, D.C., and it has 115 local chapters across the nation. AU is run by a 15-member executive board; those board members are nominated by a committee and then ratified by the general membership at the organization's annual meeting.

The organization encourages political involvement by its members to advance its issue agenda. It does this through legislative action alerts, a monthly newsletter, and books. The organization's national headquarters houses the following departments: executive, field services, legal, legislative, state legislative, development, and financial.

HISTORY

Americans United for the Separation of Church and State was originally founded in 1947. Its original title was Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State. The idea for the organization started with a group of civic and religious leaders concerned about the dangers to religious freedom in the nation. The original founders were also worried about the tensions between Protestants and Catholics in the United States after the end of the Second World War and wanted to avoid the bitter religious conflicts that had torn apart many other countries.

The group's first big test came in 1951, when President Harry Truman announced his decision to send General Mark Clark to the Vatican as an official U.S. ambassador. AU objected on the grounds that a government that separates church and state and guarantees personal and religious freedom to all and preferential treatment to no one ought not to single out one church,

or one church/state entity, for recognition. The group argued that if the United States was going to take this action, then to be consistent it would also have to exchange diplomatic officials with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the World Council of Churches, and so forth. Many believed the main reason Truman took this step was to curry favor with Catholic voters in the 1952 elections.

AU sponsored letter-writing campaigns to Congress and organized mass rallies against the move around the nation. In early 1952, General Clark asked President Truman to withdraw his name from consideration, and the president announced that he would not send another name to Capitol Hill. During the rest of the 1950s, the big issues that the organization was involved with were censorship, "captive schools," and Catholic hospitals. Also, AU fought pressure by Catholic groups to ban the showing of a film about Martin Luther on Chicago television.

In the mid 1950s, AU went to court to stop public "captive schools" from being run by religious orders. In some rural communities, many of the taxpayer-supported schools were being run as parochial schools in all but name. Many of the teachers were nuns who signed over tax-supported salaries to their religious orders. In some of the schools, the Mother Superior acted as principal and hired only teachers they deemed religiously acceptable. Books and course material were strongly slanted toward one faith. AU found the same type of captive schools being run by Protestants. In rural Kentucky districts, the United Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society completely ran the school buildings and the courses taught. The courts ultimately ruled in favor of the AU and ordered the respective boards of education from these school districts to stop distributing religious books and literature on school grounds, to stop keeping religious periodicals in the school library, and to stop spending public funds for religious purposes.

AU also opposed any public funding of sectarian hospitals. The group argued that, although, for example,

many Catholic hospitals provided fine medical care to millions of people, they still operated under a medical code that forbade birth control information. The group believed there could be potential for many problems in funding hospitals where the members of religious orders could dictate medical policy to doctors, even in the operating room. AU was ultimately unsuccessful in its efforts to block funding for sectarian hospitals.

In the 1960 presidential election, church/state separation issues moved to the forefront as John F. Kennedy attempted to become America's first Catholic president. Many openly questioned whether a Catholic could be independent from church leadership. Kennedy publicly opposed aid to parochial schools, pledged independence from religious leaders in all decision making, and would not oppose birth control programs. After Kennedy won the 1960 election, many in AU believed he had one of the strongest records on church/state separation issues.

In 1961, Kennedy pushed legislation to expand federal aid programs to public education. He steadfastly refused the demands by the U.S. Catholic Conference that parochial schools be included in all federal aid programs. AU strongly supported Kennedy's efforts to target federal aid to public, nonreligious, schools only. Ultimately, Kennedy's bill died by one vote in the House.

On the other hand, AU strongly opposed the Higher Education Facilities Act, which provided public funds for construction at church-based colleges. The measure passed Congress and was signed into law in 1964. In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson proposed the Elementary and Secondary School Act, which allowed for public funding for parochial schools. It too passed Congress and was signed into law by the president.

During the 1970s, AU vigorously opposed the "prayer amendment" that would allow prayer in public schools. It helped lobby against the "Wylie Amendment," which would have permitted "nondenominational prayer" in all public buildings. The measure was defeated on the House floor in 1971. During that same year, the Supreme Court upheld lower court decisions to strike down laws in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island to provide tax aid to parochial schools. AU was involved in bringing those cases before the High Court; most considered this court ruling to be a landmark decision.

Frank J. Sorauf, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Minnesota, published a book in 1976 entitled *The Wall of Separation: The Constitutional Politics of Church and State*. He analyzed 67 decisions by high-level federal courts on church and state separation

issues. Sorauf concluded that AU was involved in 51 of these 67 important cases.

AU activities were not restricted to lobbying Congress or the state legislatures, or filing legal briefs in court to challenge laws it believed were illegal. In the 1970s, the organization became involved in coalitions opposed to ballot initiatives, which, if passed, would have led to direct or indirect public aid to church-related education. The voters easily defeated these initiatives placed on the state ballots of Idaho, Oregon, Maryland, Nebraska, Michigan, and Missouri.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the group took many of the religious right's political actions to court, believing that they crossed the line of church/state separation. One action that AU and others opposed was the Christian Coalition's distribution of voter education pamphlets in churches before election day. To date, AU is still active in pursuing individual church groups and church associations for illegal and inappropriate political activity. In the spring of 1999, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) revoked the Christian Coalition's tax-exempt status, stating it was a partisan political group. AU had provided the IRS evidence documenting the Christian Coalition's partisan political activities.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

AU has seen its mission as protecting the separation between church and state as mandated in the First Amendment to the Constitution. The organization cites the First Amendment, which specifies that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Toward that end, the organization is currently involved in many battles at the federal, state, and local levels.

At the federal level, the group is fighting to block a bill, Charitable Choice, that would allow church institutions to receive federal money to run social services and health-benefits programs for the government. AU is also opposing a bill, the Education Savings Account and School Excellence Act, that would use public money for parochial elementary and secondary schools. Also at the federal level, the organization is working to stop passage of a constitutional amendment to outlaw flag burning, and is opposing parental rights legislation and the American Heritage Act, promoting the use of religious materials in public schools.

At the state level, AU will be going to court to have

Florida's far-reaching, newly passed school voucher program thrown out as being unconstitutional. AU is working to convince legislatures in Texas, California, Michigan, and Illinois not to pass similar voucher programs. In states around the nation, AU is working to block bills requiring prayer in school, tax exemption for leased religious property, and tuition tax credits for private and church-run schools. The organization has opposed zealous religious groups such as the Moral Majority from aggressively pursuing partisan politics. In 1999, AU accused a New York church of partisan electioneering in 1992. The IRS revoked the church's tax-exempt status, and that action was upheld in the federal courts.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Under the IRS tax code, AU is designated 501(c)(3), that is, it exists as a not-for-profit organization and is prohibited from making campaign contributions to candidates for federal elected office.

GLENN DAIGON

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CITIZENS FLAG ALLIANCE

The Citizens Flag Alliance, Inc. (CFA) is a coalition of organizations, most of which are national in scope, that have come together for one reason: to persuade the United States Congress to propose a constitutional amendment to protect the flag from physical desecration and to send the amendment to the states for ratification.

More than 135 organizations make up the CFA, with a membership totaling 20 million. Organized in every state, the individual, nonorganization-affiliated membership is 200,000. Membership is open to fraternal, ethnic, civic, and veteran organizations, corporations, and businesses by application. There is no membership fee, but it is expected that member organizations would have the endorsement of the governing body. It is also expected that member organizations would promote the flag protection amendment among their members and the public, and it would allow the publication of their names as member organizations of the CFA. It is expected that they participate in the CFA's legislative activities and grassroots lobbying efforts. Some of the groups that belong to the CFA include the Moose, the Elks, and the Knights of Columbus. The American Legion is the organization that is the founder of, and driving force behind, the CFA. Much of the organization's funding originates with the American Legion, and the CFA uses American Legion's Washington, D.C., staffers and office space to help them lobby for passage of the flag protection amendment.

The CFA is run by a 20-member board of directors, of which only one, the chairman, is paid. The rest of the board consists of officials of the coalition of organizations that make up the CFA. The organization hires private firms to do its lobbying work in Washington, D.C., and relies on its individual organizations to get the word out to their grassroots members to help press its agenda at the state and federal levels. The organization also communicates with its diverse base through legislative action alerts and a monthly newsletter. CFA has used numerous methods of rallying its members in

support of the flag protection amendment. Those methods have included mass rallies in Washington, intense advertising campaigns in the states of key lawmakers before crucial votes, legislative alerts urging members to write their senators and representatives in support of the flag protection amendment, and voter education projects informing members how their lawmakers have voted on the flag protection amendment. The headquarters for the CFA is located in Indianapolis, Indiana, and operates out of a facility owned by the American Legion.

HISTORY

In the summer of 1984, 48 states and the federal government had laws on the books making it a crime to desecrate or abuse the flag. In Dallas, Texas, Gregory Johnson marched from the Republican convention being held in Dallas to the steps of Dallas City Hall and burned an American flag. He was arrested, charged, tried, and convicted of violating a Texas law that made desecration of the U.S. flag a crime. Five years later, that decision was appealed all the way to the Supreme Court. In a 5-4 vote, the High Court ruled that Johnson had been denied his free speech rights and ruled the Texas flag desecration law unconstitutional. That decision swept away all the other 47 state laws as well as the federal statute.

Congress responded by passing the Flag Protection Act of 1989. Within a matter of days, the act was struck down by another 5-4 Supreme Court vote. In the fall of that year, the American Legion adopted a resolution at their convention seeking passage of a flag protection amendment to the Constitution. The following year the flag protection amendment came up for a vote in Congress. Neither the Senate nor the House was able to muster the two-thirds majority needed for passage.

In May 1994, the American Legion decided to create

a broad-based organization, the Citizens Flag Alliance, to help get the flag protection amendment passed. In June 1995, the amendment cleared the House by a vote of 312–120, but failed by a three-vote margin to get the two-thirds majority required in the Senate. The final vote was 63 senators in favor, 36 opposed. In 1997, the flag protection amendment was brought up again. It passed by a vote of 310–114 in the House, but the Senate never voted on the amendment, killing it for a second time. On June 24, 1999, the House voted to pass the flag protection amendment, 305–124.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The focus of this organization is passage of a simple, 18-word constitutional amendment overruling the Supreme Court decision stating that flag burning was freedom of speech protected by the Constitution: “The Congress shall have the power to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag of the United States.” The CFA states that the American flag is more than just a piece of cloth. It believes it is a symbol of our nation’s pride and that desecrating or abusing this symbol would dishonor the memories of all those who died or were wounded in service to our country. The CFA believes the flag to be a unique symbol that represents the ideals on which America was founded and is a symbol of all the common values, traditions, and principles that bind our diverse nation together, and it should be respected accordingly.

Even opponents of the measure concede that its sheer simplicity makes it hard to oppose. Senator Robert Kerrey of Nebraska commented, “It’s too difficult for people running for office to oppose in a 30-second sound bite. The measure seems so reasonable on its face.”

Opponents have tried to use the argument that, although the amendment sounds reasonable on paper, it would be impossible to enforce in reality. Former Senator John Glenn raised the point that the words *flag* and *desecration* are hard to define, and unless defined by the courts, would simply raise more questions than answers. Glenn asked: “How . . . do we know what is prosecuted under this amendment? If a mechanic is lying on his back in a flag T-shirt, which is dirty and sweaty, is

that desecration? If someone is wearing a pair of flag boxer shorts, is that desecration?”

Massachusetts Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy wondered why we should limit the issue to just flag burning. “What will we do if someone burns the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States?” Other opponents of the measure said it would trivialize the Constitution by creating a solution for a problem that doesn’t exist in the first place. Senator John Chafee of Rhode Island said that the Congressional Research Service could find only 41 instances of flag desecration from 1995 to 1999, or only an average of eight a year. Others argue that the amendment violates the spirit of freedom of expression, one of the very principles the flag is meant to symbolize. Senator Glenn stated, “It is a hollow victory to protect the symbol while chipping away at the freedoms themselves.”

The CFA lobbyists counter these arguments, declaring that the flag is such a unique symbol of American values that it should be placed in a judicial category to exempt it from free speech. They also argue that just as no one has the free speech to joke about bombs at airports or to stand naked in major thoroughfares, neither should people be allowed to burn the most visible symbol of our nation. Flag protection amendment backer and Arizona Senator John McCain declared, “American blood has been shed all over the world for the American flag. . . . I believe it deserves respect.”

In 1999, General Norman Schwarzkopf made a public statement in favor of the flag protection amendment. He said: “I regard legal protections for our flag as an absolute necessity and a matter of critical importance to our nation. The American flag, far from a mere symbol or a piece of cloth, is an embodiment of our hopes, freedoms, and unity. The flag is our national identity.”

FINANCIAL FACTS

The CFA is designated 501(c)(3) by the Internal Revenue Service, that is, not-for-profit. It is therefore prohibited from making campaign contributions to candidates for federal elected office.

GLENN DAIGON

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COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

The Council for a Livable World (CLW) has over 100,000 members in all 50 states. Its members are organized on an at-large basis; CLW has no formal state chapters. The organization's goal is to rid the world of weapons of mass destruction and to cut excessive military spending. It employs a staff of lobbyists in Washington, D.C., to lobby the U.S. Senate on such issues as the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars") and the Chemical Weapons Treaty. The council also has a research staff that prepares one- or two-page fact sheets as well as lengthy briefing books to advocate the organization's stands on the issues of the day. CLW is run by a 23-member board of directors; the directors are nominated by the president of the group. CLW communicates with its membership through action alerts, newsletters, and profiles of political candidates seeking the group's endorsement. The organization has 15 full-time staff members.

Since its inception in 1962, the council claims that it has helped elect 80 U.S. senators. CLW asserts that the organization's high-profile endorsements and its political action committee's (PAC) campaign contributions have made the difference in close races. Some of the other ways CLW tries to shape the political agenda in Washington include:

Raising the visibility of issues with Congress.

CLW lobbyists provide information to senators and representatives on key issues and alert them to upcoming votes.

Finding a leader on the issues. CLW lobbyists encourage and support leadership in Congress on issues of importance to the organization. For example, CLW worked with senators Carl Levin and Jeff Bingaman and others on Star Wars and START III.

Building coalitions. CLW tries to build bipartisan, broad-based coalitions inside and outside Congress on key issues. CLW helped to circulate let-

ters endorsing prompt action on START II, a letter signed by 36 senators.

Ensuring that the administration is engaged in the issue. CLW worked closely with the Clinton administration to seek its lobbying assistance on both START II and National Ballistic Missile Defense.

Working with the media. Lobbyists work hard to make sure that important arms control stories are reported to the public in an accurate, objective manner.

Running editorial campaigns. Media campaigns consist of first sending background materials and arguments on major legislation and upcoming votes to generate news stories and editorials. These campaigns are usually targeted in the districts or home states of key members. The second phase consists of sending packets of editorials to those legislators to show broad-based support or opposition on a key issue.

Running grassroots campaigns. These campaigns consist of mobilizing citizens to write letters to their members of Congress. These campaigns try to generate hundreds of letters to key legislators in order to have a maximum impact. CLW alerts its grassroots base by Legislative Action Alerts through the mail.

Running television or radio ads on an issue. CLW tries to target funds for media ads in districts of undecided members of Congress before an upcoming vote.

Campaign fund-raising or working on behalf of a candidate. CLW tries to influence elections by dispensing millions of dollars in PAC contributions, and mobilizing campaign workers to get out the vote for endorsed candidates.

In 1980, CLW's board of directors incorporated the Council for a Livable World Education Fund as a separate organization to educate the public about the dan-

gers of the arms race and peaceful alternatives. In 1982, CLW organized the political action committee, PeacePAC, to help elect candidates to the House of Representatives. CLW claims that since its start, PeacePAC has helped more than 70 members of Congress get elected. CLW also claims that in the last several years, PeacePAC has contributed more to House candidates in critical races than all other peace political action committees combined. After the Gulf War, CLW's board of directors decided to create two new programs to work against arms sales to other governments and to build support for U.N. peacekeeping operations.

HISTORY

To combat the menace of nuclear war, physicist Leo Szilard founded the Council for a Livable World in 1962. The organization's motto, "To Eliminate Weapons of Mass Destruction" has been its consistent theme for more than 35 years. Over time, the council has been in the front lines, either opposing the building of new weapons systems or pushing for treaties that limit the number of existing weapons. Some of the campaigns the council has waged have included

- support of the 1962 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty;
- the fight against the Anti-Ballistic missile system in 1969;
- support of the SALT I and SALT II treaties during the early 1970s limiting the nuclear weapons arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union;
- limiting deployment of the MX missile and B-2 bomber in the 1970s and 1980s;
- support of the Chemical Weapons Convention, banning biological weapons and terminating chemical weapons production; and
- support of the 1992 Nuclear Testing Moratorium and the 1993 Limited Test Ban Treaty.

In 1996, a CLW report cited waste in Pentagon projects. Among the examples cited were construction of a third golf course at Andrews Air Force Base; a money-losing dairy herd at the U.S. Naval Academy; a Pentagon-leased hotel in Orlando, Florida, that loses \$27 million a year; and a door hinge for the C-17 airplane that costs \$ 2,187. "Unfortunately, these examples are only the tip of the iceberg," the report stated.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The organization has listed its priority issues and objectives in a particularly straightforward manner. The top priorities for CLW include the following:

Senate approval of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. President Bill Clinton joined world leaders in signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996. The treaty bans all nuclear testing and sets up a strict monitoring system to enforce the ban. The U.S. Senate has yet to ratify the treaty.

Protection of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) from Republican attack and blocking deployment of national missile defense. CLW believes that only by staying with the ABM Treaty and blocking new spending for anti-missile defense systems can deep cuts in U.S. and Russian nuclear weapons be achieved.

Further deep cuts in nuclear weapons, either through negotiation or "going-it-alone." CLW believes that the United States should drastically cut back on the number of nuclear weapons. If the United States can't accomplish this through a treaty with the Russians, then CLW believes our country should "go-it-alone" and cut back our own stockpile to no more than 1,000 deployed weapons.

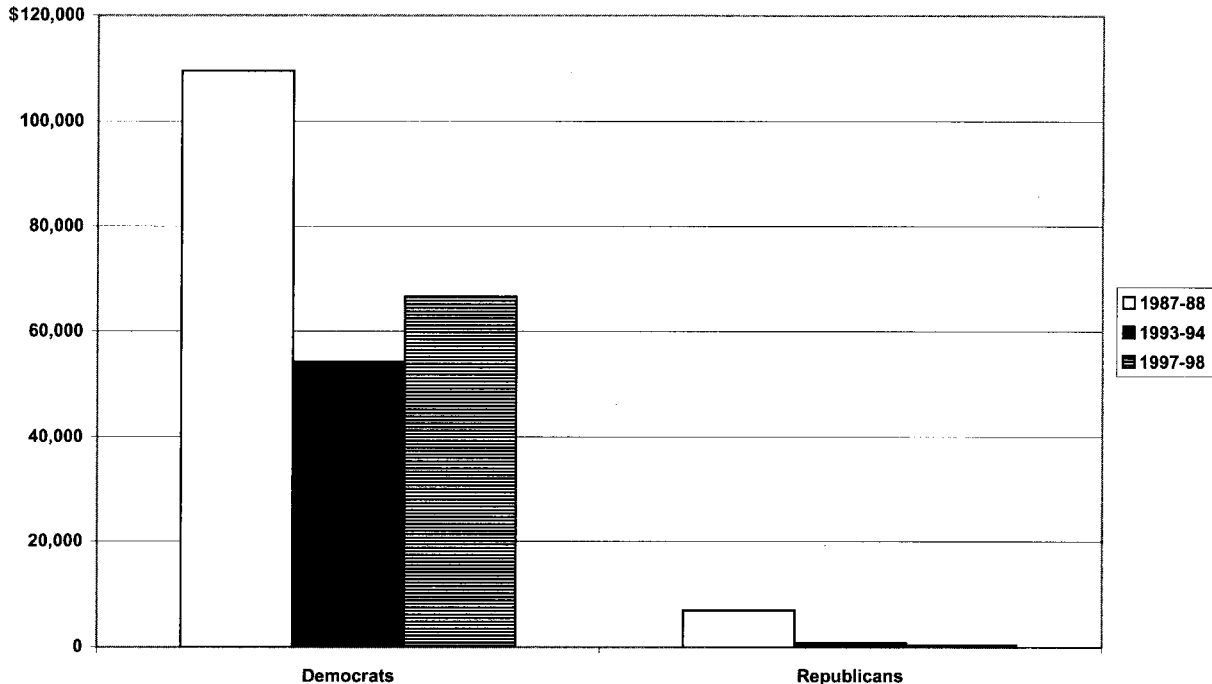
CLW outlines its next three priorities:

Deep cuts in military spending. CLW believes that closing unneeded military bases, eliminating pork-barrel military spending, stopping "gold-plated" weapons systems, and cutting U.S. troop levels would save the taxpayers millions of dollars in nonessential military spending.

Payment of the U.S. debt to the United Nations. CLW asserts that unless the United States pays off its \$1 billion debt to the U.N., it will lose its vote in the U.N. General Assembly starting in the year 2000.

Full funding of the program to help Russia dismantle its nuclear weapons complex. An act sponsored by Indiana Senator Richard Lugar and former Georgia Senator Sam Nunn granted about \$440 million to the states of the former Soviet Union to assist them in dismantling and securing their nuclear weapons stockpile. CLW strongly supports this act.

**Council for a Livable World
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

Other issues that have the attention of CLW include:

Rejection of further enlargement of NATO.

CLW believes that expanding NATO will only create new divisions in Europe.

A new push to ban U.S. use of land mines.

CLW will lobby the Clinton administration to sign the international treaty banning the production, use, and stockpiling of land mines. The Clinton administration came out against the treaty.

Strengthening the Biological Weapons Convention.

The 1972 Convention negotiated by President Richard Nixon bans worldwide biological weapons. CLW supports current negotiations to strengthen verification procedures for the treaty.

CLW wants the United States to drop its insistence on the right to use nuclear weapons first in a conventional conflict and to abandon its threat to use nuclear weapons in retaliation for the use of chemical or biological weapons.

FINANCIAL FACTS

From the 1987–1988 election cycle to the 1995–1996 election cycle, there has been a decrease in CLW's PAC receipts, expenditures, and contributions. Receipts declined by nearly \$300,000, from about \$950,000 in the 1987–1988 election cycle to about \$650,000 in 1995–1996. At the same time, contributions to the senatorial campaigns of Democrats have far exceeded those of Republicans; in no cycle did the Democrats get less than 90 percent of PAC contributions. Receipts, expenditures, and contributions to candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives through the PeacePAC also declined between the 1987–1988 election cycle to the 1995–1996 cycle. At the same time, contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those of Republicans; in no cycle did the Democrats get less than 95 percent of PAC contributions.

GLENN DAIGON

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Council for a Livable World: www.clw.org

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HANDGUN CONTROL, INC.

Handgun Control, Inc. (HCI) is a nonprofit lobbying group with over 400,000 members. The organization is run by a 27-member board of trustees who are chosen from a list of candidates sent to the entire membership by the organization's nominating committee. The list contains information on each candidate's background and his or her public policy objectives for the group. The organization is split into two affiliates: Handgun Control, Inc., that consists of the organization's management, federal legislative/public policy, communications, finance/administration, development, and state legislative/public outreach departments. The second, the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence, is an affiliate of Handgun Control, Inc., and was founded in 1985. It consists of the organization's legal action/research department as well as an education department. The organization's headquarters are in Washington, D.C., and it has field offices in San Diego, Sacramento, and Los Angeles. It has a staff of 60.

HISTORY

Handgun Control, Inc., was founded by Dr. Mark Bonnisky, a victim of gun violence in 1974. Later that year, N. T. Shields joined Dr. Bonnisky, having lost his son to a serial killer in San Francisco. Both men became dedicated to the movement to strengthen the regulation of guns.

In 1985, four years after almost losing her husband in the attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan, Sarah Brady, wife of Reagan's press secretary James Brady, joined Handgun Control, Inc., and currently serves as its chair. In 1986, HCI began a national campaign to pass the Brady Bill, which required a background check on any intended handgun purchaser and a five-day waiting period before the purchase of a handgun. In 1993, after a seven-year effort, President Bill Clinton signed the Brady Bill into law. During 1994,

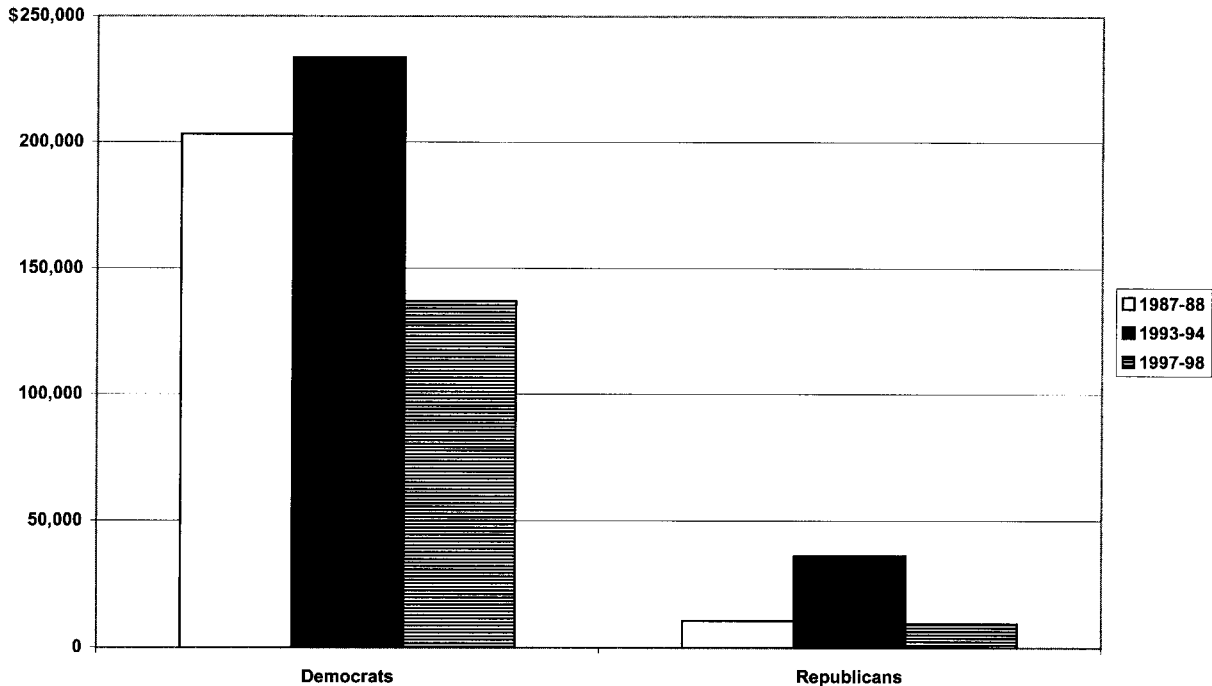
HCI lobbied heavily to support the assault weapons ban provision of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act. The assault weapons ban made illegal the import and manufacture in the United States of semiautomatic weapons with multiple assault weapons features and high-capacity ammunition magazines. The ban passed in the House of Representatives that year by a margin of one vote. The organization turned back several attempts by politicians to weaken or repeal the ban.

In the wake of school-yard shootings in Arkansas, Oregon, and Colorado, public opinion may be shifting even further in favor of tougher gun control laws. In 1999, Congress, with the full support of Handgun Control, Inc. lobbyists, came close to passing measures to ban imported, high-capacity ammunition clips, to require background checks for buyers at gun shows, and to raise the minimum age for purchasing guns from 18 to 21.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The organization sees the passage of the Brady Bill and the Assault Weapons Ban at the federal level as only the start of their efforts to modernize gun regulations. In 1998, it unsuccessfully tried to get the Senate to pass legislation that would have required the manufacture of childproof handguns. It will continue to push for passage of this measure. HCI has introduced legislation to make the five-day waiting period of the Brady Bill permanent. It has introduced a bill to more strictly regulate the sale of guns at trade shows—which the organization believes provide loopholes whereby gun manufacturers can get around tighter regulations elsewhere. Legislation has been drafted in Congress to prohibit the purchase of more than one handgun a month, which has the enthusiastic support of HCI. A bill to prohibit the possession

**Handgun Control, Inc.
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

or transfer of “junk guns” also has HCI’s active backing. Legislation at the federal level to prohibit the transfer of a handgun to, or the possession of a handgun by, an individual under the age of 21 is high on the organization’s list of important bills to pass.

At the state level the organization is no less active. Here is just a sample of the bills that HCI is trying to pass:

- **California**
 - Bill to ban assault weapons and ammo magazines over 10 rounds;
 - Bill to require child safety locks to be sold with all firearms;
 - Bill to limit purchases to one handgun per month;
 - Bill to ban Saturday Night Specials;
- **Florida**
 - Bills introduced to close gun-show loopholes in four counties;
- **Louisiana**
 - Opposed bill to prevent cities from suing gun manufacturers for damages due to negligence;
- **Missouri**
 - Opposed ballot referendum to allow citizens to

carry concealed weapons (successful in helping to defeat the measure 52 percent to 48 percent);

- **Minnesota**
 - Opposed bill to allow citizens to carry concealed weapons;
- **Pennsylvania**
 - Supported bill to limit gun purchases to one a month

One radically new approach that Handgun Control, Inc. is trying in its efforts to tighten gun restrictions is the judicial system. On October 30, 1998, New Orleans became the first city to sue the gun industry. Two weeks later, Chicago followed with a similar lawsuit. Since then, a host of cities and counties have filed suit, including Miami-Dade County, Florida; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Atlanta, Georgia; Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio; and Detroit/Wayne County, Michigan.

Some of the lawsuits assail the industry’s failure to design and market safer guns that cannot be fired by children and unauthorized users. Those filed by other cities attack the industry’s negligent distribution of guns, which aids gun trafficking and crime. The lawsuits are modeled after the public lawsuits brought against the

tobacco industry. Handgun Control, Inc., through its legal division, joined with those cities filing suit against the gun industry. In February 1999, a New York City jury returned the first-ever verdict holding gun manufacturers liable for criminal misuse of one of their handguns. If more verdicts are returned holding the gun industry liable for how their products are used, that may ultimately have a greater impact on the industry than the passage of new federal and state laws.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Handgun Control's political action committee (PAC), Handgun Control Voter Education Fund, has been con-

sistently active over the last few electoral cycles. During the 1997–1998 cycle, it received \$90,755 in receipts and spent \$178,430. This latter figure includes \$146,114 in contributions to candidates and parties, \$136,614 to Democrats and \$9,500 to Republicans.

In the 1992 elections, receipts exceeded \$1.1 million and spent about \$940,000. At the same time, contributions to Democrats far exceeded those to Republicans, by a factor of more than 10 to 1.

GLENN DAIGON

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MOTHERS AGAINST DRUNK DRIVING

Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) is a grassroots citizens group made up of victims of drunk-driving crashes and concerned citizens. Headquartered in Irving, Texas, the group has 3.2 million members and a professional staff of 317. The organization is run by a 25-member board of directors, all volunteers. New board members are nominated by a nominating committee and then voted on by the full board. MADD has more than 600 affiliates, including local chapters, community action teams, and state offices. The national office communicates with its affiliates and grassroots members through weekly mailings and action alerts. The headquarters conducts training sessions and holds an annual conference. MADD’s national office has departments that include field services, human resources, legal, marketing and resource development, public policy, public relations, victim services, and youth programs.

HISTORY

MADD got its start in 1980, when a 13-year-old girl was killed by a hit-and-run driver. The driver had been involved in another hit-and-run accident two days earlier and was free on bail. What originally started as a campaign by a handful of mothers to save their children from drunk drivers has mushroomed over the years into a group with millions of members and active chapters in New Zealand, Canada, Australia, and Great Britain. The organization’s original title was Mothers Against Drunk Drivers.

MADD’s first important break as an organization came in 1982, when President Ronald Reagan announced a presidential task force on drunk driving and invited MADD to serve on it. By the end of the year, MADD had grown to over 100 chapters. In 1983, NBC produced a made-for-television movie about MADD, and the organization received other significant media

attention. In 1984, MADD got its first important national legislative win when legislation was signed into law setting 21 as the national minimum drinking age. That same year MADD opened its first international chapter in Canada.

In 1986, the organization established a Victim Assistance Institute to train volunteers on how to support victims of drunk driving and how to serve as their advocates in the criminal justice system. The following year, MADD set up a national hotline to provide support for victims of drunk driving. In 1988, MADD won another important legislative victory with the passage of the Omnibus Anti-Drug Abuse Act. Included in this bill was an amendment to extend to all victims of DWI the same compensation rights offered to victims of other crimes. Also adopted was the Alcohol Beverage Labeling Act, requiring warnings on alcohol containers.

In 1990, MADD filed a brief with the U.S. Supreme Court supporting the constitutionality of sobriety checkpoints. The Court ruled in favor of the checkpoints. That same year, MADD unveiled its “20 by 2000” plan to reduce the proportion of alcohol-related traffic fatalities by 20 percent by the year 2000. In 1991, the organization scored more national legislative wins with the passage of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act and the Transportation Employee Testing Safety Act. The first law encourages states to pass tougher DUI programs. The second law requires alcohol as well as drug testing of transportation employees in safety-sensitive jobs. That same year, MADD sponsored a Gallup survey of public attitudes toward drunk driving and released its first annual Rating the States survey on the status of state and federal efforts against drunk driving.

The 1993 Fatal Accident Reporting System Statistics revealed that alcohol-related traffic deaths dropped from the previous year to a 30-year low. The National Highway Transportation Safety Administration credits MADD’s efforts, along with tougher safety laws. Two years later, MADD participated in the secretary of trans-

portation's Summit on Highway Safety. The organization announced a goal of reducing alcohol-related traffic fatalities to 11,000 or fewer by the year 2005. MADD also began offering public policy seminars to train state public policy liaisons in DUI issues and legislative how-to techniques.

Over the years, the group has had its share of controversies. In 1994, its founder, Candy Lightner, was hired as a lobbyist for a trade group representing restaurants and breweries. In her new role, she was active in lobbying against a law lowering the acceptable blood alcohol content (BAC) from .10 to .08, a law strongly supported by her former organization. Lightner headed MADD from its founding in 1980 to 1985, when the board stripped her of her office after she inquired about getting a \$10,000 bonus on top of her \$75,000 salary.

That same year, MADD was criticized by both the Better Business Bureau and the National Charities Bureau for spending too much time on fund-raising and too little time on program development. Roughly 10 years later, the national office of MADD came into conflict with its local chapters over control of money raised. Some chapters broke away from the national office to form separate organizations; the Michigan MADD chapter settled a suit it filed against the national office.

In 1998, MADD suffered a major defeat when legislation was defeated in Congress that would have lowered the BAC standard from .10 to .08. MADD and an alliance of consumer groups could not overcome the lobbying power of the liquor industry and restaurant associations. However, in recent years, MADD helped back lobbying efforts in five states that resulted in the lowering of the legal BAC from .10 to .08.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

MADD has aggressively pursued an agenda that works to reduce the number of accident-related fatalities and to offer support to drunk-driving victims. They have done this both by lobbying in Congress and the state legislatures as an issues advocacy group from the outside, and by working with key agencies from the inside on public relations and community outreach programs.

MADD has lobbied the Congress and states to lower the legal blood alcohol content level from .10 to .08.

The organization firmly believes that lowering the acceptable level would save many lives and serious injuries on the nation's highways each year. MADD also advocates confiscating vehicles or vehicle license plates from habitual impaired drivers. MADD is pressing for adoption of laws requiring mandatory jail sentences for repeat offenders and the development of special minimum security facilities for incarceration of convicted DWI/DUI offenders—facilities that include assessment and treatment while incarcerated.

MADD is on record as supporting ignition interlock devices installed in the cars of convicted drunk drivers. The ignition interlock system forces the driver to breathe into a small device near the dashboard that resembles a cell phone. If there is a trace of alcohol on the driver's breath, the device automatically prevents the car from starting. MADD has lobbied for laws allowing victims of alcohol-related traffic crashes to sue bars and servers who have provided alcohol to those intoxicated drivers. MADD has called on the hospitality industry to voluntarily end all "happy hours." The organization has endorsed alcohol warning labels, an increase in taxes on alcoholic beverages, and a constitutional amendment to protect the rights of victims of drunk driving in the criminal justice process. MADD also supports compensation for victims of drunk driving, pre-employment alcohol testing, sobriety checkpoints, and DWI tracking systems.

FINANCIAL FACTS

MADD is a 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization according to the federal tax code and is prohibited from making campaign contributions to candidates for federal elected office.

GLENN DAIGON

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NATIONAL ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE

The National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) is a grassroots membership organization of over 500,000 dedicated to preserving the choice of abortion as a constitutional right. With local chapters in over 30 states, NARAL educates Americans, supports pro-choice candidates, and advocates pro-choice legislation at both the state and federal levels. It is governed by a board of directors whose membership ranges between 30 and 40 individuals. Each director is nominated by a nominating committee, and then a national ballot is mailed out to all NARAL members for the final decision. NARAL's work is divided among three organizations:

NARAL, Inc., a 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization, works through the political system to create effective reproductive choices for all Americans and uses sophisticated political strategy, as well as extensive grassroots organizing and lobbying to advance the pro-choice agenda.

NARAL-PAC, a political action committee (PAC), is the driving force behind the organization's efforts to elect pro-choice candidates. NARAL-PAC uses efforts such as get-out-the-vote drives and paid advertising to elect its favored candidates.

The NARAL Foundation, classified by the Internal Revenue Service tax code as a 501(c)(3) charitable organization, was founded in 1977. It supports in-depth research and legal work, publishes policy reports, mounts public education campaigns and provides leadership training for grassroots activists.

The organization's national office houses departments handling the following activities: executive leadership, communications/marketing, constituency development, finance/administration, government relations, legal/research, and political.

after the 1967 conference of the National Organization for Women, which included on its eight-item agenda the right of women to control their reproductive lives. NARAL scored its first victory in 1970 when the New York State legislature passed, and Governor Nelson Rockefeller signed into law, a bill repealing the state's abortion codes, which for the first time gave women the right to choose abortion under certain circumstances. NARAL had similar successes in the early 1970s in liberalizing abortion laws in Alaska and Hawaii.

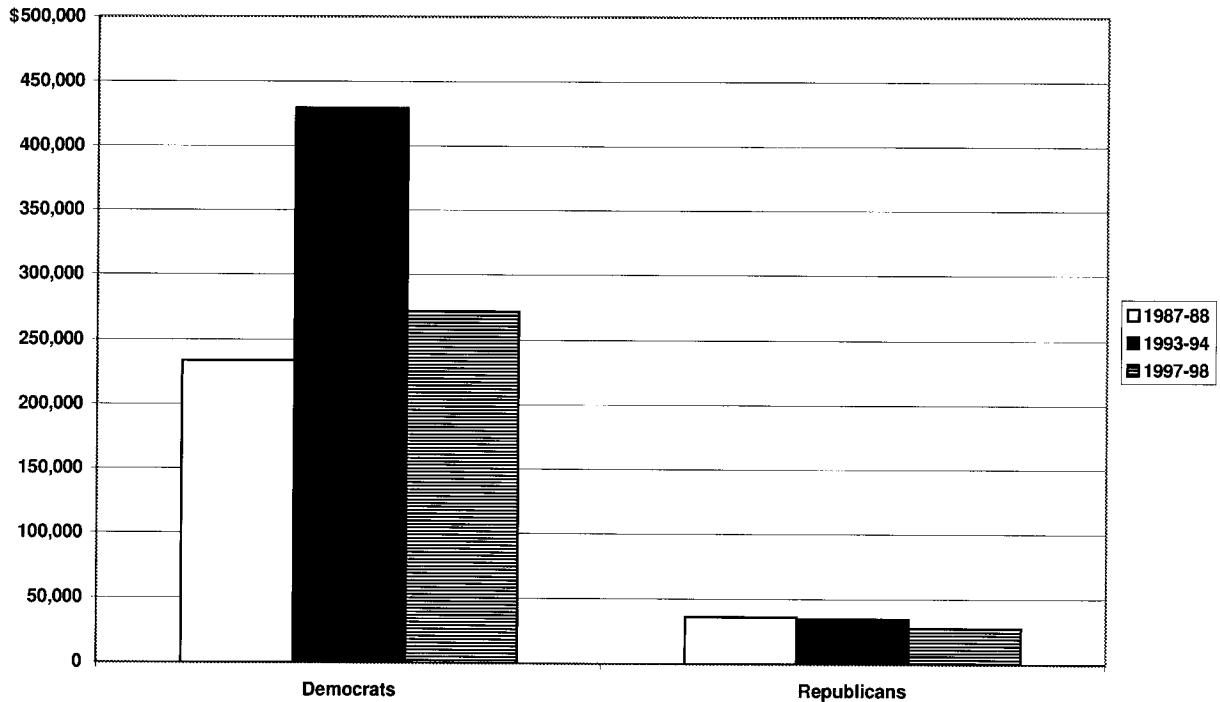
With the Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision effectively throwing out all state laws banning women from having abortion in the first trimester, the political dynamics of the issue shifted. NARAL changed its name from National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws to National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League to reflect the new reality. In one fell swoop, the Court's decision had accomplished the organization's goal of repealing state laws that banned a woman's right to choose abortion. But the organization had a new mission now—protecting that right from counterattack by right-to-life groups.

In 1976, Congress approved the Hyde Amendment, barring any Medicaid funding for abortions. Many argued that this would force women who could not afford abortions to bear unwanted children. Abortion clinics became targets of violence over the years and doctors who have performed abortions have been murdered. While right-to-life groups have been unsuccessful in passing a constitutional amendment overturning *Roe v. Wade* and making abortion a crime, they have been successful at the state level in passing bills that require teenagers to obtain parental notification before having an abortion. In some states, right-to-life groups have also succeeded in banning "partial birth" abortions and requiring a 24-hour waiting period before an abortion can be performed on a patient. "Partial birth" abortions, otherwise known as dilation and extraction procedures, are abortions performed late in pregnancy. NARAL had some success with the

HISTORY

Founded in 1969, NARAL was originally the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws. It formed

**National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

election of ally Bill Clinton in 1992. In 1993, after strong NARAL backing, Clinton issued five executive orders that:

- overturned the ban on funding for federal clinics that provided counseling on abortion;
- directed the FDA to promote the testing and licensing of the French abortion pill, RU-486;
- renewed the funding for fetal tissue research;
- lifted the ban on privately funded abortions in military hospitals;
- lifted the condition of U.S. foreign family planning aid that abortion services not be provided.

Again with strong NARAL backing, President Clinton signed the federal clinic protection law that guaranteed safe access to abortion clinics by those who made the abortion choice; however, in 1994, the election of Republicans at both the federal and state levels resulted in a major setback for NARAL’s agenda.

NARAL estimates that anti-choice forces have enough votes in 90 percent of state legislatures to pass restrictive legislation and 70 percent of governors have

signed (or would be willing to sign) restrictive legislation, responding to increased anti-abortion representation in state governments. Overall, NARAL believes that anti-choice forces have been successful in chipping away at or rolling back the right of women to choose abortion.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

At the federal level, NARAL was in the forefront of the successful fight to sustain President Clinton’s veto of the Partial Birth Abortion Ban. They have also lobbied hard against the Child Custody Protection Act. This would make it a federal offense to transport a minor across state lines if this action circumvents the applications of a state law requiring parental approval of a minor’s abortion.

NARAL has also strongly supported the Family Planning and Choice Act of 1997. This bill would increase funding for contraceptive services at federal clinics, require private health insurance companies to pro-

vide coverage of contraceptives, and further promote the testing and development of the French abortion pill, RU-486.

At the state level, NARAL has been forced to adopt a more defensive role. The organization has lobbied over half-a-dozen state legislatures to stop the passage of laws banning “partial birth” abortions. Some 28 states already have laws on the books banning “partial birth” abortions. It has successfully lobbied against requiring a 24-hour waiting period for women seeking abortions in Arkansas. By the end of 1998, 19 states had laws requiring women to wait a specific time period for an abortion after receiving required state lectures on the issue. NARAL has lobbied states to include contraceptive coverage in their health insurance plans. The organization has also pressed for passage of state laws against clinic violence and harassment, and for public funding for abortion. The organization has fought against legislation requiring parental consent for teenagers choosing to have an abortion. As of the end of 1998, 39 states had passed laws requiring parental consent laws.

FINANCIAL FACTS

NARAL’s political action committee (NARAL-PAC) has been consistently active in recent elections. During the 1997–1998 cycle, NARAL-PAC received \$1,038,075 in receipts and spent \$1,062,984. This latter figure includes \$299,255 to candidates and parties, \$271,700 to Democrats and \$27,555 to Republicans. From the late 1980s to the late 1990s, there were ups and downs in NARAL-PAC’s receipts, expenditures, and contributions. Between 1988 and 1992, receipts and expenditures increased more than sixfold, only to go down again in the next few elections to their former levels. At the same time, contributions to Democrats have far exceeded those to Republicans, by a factor of almost 10 to 1.

GLENN DAIGON

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE

The National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare (NCPSSM) is a grassroots senior citizens advocacy and education association. The group is the second largest senior citizens advocacy group in the nation. It consists of 5.5 million members, with headquarters located in Washington, D.C. The organization has a paid staff of 71. A 16-member executive board administers the NCPSSM and a nominating committee selects each potential board member. The general membership then votes on the nominees through a ballot in the March/April issue of the organization's magazine.

The national headquarters has a Grassroots Outreach Services Department to keep in touch with its members. The department's mission is to:

- coordinate and implement the organization's legislative and political agenda among members and senior advocates at the local, regional, and state levels;
- maintain a network of informed members, activists, and opinion leaders;
- respond to members' inquiries and concerns via phone, letters, and electronic mail;
- support efforts that increase awareness of retirement and other aging issues and expand opportunities for seniors to act on their own behalf.

The Grassroots Outreach Services department is divided into two parts. The Grassroots regional coordinators division does much of its work in the field. Duties include assisting members to lobby elected officials, serving as liaisons with members in the field, addressing seniors' needs and concerns, and working with agencies for the aging organizations, and community groups in planning briefings and seminars on issues of importance to seniors.

Member services representatives are called on to respond to letters and phone calls, deliver petitions to members of Congress on important legislation, and con-

tinuously update the organization's database of members. Other departments in NCPSSM's national office in Washington include lobbying, government relations, minority affairs, volunteer coordination, and publications.

HISTORY

NCPSSM was conceived and created by fund-raisers. A conservative direct-mail business, Butcher-Forde, incorporated NCPSSM in 1982 as a nonprofit, tax-exempt foundation. Butcher-Forde had supported the tax-cutting measure, Proposition 13, in California in 1978. The organization signed on James Roosevelt, son of the late President Franklin Roosevelt, as a consultant. In 1983, the organization sent out fund-raising letters to seniors claiming that Congress was cutting Social Security benefits to allocate more money for illegal aliens. Other fund-raising letters went out to the elderly asking for contributions to build a Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Social Security and Medicare building. One particularly controversial fund-raising letter, signed by James Roosevelt, stated, "My father started Social Security. Now we must act to save Social Security and Medicare. . . . Never in the 51 years since my father, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, started the Social Security system, have there been such threats to Social Security and Medicare benefits." The letter went on to request a \$10 contribution, without which the elderly may soon "face a crippling, financial hardship."

A public hearing on the committee's mail practices was called by Congress in the mid 1980s. Senator Jay Rockefeller derided NCPSSM's practices as "a fund-raising scam that degrades the Roosevelt name." Postal inspectors and the Justice Department forced the organization to stop making its mailings look like official government documents. The Social Security

Administration stopped NCPSSM from offering, for 10 dollars, to do an analysis of individual's retirement benefits, a service that is provided for free by the Social Security Administration. The organization made the list of *Washington Monthly's* worst public interest groups, for using misleading mailings to bilk senior citizens. In 1987, NCPSSM hired 13 lobbyists. Many believe this was done to counter criticism that the organization was just a front for a direct-mail fundraising business.

It was not too long before NCPSSM's more aggressive involvement in public policy lobbying made itself felt. In 1989, one year after Congress passed legislation setting up a catastrophic health insurance program, Congress received a flood of postcards from angry seniors, upset about the high taxes required to pay for the program. The mail blitz was directed by NCPSSM, and that year Congress voted to repeal the program. The organization lobbied on behalf of "notch babies," born between 1917 and 1921, who they claimed were getting short shrift on Social Security benefits. In the early 1990s, the organization came out against President Bill Clinton's health insurance program, although it is on record as supporting national health insurance. NCPSSM portrays itself as a watchdog on behalf of the elderly against conniving politicians who plan to abuse the Social Security and Medicare programs and benefit levels.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The organization's whole reason for existing is to preserve the Social Security and Medicare programs and to ensure that they serve the needs of senior citizens. NCPSSM had laid out its broad goals in a very straightforward manner through a series of position papers. The group is totally opposed to the privatization of Social Security. The organization believes that diverting payroll taxes into private accounts would mean that current workers would end up paying more money for lower benefits. It believes that the risk would be shifted to individual workers instead of being spread out over the entire workforce. NCPSSM believes Social Security does face financial problems and needs shoring up, but it prefers President Clinton's plan to use the budget surplus to accomplish that goal rather than setting up private accounts.

NCPSSM favors expanding the Medicare program

to cover prescription drugs and preventive care while limiting out-of-pocket costs. The Supplemental Security Income program (SSI) is the social welfare program providing cash assistance to the aged, blind, and disabled, and is funded by general revenues, not by the Social Security Trust Funds. NCPSSM supports increasing the SSI benefit level above the poverty line, increasing the staffing of the program to handle cases more quickly, and allowing SSI recipients to own more assets.

Some recent legislative battles NCPSSM has waged in Congress are consistent with the organization's stated goals. In 1999, the group supported a resolution in the House of Representatives declaring that the current problems facing Social Security are manageable and that radical solutions, such as using the Social Security system to fund private retirement accounts, are not necessary. NCPSSM joined other groups in opposing a proposed Medicare reform plan that would have increased premiums, deductibles, and copayments; increased the eligibility age; and instituted a 10 percent home health copayment. The group supported the idea of creating a seniors-only Consumer Price Index, on which Social Security's cost-of-living adjustments would be based. The point is that since seniors spend more on health care, they have a higher cost of living, which would be reflected in both this new index and cost-of-living adjustments to Social Security benefits.

On the issue of long-term care, NCPSSM supports a strong public program to provide the basic security for individuals of all ages who need long-term care. The organization believes that goals can be met through a combination of private long-term insurance with federal standards to protect consumers, public programs, and the inclusion of long-term care benefits in any reform of the Medicare program.

Another important issue for the group is ensuring that widows are eligible for the same Social Security benefits as their husbands. Toward that end, NCPSSM supports legislation providing two-thirds of a couple's combined benefits to a surviving spouse, removing limitations on disabled widow benefits, and counting up to 10 care-giver years and five additional years toward special minimum benefits.

FINANCIAL FACTS

NCPSSM's political action committee (PAC) has been active in federal elections. For the 1997–1998

election cycle, The National Committee to Preserve Social Security PAC received \$1,853,740 in receipts and spent \$1,839,753. The latter figure includes \$670,688 in contributions to candidates and parties, \$534,057 to Democrats and \$134,189 to Republicans. Between the 1987–1988 election cycle and the 1995–1996 election cycle, receipts declined from \$4.5 million to \$2.3 million, while expenditures declined commensurately from \$4 million to \$2.2 million. At the same time, contributions to Democrats have ex-

ceeded those for Republicans by a factor of better than 3 to 1.

GLENN DAIGON

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NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION

The National Rifle Association (NRA) consists of over 3 million dues-paying members nationwide, including target shooters, hunters, gun collectors, gunsmiths, police officers, and others interested in firearms. The organization promotes rifle, pistol, and shotgun shooting; hunting; gun collecting; home firearm safety; and wildlife conservation. The NRA encourages civilian marksmanship, educates police firearm instructors, maintains national and international records of shooting competitions, and sponsors teams to compete in world championships.

The NRA is governed by a board of directors that consists of 75 NRA members who are elected by mail ballot sent to the membership of the association. Each board member is entitled to a vote. One additional board member is elected at the organization's annual meeting. The right to hold the office of director is limited to NRA lifetime members who have attained an age of 18 years and are citizens of the United States. Directors are elected for a term of three years, with the exception of the director elected at the annual meeting of members, who serves a one-year term. The terms of office of one-third of the board expire each year. Members of the board are nominated from the general membership either by recommendation to the nominating committee or by petition of at least 250 members.

The NRA is a national organization with affiliates and club members in all 50 states. Leaders encourage members to write, e-mail, and fax opinions to the national office. Because so much of the money that sustains the organization comes from member dues, the NRA's leadership feels a special need to listen to its members. The national office solicits advice from the members about which candidates to back, takes public opinion polls of the membership, and issues federal and state legislative action bulletins alerting members about upcoming bills that impact their right to bear arms.

The national headquarters is located in Fairfax, Virginia. There is a federal affairs office in Washington, D.C., that houses lobbyists, and a state and local affairs

office in Sacramento, California. The size of the total staff is 400. National headquarters in Washington, D.C., houses the following departments: competition, education and training, field services, hunting and conservation, the Institute of Legislative Action, law enforcement assistance, and public affairs.

HISTORY

The NRA was founded in New York City in 1871 by ex-military men with the purpose of training the National Guard to be sharpshooters. Civil War General Ambrose Burnside was listed as the first president. With the aid of General Burnside, the New York state legislature passed legislation in 1872 setting aside \$25,000 to buy 100 acres on Long Island to be developed into a rifle range. The NRA gained prominence in 1874 when it sponsored an international shooting competition. In that competition, the NRA's Amateur Rifle Club upset the heavily favored, world champion Irish Rifle Association.

Although there was a downturn in public interest in gunnery shooting tournaments in the late 1800s, the NRA's popularity bounced back after the turn of the century. The Boer War in South Africa highlighted the importance of good marksmanship. In 1903, Congress created the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice to build ranges for civilian use and to promote them. In 1905, Congress passed Public Law 149 authorizing the sale of surplus military firearms and ammunition—at cost—to rifle clubs that were sponsored by the National Rifle Association. In 1912, Congress began funding the annual NRA shooting matches. After World War II, due to the interest of returning soldiers in firearms, NRA membership tripled. The NRA began to put a greater emphasis on hunting to respond to the interests of their new members.

Because gun control laws were weak and scarce, the

NRA did not have much of a lobbying presence in Washington, D.C. All of that changed after Lee Harvey Oswald was alleged to have shot President John F. Kennedy with a high-powered rifle in 1963, and Congress passed the Gun Control Act of 1968. The law barred mail-order and interstate shipments of firearms and ammunition and instituted a wide range of restrictions and regulations that frustrated gun owners and dealers. By 1977, NRA membership had grown to 1 million; that number had climbed to 2.6 million by 1983. In 1980, for the first time in its history, the NRA endorsed and actively supported a presidential candidate, in this case, Ronald Reagan. Reagan became the first American president to address the organization at their annual convention in 1983. In 1986, the NRA was seen as the lobbying group most responsible for passage of the McClure-Volkmer Act. This bill repealed many of the restrictions placed on gun owners by the 1968 Gun Control Act, and observers see this time as the high-water mark for the NRA's power. A story in the *New York Times* referred to the gun lobby as "the most persistent and resourceful of the single-issue groups."

As gun control advocates became better organized and received more popular support in the face of horrendous shooting sprees around the country, the NRA began to suffer more and more defeats. In 1988, Maryland voters passed a ballot initiative banning the sale of "Saturday night specials." That same year, Congress passed, and President Reagan signed into law, a measure that banned hard-to-detect plastic guns, over NRA opposition. For the NRA, 1993 and 1994 were the worst years yet, with gun control advocates able to pass legislation requiring a five-day waiting period for new gun owners (the Brady Bill) and banning certain semi-automatic weapons. In 1994, the Republican Party took control of both the House and Senate, and many believed that the reason the Democrats suffered so badly at the polls was the backlash against the new gun control laws that they had passed. Some Republicans believe that, without the NRA's massive financial contributions and get-out-the-vote efforts, they would not have been nearly as successful as they were. Despite having their Republican allies back in control of Congress, the NRA failed in their efforts to overturn the ban on semi-automatic weapons.

To prevent further passage of gun control measures, the NRA has taken the line that more efforts should be made to enforce current gun control laws and actively prosecute violators of existing laws rather than pass additional regulations. NRA officials point to the success of "Project Exile" in Richmond, Virginia. Under that program, Richmond police officials and Virginia

troopers can immediately initiate federal prosecution if a person is arrested who has a gun and is a "convicted felon (state or federal), drug user or addict, a fugitive who has fled another state, or is under indictment for a felony." When an officer makes an arrest and one of these crimes is involved, the officer calls the 24-hour pager number to determine whether a federal law may have been broken before initiating prosecution. The U.S. Attorney reports that publicity is essential to the program's success. More than 15,000 business cards printed with the slogan "An illegal gun gets you five years in federal prison" were distributed, and the slogan was widely circulated in the media. According to the NRA, six months after Project Exile was implemented in Richmond, the city's homicide rate was cut in half. The NRA is touting this program as a successful example of reducing gun violence. It faults the Clinton administration for pressing for new controls on guns rather than just enforcing the current federal laws on the books. The NRA has urged expansion of Project Exile on a national scale.

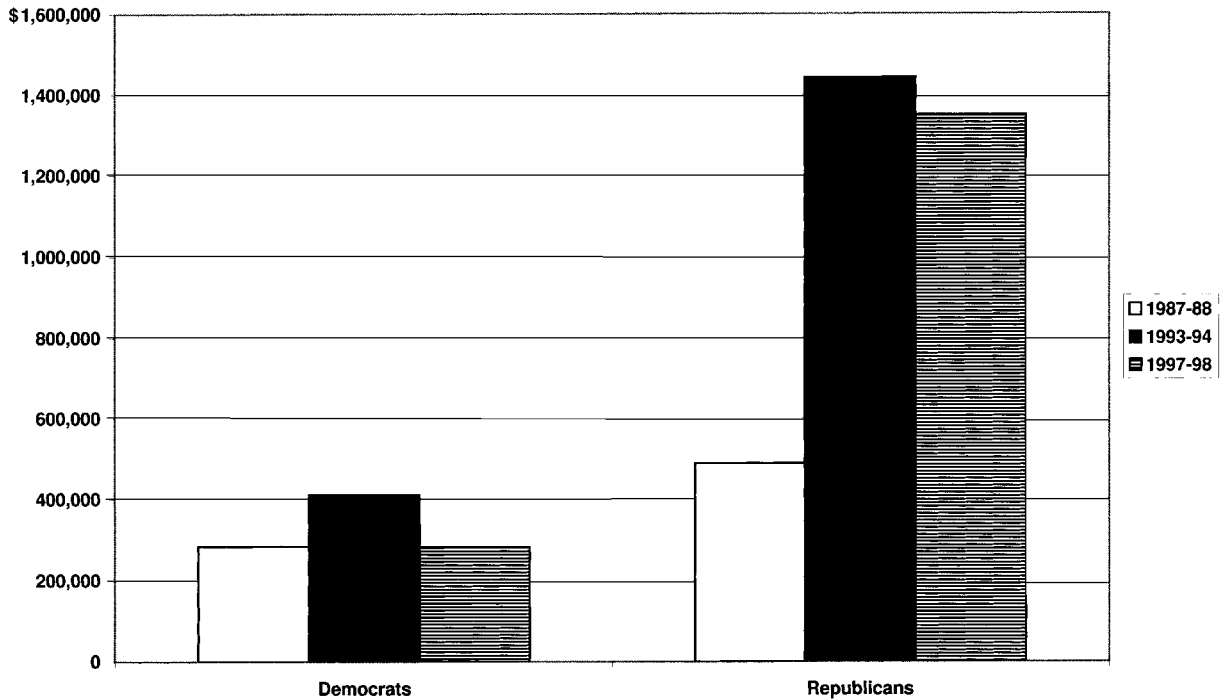
Whether this tactic will be successful for the NRA remains to be seen. With the school-yard shootings in Oregon, Arkansas, and Colorado, the political tide may be moving against the NRA. In the late spring of 1999 the House of Representatives defeated new gun control laws, suggesting that the NRA has weathered the storm. However, there are some definite danger signs for the organization.

Since the Colorado school shootings, public opinion polls have consistently shown greater public support for more gun control laws. Some GOP candidates for president were breaking ranks and calling for additional restrictions. Even some trade groups representing gun dealers, manufacturers, and distributors have endorsed new restrictions on gun ownership, leaving the NRA alone in its opposition to these measures.

In the past, these trade groups have presented a united front with the NRA against new control measures. But in 1999, those same trade groups believed themselves vulnerable to lawsuits filed by gun violence victims. Many of them see public support of laws requiring safety locks for guns as one way to make themselves less vulnerable to negligence lawsuits.

New Jersey Democratic senator and party leader Robert Torricelli warned, "No force on earth can stop this [senators' votes on gun control restrictions] now from becoming a central issue in the 2000 elections debate." Whether the NRA has the strength to ride out the storm in the wake of school-yard killings will be decided in the next few years.

**National Rifle Association
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The defining purpose behind the NRA's involvement in politics has been to defend the Second Amendment, the right to bear arms. This has meant that the organization has become involved in a whole range of issues and legislation at the federal, state, and even local level, whenever it feels that its Second Amendment rights have been threatened. In 1998, the NRA successfully lobbied Congress to defeat a bill requiring "childproof" locks on new guns. In the state of Georgia, it successfully persuaded the legislature and governor to enact a law that would ban cities in Georgia from suing gun manufacturers for liability in gun deaths. This bill was in response to a New York City jury's holding gun manufacturers liable for gun deaths, and mayors of several large cities bringing forward suits against gun manufacturers in hopes of getting similar verdicts. By the spring of 1999, nine other states had laws similar to Georgia's on the books. The NRA has also pressed for passage of laws that would give citizens the right to carry concealed weapons. It has been successful in its efforts; by the end

of 1998, more than 30 states had laws that give citizens the right to carry concealed weapons. The one exception has been the state of Missouri. In 1999, citizens voted down an NRA-backed initiative giving them the right to carry concealed weapons. In the aftermath of the Colorado school shootings, the NRA withdrew from consideration concealed weapons bills it was planning to press ahead with in several state legislatures.

The NRA has also been active lobbying at the state level against legislation that would restrict gun purchases to one a month, bills that would outlaw new forms of semi-automatic weapons, and laws that would limit the size of ammunition clips. Since the Colorado shooting, the NRA has been put on the defensive. Michigan shelved a concealed weapons bill, and gun control measures are advancing in California, Oregon, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NRA's political action committee (PAC), NRA Political Victory Fund, is one of the largest in the nation.

During the 1997–1998 election cycle, it received \$7,773,471 in contributions and spent \$7,978,499, significantly higher than the \$3.7 million in receipts and \$4.7 million in contributions during the 1987–1988 election cycle. Expenditures in 1997–1998 include \$1,633,211 in contributions to candidates and parties, \$238,200 to Democrats and \$1,350,011 to Republicans. Between the 1987–1988 and 1995–1996 election cycles, receipts and expenditures climbed 67 percent, while contributions more than doubled from \$772,756 to \$1,633,211. At the same time, political contributions to

Republicans far exceeded those to Democrats by a factor of better than 3 to 1.

GLENN DAIGON

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NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) is the nation's largest pro-life group, with affiliates in all 50 states and approximately 3,000 local chapters nationwide. Each state elects a member to the NRLC board of directors, the governing body of the NRLC. Three additional at-large board members are chosen by a national ballot mailed out to all NRLC members. Over the years, the NRLC has cultivated different outreach programs aimed at specific groups. One of those outreach programs, National Teens for Life (NTL), was started in 1985. NTL sends speakers to high schools and youth groups, and has volunteers for crisis pregnancy centers and peer counseling. It has members in all 50 states and holds its own convention during the summer months in conjunction with the National Right to Life Convention.

Black Americans for Life (BAL) is another outreach program sponsored by NRLC. As its name suggests, it targets members of the black community to support the NRLC's agenda. On more than one occasion, NRLC spokespersons and supporters have likened abortion to a racist form of birth control.

The Hispanic Outreach program of the NRLC strives to unite Hispanic Americans from all over the United States into the pro-life movement. NRLC views the Hispanic community as important because Hispanics will make up nearly 25 percent of the population in the next century. The organization also believes that, because many of these people come from cultures where abortion is illegal, the right-to-life viewpoint has a natural venue that it might not have with other ethnic groups.

American Victims of Abortion (AVA) is another outreach effort by the NRLC. It involves abortion "victims" using their own personal experiences with abortion to spread the right-to-life message. The NRLC national office in Washington includes departments handling the following areas: communications, development, education, federal legislation, financial services,

medical ethics, news, state legislation, state organizational development, and voter identification.

HISTORY

The National Right to Life Committee came into being virtually within days of the Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision overturning state laws that banned abortion. Their statement of purpose was very direct and simple:

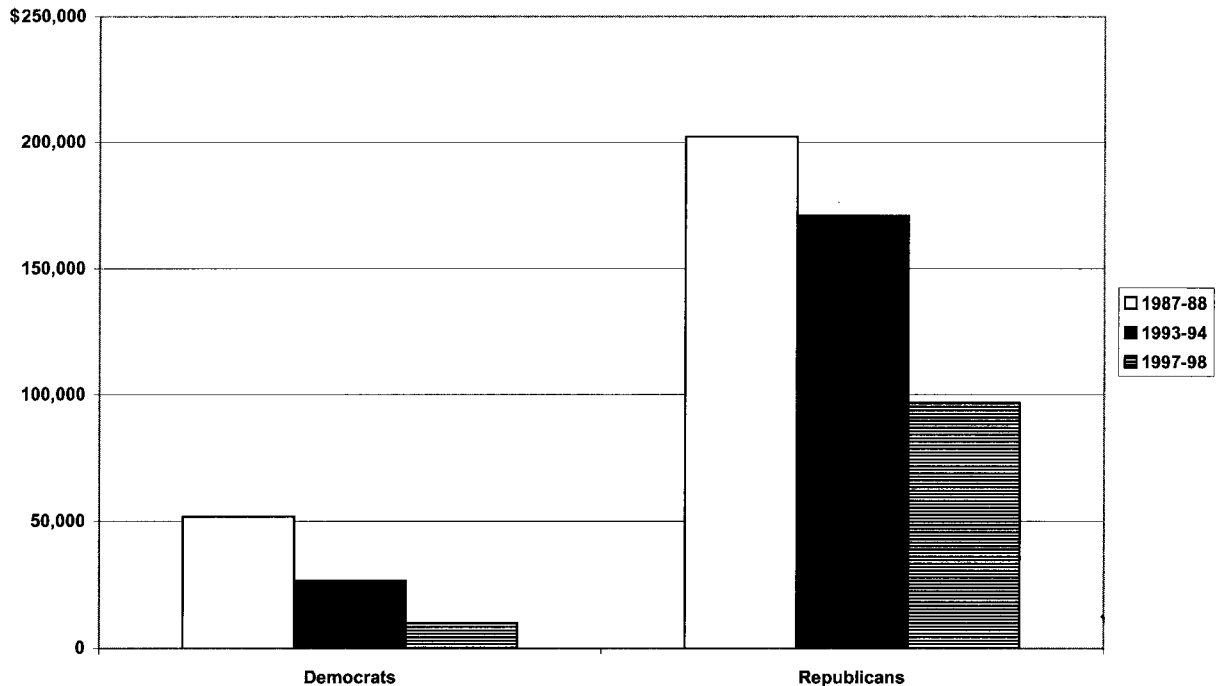
The purpose of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., is to engage in educational, charitable, scientific and political activities and projects, or purposes, including specifically, but not limited to, the following:

1. To promote respect for worth and dignity of all human life, including the life of the unborn child from the time of fertilization.
2. To promote, encourage and sponsor such mandatory and statutory measures which will provide protection of human life before and after birth, particularly for the defenseless, the incompetent, the impaired and the incapacitated.

Literally within days of the *Roe v. Wade* decision, the NRLC's friends in Congress were drafting a constitutional amendment to ban all abortions. Passage of this amendment became the centerpiece of the NRLC's early years.

The National Right to Life organization began to make its mark in 1976, when it helped to pass the Hyde Amendment, barring all Medicaid funds for abortion. Then, in 1978, the NRLC poured money and volunteers into the Iowa race for U.S. Senate. The liberal, pro-choice, Democratic incumbent, Dick Clark, was supposed to be the easy winner, but he lost by a narrow margin to Republican Roger Jepsen, a supporter of the Human Life Amendment. Even Clark admitted publicly

**National Right to Life Committee
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

that the National Right to Life movement had made a decisive difference.

The 1980 election went even better for the National Right to Life Committee. Not only did it help elect a pro-life president, Ronald Reagan, but it also replaced four pro-choice incumbent senators with four Human Life Amendment supporters, as well as electing many supporters to the House of Representatives. An election banner in the organization’s newsletter, *National Right to Life News*, read, “Prolife Gain: President, 10 Senators and More.” Many believe that the organization had its best chance ever to successfully pass the Human Life Amendment through Congress and to get the states to ratify it to the Constitution, following the momentum provided by the 1980 elections. However, the NRLC became badly divided over tactics. Some in the movement supported an amendment to the Constitution outlawing abortion; others supported a simple bill banning abortion as the best way to overturn the Supreme Court decision. The result was that neither a Human Life Amendment nor bill made it through Congress.

The NRLC was more successful in getting President Reagan to appoint pro-life justices to the Supreme Court. As the decade wore on, these justices began to

tip the balance. In decisions such as *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* and *Hodgson v. Minnesota*, access to abortions became more restricted. These decisions seemed to energize the pro-choice forces, as they actively helped winning candidates who pledged to appoint pro-choice judges. The committee viewed President Bill Clinton and the Democratic Party as hopelessly pro-choice, and it worked hard to elect the tidal wave of Republicans who swept in at the national and local levels in 1994. It used its electoral success to further restrict abortion rights, with the passage of numerous laws requiring teenagers seeking abortions to first get parental approval and a 24-hour waiting period for women seeking abortions in some states.

The “partial birth” abortion issue has popular support, and the committee has successfully passed laws outlawing it in many states; however, the committee’s ultimate goal of outlawing abortion seems as distant as ever. “Partial birth” abortion is a procedure known as dilation and extraction, or abortions performed late in pregnancy. Anti-abortion activist and one-time presidential candidate Pat Robertson stated: “There’s no way we are going to pass a constitutional amendment on abortion. It’s not going to happen. . . . I think the pro-

tection of the life of the unborn and protection of the life of the elderly should be a noble goal that we are going to strive toward one day. . . . But in terms of practical politics an incremental goal is much more effective." Many political observers would find that statement to be a very realistic view on what the anti-abortion movement can and cannot do in the near future.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The National Right to Life Committee is actively pursuing its agenda at the federal and state levels. At the federal level, the committee has a majority of its supporters on the issue of banning "partial birth" abortions. However, it did not have the two-thirds majority to override the president's veto in the 1990s. The committee has also pledged to seek \$85 million for a national Women's and Children's Resources Act. The act is a grant program for women seeking alternatives to abortion such as maternity homes and adoption services. The NRLC will also lobby Congress to close the loopholes in the law passed by Congress in 1995, banning the use of federal tax dollars to support medical experiments that involve the killing or harming of living human embryos. This act overturned a 1993 executive order of President Clinton's, permitting federal tax dollars for such purposes. The Child Custody Act is another priority of the NRLC. It would make it a federal offense to transport a minor across state lines for an abortion if this action is taken to avoid a state law requiring parental involvement in a minor's abortion. The NRLC also has pledged to stop the McCain-Feingold campaign finance bill, believing that it restricts the ability of citizens' groups to bring their cases to the voting public.

At the local level, the NRLC plans to pursue the same agenda that it has been successful in pursuing in the past. In 1999, bills banning "partial birth" abortion have been introduced in a number of state legislatures, and bills have been introduced requiring 24-hour waiting periods, requiring schools to teach abstinence, and blocking insurance coverage of contraceptives in states throughout the country. In the fall elections of 1998, two states had ballot measures that would have banned "partial birth" abortions. The measures, heavily backed by the NRLC, were voted down. A Colorado ballot measure supporting parental notification for abortion passed.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The NRLC's political action committee (PAC) has been active in the last decade of the twentieth century. During the 1997–1998 election cycle, it received \$1,455,355 in receipts and spent \$1,548,625. This latter figure includes \$106,934 in contributions to candidates and parties, with \$10,000 to Democrats and \$96,934 to Republicans. NRLC PAC receipts and expenditures peaked in the 1995–1996 election cycle, when receipts totaled nearly \$2.5 million and expenditures rose to over \$2.2 million. In the 1997–1998 cycle, receipts and expenditures returned to levels of the cycle in 1987–1988. At the same time, contributions to Republicans have far exceeded those to Democrats by a factor of roughly 8 to 1.

GLENN DAIGON

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PEOPLE FOR THE ETHICAL TREATMENT OF ANIMALS

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) has over 600,000 members and a full-time staff of 100. Its headquarters are located in Norfolk, Virginia, and it has membership offices in San Francisco, London, and Rome. A three-person board of directors runs the organization. Its national office in Norfolk houses the following departments: public relations, human resources, research and investigations, education, and international grassroots campaigns.

HISTORY

PETA was originally founded in 1980 on the principle that animals are not ours to eat, wear, experiment with, or use for entertainment. PETA cofounder Alex Pacheco started the ball rolling on the organization's first big campaign when he discovered inhumane treatment of laboratory monkeys at the National Institute of Health's research facilities in Silver Spring, Maryland. This resulted in the first arrest and conviction of an animal experimenter in the United States on charges of cruelty to animals, the first confiscation of abused laboratory animals, and the first U.S. Supreme Court victory for animals in laboratories.

Over the years, PETA has used a wide range of tactics to achieve its mission. Those tactics include public education, cruelty investigations, research, animal rescue, legislation, special events, celebrity involvement, and direct action. For example, PETA released investigators' photographs and videotaped footage taken inside Carolina Biological Supply Company, the nation's largest biological supply house. PETA documented animals being removed from gas chambers and injected with formaldehyde without being checked for vital signs, as well as cats and rats struggling during embalming and employees spitting on animals. The company

was charged by the U.S. Department of Agriculture with violations of the Animal Welfare Act.

Another investigation resulted in a videotaping of Las Vegas entertainer Bobby Berosini beating orangutans with a metal rod. The U.S. Department of the Interior revoked Berosini's captive-bred wildlife permit. Another PETA videotape of the treatment of primates at the University of Pennsylvania head injury laboratory resulted in government fines and the end of primate use there. PETA's undercover investigation of a huge contract testing laboratory in Philadelphia and the subsequent campaign led to cosmetics company Benetton's permanent ban on the use of animal tests. Other leading cosmetics companies, such as Avon, Revlon, and Estée Lauder, followed suit. L'Oréal, the world's largest cosmetics manufacturer, yielded after PETA's four-year international campaign. Gillette announced a moratorium on animal tests after PETA's 10-year campaign. PETA now lists more than 550 cosmetics companies that do not test products on animals.

PETA's campaigns have targeted other large corporations as well. The organization convinced Mobil, Texaco, Pennzoil, Shell, and other oil companies to cover their exhaust stacks after showing how millions of birds and other bats become trapped in the shafts and burned alive. In 1994, Calvin Klein announced it would stop marketing furs. Many believe the decision was a result of PETA activists invading Mr. Klein's offices earlier that year, spray-painting "kills animals" on the company emblem, and putting stickers on the walls reading "fur hurts." Klein met with members of the group who showed him a film of animals being killed to provide furs. Observers believe the company made this decision to avoid more bad public relations. PETA had convinced top models Naomi Campbell, Christie Turlington, and Tatjana Patitz to pose for a series of antifur ads. Other designers who decided against furs include Giorgio Armani, Christian La Croix, Bill Blass, Carolina Herrera, and Norma Kamali.

In fact, over the years, PETA has aggressively recruited celebrities to promote its cause. The organization completed two animal rights albums, *Animal Liberation* and *Tame Yourself*, featuring artists such as Chrissie Hynde, Indigo Girls, Michael Stipe, and Belinda Carlisle. PETA also held several “Rock against Fur” benefit concerts featuring the B-52s, k.d. lang, and others. The group received pledges from filmmakers Oliver Stone, Martin Scorsese, and Rob Reiner to keep fur off movie sets. PETA and actress Alicia Silverstone launched a national “Cut Out Dissection” campaign, educating students about their rights to alternatives to dissecting animals in the classroom.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In addition to targeting specific companies and facilities, PETA has a broad issue agenda. For example, PETA state chapters in Arkansas and Louisiana are advocating an excise tax on meat, poultry, and fish. The tax is modeled after the tax on cigarettes, and PETA argues that Americans spend at least \$123 billion a year to treat hypertension, heart disease, stroke, cancer, obesity, and other diseases related directly to meat consumption. “In addition to saving countless animals’ lives,” said PETA president Ingrid Newkirk, “a meat tax could be used as insurance for health problems that America’s meat-eaters face later in life.”

In Illinois, PETA is pressing the legislature for adoption of the Illinois Dissection Alternatives Act, which would require that all students be allowed to choose alternatives to dissection without being penalized or forced to drop the class in which it is scheduled. In Washington, D.C., PETA is pressing Congress for the adoption of a bill to prohibit the interstate transport of birds for fighting purposes. This bill is meant to put an end to cockfighting, where two or more roosters are outfitted with razor-sharp spurs and placed in a pit to fight to the death.

In 1999, PETA supporters drenched Gucci designer Tom Ford with a bucket of tomato juice amidst accusations of “Shame on you Tom Ford! Stop using fur!” Ford was about to give a keynote address at a CEO summit being held at the Ritz Carlton Laguna Niguel hotel. The designer is one of the top targets for PETA and other animal rights activists because he has refused their appeals to stop using fur. Some of the organization’s other current campaigns include:

Procter & Gamble. PETA is urging consumers to boycott this company because it tests its products on animals to determine the safety of cosmetics and household products. PETA asserts that many animals needlessly suffer and die in these painful tests. PETA is urging consumers to boycott Procter & Gamble in favor of cosmetic companies that have pledged not to conduct animal testing. The group has also staged direct actions and protests targeting the company.

Fur. PETA has urged citizens to write letters to four major stores (Macy’s, Bloomingdale’s, Neiman Marcus, and Saks Fifth Avenue) urging them to close their fur salons on the grounds of cruelty to animals and consumer fraud.

Circuses/animals in entertainment. PETA is urging citizens to boycott circuses that use animals and attend only those with human performers, such as the Cirque du Soleil or the Pickle Family Circus.

Premarin. A public relations campaign against the use of Premarin, a drug made from slaughtered horses used for estrogen-replacement therapy. The organization believes that if women knew the origins of this drug, they would use alternatives.

Fishing. PETA urges its members not to fish on the grounds of cruelty to animals and is encouraging other alternative outdoor activities to fishing. The organization has literature outlining how fishing is painful to fish and how commercial fishing is depleting the ocean’s fish population.

College campaigns. PETA has compiled a list of issues for college students to work on as well as a list of suggested tactics for running effective campaigns.

Just for activists. A “how-to” list for activists; tips on effective lobbying, research, and letter writing.

Consumer products. PETA has put together a listing of companies that do and do not test their products on animals.

Health charities. A listing of health charities that test on animals and those that do not. PETA is conducting an active campaign to discourage people from giving to charities that conduct animal tests.

Animal experimentation. PETA has put together literature on some companies and laboratories that the organization believes do needlessly cruel and unnecessary experimentation on animals. The organization has also put together an action plan

on how concerned citizens can stop this experimentation.

Companion animals. A list of tips on humane treatment of pets and how to research cruelty to animals by stores that sell pets.

Wildlife. PETA has documented what it believes are some of the more inhumane campaigns to exterminate wildlife.

Vegetarianism. An aggressive education campaign is being mounted by the group to promote the benefits of vegetarianism to the average consumer.

FINANCIAL FACTS

PETA is designated a 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization and is prohibited from making campaign contributions to federal candidates for elected office.

GLENN DAIGON

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PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA

Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) is a leader in the field of making voluntary fertility regulation—including contraception, abortion, and voluntary sterilization—available and accessible to all. Its headquarters is in New York City, and the organization has a full-time staff of 10,961. Planned Parenthood Federation of America operates more than 900 centers that provide medically supervised reproductive health services and educational programs.

It is estimated that 10 percent of all abortions in the United States are performed at Planned Parenthood clinics. PPFA conducts extensive biomedical, socioeconomic, and demographic research studies, and develops appropriate training, information, and education programs to increase knowledge of human sexuality and reproduction.

HISTORY

The roots of the Planned Parenthood Federation go back to before U.S. entry into the First World War. In 1916, social activist Margaret Sanger and her sister Ethel Byrne, both nurses, along with a third woman, Fania Mindel, opened the first birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York. All three were arrested under New York State's Comstock laws, which forbid the dissemination of birth control information. The Comstock laws had been passed by Congress and nearly every state in the 1870s. The laws defined contraceptive information and materials as "obscene" and forbade their distribution.

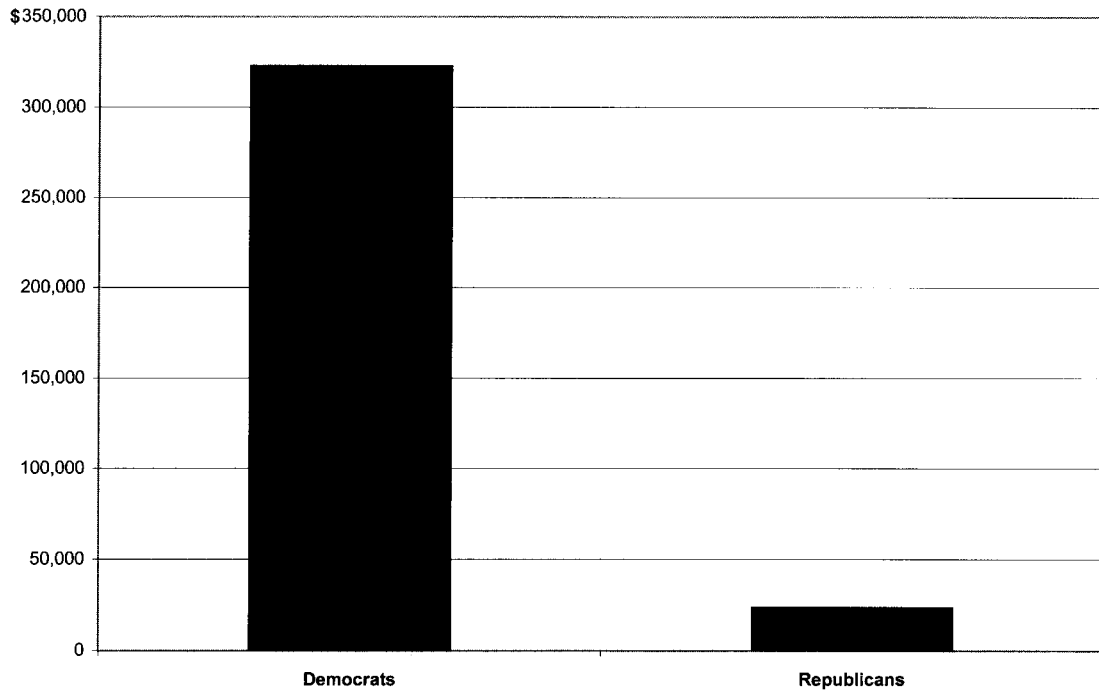
The 1920s saw the first, fitful steps being taken by the family planning movement. In 1921, the first American Birth Control Conference was held in New York City and resulted in the founding, the following year, of the American Birth Control League. During the meeting, Sanger was arrested for attempting to address a mass meeting on birth control. In 1923, Sanger opened

the Birth Control Clinic Research Bureau in New York for the purpose of dispensing contraceptives to women, under the supervision of a licensed physician. By 1925, the Sanger clinic on Fifth Avenue had served 1,655 women. In 1926, as president of the American Birth Control League, Sanger helped organize the first World Population Conference in Geneva, Switzerland. She later took steps toward developing a permanent organization, the Population Union, for the study of population problems. In 1929, the Birth Control Clinic Research Bureau was raided by New York City police. Physicians and nurses were arrested, and clinic supplies and confidential records were seized. The defendants were later discharged, but the birth control issue made headlines all over the country.

During the next decade, the family planning movement continued to grow. In 1935, the American Birth Control League held a mass meeting in New York City. In 1937, the American Medical Association officially recognized birth control as an integral part of medical practice and education. In 1939, the American Birth Control League and the Clinical Research Bureau merged to form the Birth Control Federation of America.

The 1940s saw the formation of PPFA as an organization. In 1942, Planned Parenthood Federation of America was adopted as the new, more comprehensive name for the Birth Control Federation of America. Contraceptive services were made available in 218 Planned Parenthood clinics across the nation. In 1947, six Protestant physicians were dismissed from the staffs of three Roman Catholic hospitals in Connecticut for refusing to withdraw from the "Committee of 100," a group of doctors who supported a birth control bill that would overturn the Comstock laws. In 1948, representatives from more than 20 nations attended the International Conference on Population and World Resources in Relation to the Family. The conference led to the formation of the International Planned Parenthood Committee. The 1960s saw the acceleration of

**Planned Parenthood
Political Action Committee Contributions, 1997–1998**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1997–1998.

major changes in national and international family planning policy. In 1963, the U.N. General Assembly approved a resolution on population growth and economic development. Congress amended a foreign aid bill to authorize funds for research into the problems of population growth. In 1965, the Supreme Court ruled that Connecticut’s law prohibiting the use of birth control by married couples was unconstitutional. As a result, 10 states liberalized their family planning laws and began to provide tax-funded, family planning services. In 1968, Planned Parenthood membership approved policies that recognized abortion and sterilization as legitimate medical procedures, the ultimate decision resting with the individual and her physician.

The 1970s saw even more sweeping change. In 1971, Congress repealed most of the Comstock laws. That same year, Planned Parenthood established its own international program, Family Planning International Assistance (FPIA). FPIA soon became the largest non-U.S. government provider of family planning services to millions of women and men in developing countries. By 1972, over 2.5 million patients were served by U.S. family planning clinics, an increase of 200 percent since

1968. In 1973, the Supreme Court struck down state laws prohibiting abortion in the *Roe v. Wade* case. In the 1976 Supreme Court case, *Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri v. Danforth*, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down state requirements for parental and spousal consent for abortion and set aside a state prohibition against saline-induced abortions.

With the election of Ronald Reagan as president in 1980, the family planning movement went on the defensive. In 1982, Planned Parenthood, the National Abortion Reproductive Rights Action League, and other pro-choice activists successfully blocked passage of the Hatch Human Life Federalism Amendment. That same year, in *Planned Parenthood of Kansas City v. Ashcroft*, the Supreme Court found that states cannot require hospitalization for abortions after the first trimester.

However, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Supreme Court upheld more restrictive state abortion laws. In the 1992 case, *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*, the Supreme Court upheld state laws requiring a 24-hour waiting period before an abortion is performed and stipulations that minors obtain parental consent for abortion services.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Planned Parenthood believes in the fundamental right of the individual to manage her own fertility regardless of marital status, race, sexual orientation, age, national origin, ethnicity, or residence. Toward that end, the organization has become active in a whole range of issues. Their action agenda for Congress and the states includes the following:

- **Increasing services that prevent unintended pregnancy.** PPFA is working to accomplish this goal by lobbying for legislation expanding federal funding for family planning programs, guaranteeing insurance coverage for contraceptives, and expanding federal funding for contraceptive research as well as for sexual education programs.
- **Improving the quality of reproductive health care.** PPFA is working to meet this goal by supporting legislation guaranteeing a patient's right to know about her doctor's medical advice. The group also supports bills that would require all insurers to allow women direct access to gy-

necological providers and would ensure patient confidentiality by protecting the privacy of health-care information.

- **Ensuring access to abortion.** PPFA supports legislation to increase federal funding for the enforcement of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act. The group also supports the FDA approval of the French abortion pill, RU-486.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1996, PPFA formed a political action committee (PAC), which first became active during the 1997–1998 election cycle. During that cycle, the Planned Parenthood Action Fund received \$704,641 and spent \$359,408. This latter includes \$346,757 in contributions to candidates and parties, \$323,007 to Democrats and \$23,715 to Republicans.

GLENN DAIGON

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UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS

The Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) is a nonprofit organization dedicated to promoting environmentally friendly technology. It conducts research on energy policy, global environmental problems, transportation, and biotechnology arms control. UCS also distributes research results to the public and assists members and the public in presenting their views before government agencies and the courts. The organization conducts public education programs including nationwide events, television and radio appearances, speaking engagements, and speakers' bureaus. UCS sponsors annual national education campaigns and sees itself as forging a partnership between scientists and informed citizens to secure changes in government policy, corporate behavior, and people's actions to achieve its goals. It uses a combination of scientific analysis, policy development, and citizen advocacy to make sure that new technology is developed along what it believes to be environmentally friendly lines. From its national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and its offices in Washington, D.C., and Berkeley, California, UCS seeks to influence government policy at the local, state, federal, and international levels. The USC is governed by an 11-member board of directors chosen by a nominating committee.

Scientists on the staff carry out technical analysis. The results of the analysis are brought to the attention of the public and policy makers through the work of public outreach, media, and legislative departments. In addition, UCS offers two nationwide activist networks—the Scientists Action Network and the Concerned Citizens Action Network—for individuals wishing to become more involved in UCS's work. Members participate in educational and advocacy programs.

UCS employs a full-time staff of 40 and has 80,000 contributing sponsors. The organization's national headquarters in Cambridge includes the following departments: government relations, communications, and executive. Most of the other departments are organized

along the project category that UCS is currently working on.

HISTORY

UCS was founded in 1969 by a group of faculty and students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. As a single-issue group focused on developing technology that does no harm to the environment, UCS has taken on a wide range of projects. The group had its roots in the late 1960s movement to promote the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Technical analysis of the treaty was the mainstay of the group's arms control work. Through the years, it continued to use its technical skills to highlight the defects in more complicated weapons systems such as the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars") in the 1980s and the B-2 Stealth Bomber program in the 1990s. From the 1970s and through the 1990s, the group has advocated switching away from the use of polluting fossil fuels such as oil and coal. UCS advocated an energy program that favored renewable energy sources such as solar and geothermal, and pressed for safer nuclear power plants and changes in people's transportation patterns.

In 1992, the organization's research staff conducted an in-depth study of the potential for solar, wind, and biomass technology to supply power in the Midwest, an area that relies heavily on dirty coal. It then estimated the costs of developing these resources and worked up case studies in which they could be practically applied. It also researched the employment impact its model would have on the area and what government action needed to be taken to enable this new technology to compete in the marketplace. When UCS released its report in 1993, members worked with legislators and utility executives to turn the report's recommendations into concrete action.

Since the early 1970s, UCS has worked to ensure

the safety of nuclear power plants. Its nuclear safety program monitors the activities of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and alerts the public to major risks. These efforts recently led to the shutdown of two unsafe nuclear plants—one in Massachusetts, the other in Oregon. UCS has also been involved over the years in several international coalitions, including the International Climate Network and the International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Even though UCS is a single-issue group focused on developing scientific technology that is friendly to the environment, the range of issues that tie in with the organization's goal is quite broad. One look at the projects that UCS is working on currently is enough to drive that point home. UCS completed a study in 1999 that showed that the nuclear power industry was not taking the safety steps to ensure that another Three Mile Island accident wouldn't happen. Another UCS research project completed in January 1999 found that the United States could increase the share of electricity generated from renewable resources (wind, solar plants, and geothermal) to about 10 times the current level over the next 20 years and still see a 13 percent decrease in the price of electricity.

UCS has been very active in transportation issues as well. The organization announced in 1998 that it was working with General Motors and Green Mountain En-

ergy to install a new charging station for electric cars that supplies 100 percent renewable power. UCS has worked for passage in the California legislature of several bills that would spur the development and purchase of electric cars.

UCS has also played a very active role in arms control debates. It published a study of the proposed national missile defense system. UCS found that "this Star Wars sequel is a flop. Even if it is 'technologically possible' to deploy a national missile defense, the system will not work against a real world missile threat." Over the years, UCS has developed a detailed agenda for reducing and dismantling nuclear warheads, strengthening the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and increasing the U.N. Security Council's role in enforcing the treaty and peacekeeping. UCS has also marshaled scientific evidence against the effectiveness of the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars") and the B-2 Bomber.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The Union of Concerned Scientists is a (501)(c)(3) not-for-profit organization and is not allowed to contribute to partisan political campaigns.

GLENN DAIGON

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U.S. ENGLISH

U.S. English is the leading citizens' group dedicated to making English the official language of government in the United States. It has 1.2 million members nationwide and a staff of 18. U.S. English is run by a three-member board of directors nominated for their positions by members of the previous board. The organization has two major divisions, U.S. English, Inc., and U.S. English Foundation, Inc. U.S. English, Inc., is the legislative organization, working at the state and federal levels to pass legislation to make English the official language of government and to reform bilingual education. The U.S. English Foundation, Inc., has several missions. They include helping to improve the teaching of English, studying language policy and its effects around the world, and raising the public awareness through the media about the importance of a common language. The U.S. English Foundation also maintains a database of ESL (English as a Second Language) classes across the nation. It maintains contact with its membership through legislative action alerts and newsletters. Its Washington, D.C., headquarters houses the following departments: communications/media, development, legislative/government relations, and accounting.

HISTORY

U.S. English was founded by the late California Republican Senator S.I. Hayakawa in 1983. The organization's goal is to have English declared the official language of government so that all government business would be conducted in English. It is the largest national, nonpartisan, nonprofit citizens' action group trying to make English the official language of government. The organization has been active at both the state and federal levels in trying to achieve its mission. U.S. English has been active in many of the campaigns that established English as the official language in 25 states. The

organization is working in several more states, in hopes of raising that total number. U.S. English was heavily involved in supporting Proposition 227, the "English for Children" initiative that was approved by California voters in 1998. This initiative will phase out current bilingual education programs in California public schools.

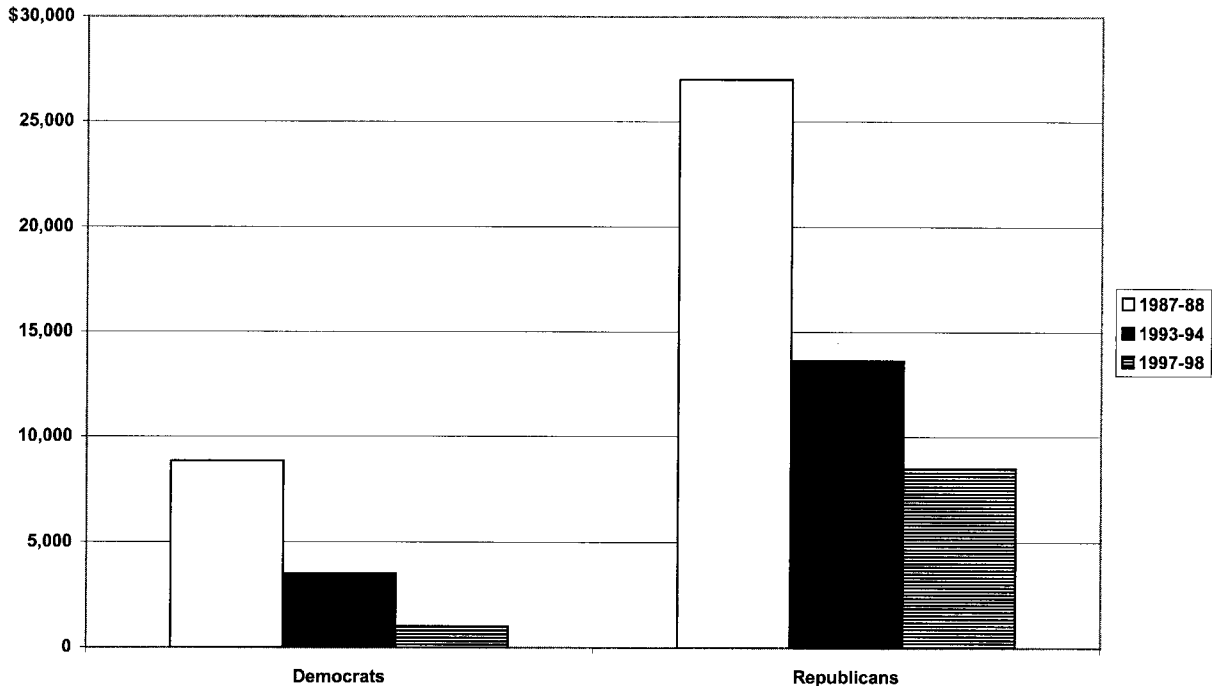
In August 1996, U.S. English helped pass House Resolution 123, the Bill Emerson English Empowerment Act of 1996, in the House of Representatives by a vote of 259–169. This legislation declared English the official language of government so that most official government business would be conducted solely in English. The Senate failed to pass the measure.

Another legislative priority for the organization is the passage of the English Language Fluency Act. This bill would require that all federally funded English language instruction programs be reviewed every two years to examine their effectiveness. This bill would also eliminate the current federal requirement that 75 percent of all bilingual education funding go to programs that use native language instruction. The legislation would ensure that parents are given notification that their children have been identified as needing specialized English language instruction and guarantee them the right to determine whether they want their children enrolled in the program. This bill passed the House in 1998 and as of this writing was still awaiting action by the Senate.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

U.S. English firmly believes that having English as the official language of government is essential and beneficial for all citizens in America. The organization believes that, by providing a common means of communication, it unites all Americans, who now speak more than 329 languages. U.S. English also believes that it encourages

**U.S. English
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

immigrants to learn English much more quickly. The organization supports the reform of bilingual education to favor those programs that are English-intensive, short-term, and transitional. It has been sharply critical of some bilingual programs that they view as not English-intensive enough and ineffective in bringing immigrants into the mainstream of American society.

To bolster their arguments, U.S. English likes to point to the problems of other countries who have not adopted one official language. The examples of Canada and India are cited by the organization in making their case for English as the official language for the United States. In 1969, Canada officially adopted a bilingual system, putting the French language and English language on equal footing. U.S. English claims it costs the Canadian government, at the federal level, \$1.3 million a day to duplicate services, forms, and other communications in a second language. According to the organization, a mere five years after Canada's bilingual status was established, the province of Quebec adopted French as its only language. U.S. English claims that this policy has threatened national Canadian unity. It says that some of the symptoms include Toronto baseball fans jeering

when the national anthem is broadcast in French, Quebec officials making it illegal for store owners to post signs in English, and English-speaking Canadians defiling the Quebecois flag. Recent ballot initiatives on whether Quebec should become an independent country have added fuel to the fire for those who argue that bilingualism leads to national disunity.

India is another example cited by U.S. English of the dangers of not having one official language. There are more than 12 languages spoken on the Indian subcontinent. Because there is no official language, people in different regions often cannot understand one another. The inability of government officials to communicate swiftly and efficiently, U.S. English says, can lead to paralysis. The group further argues that divisiveness and chaos have resulted when governments have granted official status to multiple languages in such countries as Belgium, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and Afghanistan. U.S. English points to signs of the same thing happening in this country, citing the following examples:

- In 1994, the Internal Revenue Service printed and distributed 500,000 copies of tax form 1040 in

Spanish. The total cost was \$118,000, and only 718 were returned.

- California offers driver's license exams in 30 different languages, New York in 23, and Michigan in 20. In all, 38 states currently offer the exam in languages other than English.
- The Los Angeles City Council prints all its public notices in six foreign languages in addition to English, doubling its budget to \$1 million.
- The U.S. Postal Service has printed 1 million brochures designed to help clerks communicate with customers in nine languages, which will be distributed nationwide.
- The Social Security Administration is hiring more bilingual staff in an effort to "dramatically reduce reliance on the middlemen in developing claims of non-English-speaking applicants."

The organization does not see itself as anti-immigrant or antidiversity. In fact, it sees its efforts as being squarely in the interests of newcomers to this country. U.S. English points to studies done by the U.S. Labor Department showing that immigrants learn English faster when there is less native language support around them. The group also points to census data showing that immigrant income rises about 30 percent as a result of learning English. U.S. English maintains that only by encouraging immigrants to learn English can they truly enjoy the economic opportunities available to them in this country. The organization believes passage of H.R. 123 declaring English the official language of the United States the best means to achieve that end. The organization is working to reintroduce the measure in the next session of Congress.

Another legislative issue in which U.S. English has been actively involved, and one that will most likely come up again in the near future is the issue of Puerto Rican statehood. The organization strongly criticized

the House of Representatives in 1998 when it voted to allow the island to hold a plebiscite on the issue. U.S. English Chairman/CEO Mauro Mujica declared: "Swallowing up a Latin American nation is a recipe for disaster. Less than 25 percent of the Puerto Rican population speak English and only 16 percent consider themselves American. This is after 100 years of association with the United States. In the rush to grant statehood, we could be creating our own Quebec." Mujica continued: "The United States is an English-speaking country. Just as immigrants to the United States are expected to speak English, a new state is to become an English-speaking state. Congress has the power to require Puerto Rico to adopt English as a condition of statehood. They put language requirements on Louisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona. Why should Puerto Rico be any different? If the people of Puerto Rico want to preserve their language and culture, statehood is not an option."

FINANCIAL FACTS

The U.S. English political action committee (PAC) has given decreasingly small sums of money to federal candidates over the years. In the 1987–1988 election cycle, the organization donated approximately \$35,000 to candidates for Congress, with over three-quarters going to Republicans. By the 1997–1998 election cycle, however, the total amount donated to candidates for Congress had dropped to under \$10,000, with about 80 percent going to Republicans.

GLENN DAIGON

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U.S. TERM LIMITS

U.S. Term Limits (USTL) is run by a 12-person board of directors. Its national office is located in Washington, D.C., with field offices in Spokane, Washington, and Denver, Colorado. A third field office is slated to be opened in Georgia or Florida. USTL supports its affiliates in the states through information research, voter education, and outreach programs as well as independent financial expenditures for issue advertisements in selected congressional races.

HISTORY

The organization's history goes back to 1990. In that year, the research group Citizens for Congressional Reform (CCR) was founded. It was almost the sole source of the funding behind a very far-reaching term limits initiative on the ballot in Washington State. That initiative went down to defeat. A short time later, some term limits opponents in Michigan filed a complaint questioning a list of donors submitted by CCR; the group soon disbanded after that complaint.

However, a wealthy New York businessman, Howard Rich, took over the disbanded group and changed its name to U.S. Term Limits. By anyone's measure, USTL's first few years were spectacularly successful. In 1992, its first year of operation under new direction, USTL donated at least \$1.8 million to various term limits campaigns. Ballot initiatives limiting the terms of state and federal officeholders appeared before the voters in 14 states and were easily approved in 13. Presidential candidate Ross Perot made term limits a big issue in his strong race for the White House that year. In 1994, USTL helped put term limits before the voters in eight states and the District of Columbia. D.C. voters and the

voters in seven of the eight states passed term limit measures. That same year, the Republican Party gained control of Congress by using it as an issue against the Democratic majority. Republicans even included a term limits pledge in their famous "Contract with America."

After 1994, the term limits movement lost momentum. The Supreme Court ruled term limits on members of Congress and senators to be unconstitutional, throwing out the results of many ballot initiatives. The Republican majority refused to pass a term limits bill, despite many repeated tries. Many believed that when the Republican Party was in the minority it didn't have much to lose by advocating limits. Once it gained a narrow majority, it wasn't going to do anything to jeopardize its hold on Congress. In fact, some of the Republican—and Democratic—House candidates who ran and won on the issue in 1994 of staying in office no more than three terms (six years) are having second thoughts about keeping their pledges.

USTL continues to believe that, despite some recent setbacks, it has been the overall winner in the last eight years on this issue. It cites the fact that the courts have upheld the constitutionality of term limits for state and local officeholders, even though they struck down limits for Congress. It cites statistics showing that, prior to 1992, fewer than 300 cities and towns had term limits. Today, over 3,000 have adopted term limits, including New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. USTL also points out that, prior to 1992, only 29 governors and no state legislatures were term limited. Today, there are now 39 governors and 19 state legislatures that are term limited, including California, Florida, Michigan, and Missouri. Overall, USTL has felt that its efforts have been successful over the last eight years.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

After the success of U.S. Term Limits in 1992 and 1994 in passing term limits ballot issues at the local and state levels, and the organization's failure in the GOP Congress and in the courts to enact term limits for federal officeholders, the organization has launched a new campaign, the Term Limits Declaration. The declaration asks each candidate for the U.S. Congress to pledge himself or herself to limit service to no more than three terms in the House and two terms in the Senate. USTL plans on heavily publicizing, during the 2000 elections, which candidates did and did not take the term limits pledge. USTL has publicly targeted candidates running in 2000 who broke their three-term pledge.

Term Limits Declaration

I commit to be a citizen legislator, not a career politician, and therefore declare and pledge to the citizens of my state and district: I will not serve in the United States House of Representatives for more than 3 two-year terms.

Printed Name of Candidate _____

Signature of Candidate _____

Signature of Witness _____

Date _____

District/State _____

Only congressional service after 1998 will be considered when calculating service for the purposes of this declaration. Service in office for one-half a term shall be deemed service for a full term unless the legislator is elected to fill an unexpired term.
CITIZEN LEGISLATORS. NOT CAREER POLITICIANS.

USTL is planning to place initiatives on the ballot in California, Colorado, and Florida that would allow self-limiting candidates to inform voters of their self-limit pledges. USTL would do this by placing the state-

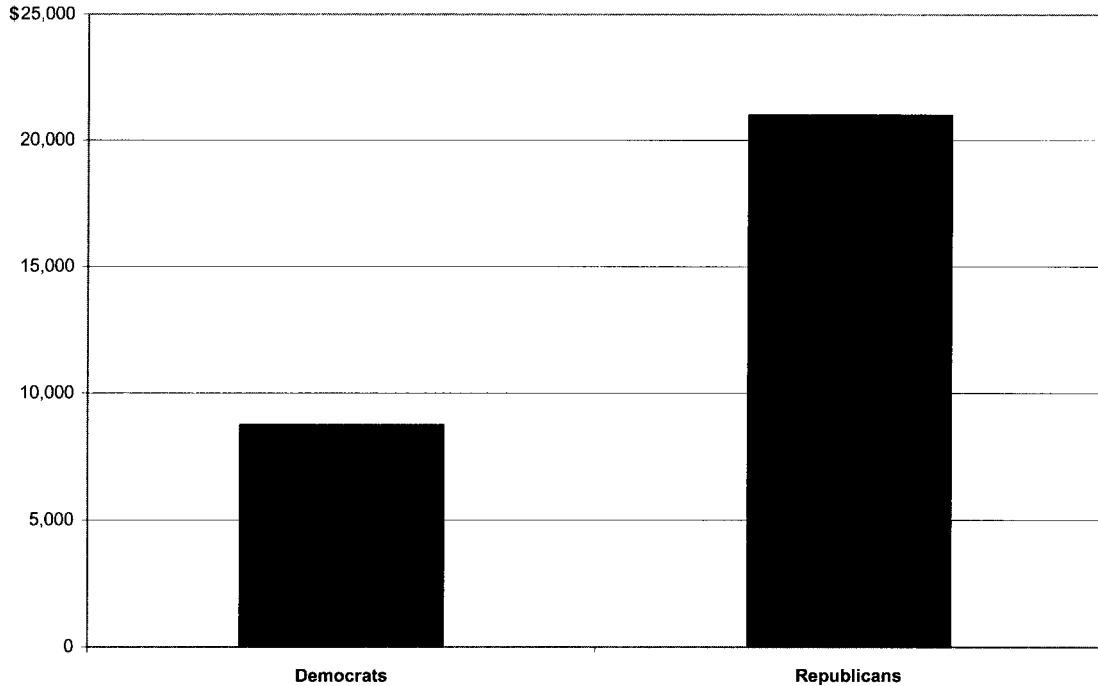
ment "Signed Term Limits Pledge to serve no more than 3 terms in the U.S. House" next to candidates' names on primary and general election ballots. Voters then would see in writing on the ballot which candidates signed USTL's Term Limits Pledge and which ones did not. The organization believes that once that difference is spelled out clearly to the voters those candidates who signed the pledge should have an easy time winning. This will help the organization meet its stated goal of replacing professional politicians with "citizen legislators."

FINANCIAL FACTS

In 1992, term limits committees in 14 states raised \$5.9 million. Eighty percent of that money, or \$4.7 million, came from four term limits groups and 624 donors of \$600 or more. The 624 donors supplied \$2.5 million of the \$4.7 million. Of the remaining \$2.2 million, U.S. Term Limits supplied \$1.8 million (roughly 30 percent of the total \$5.9 million spent), with the three remaining smaller term limits groups supplying \$400,000. In 1994, USTL donated at least \$1.8 million to various term limits campaigns. Campaigns in Alaska, Colorado, Idaho, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Nevada, and Utah were all financed by USTL. The following is a selective state-by-state breakdown of financial expenditures to advance term limits initiatives:

- In Alaska, almost all of the \$40,000 spent by term limits advocates came from USTL to pass a statewide ballot issue limiting terms for politicians.
- In Idaho, USTL contributed \$66,000 of the \$82,000 raised on behalf of the term limits ballot issue.
- In Maine, USTL donated \$163,500 of the \$171,000 raised.
- In Nebraska, USTL provided \$219,000 of the \$256,000 spent on the term limits ballot issue.
- In Nevada, USTL donated \$40,000 of the \$153,000 spent to pass the term limits ballot measure.
- In Utah, a total of \$169,000 was raised to pass a term limits initiative, \$32,000 of it coming from USTL.
- In Colorado, \$97,400 was raised to pass a term-

**U.S. Term Limits
Political Action Committee Contributions, 1997–1998**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1997–1998.

limiting ballot initiative, with \$83,000 coming from USTL.

All told, USTL raised 70 percent of the \$1.4 million raised to pass 1994 term limits initiatives on state ballots around the nation.

GLENN DAIGON

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ZERO POPULATION GROWTH

Zero Population Growth (ZPG) is an education and advocacy group with its headquarters located in Washington, D.C., and a field office located in Sacramento, California. It has 20 chapters around the nation and over 50,000 dues-paying members. A 16-member board of directors runs ZPG, each of whom is nominated by recommendations from individual people or groups.

The national headquarters is active in lobbying Congress on both national and international population and reproductive rights issues. Much of this effort is accomplished through the ZPG Activist Network—a coalition of ZPG members, staff, and chapters that work together on population issues. Network members are kept abreast of important issues through timely “alerts” as well as the organization’s bimonthly newspaper, *The ZPG Reporter*. Legislative alerts and “letters to the editor” are some of the tools that the Network uses to keep the grassroots membership involved.

ZPG’s Population Education Network coordinates over 250 teacher training workshops each year as well as publishing classroom texts aimed at grades K–12. One of the Population Education Network’s most successful efforts has been the Population Education Trainers Network. Staffers under this program were trained in workshops on how to incorporate environmental and population issues into the classroom. The number of workshops increased to 165 in 1998. Since 1975, the program has helped more than 1 million students learn about population issues.

ZPG also has a very active Speakers Network program. Started in 1991, the program has volunteer members present ZPG’s message to community and civic groups, school classes, and college students and others interested in learning about the impact of population growth. To date, hundreds of presentations have been made to groups across the country.

ZPG’s national headquarters in Washington, D.C., houses departments that handle the following activities: outreach and communications, population education,

membership development, communications, government relations, field and outreach, and finance and administration.

HISTORY

The roots of ZPG go back over 30 years to the publication of the best-selling book, *The Population Bomb*. Encouraged by the book’s popularity, the author Paul Ehrlich, together with lawyer Charles Bower and academic Charles Remington, founded ZPG in 1968. ZPG worked to show the link between overpopulation, falling living standards, and environmental destruction. Using bumper stickers, posters, public service announcements, and magazine advertisements, ZPG sought to change the country’s attitudes toward family size. Some of their catchier slogans included, “The pill in time saves nine!” “This line is too long. Join ZPG!” and “Just have two.” By 1972, the organization had 35,000 members.

After 1970, legislative change in population-related fields came very quickly. Congress repealed the Comstock laws, which blocked the distribution of contraceptives. In 1973, the Supreme Court legalized abortion. Environmental and energy issues became important to the average American. ZPG realized that its narrowly focused message “stop at two” needed to be updated to keep up with the rapidly changing times. ZPG joined forces with pro-choice legislation to lobby Congress and the states to protect a woman’s right to choose. The group also works with cities to implement growth plans that avoid urban sprawl and suburban overcrowding.

ZPG feels that it deserves a big share of the credit for the change in the U.S. fertility rate. In the early 1960s, the rate was 3.4 children per woman; it had decreased to 1.8 by 1975. The time it would take for the U.S. population to double increased by 14 years between 1968 and 1975.

ZPG's classroom programs try to link population and environmental quality. Cofounder Paul Ehrlich, stated: "Solving the population problem will only buy you a ticket to solve the other problems. It won't solve them in itself."

In the 1990s ZPG continued to lobby both the federal and state governments on their traditional bread-and-butter issues such as securing funding for family planning programs and requiring population studies to be part of the school curriculum. But ZPG has also become involved in a broad range of issues such as protecting a woman's right to choose, addressing the root causes of Third World immigration to the United States, and pushing for equal rights for women. The organization believes all of these problems are connected to overpopulation and need to be addressed.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

ZPG has had one constant mission over the years: to bring the human population and its activities back into balance with earth's resources and activities. Toward that one goal, ZPG has defined its main mission as the adoption of public policies that slow population growth to a more manageable level. On a broad basis, ZPG has backed measures such as a national population policy, access to safe and affordable contraceptives, reproductive choice, school-based sex education and health services programs, voluntary family planning programs, and funding for international family planning programs.

ZPG's legislative goals are in sync with its stated policy mission. Most recently, ZPG has supported efforts in Congress to restore U.S. funding to the United Nations Population Fund. ZPG has backed proposals in Congress to limit suburban sprawl in the United States—"smart growth" legislation that would channel new growth to existing developed areas. At the state level,

ZPG has backed legislation introduced in 24 states that would require coverage of prescription contraceptives by health insurers. ZPG has supported repealing the Hyde Amendment, which bars public Medicaid funding from paying for abortions for women who cannot afford them. In the 1997–1998 session of Congress, ZPG lobbied heavily around prochoice issues. The organization supported repealing the law that prohibits female military personnel overseas from obtaining abortions with their own funds at military hospitals. It opposed a bill to prevent international family planning providers that offer abortion services or participate in discussing abortion as an option from receiving any U.S. population funding. This provision was known as the Global Gag Rule. ZPG also opposed an amendment to prohibit the Food and Drug Administration from using federal funds to test, develop, or approve any drug for chemically induced abortions.

In the 1997–1998 Congress, ZPG supported a law that would have prohibited the Office of Personnel Management, the personnel office for federal employees, from entering into a contract with a health care provider that excludes prescription contraceptive drugs. It blocked an amendment that would have required parental notification or written consent before minors could obtain contraception services from federally funded planning clinics.

FINANCIAL FACTS

Zero Population Growth is designated a 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization and cannot contribute to candidates running for federal political office.

GLENN DAIGON

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SECTION TWELVE

IDENTITY



Identity groups are citizen groups that often have cut across traditional and ideological lines emphasizing group rights or individual rights, with protection on the basis of some group characteristic. Over the past 30 years, traditional class-based or economic interest groups have been joined, in what has been termed an “explosion,” by interest groups that either have had a sole noneconomic focus or have had mixed noneconomic emphases with the traditional economic focus. Citizen groups, formed from the social movements of the 1960s—most notably the civil rights and feminist movements but also the general drive toward post-materialism and quality of life issues—began to dot the political landscape in the United States and elsewhere. Civil rights, human rights, ideological, religious rights, environmental, and other groups appeared during the 1960s to lobby government, stage protests, and engage in advocacy and service on behalf of either their members or for the general citizenry (both national and international). Still, citizen groups in total comprise less than 10 percent of all interest groups officially registered in the United States and, though they have the ability to stage large-scale protest, are generally less well funded and powerful than the traditional economically based interest groups (though exceptions are notable to this general rule).

IDENTITY GROUPS DEFINED

Collective identity movements are broad. They range from ethnic groups (racial, linguistic, or other), feminist groups, the elderly, veterans, and even smokers or non-smokers. Group, or collective, identity is a crucial variable in understanding particular types of political behavior. Identity politics can be based either on a self-help or isolationist orientation (potentially either a con-

servative or radical orientation) or on egalitarian social, economic, or political policies achieved through integrative politics (a traditional liberal orientation). Identity groups, though their critics might suggest otherwise, do not fit neatly into a liberal or conservative categorization; they cut across different types of interest groups and the liberal-conservative spectrum.

Identity politics is based upon a shared group identity or a shared sense of common interests that may be based upon historical, experiential, or some other form of solidarity. Claus Offe, an expert on collective action and identity politics, has termed collective identity as based on a “shared definition of the field of opportunity and constraints . . . [and the] unity is a result rather than a point of departure.” Identities are not constant and may either be self-selected or societally determined; the importance of identity may either increase or decrease over time, and identities may be contradictory or create tensions either for individuals, since one may have numerous and conflicting identities (for example, an African American lesbian possesses three distinct identities), or between groups and organizations that share similar identity classification. These identities may be ascribed—those that are essentially unchangeable such as ethnicity, language, gender, or sexual orientation. They may also be “assigned identities,” which may be based on individual beliefs or sentiments on an issue. Identity politics, at its core, attempts to change power relationships between groups and to achieve group gains, which may be economic, political, or social in scope.

Often, though not always, identity politics represents a challenge between out-groups, or marginalized actors, such as feminist, minority, or gay organizations, and dominant actors. These marginalized groups seek to change the nature of the relationship between themselves and the dominant group, either through accommodation or through separation. Struggle is central to

many forms of identity politics and often involves grassroots or nontraditional forms of activity such as protest behavior, civil disobedience, and (in rare circumstances) violence. These grassroots movements have often formed in order to counter governmental discrimination; thus, they operated outside the traditional policy arena and rejected the governmental sphere in favor of identity as the organizing vehicle to achieve their individual and group goals.

Identity groups that are liberal in their orientation seek to develop strategies for negotiation and inclusion within the existing policy framework to supplement their challenging behavior. Over time, demonstrations are supplemented by traditional direct lobbying activity by organizations as they adapt to changing political and social circumstances. Many scholars suggest that groups that begin with challenging behavior are often moderated in their mode of operation by successes in the political arena. Identity politics has neither inherently negative nor positive political effects on society. Negative effects of extreme identity politics are plentiful; for example, one can look to the recent crises in the Balkans as an example of extreme identity politics having destructive effects. Others have noted that identity politics has been influential in changing society, aiding countries in their achievement of democratic goals of liberty and equality in the United States and elsewhere.

GROUPS PROFILED: DIVERSITY OF IDENTITY GROUPS

In this section of the anthology, nine identity groups are profiled in exploring the range and scope of identity interest groups. They were selected due to the variance of the groups, their goals, strategies, and resources, and their success in the policy arena.

Two groups profiled are African American civil rights organizations. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is the oldest African-American civil rights organization. Founded in 1909, the NAACP has maintained throughout its history nonviolent and multiracial advocacy strategies. It has had numerous successes, especially during the civil rights era of the 1950s and 1960s; it was at the forefront of changes in educational access, voting rights, civil rights protections, and affirmative action legislation. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), conversely, is an African-American civil rights organization that has changed its orientation from its nonviolent origins to an

armed orientation, to a conservative self-help strategy since the 1970s. Comprising two of the “Big Four” civil rights organizations, the NAACP and CORE represent two different orientations and strategies and suggest that identity groups do not fit neatly into a liberal or conservative (or even a radical) label.

Two gay rights organizations, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) and the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) are profiled. Both groups represent gay and lesbian concerns and are liberal and mainstream in their orientation and strategies as opposed to more radicalized gay organizations, such as Outrage! They are traditional civil rights organizations emphasizing equal treatment under the law for gays and lesbians (along with bisexuals and transgendered citizens). However, although they are similar in goals, unlike the two African-American groups profiled, they differ in their strategies. Both organizations are nominally national in their orientation; the HRC, however, directs most of its activity at the national level and congressional campaigns and lobbying, whereas the NGLTF emphasizes state and local strategies.

Two feminist organizations are profiled, Emily’s List and the National Organization for Women (NOW). While both agree on many political issues, especially the protection of reproductive rights, which is central to both groups’ missions, they seek achievement of goals through different means. NOW, founded in 1966, is a full-service organization that engages in advocacy, litigation, grassroots lobbying, direct lobbying of members of Congress, and, through a separate political action committee (PAC), providing campaign funds to candidates who share its political philosophy regardless of gender. Emily’s List, founded more recently in 1985, reflects a changing political orientation among feminists. Emily’s List places its efforts solely on providing campaign funds to pro-choice Democratic women to increase the number of women legislators and executives. Thus, while agreeing on goals, it, like the NGLTF and the HRC, differs on the methods of operation.

A seventh group profiled is the American Indian Movement (AIM). AIM is an excellent example of a new social movement that grew up against the backdrop of the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s. In its early years, AIM engaged in national and armed protest against the American government and has sought self-help policies and changes in federal policies toward Native Americans. The organization has shifted its emphasis from national politics over the past 30 years to locally based strategies and ceases to be influential at the national level with the exception of isolated cases.

Two “assigned” identity groups are profiled. The

American Legion is a veterans' organization that campaigns for "patriotic" issues and for the rights of veterans in employment and medical care. It is a large and broad-based organization that is somewhat conservative in its orientation and engages in both direct lobbying as well as service to its constituents and to youth. The American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), one of America's most successful lobbying groups, coalesces around the shared characteristic of age. Its emphasis is on service to its membership and to lobbying efforts to protect the rights of the elderly, including Social Security and Medicare.

The profiled groups have some similar and some different issues that they have stressed. The gay, feminist, and ethnic groups have demanded equal treatment under the law, protection against police brutality, employment nondiscrimination, and general civil rights protections. They have been interested in providing services to members in order to aid in economic and social advancement (this latter point is especially true of the feminist and minority organizations). The American Legion and the AARP have focused almost entirely on membership-driven activities and the provision of services, although the American Legion has expanded its scope to include service and programs aimed at non-members, especially the young.

The organizations vary in terms of their size and influence. Although for some groups, precise membership figures are impossible to determine, the American Indian Movement is a relatively small organization with limited financial means reflecting the marginalized status of Native Americans. The African-American groups have maintained significant membership levels, with the NAACP's 500,000 members dwarfing its rival, CORE. The HRC maintains a significant membership level of 250,000, while NOW also counts an active membership of approximately 250,000. The largest organizations are the two "assigned" identity groups: the American Legion comprises a membership of 3 million while the AARP's membership tops 33 million.

Although membership levels are not necessarily an indicator of success, the larger organizations generally have significant budgets that aid in organizing, in providing services, and in lobbying governmental officials. The AARP's \$450 million budget enables it to maintain nearly two dozen lobbyists and a think tank. In comparison, the American Legion maintains a significant budget of over \$60 million, which has aided its lobbying efforts and given the organization the ability to provide essential services to its members. The other organizations maintain significantly smaller budgets; for exam-

ple, the HRC has a budget of \$15 million, while the NGLTF has a budget of \$3.6 million.

Most of the groups (with the exception of Emily's List, which is explicitly partisan) are nonpartisan in orientation. Three of the groups—Emily's List, NOW, and the HRC—maintain PACs providing campaign funds to candidates. And although they are technically non-partisan, the groups' contributions have gone mostly, almost solely, to Democratic candidates. Emily's List has emerged as one of the strongest financial political organizations, with members contributing over \$7 million to candidates in 1998. The HRC contributed nearly \$1 million through its PAC, while NOW's PAC is relatively small, contributing less than \$200,000 during the 1997–1998 election cycle. In addition to political contributions, almost all of the organizations conduct voter registration drives in some form. Emily's List, for example, has spent \$10 million on a voter registration and turnout campaign.

Most identity groups, as most citizen groups, are classified by the Federal Election Commission (FEC) as 501(c)(3) organizations. This status denotes that the group advocates positions but does not lobby Congress; this enables contributions made to the group to be tax-deductible. In order to ensure the tax-deductibility of contributions, which encourages citizens to contribute more, most citizen groups do not formally endorse candidates for office though they do utilize their budgets to highlight differences between candidates with no formal endorsement. Those organizations with PACs (such as the HRC, Emily's List, and NOW) maintain a 501(c)(4) PAC, which enables the PAC to make endorsements and engage in partisan politics. In fact, in keeping with a trend in American politics, some of the most powerful lobbying groups in the United States do not maintain PACs, such as the AARP, which is the most powerful of the identity groups.

AREAS OF INTEREST

Many of these organizations were born in the 1960s or 1970s or increased in strength during the progressivism of the era. Throughout much of the century, identity politics focused on the plight of African Americans in the United States. Although the NAACP was created in the early part of this century, its major successes came during the 1950s and 1960s. The success of the African-American civil rights movement suggested a ripe political and social environment for the creation and successful entry of new and diverse groups. Feminist

organizations, such as NOW, began to emerge to represent a voice for women.

Spurred by the success of the women's and African-American civil rights movements, gay organizations began to dot the political landscape after the 1969 Stonewall Riots in Greenwich Village in New York. The NGLTF was born in 1973 as part of the broader-based effort to enhance civil rights protections for gays and lesbians and other marginalized groups. Quickly, new organizations were founded as well, and by the mid 1980s numerous gay organizations were created—such as the Human Rights Campaign, among others.

The American Indian Movement was also born in the struggle for civil rights in the 1960s. Labeled the “Black Panther Party” of Native Americans, AIM focused not on integration and individual rights protections—an emphasis of NOW, the NGLTF, and the NAACP—but rather on group rights and group identity. It sought sovereignty for the Native Nations either by negotiations with the federal government or through armed protest. While they have, in the words of one observer, “mellowed” since their founding, AIM still maintains a separatist philosophy.

The American Legion is the second oldest of the groups profiled, with its founding in 1919. It originated in the aftermath of the First World War to lobby on behalf of soldiers reentering society after their war service. It perceived an important bond inherent in military service and sought to utilize this commonality to lobby for beneficial policies and to engage in education and advocacy. The AARP was founded in the 1950s and was reflective of the growing elderly population in the United States. As life expectancy has increased, AARP has sought protections of both retirees and the working elderly.

The interests of the organizations are diverse. The marginalized groups (African American, gay, and feminist) have emphasized affirmative action protections along with employment/educational protections. In addition, feminist organizations have sought to protect reproductive rights, while all three have sought protection against violence; in the case of women, NOW's emphasis has generally been on domestic violence against women, whereas African American and gay organizations have emphasized protection from police brutality and hate crimes, especially salient in the wake of the dragging death of James Byrd, Jr., an African American male, in Texas, and the sadistic murder of an openly gay college student in Wyoming (Matthew Shepard).

The political context for these organizations is quite

complex at the end of the twentieth century. For African American, feminist, and gay organizations, they have sought increasing civil rights protections through affirmative action policies, stricter enforcement of laws on the books, or, in the case of gays and lesbians, new statutes to protect against discrimination. The political climate in the United States is relatively good for gays and lesbians. Tolerance among the public has increased and, for women and African Americans, enormous strides and gains were made in the past 30 years. Coupling these facts with the election of a sympathetic figure, Bill Clinton, to the White House in 1992 suggests that a favorable climate was created for either protections or advancements.

The picture, however, is murkier. First, with the election of the Republican Congress in 1994, emphasizing traditional family values, there have been policies perceived to be unfriendly toward all three groups (as well as the AARP); and devolution has changed the battleground from Washington to the states and made the struggle 50 battles rather than one. Second, there has been a political backlash against affirmative action and policies created in the 1960s and 1970s to protect women and minorities, as well as against what conservatives have labeled the “special rights” agenda of gay and lesbian organizations. Especially in the states, but in the Republican Party generally, there has been an attack on prior gains, forcing NOW and the NAACP into fighting a rear-guard battle to protect their victories rather than pushing for new policies. Thus, numerous ballot measures have sought to eliminate affirmative action, laws have sought to curtail reproductive rights, and initiatives in some states, such as Colorado, have targeted gay and lesbian protections or sought to overturn them after their passage. Thus, while President Clinton supports many issues central to the NAACP, NOW, the NGLTF, and the HRC, an unfriendly Congressional and state environment has limited the ability of these organizations to realize political success.

For groups such as the AARP, the climate is also complex, although the AARP has been singularly successful in maintaining its power in Washington. Politicians tread lightly when suggesting reform of Medicare or Social Security due to the clout of the AARP. While proposed changes would suggest a struggle for the AARP, in fact it has been successful in blunting reforms and ensuring that both Democrats and Republicans will seek AARP support before proposing overhauls. Thus, although change may be in the offing for these two programs, the support and power of the AARP in

Washington ensures that they will be central to the reform process.

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

Identity groups are diverse in their scope as well as their activities. They participate in traditional lobbying and campaigning, grassroots lobbying activities, public education, and the provision of services.

Traditional lobbying strategies take two important forms for identity groups. First, they engage in direct lobbying of legislators, executives, and government agencies on policy. They provide congressional testimony, aid in the writing of legislation, conduct studies, and provide information to members of Congress. They also produce ratings of members of Congress on key issues to show their voting record. The American Legion is pivotal in influencing governmental agency decisions; it is the only veterans' group with membership staffing the federal government Veterans Administration insurance centers. Some groups expend considerable resources on this type of lobbying activity; the AARP estimates it spends \$6 million on lobbying, whereas the American Legion spends nearly \$250,000. A think tank supplements this activity for the AARP and the NGLTF, and many other organizations staff full-time experienced lobbyists.

Second, the HRC, NOW, and Emily's List maintain PACs. These committees provide essential funds to candidates and to political parties. Emily's List, in enhancing its political clout, successfully utilized a fundraising technique known as bundling—a strategy to circumvent FEC regulations on PACs. FEC rules limit PAC contributions to candidates to \$5,000; Emily's List bundles individual contributions of its members to candidates by having members write checks to candidates (it publishes a list of those preferred) and send the checks to Emily's List, which then forwards the checks to the candidate. This strategy has been extremely successful, and other organizations have used Emily's List as a model.

Although traditional lobbying activity has been important, grassroots pressure tactics are central to marginalized groups' activity. The NAACP and CORE initiated nonviolent protest strategies; gay organizations, African-American groups, and women's groups have utilized large-scale demonstrations such as NOW's 1992 pro-choice rally, which brought 750,000 to Capitol Hill, and the proposed Millennium March on Washington, D.C., cosponsored by the HRC. Additionally, these groups have used letter-writing campaigns and

other grassroots efforts that have become technologically sophisticated with the creation of the Internet. For example, the HRC and NOW each maintain an Internet mailing list that provides "action alerts" to members to encourage immediate activity. These activities have been essential in mobilizing their constituencies. AIM has been unique among these nine groups in utilizing grassroots armed protest to seek redress of grievances.

Public education is an essential strategy for identity groups. They have sought, through such activities as media outreach and sponsorship of forums, to articulate the positions of the organizations. The HRC has even sponsored a program called OutVote, which was a convention to put gay and lesbian issues in the limelight.

Service-related activities for members and nonmembers have been at the core of activities of many groups. AIM has sponsored a Legal Rights Center to provide its members with legal advice; the NAACP has sponsored numerous programs, such as ACT-SO, to encourage excellence in technology and science among African American youths; CORE hosts a "boot camp" to rehabilitate troubled youths and sponsors Project Independence, designed to help single mothers to break welfare dependency; the AARP sponsors numerous programs aimed at breast cancer detection, employment, and other activities to protect the elderly; and the American Legion sponsors the Boy Scouts and spends an additional \$5 million on youth-related programs. Although just a sample, these activities reflect the diversity of activities of these organizations.

MICHAEL LEVY

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED PERSONS

A nonprofit organization established in 1958 to serve the interests and welfare of individuals aged 50 and older, the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) is headquartered in Washington, D.C. AARP has been at the forefront in providing goods and services for retired persons as well as lobbying governmental agencies on behalf of both retired persons and the working elderly over age 50. Through education, lobbying activities, and the provision of services, AARP seeks to meet the wide array of needs of America's growing elderly population. AARP is a mass-membership organization of approximately 33 million people, which represents approximately 20 percent of America's registered voters, and is both nonprofit and nonpartisan. Membership is open to anyone age 50 or over and costs \$8 per year. Classified by the Internal Revenue Service 501(c)(4), it endorses no candidates for office and does not maintain a political action committee (PAC) for electoral advocacy efforts; rather, it focuses its efforts on lobbying. Supporting the organization is a staff numbering nearly 2,000 individuals. AARP has five regional offices and 25 state offices, along with 3,700 chapters; it employs 19 staff lobbyists (135 people are employed on the lobbying/public affairs staff) and maintains a 32-scholar think tank.

AARP is headed by Horace Deets, who is considered a major player in American politics on issues affecting those age 50 and over and on general budgetary issues. AARP has been characterized as the "most feared lobby in Washington" (*Fortune* magazine) and "America's most powerful lobby" (*Nation* magazine); it has been included in *Fortune* magazine's listing of America's most powerful interest groups, and had a ranking of number one in both 1997 and 1998. AARP is a pivotal player in negotiations and debate over reforming Medicare and Social Security.

HISTORY

Formed in 1958 by retired educator Dr. Ethel Percy Andrus, the organization has expanded in size from its humble beginnings. AARP engages in a series of major activities and has numerous publications to aid and educate its members. Among its many areas of interests and activities, AARP holds seminars, produces tapes, engages in media outreach, organizes volunteer programs such as 55 Alive, provides presentations for employers, provides training through "Experience for Hire," and provides tax information.

AARP has had numerous successes in the policy arena and is courted by politicians on all issues affecting elderly Americans. For example, President Bill Clinton sought the aid of AARP in 1998–1999 to protect against a Republican-inspired tax cut, in order to boost and maintain Medicare and Social Security. However, while the organization's successes are numerous, one major defeat for AARP was the repeal of Medicare Catastrophic Coverage in 1989.

Through its Public Policy Institute and other organization endeavors, AARP produces a bimonthly magazine called *Modern Maturity* and a monthly *AARP Bulletin*, which goes out to over 20 million households in America and provides information on such issues as Social Security, Medicare, managed care, and other important issues.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

AARP's efforts include a variety of methods in order to advocate on behalf of its members. The organization pursues goals at the local, state, and national levels and

maintains that its primary areas of concern are information and education, community service, advocacy, and member services.

Among its information and education functions, AARP funds gerontology research and broadcasts weekly radio talk shows in both English and Spanish. Through its network of chapters and volunteers, the organization provides such extensive community service programs as “Money After 50,” “55 Alive/Mature Driving,” and “Connections for Independent Living.” It advocates on numerous issues for older Americans, such as Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, age discrimination, and fraud. Further, it provides such services to its members as discounts on insurance, mail-order prescription services, and legal services, among other benefits.

Through the AARP at the Local Level program, AARP volunteers serve the community through education, advocacy, and community service activities. Additionally, the organization has a Department of State Legislation, which coordinates state activities and helps to prioritize and organize the group’s goals for each individual state. AARP also provides technical assistance to volunteers at the state and local levels.

Nationally, AARP’s efforts are run by a Federal Affairs department, which, aided by the Public Policy Institute, engages in lobbying activity along with the AARP Washington staff and the National Legislative Council. Members of the organization regularly meet with individual legislators and provide testimony before committees on Capitol Hill.

In addition to these efforts, AARP receives nearly \$75 million per annum from the federal government in grants to finance programs aimed at aiding older Americans in finding employment. These programs include the Senior Community Service Employment program and the Senior Environmental Employment program, along with programs such as Early Detection and Control of Breast Cancer, the National Legal Assistance Support Project, and Americans with Disabilities: Accessibility for Older Persons, which supports older Americans in the areas of consumer education, health, and financial security.

Educationally, AARP maintains a nonpartisan voter education program called “AARP/VOTE,” through which the organization educates voters and candidates about issues facing older Americans in order to provide this group with an adequate voice in the electoral process. Although AARP/VOTE does not endorse any candidate for office, it does host debates that allow its members and the general public to obtain information on the candidates’ positions on issues. And even though

AARP does not formally endorse candidates for office, the group has been a popular target of conservative groups and has been labeled as liberal by publications such as the *National Review*. While AARP rejects being labeled liberal, *Forbes* magazine has argued that its “activist, liberal staff” regularly ignores the conservative views of its members, and the *National Review* has said that the AARP is the “best friend of big, dumb government.” The National Taxpayers Union and other conservative organizations have attacked AARP policies as being liberal and not solely limited to advocating for benefits for elderly citizens. In attacking the organization, conservatives have pointed out AARP’s support for higher gas taxes and AIDS research, as well as opposition to Clarence Thomas’s appointment to the Supreme Court.

In the future, AARP will seek to maintain its current status as one of America’s most powerful lobbying organizations and interest groups. Given the graying of America’s population and the fact that 50 percent of Americans aged over 50 are members, this provides the opportunity for AARP to grow in both size and clout at the ballot box. While it would be hyperbole to suggest that the group could expand its power much further, it is certainly not an exaggeration to say that AARP’s influence is not likely to wane in the long-term future of American lobbying, and its efforts and support for or opposition to reforms in healthcare policy will be a significant factor in policy change in those areas of competence and interest for AARP.

FINANCIAL FACTS

AARP’s interests are wide and it pursues its goals at the national, state, and local levels. Its interests include providing its members with economic security, protection against age discrimination, consumer protection, long-term care, employment rights, and protection for Social Security and Medicare.

AARP has total operating revenues of approximately \$450 million and operating expenses of nearly \$375 million. Since it does not maintain a political action committee (PAC) and concentrates its activities on lobbying and other efforts, the organization provides no formal support to either Democrats or Republicans. However, organizational lobbying expenses amount to over \$6 million, according to AARP figures. Supported primarily through membership dues, AARP also receives a substantial amount of its funding

from investments, the sale of publications, and group insurance administrative allowances. Of these amounts, more than \$30 million per annum comes from royalty income (3 percent of all purchases through Prudential Insurance), combined with over \$150 million from membership dues.

MICHAEL LEVY

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AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT

The American Indian Movement (AIM) was formed in 1968 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and maintains its headquarters in Minneapolis with chapters in numerous urban centers in the United States and in Indian Nations (reservations). Its founding by Dennis Banks, George Mitchell, Vernon Bellecourt, and Clyde Bellecourt helped to bring the demands of Native Americans to the forefront, and AIM was the central actor and organizer of Indian protest during the 1970s. It was organized to give voice to the claims of Native Americans. The organization has spent much of its 30-year history articulating the demands of Native Americans and pursuing policies to protect their rights as guaranteed by the U.S. government in treaties, the Constitution, and laws. Although no count of members exists, AIM generally has consisted of youth from the reservations, cities, and universities and is much stronger at the local level than as a cohesive national organization.

AIM is not a typical American interest group and can be classified rightly as a new social movement founded during the turbulent and progressive 1960s. It has pursued its strategies through two primary means. First, it has sought litigation and has filed suit against the federal government in order to ensure that Native Americans' rights are adequately protected. Second, it has pursued community organization and grassroots protest in order to gain publicity and influence the policy process. While not totally eschewing traditional lobbying, most of its activities are grassroots and locally oriented, though that was not true in the early years of AIM.

AIM's philosophy is described by the organization as based on self-determination and rooted in "traditional spirituality, culture, language, and history." AIM heavily emphasizes spirituality, as well as an inherent connection of all Indian people regardless of nation. Under the leadership of NeeGawNwayWeeDun (Clyde Bel-

lecourt), AIM has sought to serve the interests and needs of the Indian communities.

HISTORY

AIM formed in 1968 and quickly rose to both national and international prominence. In what has largely been an urban protest movement, AIM sought to combat discrimination and police brutality. It has been labeled an "indigenous version of the Black Panther Party" and received large amounts of publicity and media attention in the 1968–1974 period. Unlike traditional civil rights organizations, it differed on the goals of the movement. Integration was not a goal of AIM, and individual rights were not the emphasis; rather, group preservation and group rights were the cornerstone of AIM. When the organization was founded, it focused on the War on Poverty policies initiated by President Lyndon Johnson to ensure that the program targeted Native Americans. In its early years, the organization focused on small and local demonstrations that didn't require coordination between the various chapters that sprouted up after its foundation.

After a few years of protests, it was decided at its national conference in 1971 that the organization would need to build an indigenous organization to address the issues of education, health, and police brutality against Native Americans. By 1972, AIM organized, along with disparate Indian organizations, a caravan, known as the Trail of Broken Treaties, which brought Native American representatives to Washington to lobby the U.S. Department of the Interior and put claims and demands before President Richard Nixon. It was AIM's first attempt at a major national protest and brought approximately 1,000 Native Americans to Washington. Among its 20 demands put forward in 1972, which are still relevant nearly 30 years later, were a restoration of

treaty making, formation of a commission to create new treaties with better terms for America's indigenous population, a review of treaty violations, restoration of 110 million acres of land taken away from Native Americans, federal protection for offenses against Indians, abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, creation of a new office of federal Indian relations, Indian religious freedom, and national Indian voting. These, among other demands, were put forward as AIM's agenda before the American public.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In addition to its support for these policies, AIM has a long and distinguished record on promoting the rights of Native Americans. In 1968, AIM established the Minneapolis Patrol, which addressed the issue of police brutality; it developed a Legal Rights Center in 1970, which assists Indians facing legal problems and has helped 20,000 Indians in their legal representations; it developed schools for Indian children to combat the high drop-out rate among Native Americans; it established a news organization (MIGIZI) to provide information on and about Native Americans; it promoted a walk from California to Washington to protest anti-Indian legislation; it has developed an industrialization center to combat unemployment; and it helped organize a coalition on racism in sports and the media to address the use of Indian mascots in sports. This is just a brief sampling of some of the diverse activities sponsored by AIM.

Whereas AIM has been a mainstay of the Native American community in promoting native rights, the organization received its most publicity during the 1970s for its protest behavior, much of which shapes the way AIM is viewed by most Americans even today. In November 1969, AIM participated in an Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island. This high-profile activity etched AIM in the media, and it remained there through the Alcatraz incident and after U.S. government forces, armed with handguns, shotguns, M-1 30-caliber carbines, and other weapons, stormed Alcatraz and retook the island in June 1971.

From its founding, AIM was a grassroots protest organization that emphasized, along with local concerns, national issues. One of AIM's earliest protests came on Thanksgiving Day in 1970 when its members protested Thanksgiving celebrations by "seizing the Mayflower

II." This event sought to stir Indian activism. In addition, it also held an "antibirthday" party on Mount Rushmore on the Fourth of July, along with other highly visible protest activities.

Perhaps, however, AIM is best known for its armed activity. In 1973, it took over Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. The tribal president, Richard Wilson, was in the process of transferring a strip of uranium-rich land to the Interior Department. The Indians resisted, prompting the federal government to dispatch marshals; in response to the federal activity, the local Native Americans, the Oglala, sought AIM's help. In March 1973, the Indian occupiers of Wounded Knee proclaimed sovereignty according to the Laramie Treaty of 1868, and the siege ended 71 days later. The siege saw the deaths of AIM members (approximately 60), the injury of dozens more, and the disappearance of others. The battle, according to AIM, was totally unprovoked, and the federal government committed numerous atrocities and murders, including the murder of Oglala leader Pedro Bissonette, who AIM claims was unarmed. In spite of numerous witnesses claiming police brutality, no formal charges were ever filed.

After Wounded Knee, two leaders, Dennis Banks and Russell Means, were tried for their part in the siege at Wounded Knee. The trial, which gained significant national attention, was used by defense attorney William Kunstler to launch an attack on the federal government and as evidence that highlighted the unmet treaty obligations of the U.S. government.

For many observers, the most visible figure of AIM has been Leonard Peltier. During a shoot-out with federal agents at Wounded Knee, two marshals were killed. Peltier's trials, marked by suppressed evidence and some inconsistencies, resulted in his incarceration; he is currently serving two life sentences for those murders. Human rights and left-wing political organizations have viewed him as a cause célèbre and a political prisoner and have sought new trials and clemency.

Following the Wounded Knee sieges, AIM shifted its attention from national issues to local issues and local problems. In 1982, Dennis Banks called a national meeting of AIM in San Francisco to recreate a national organization. This meeting was attended by approximately 250 people; although some agreements were reached, AIM has not reestablished a strong national organization and remains largely chapter- and locally based. Since its heyday in the 1970s, the group has "mellowed" in its approach and emphasizes less high-profile activities to continue its mission. The locally based strategies are

likely to continue in the absence of a defining national cause.

FINANCIAL FACTS

As a charitable, nonprofit organization, the American Indian Movement does not engage in official lobbying of federal and state government officials.

MICHAEL LEVY

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AMERICAN LEGION

The American Legion is a “patriotic, mutual-help, war-time” veterans organization headquartered in Indianapolis, Indiana. Representing veterans who served on “honorable federal active duty” in the First and Second World Wars, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, Lebanon, Grenada, Panama (Operation Just Cause), and the Persian Gulf (Operation Desert Shield/Storm), the organization’s membership totals nearly 3 million in 15,000 posts worldwide. Each post is organized into a larger department; there are 55 departments representing each state, Washington, D.C., Puerto Rico, France, Mexico, and the Philippines. In addition to the legion’s nearly 3 million members, it maintains two affiliated groups. The American Legion Auxiliary comprises 1 million members; membership is open to wives and daughters of American Legion members. The Sons of the American Legion is open to the sons of American Legion members and contains an additional 200,000 members.

The American Legion’s interests can be subdivided into a variety of categories, including Americanism, children and youth, legislative goals and initiatives, upholding and defending the Constitution through advocating policies aimed at national security and foreign relations, the economic security of veterans, and veterans affairs and rehabilitation issues. While its activities are broad in scope, the American Legion largely works to uphold policies that support veterans and promote traditional American ideals, values, and patriotism.

HISTORY

Founded in 1919, the American Legion is the largest veterans organization in the world. It seeks to maintain the “basics” of its founding, which include veterans’ rehabilitation, Americanism, child welfare, and national security. The organization was founded in order to be the chief advocate of veterans. Its original meetings took

place in early 1919 in “introductory” conventions in Paris and St. Louis and determined that a goal of the organization would be volunteerism. The American Legion’s first national convention occurred in November 1919 in Minneapolis.

The American Legion has been instrumental in lobbying activities related to veterans issues. One of the most successful moments for the legion was the 1944 passage of the G.I. Bill. The legion was pivotal in lobbying both for its writing and its passage. The bill, which the organization counts as a major innovation, assisted in the reentry of soldiers after the end of the Second World War. The legion has expended considerable energy on helping veterans take advantage of the opportunities the bill provided.

Through the years, the organization has developed a highly skilled process of creating mandates, which has helped put numerous laws on the statute books that seek to support and protect the rights of its members. This process occurs for both federal and state legislation and aids the organization in influencing policy-making.

The organization has been highly successful in its lobbying activities and maintains an active profile. Currently, the legion is lobbying for a G.I. Bill of Health and has called for an inquiry into Gulf War illness, including a criminal investigation of missing chemical-detection logs that could show whether U.S. troops were exposed to Iraqi chemical weapons during Operation Desert Storm.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In order to promote its priorities, the American Legion is active in grassroots and direct-lobbying activities. These activities are numerous and, in fact, one can think of the American Legion as an umbrella organization with numerous components, each contributing to the

group. The following is just a sampling of the numerous and diverse activities of the American Legion.

To protect the flag, the American Legion convened the first National Flag Conference in 1923 and drafted a U.S. Flag Code, which served as a set of guidelines on the use of the flag and was adopted by Congress in 1942. Since the *Texas v. Johnson* (1989) Supreme Court decision, the organization has sought a constitutional amendment allowing the states and federal government to enact legislation protecting the flag. In this effort, in 1994 the American Legion founded the Citizens Flag Alliance to work for a constitutional amendment.

To promote patriotism and education, the American Legion is also active in elementary and secondary education by providing medals, educational assistance, scholarships, sporting activities, and contests, as well as sponsoring the Boy Scouts organization. The American Legion is firmly committed to enhancing educational opportunities for children and to imbuing that education with a sense of Americanism. Although the legion focuses much of its activities on veterans, it also has strong youth programs—spending over \$5 million on programs for the young on such things as teen suicide, drugs, immunization, and the like.

The legion also focuses on national security issues, especially those related to foreign affairs, supporting a policy it labels “democratic activism.” Democratic activism promotes democratic values overseas and supports policies aimed at promoting a strong defense, free and fair trade, and aid to developing nations.

As a veterans organization, the American Legion lobbies and supports job preference for its members for jobs for which they are qualified. Including members who served during periods of conflict, along with members who are disabled, the legion argues that members are entitled to “extra consideration” and seeks to provide opportunities for them.

Given the legion’s efforts to aid veterans, some of its most highly visible activities are in the area of veterans affairs and veterans health. The Veterans Affairs and Rehabilitation Commission oversees programs provided by the Department of Veteran Affairs, and the legion is the only veterans organization with membership staffing at the insurance centers of the federal government Veterans Administration.

As a lobbying group, the legion is organized into a Legislative division and a National Legislative Commission. The Legislative division is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and performs such activities as preparing material for congressional hearings, scheduling experts to testify in Congress, helping to prepare bills, and analyzing bills and their effects on veterans. The National Legislative Commission petitions Congress for legislation in which the American Legion is interested.

Current activities, thus, can be summarized into four main categories: the legion seeks to protect the flag from desecration, promote a G.I. Bill of Health, promote a strong national defense, and promote good citizenship. These activities are pursued through both grassroots and direct-lobbying activities.

Given recent military ventures, along with the Vietnam era veterans, the legion’s prominence is likely to continue and its membership is likely to grow. Its contacts in Washington and its representation at Veterans Administration insurance centers ensure its continued impact on policy. It is likely to have a continued interest in Gulf War illness, and it will likely continue to focus on flag desecration, along with its emphasis on veteran-related issues.

FINANCIAL FACTS

The national annual budget of the American Legion is approximately \$64 million. It maintains no political action committee (PAC) and is a nonpartisan organization that does not endorse particular candidates for office. However, while nonpartisan, it does engage in a variety of advocacy and lobbying activities. Its overall lobbying budget for 1997 was \$240,000, according to the group’s internal figures.

MICHAEL LEVY

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Headquartered in New York City, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is one of the nation's oldest civil rights organizations and is included as one of the "Big Four" African-American civil rights groups. Founded to champion "true" equality, CORE has gone through some distinct historical periods, moving from an initiator of nonviolent protest strategies to gain civil rights advances, to an advocate of armed struggle, to an organization whose leader, Roy Innis, has been profiled positively by the conservative publication *National Review*. The organization is open to African Americans and non-African Americans, and is governed by its national headquarters along with scores of local affiliates and chapters throughout the United States, Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean. While membership figures are sketchy, the organization claims to have over 100,000 members organized in its over 100 chapters.

According to its mission statement, CORE seeks individual self-determination, allowing individuals to make their own decisions without undue interference from those who disagree or oppose them. Its emphasis currently is on self-governance to achieve equality regardless of race, creed, sex, age, disability, religion, or ethnic background. The organization seeks to identify and expose acts of racism and discrimination both in the public and private arenas.

HISTORY

CORE's history, including changes in its mission/tactics/strategies, is quite diverse and fascinating. Originally called the Committee on Racial Equality, the organization was formed in 1942 and adopted its current name in 1944. Unlike some civil rights organizations, CORE pursued the use of nonviolent protest behavior to achieve its goals. In fact, it was the first organization committed to nonviolent challenges to segregation; its

original mission statement claimed that "CORE has one method: interracial, nonviolent direct action."

Founded by James Farmer, who in 1993 received the U.S. Medal of Freedom from President Bill Clinton, the organization's activities were inspired in large measure by Indian protest leader Mahatma Gandhi. Its membership was multiracial and its membership and leadership in the early era was largely white and middle class. Indicative of its activities, during the early 1960s, CORE led pickets at city and federally funded projects demanding the hiring of African-American workers.

By the 1960s, CORE's methods and mission began to change substantially. It expanded its membership, which began to include large numbers of African Americans and more radicalized workers, farmers, and youths. By 1964, the organization was largely African American and it began to distance itself from its nonviolent past. By 1966, CORE endorsed armed self-defense as a tactic to win the struggle for civil rights. At its 1966 national convention, delegates voted to eliminate adherence to nonviolence as a protest strategy.

By the 1970s, CORE began to emphasize "self-determination" and "equal opportunity" as a means of achieving its goals. Its national chairman since 1968, Roy Innis was transformed politically during the early 1970s from a political radical to a policy conservative, and CORE's activities reflect a self-help conservative ideology. Focusing on the agenda of self-help during the 1970s and 1980s, CORE emphasized voter registration to elect African Americans to office and established cooperatives to help African-American businesses keep their wealth in the black community.

During the 1980s, CORE faced problems related to its fundraising. CORE was accused by New York State of illegal fundraising, misusing \$500,000, and misrepresentation in seeking contributions. While admitting no guilt, CORE settled with New York State. In the 1990s, CORE had been associated with American conservatives. Ward Connerly, leader of the movement to end affirmative action programs in California, spoke

glowingly of Innis. The organization lent its support to increased gun ownership among blacks, and supported the authoritarian regime of Sani Abacha in Nigeria. Innis also consistently attended National Rifle Association and Christian Coalition meetings. *National Review*, a conservative publication, praised CORE for its deviance from the civil rights establishment and the organization's efforts to emphasize community self-help.

Under Innis' leadership, CORE has been the target of and has targeted many traditional civil rights groups. When Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow, was buried, Innis was not invited to participate in the service. CORE strongly endorsed Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court, although he was already at odds with most civil rights organizations because of his conservative politics and the sexual harassment lawsuit brought against him. In 1998, after years as a Democrat, Innis joined the Libertarian Party and has been suggested as a mayoral candidate in New York City under the Libertarian banner, a position he sought in the 1980s as a Democrat when he tried to unseat New York City's first African-American mayor, David Dinkins. Innis has been a very controversial figure throughout his tenure as head of CORE. He participated in the first live "fisticuffs" on television in 1988 on the Morton Downey Jr. show when he pushed the Reverend Al Sharpton because Sharpton interrupted him. During President Bill Clinton's impeachment trial, CORE lambasted the Republicans for "kowtowing" to the media and expressed anger that the behavior of the president went unpunished. Thus, CORE has separated itself from the mainstream civil rights establishment. Symbolic of its outsider status was its invitation in 1998 to radio host Bob Grant, who has been called an anti-Semite and a racist, to its 14th Martin Luther King Jr. Ambassadorial Reception and Awards dinner. However, it is important to note that CORE has continued to deplore violence and discrimination against African Americans and has spoken quite forcefully on police brutality and hate crimes, such as the dragging death of James Byrd Jr. in Jasper, Texas.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

CORE focuses much of its activity around service programs for the African-American community. Generally not a direct-lobbying organization, CORE does not maintain a political action committee (PAC). Its current

activities include maintaining a legal defense fund, immigration assistance, a complaints department, an Internet watch group, a civil rights "boot camp," and Project Independence.

Project Independence is typical of CORE's current approach to problem-solving within the African-American community. Arguing that welfare dependency needs to be broken, CORE's Project Independence seeks to provide worker training and welfare-to-work assistance. Drawing on what it sees as a lack of skills among youth in inner cities, the program targets the unemployed, especially young single mothers who are on welfare assistance. Knowing that not everyone can be helped with its limited resources, it has targeted "welfare mothers" in order to break the cycle of dependency through training and creating partnerships with the private sector to instill a work ethic. After receiving training, CORE provides career counseling and advice on interviewing and preparing resumes, and hosts job fairs. The \$1,500 per trainee cost, CORE claims, is 80 percent effective.

In addition, its boot camp seeks to rehabilitate youths. The CORE Youth Boot Camp is open to whites and blacks and, in one of its more high-profile cases, attempted the rehabilitation of five white youths who had written racist statements in their graduation yearbook.

As long as it is led by Innis, one should expect CORE's emphasis to be on self help. Recently, CORE has consistently argued against affirmative action, bus-ing, gun control, and "political correctness." Innis has argued that the main problem facing black society is internal and related to black-on-black crime, drugs, and a lack of discipline and values. Programs aimed at solving these problems are likely to be central to CORE's agenda. Its alienation from mainstream civil rights organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League is likely to continue for the foreseeable future, with polls suggesting that most blacks view CORE and Innis unfavorably, while most whites have a favorable view of both CORE and Innis. Its support in the African-American community is not likely to increase in the foreseeable future, though its support in Republican and conservative organizations is likely to increase, making CORE the voice of conservative black America.

FINANCIAL FACTS

CORE does not give money to politicians, because it is a nonprofit organization. As a registered federal

non-profit organization, CORE is prohibited from contributing funds to political campaigns. However, the organization lobbies members of Congress on behalf of policies and legislation that it supports.

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EMILY'S LIST

Founded in 1985, Emily's List is headquartered in Washington, D.C. Created to help elect pro-choice Democratic women to state and national office, Emily's List has become one of the most powerful political fund-raising machines in the less than two decades since its founding.

Members contribute at least \$100 to Emily's List and pledge to contribute \$100 to at least two candidates over a two-year period. Emily's List identifies and recommends to its members electable pro-choice candidates. It then asks members to make checks (averaging \$90) directly payable to candidates and to send those checks to Emily's List, which then forwards these contributions to the candidates, thereby maximizing its members' power. This practice, known as bundling, involves a process whereby a third party makes a contribution to a candidate on the "suggestion" of a political action committee (PAC), thus allowing the donors to circumvent the \$5,000 PAC contribution spending limit. Thus, official Federal Election Commission (FEC) figures actually underplay the group's clout. The PAC of Emily's List, according to analysts, is more like a "clearing-house" for members rather than a traditional PAC. In 1996, Emily's List coordinated contribution of approximately \$6.7 million to candidates through bundled donations.

Although Emily's List is not alone in utilizing the practice of bundling, it has been among the most successful. When Congress debated campaign finance, bundling became a major issue, and Emily's List was successful in getting an exemption included in the House legislation to allow groups that didn't lobby to continue to bundle contributions. The change in the legislation was considered an indicator of this organization's political clout on Capitol Hill.

an association of donors to enable female candidates to wage viable campaigns. The acronym EMILY stands for "Early Money Is Like Yeast" (i.e., early money makes the "dough" rise). Founded to elect pro-choice Democratic women candidates, the organization focused (and continues to focus) on campaign fund raising and engages in no lobbying activities on Capitol Hill.

When the organization was founded in 1985, it engineered a new style of campaigning by bundling campaign contributions. It started slowly by raising \$350,000 for two Senate candidates in 1986 (Barbara Mikulski and Harriett Woods) and helped to elect Mikulski. Its membership rolls totaled just over 1,000 in 1986.

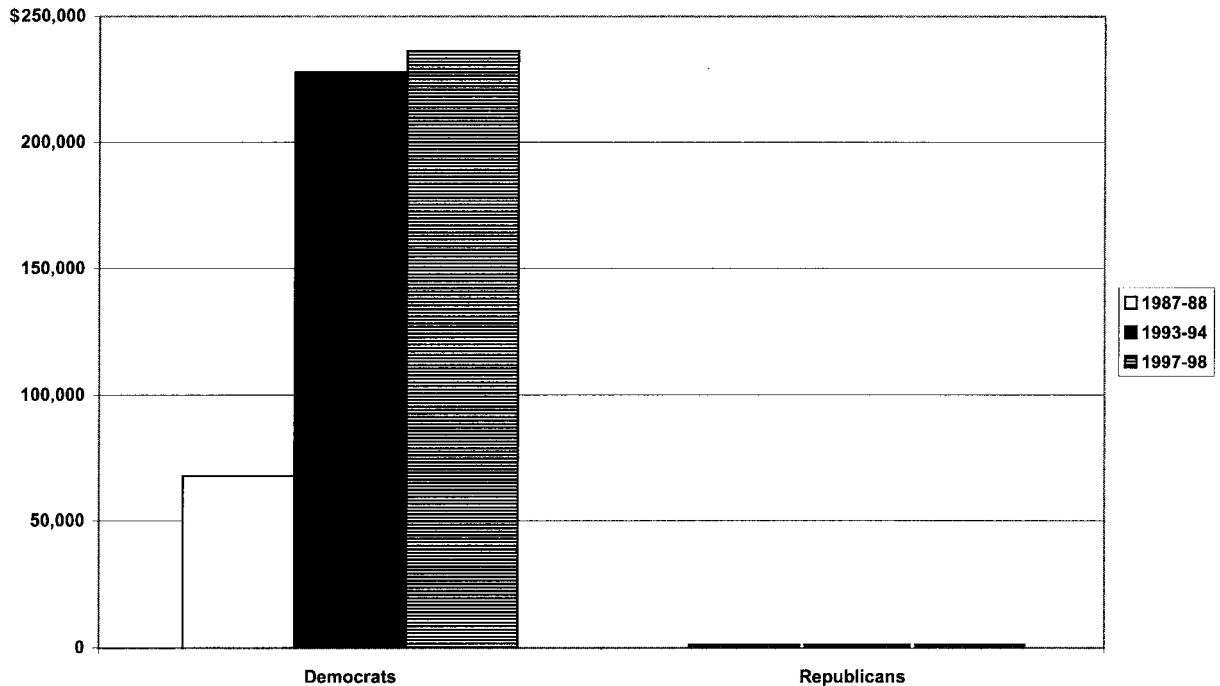
By 1988, its membership roster had increased to 2,000 members and it oversaw contributions of \$650,000 to female candidates, becoming the largest resource for female candidates in the country. During 1990, it raised \$1.5 million and had a membership of 3,500. During the 1992 election season, it grew dramatically: it ended 1992 with 23,701 members and coordinated contributions of more than \$6.2 million dollars. The growth is attributed to the growing political awareness of women as well as the Clarence Thomas hearings on Capitol Hill.

By 1996, the group began to expand its impact. It grew to 45,000 members and began to widen its scope to include the Women Vote! movement, as well as building a consulting infrastructure to enable women to wage effective campaigns. During the 1996 campaign, the Democratic National Committee included Emily's List as the first women's group on the steering committee. As part of the steering committee, Emily's List helped to coordinate Democratic national strategy. Its 1998 election activities helped to elect seven new pro-choice women to the House and a new female senator. Through its entire brief history, it has maintained its mission and increased its impact, becoming one of the most powerful and feared political fund-raising machines.

HISTORY

Emily's List was founded in 1985 by Ellen Malcolm, along with two dozen of her friends, in order to create

**Emily's List
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

While electing pro-choice Democratic women is the main goal of Emily's List, its activities include more than simple fund raising. Emily's List performs a variety of activities to support this goal. In aiding female candidates in building strong winning campaigns, the organization seeks to mobilize female voters. Emily's List also conducts recruitment in order to find potential female candidates, gathers research, and provides campaign training and technical assistance through its organization infrastructure.

In trying to elect female candidates, the organization focuses not only on candidate recruitment, but also on voter turnout. Emily's List created "Women Vote!," which has spent nearly \$10 million to mobilize Democratic female voters across the United States. Its stated goal is to increase the turnout of women to "counter religious extremist organizing" and to help Democrats up and down the ballot. Emily's List also conducts educational programs to empower its members. During the 1997–1998 electoral cycle, the Women Vote! cam-

paign helped to target female voters by sending out nearly 8 million letters and placing over 3 million phone calls to women in order to encourage voter turnout.

Emily's List also spent approximately \$2 million helping female candidates build strong campaigns. It holds training seminars for potential candidates and helps to provide individuals with the technical expertise to fill such jobs as fundraisers, managers, researchers, and press secretaries, thereby encouraging women to be involved in all phases of the campaign process and assisting women to mount effective campaigns.

Emily's List has been highly successful in promoting the candidacies of Democratic pro-choice women, and it is credited with helping to elect seven senators, nearly 50 members of the House, and three governors. Before its creation there had been no Democratic women elected to the Senate on their own, virtually no woman had been elected governor of a large state, and female representation among Democrats in the House was declining. Although Emily's List alone is not responsible for the victories, its campaign cash along with its expertise have provided a critical influx of aid to potential female candidates in both primaries and general elections.

Its success and influence cannot be overstated. One result is that Emily's List organizations have popped up in both the United Kingdom and Australia. Further, Republican women have organized a Susan B. Anthony political action committee (PAC) in order to help elect their pro-life representatives. Thus, its impact has been important in influencing organizations aimed at electing female candidates in both the United States and in English-speaking democracies.

Emily's List is an example of an organization created to fill a niche and to focus on a limited goal, that of electing pro-choice Democratic women. Although it began slowly, it picked up force through the highly publicized Clarence Thomas hearings and has increased its clout. Its strength is likely to continue in the near future, with its success based on how many women it can help elect. Thus far, its track record has been very successful.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In direct contributions to candidates, Emily's List gave approximately \$230,000 in the 1997–1998 election cycle. However, by bundling contributions from its roster of nearly 50,000 members who pay \$100 to join, Emily's List is a financial powerhouse that provides enormous sums of money. In 1998 alone the organization coor-

inated contributions of more than \$7.5 million to help fund critical activities and provide a campaign advantage for pro-choice Democratic candidates. For the 1997–1998 election cycle, Emily's List raised approximately \$15 million and had a budget of approximately \$22 million in 1998. With expenditures of almost \$14 million, Emily's List has been active and successful in aiding female candidates. The organization invests approximately 30 percent of its budget on fund-raising for candidates and other operating expenses, including the employment of over 20 people, direct-mailing efforts, and its telemarketing strategies.

The organization not only raised record amounts of money in 1998, but contributors to Emily's List comprised the largest group of contributors to candidates for national office. Contributions from Emily's List and its members have been labeled "critical" by recipients.

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HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) is the country's largest gay and lesbian political organization. Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the organization represents the gay and lesbian community's interests in attempting to guarantee basic human rights and equality for gays and lesbians specifically and all Americans generally.

With a membership roster of 250,000 members, the HRC's staff numbers more than 60. The staff engages in lobbying activities, campaigning, and promoting gay and lesbian political issues. Its budget, nearly \$15 million, most of which is funded through the collection of membership dues, affords the organization the ability to expend considerable resources on lobbying, as well as other activities.

HISTORY

Founded in 1980, the Human Rights Campaign has become a major player on the political stage in the movement for achieving equality for gay and lesbian citizens, both in federal law and in the states, though most of its activity focuses on national issues and congressional lobbying. Its mission statement includes commitments to legislative and social goals. For recent Congresses, its goals have included protecting gays and lesbians from job discrimination (Employment Nondiscrimination Act); advocating hate crimes legislation, which gathered strength in the wake of the murder of Matthew Shepard, an openly gay student in Wyoming; promoting policies aimed at combating AIDS; and waging a rearguard campaign against anti-gay legislative and ballot measures, such as those in Colorado, Hawaii, Maine, and other states. Headed by Elizabeth Birch, who serves as the organization's executive director, the HRC maintains a presence in both lobbying and educating members of Congress on gay- and lesbian-related issues, as well as AIDS and other health-related issues.

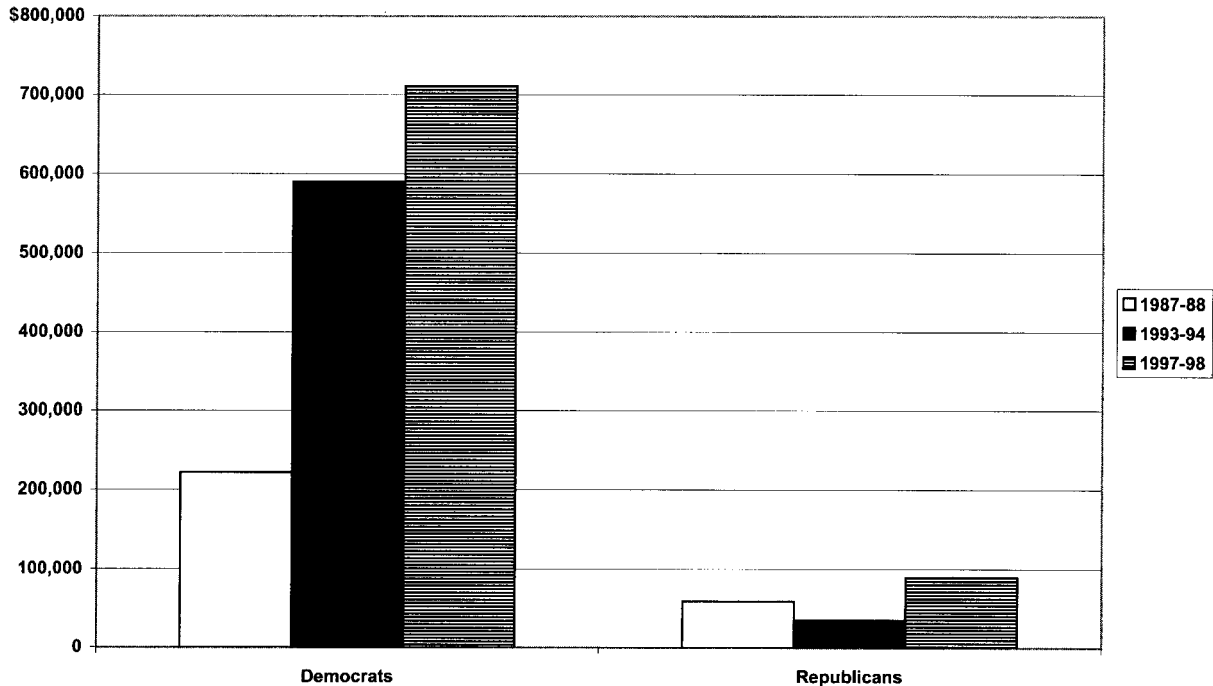
ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Activities can be grouped into six main categories: lobbying Congress, contributing to candidates for office, issue-oriented political campaigning, sponsorship of the National Coming Out Project, training and mobilizing at the grassroots level, and educating the public. In pursuing its goals, the HRC engages in a diversity of activities that include, among other activities, campaign contributions, congressional testimony, grassroots activities such as Field Action Networks and Speak Out Action Grams, polling, lobbying, voter registration, media outreach, research, and training. To provide information, the HRC also produces a quarterly newsletter (*HRC Quarterly*) and a weekly e-mail newsletter (*HRC News*) along with the publication of resource guides (including the *Resource Guide to Coming Out* and *LAWbriefs*).

The HRC participates actively in lobbying activities. It has worked, since its founding, to advance gay and lesbian equality in Congress through helping to draft legislation and lobbying for fair policy. As part of its congressional lobbying, the organization produces ratings of members of Congress on gay- and lesbian-related issues and seeks to organize grassroots efforts through constituency advocacy. In order to pursue these goals, the HRC maintains an action network that notifies members what action they can take to influence legislation and members of Congress. Further, the HRC profiles members of the House and Senate on gay- and lesbian-related issues and urges action based on that information.

Although advancement of gay and lesbian political equality has been relatively slow, the organization has participated actively and aided in the passage of several important pieces of legislation. Counted among its successes are increases in AIDS funding; the passage of the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emer-

**Human Rights Campaign
Political Action Committee Contributions**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1998.

agency Act; the Americans with Disability Act, which classified AIDS sufferers as a protected class; the Hate Crimes Statistics and Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Acts (though hate crimes against gays and lesbians are not included as federal statute); and programs to increase research for health-related issues such as breast and cervical cancer.

One of the HRC's main activities is providing resources and aid to favorable candidates and attempting to defeat candidates unfavorable to gay and lesbian political issues. Its Human Rights Campaign political action committee (PAC) has raised considerable resources and targets races where financial support could prove critical. Through a field action network, the HRC not only provides financial backing, but also attempts to organize volunteers in House and Senate campaigns and educates candidates on gay- and lesbian-related issues.

Political campaigning is a cornerstone of HRC activity. The HRC seeks to register gay-friendly voters and targets races in which openly gay and lesbian candidates are seeking elective office. The HRC also sponsors two unique campaigning events. First, the HRC hosted in 1998 an OutVote Convention, which put the gay and lesbian equality agenda on the political land-

scape. Speakers at OutVote included Jesse Jackson, Democratic National Committee chair Roy Romer, AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney, and Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney. This high-profile event also featured a dinner that was attended by Vice President Al Gore. Past dinners have also featured President Bill Clinton, who became the first president to speak at a national gay and lesbian organization's function. Second, the HRC also sponsors a youth college, which trains individuals on how to campaign effectively. Its graduates enter the political campaigns of viable candidates and are active within gay organizations to aid in the effective articulation of gay- and lesbian-related issues. In 1996, 25 graduates worked on campaigns in 11 states.

A main priority of the HRC is the National Coming Out Day project. Begun in 1988, the National Coming Out Day project seeks to provide an environment in which gays and lesbians feel comfortable in outing themselves to coworkers and friends in order to promote honesty and openness.

One further recent priority of the HRC has been the Ray of Light project. The Ray of Light project seeks to counter the Ex-Gay movement, which seeks to "re-

form” gays and lesbians through ministry. The HRC provides information and has maintained a high profile to combat both this movement and politicians who endorse the Ex-Gay movement’s views. The HRC is also a cosponsor of the Millennium March on Washington, a stance that has come under fire from other gay rights organizations such as the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, which sees the march as an improper use of community resources.

Chief activities of the HRC have included battling anti-gay ballot measures. The HRC helped to fund the defeat of such measures in Oregon and Idaho in 1994 and Maine in 1995, and was the largest contributor to the challenge of Colorado’s Amendment 2, which banned laws protecting homosexuals from discrimination. The HRC also conducts polling on gay and lesbian political issues and uses the information from those surveys to plan its lobbying and policy strategies.

The future of the HRC looks bright. Over the past few years, its budget has increased and its clout has grown as tolerance of gays and lesbians increases. The organization has made inroads into the policy community and within the Clinton White House. Its future success is tied to the success of Democrats both in the Congress and in the Oval Office. As such, a successful bid for the presidency by Al Gore would provide continuity for the organization and enhance its political power; conversely, Republican success in the 2000 presidential election would signal a decrease in legislative success, although it could enhance mobilization efforts.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In the 1998 election cycle, the HRC’s PAC raised over \$1 million and expended over \$900,000 on candidates.

Given its emphasis on gay and lesbian political issues, and the political stances of the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee, the bulk of the group’s disbursements go to Democratic candidates. From January 1, 1997, to January 1, 1999, the HRC contributed \$817,271 to Democratic candidates and \$82,500 to Republican candidates. In addition to candidate expenditures, the HRC also contributed \$27,000 to political parties and \$88,100 to other political action committees. For the 1997–1998 election cycle, the HRC targeted nearly 200 House and Senate races and focused on five Senate races (Carol Moseley-Braun, Barbara Boxer, Russ Feingold, Harry Reid, and Patty Murray). It attempted to elect three openly gay Democrats to the House, including Christine Kehoe, Margarethe Cammermeyer, and Tammy Baldwin (elected as the first openly gay member of the House of Representatives). The HRC endorsed 194 candidates in 1998, including 178 Democrats, 15 Republicans, and one independent. Overall, HRC-backed candidates have done fairly well in the electoral arena, winning 83 percent of races in the 1996 election cycle and 90 percent in 1998. Among its controversial endorsements was the backing of Republican Alfonse D’Amato in New York’s Senate campaign over Charles Schumer. While direct expenditures are important, HRC members also helped raise over \$1.5 million for candidates.

MICHAEL LEVY

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is a civil rights organization headquartered in Baltimore, Maryland, that campaigns for the political, educational, social, and economic equality of minorities.

With a membership of approximately 500,000 members and 2,200 branches in the United States, Germany, and Japan, the NAACP seeks to eliminate racial prejudice. Among its 500,000 members are 67,000 youth members organized in 120 college chapters and 450 youth councils. The organization is split into seven regions and is managed nationally by a 64-member board of directors. The NAACP is the country's oldest and largest civil rights group.

The NAACP seeks to achieve its goals through non-violent strategies. It utilizes a variety of methods to achieve its goals, relying on the press, initiatives, the courts, and legal and moral persuasion to curtail and reduce racial discrimination and hostility in the United States.

HISTORY

The NAACP was founded on February 12, 1909—the 100th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth—by black and white citizens who sought political equality and freedom for African Americans specifically and for minority citizens generally. Support for the organization came from black and white professionals including W.E.B. Du Bois and Ida Wells-Barnett. Throughout its history, the NAACP has focused on litigation and grassroots organizing for resolving discrimination. Court decisions in cases litigated by the NAACP beginning in 1910 gradually eliminated *de jure* (by lawful title) segregation in the United States on such issues as grandfather clauses, restrictive covenants, and integrated communities, among other issues.

Since its founding, the NAACP has engaged in a

variety of efforts aimed at securing freedoms for the African-American community by sponsoring demonstrations, marches, and political lobbying to agitate for peaceful change. In 1919, the NAACP published a report on lynching in the United States that helped to expose the level of lynching activity in the South. As lynchings decreased, the NAACP shifted efforts during the Great Depression to focus on economic protection and police brutality, lobbying against racial discrimination in New Deal legislation.

After the Second World War, the NAACP engaged in litigation aimed at voter registration and education. The NAACP successfully litigated the landmark 1954 case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, which ended *de jure* segregation in U.S. public schools. Through protests and other activities, the organization helped usher in reforms on civil rights throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

In order to build coalitions, the NAACP created the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to expand the scope of the struggle. Its successes include the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and the Fair Housing Act. Although the organization was always seeking to eliminate discrimination, over time the focus has changed from emphasizing advocacy to a more service-oriented strategy.

Recently, the NAACP experienced hard times. It was mired in a \$4 million debt, it faced charges of corruption and scandal, and it was fighting an image of irrelevance as an organization. With the selection of Kweisi Mfume, who left a congressional seat to take over the ailing organization, the NAACP sought to reverse its downward slide. Under Mfume, along with Julian Bond, the chairman of the board, the NAACP has sought to return to its original mission: emphasizing equal rights and discrimination.

When Mfume and Bond began their tenure in the NAACP, the activities of the organization were 25 percent advocacy and 75 percent service. The percentages are slowly changing in favor of advocacy. However, the

NAACP will not abandon its commitment to service; rather, it will farm out these endeavors to other organizations.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The areas of interest of the NAACP are diverse and include affirmative action, hate crimes, foreign policy (especially related to sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean), desegregation, employment, and education.

Headed by the former head of the Black Congressional Caucus, Kweisi Mfume, the organization engages in numerous activities and sponsors scores of programs. Among these is ACT-SO (Academic, Cultural, Technological, and Scientific Olympics), which seeks to encourage African-American high school students to excel in science. The NAACP national office also develops and implements programs related to veteran affairs, education, health, economic development, employment, religion, and voter education, and it has a youth and college division. The Washington office focuses on lobbying members of Congress and executive agencies on civil rights issues.

Some samples of activities and programs include the NAACP's Legal Affairs department, which provides legal advice and representation to its more than 2,000 affiliates. The department directly litigates civil rights cases, provides free legal assistance to people suffering civil rights violations, and files *amicus curiae* briefs on behalf of cases in state and federal court. The Fair Share program, initiated in the 1980s to encourage the economic advancement of African Americans, targets companies, negotiates goals, and monitors compliance. Since its creation in 1981, the program has been successful in helping African Americans receive \$1 billion in contracts annually and has generated scores of African-American owned businesses. The NAACP's Education Division seeks to encourage excellence among black students and examines issues related to education, including charter schools, voucher systems, school choice, testing procedures, and desegregation. The NAACP also publishes *Crisis Magazine*, which explores the African-American movement, key issues, and debates within the African-American community.

Thus, the NAACP engages in a wide array of activities, including direct-lobbying efforts in Washington and grassroots activities such as educational programs and advocacy on behalf of the African American community. In carrying out its activities, the NAACP ad-

vertises; engages in coalition-forming with like-minded groups; holds demonstrations; arranges for congressional testimony; engages in litigation, lobbying, and media outreach; offers scholarships; and promotes voter registration. These activities, among others, encourage greater participation of African Americans in politics and seek to enhance economic and social development in the African-American community.

The NAACP is at a crossroads. During its heyday in the 1950s and 1960s, it was successful in lobbying for civil rights reform in education and politics and was pivotal in the civil rights movement. The NAACP has sought, in the aftermath of its success, to find an organizational rationale. The crisis in the NAACP in the 1970s and 1980s was, according to some analysts, historical and philosophical, and the NAACP became a victim of its success. The successes of affirmative action and the various civil rights legislation have come under assault in the 1980s and 1990s. School desegregation is being challenged, and affirmative action is being eliminated or at least questioned. As a result, defense of affirmative action is the top priority of the NAACP, and the organization heavily funded a campaign to defeat anti-affirmative action measures in California and Washington State.

In addition to defending affirmative action, the NAACP has also fought in favor of hate crimes legislation, an area made especially salient after the dragging death of James Byrd Jr. in Jasper, Texas. It has also fought corporate discrimination (in such high-profile cases involving Texaco and Denny's); combated police brutality; and worked at registering voters and trying to curb gun violence. On this latter point, the NAACP has considered suing gun manufacturers for damages due to excessive gun violence in predominantly African-American areas.

Although the organization appeared to be a dinosaur and to be losing its influence and standing as the dominant civil rights organization for African Americans, Mfume has turned it around. Fund-raising has increased significantly and the financial health of the organization has returned. In 1998, its revenues outpaced expenditures by over \$1 million, thus reversing the debt inherited by Mfume and Bond. Over the next few years, one should expect that advocacy activities will increase and that the defense of affirmative action and educational programs will continue to dominate internal debate and external advocacy. Rearguard battles fighting attempts to eliminate affirmative action and the threat of its irrelevance as an organization will likely continue to dominate the NAACP's agenda as other African-American organizations, such as Louis Farrakhan's Nation of

Islam, seek to supplant the NAACP as the chief voice of African Americans.

MICHAEL LEVY

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NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE

While most other major national gay organizations, including the rival Human Rights Campaign, emphasize influencing the legislative process on Capitol Hill, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) has focused much of its attention and efforts at the state and local levels. Under the leadership of its executive director Kerry Lobel, the NGLTF has sought to be a voice for disadvantaged communities and to build “an unpretentious organization” that engages in grassroots organizing and advocacy. It acts as a lobbying and educational organization for full gay and lesbian civil rights and equality and seeks to create a society in which gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered individuals can live openly and without fear of attack and discrimination. Its main goal, thus, is to eliminate prejudice and anti-gay attacks and discrimination.

The NGLTF maintains a wide variety of interests and has battled numerous causes over the years. Its main activities are related to combating anti-gay violence, battling anti-gay ballot initiatives locally and at the state level, and advocating antidiscrimination legislation, the repeal of sodomy laws, HIV legislation, and reform of the U.S. healthcare system.

HISTORY

Founded in 1973, the NGLTF is the oldest national gay and lesbian civil rights organization in the United States. The organization was founded as part of the movement to advocate for social justice and diversity. Headquartered in the heart of the Adams Morgan district in Washington, D.C., and with offices in Boston and San Jose and a policy institute in New York City, the NGLTF has been at the forefront of major battles involving the rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgendered individuals. The organization maintains a permanent staff of 20.

Since 1987, the organization has sponsored an annual Creating Change conference. This conference generally brings together between 1,000 and 2,000 gay activists from across the country and emphasizes coalition-building, state and local organizing skills, and motivation for activities.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

The NGLTF engages in a wide array of activities and sponsorship of programs. One of its major programs for 1999 was the Equality Begins at Home campaign, which emphasized the political challenges facing the gay and lesbian community in the states. The goals of the campaign were to enhance state organizations and their capabilities of advancing gay and lesbian causes at the state level. The NGLTF argued that such an emphasis was essential, given the changing political landscape in the 1990s with the election of the Republican Congress in 1994, along with major gains by Republicans in statehouses and governors’ mansions across the country and their stress on state and local control.

The NGLTF’s Policy Institute produces information, research, policy analysis, and publications for the NGLTF. Created in 1994, the think tank, headquartered in New York City, seeks to link academe, activists, and policy makers through the publication of research papers, the development of policy proposals, and the development of strategies to advance gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender equality. In 1998 alone it published numerous reports, including *Income Inflation: The Myth of Affluence Among Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Americans*; *Calculated Compassion: How the Ex-Gay Movement Serves the Right’s Attack on Democracy*; *Capital Gains and Losses: A State by State Review of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and HIV/AIDS-Related Legislation in 1998*; and *Out and Voting: The Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Vote*

in *Congressional House Elections 1990–96*. The Policy Institute, thus, is the organization's main educational link and is responsible for crafting the background upon which it bases its strategies.

The Policy Institute also carries out surveys of public attitudes toward gays and lesbians. One study, released in 1998, showed a rise in tolerance of gays and lesbians, although the same study also showed majority disapproval of homosexuality. The NGLTF's Public Information Department maintains a clearinghouse for the gay and lesbian community and the media and produces newsletters and other publications.

The NGLTF has been at the forefront on HIV/AIDS-related issues. In 1997, for example, it backed the U.S. Conference of Mayors' resolution urging state and local health officials to support needle exchange in order to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Especially in the wake of the murder of Matthew Shepard, an openly gay student in Wyoming, a chief area of concern for the NGLTF has been hate crimes legislation and the reporting of hate crimes statistics. It consistently and actively has supported the inclusion of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender individuals in hate crimes protections. Arguing that the laws are valuable since they create an environment in which society shows it will not tolerate discrimination, the NGLTF has fought for both federal and state hate crimes laws. An additional priority for the NGLTF has been the elimination of sodomy statutes at the state level.

Among other projects and initiatives of the NGLTF are the Anti-Violence project, which collects and releases information about gay-bashing incidents; the Privacy/Civil Rights project, which seeks repeal of anti-sodomy laws; the Campus project, which offers aid for students, faculty, and staff on campuses in their quest for equal treatment; and the Lesbian and Gay Families project, which attempts to guarantee legal recognition and protection for gay families.

Another current concern of the NGLTF is same-gender marriage rights. In the wake of state court decisions that influenced numerous states and the national government to adopt Defense of Marriage acts in order to limit the definition of marriage to a union between a man and woman, the NGLTF has been outspoken in advocating equal marriage rights for gays and lesbians. It has filed *amicus curiae* briefs in several cases.

The NGLTF has been a successful gay organization since its creation nearly 30 years ago. Though dwarfed in size by the larger and rival Human Rights Campaign

(HRC), which sought to merge the two groups into the HRC's own programs, the NGLTF maintains a distinctive role through its Policy Institute and its emphasis on state and local politics, as opposed to the HRC's national emphasis. Its emphasis in the future will likely be a continuation of its current efforts and will include the abolition of sodomy laws, marriage and domestic partner benefits (sure to be a central issue in the first decade of 2000), hate crimes legislation, and HIV/AIDS-related issues. Given the increase in contributions and the NGLTF's budget in 1999, along with the increasing openness and activism of America's gay and lesbian community, one can expect the organization to grow in both size and influence over the next few years. However, its success is dependent upon Democratic success in upcoming congressional, presidential, and state and local campaigns. Should the Republicans capture the White House in 2000, one should expect the NGLTF's influence to diminish significantly, although this could yield increasing activism from an energized constituency.

FINANCIAL FACTS

In contrast to the Human Rights Campaign, the NGLTF's budget is quite modest. Its 1999 operating budget was \$3.6 million, a 30 percent increase over 1998 figures. Much of the increase, which occurred for many gay rights organizations, was attributed to the rise in anti-gay activities symbolized by the killing of Matthew Shepard; Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott's remarks equating homosexuals with kleptomaniacs; and the Ex-Gay campaign, which seeks to "reform" gays and lesbians through ministry.

MICHAEL LEVY

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NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded to bring women full equality and privileges in the United States and to provide an equal partnership between men and women. Representing women's rights, NOW is a nonprofit organization that boasts a membership of 500,000, with 250,000 active members organized into nearly 550 chapters in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. These figures make NOW the largest feminist rights organization in the United States.

The national organization is staffed by 30 full-time employees, along with interns and volunteers. Its chief areas of interest are to eliminate discrimination against women in all sectors of society, but especially in employment settings, schools, and the justice system; to end domestic violence and other forms of violence against women; to ensure access to abortion; to end sexism (along with racism and homophobia); and to promote equality in the United States.

NOW maintains a political action committee (PAC). NOW/PAC is nonpartisan, although its campaign contributions tilt heavily in favor of Democratic candidates. Though feminist in orientation, NOW provides funding to male and female candidates who satisfy their criteria for support. These criteria include support for abortion rights, support for civil rights (including gay, lesbian, and racial), ending violence against women, support for an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), affirmative action, and nonpunitive welfare-to-work policies.

HISTORY

NOW was founded in 1966 by 28 women attending the Third National Conference of the Commission on the Status of Women. The purpose of the commission was to explore areas in which women were discrimi-

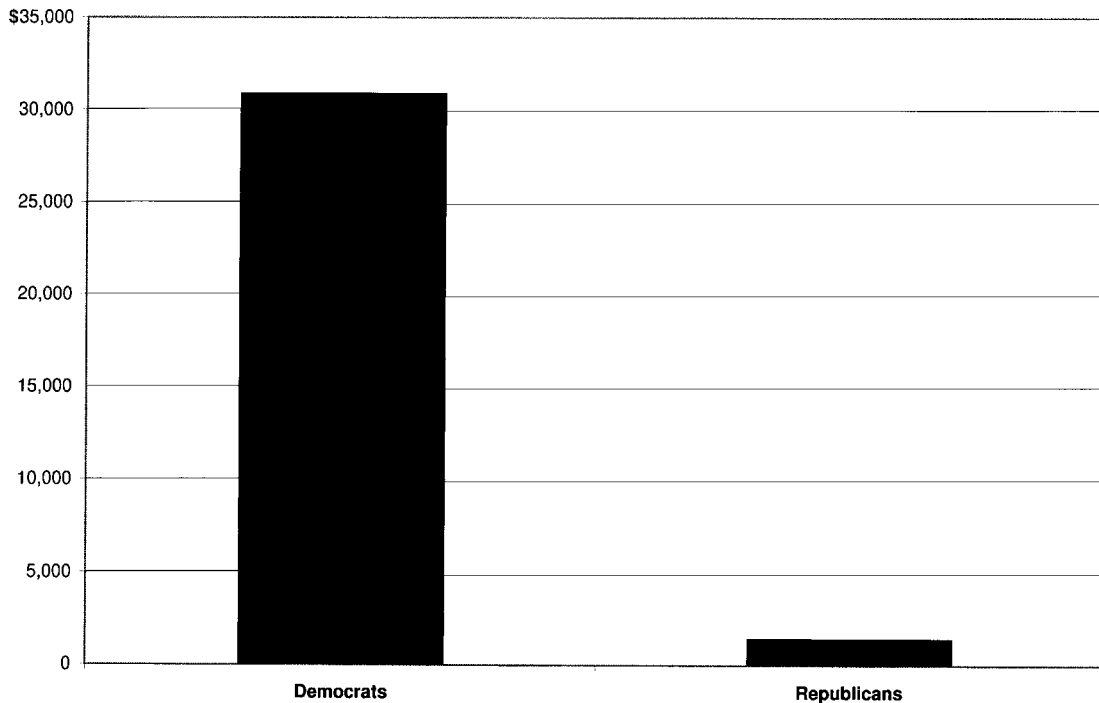
nated against and to encourage the full and equal participation of women in politics and economics. Arguing that there was no civil rights organization on behalf of women, NOW was created to be the chief advocate for women's rights during the civil rights era. Among its original founders were Betty Friedan, who was the organization's first president, and Rev. Pauli Murray, who co-wrote NOW's original mission statement. That mission statement sought equality of women with men, to move the women's movement beyond words, and to engage in direct action in order to secure women's rights. Some of NOW's earliest activities concerned women in poverty, reproductive rights, the image of women in the media, educational access, legal and political rights, and equal opportunity in employment. Thus, while some additional issues have appeared over the past 30 years, NOW has been consistent in pursuing its earliest objectives and seeking to maintain its policy gains.

Over its history, NOW has engaged in both traditional and nontraditional methods to pursue its goals. In order to gain media coverage, NOW has organized mass marches, engaged in civil disobedience, held rallies, and picketed. Over the past 30 years, some of its demonstrations have included an Equal Rights Amendment rally in 1978 that drew 100,000, a pro-choice rally in 1992 that drew 750,000, and a more recent demonstration to combat violence against women that drew 250,000 to Washington.

Among its earliest concerns was the Equal Rights Amendment. NOW engaged in a series of high-profile events along with significant lobbying. Although the ERA was not passed, NOW was successful in lobbying Congress to extend the deadline for ratification by three years and spurred the creation of its PAC to raise money on behalf of candidates who support the ERA.

Over time, NOW has continued its quest for the ERA and has dedicated itself to preserving the *Roe v. Wade* decision, which guaranteed abortion access to women. With the election of Ronald Reagan as presi-

**National Organization for Women
Political Action Committee Contributions, 1987–1988**



Data derived from official studies available from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC, 1987–1988.

dent in 1980, NOW began to turn its attention to the federal courts, establishing a Court Watch project to monitor appointments. In that vein, NOW has consistently fought judges who are unfriendly to women's rights and was pivotal in mobilizing against Clarence Thomas in his Senate Judiciary Committee hearings.

More recently, NOW has focused its attention on fighting rearguard battles to maintain abortion rights and affirmative action. Like other civil rights organizations, it has, in some ways, been a victim of its own success. With the exception of the ERA, NOW secured many of its earliest goals, including reproductive rights protections, affirmative action, and funding for programs related to women in college (Title IX). During the Reagan/Bush years, many of the successes came under attack, with abortion access being increasingly restricted and affirmative action debated and eliminated in some areas (such as the passage of Proposition 209 in California). NOW's vigilance in fighting reversals in these policies, along with other feminist organizations, has dominated much of its recent activities.

Although it has been a strong supporter of harassment laws, NOW, along with other feminist organizations, came under fire from conservatives when it

stood by President Bill Clinton during the impeachment debate in 1998–1999. Patricia Ireland, along with past-president Betty Friedan, organized grassroots efforts to express opposition to impeachment and removal and utilized the issue to encourage citizens to vote against the president's opponents, citing partisan politics rather than a conversion by the Republicans to support for women's rights.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

NOW's official priorities are equal rights, economic equality, abortion rights, civil rights, lesbian rights, and ending violence against women. Its current activities concern these priorities. NOW supports efforts to maintain access to abortion, birth control, and related information, and lobbies against efforts to regulate and curtail abortion access, including a constitutional amendment. It has litigated cases in order to ensure that women entering health clinics providing abortion services are not harassed. It has challenged pro-life groups to combat

clinic violence in the wake of murders of abortion providers. It has sought to mobilize pro-choice advocates against regulations such as the Teen Endangerment Act, which would make it a crime for someone to accompany a minor across state lines to obtain abortion services.

NOW is a strong supporter of affirmative action policies for women and has rallied in favor of judges and federal appointees who uphold affirmative action. It is a strong supporter of domestic and hate crimes legislation, urging stronger methods of prosecution.

NOW has issued statements and lobbied Congress on behalf of women in other countries. Recent concerns have included treatment of women in Afghanistan by the Taliban, the Muslim fundamentalist group, and sponsoring the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. In addition to these issues, NOW's current activities include lesbian rights, economic equality, combating racism, advocating on behalf of women in the military, and creating a positive employment atmosphere for women.

Under the leadership of Patricia Ireland, president since 1991, NOW has continued its efforts in both traditional direct lobbying and grassroots activity. NOW, as other traditional lobbying organizations, maintains close contacts with legislators favorable to feminism and seeks to influence the substance of policies and to encourage the development of friendly policies. In pursuing its objectives, NOW produces action alerts, holds news conferences, holds demonstrations such as the 1996 March to Fight the Right in San Francisco to defend affirmative action, engages in boycotts, publishes voter guides (including an award-winning Internet voting guide), litigates cases, and publishes the *National NOW Times* to inform its members about current concerns and how they can become involved in influencing policy. Thus, its nonlobbying activities are diverse and include organizing and mobilizing, educational efforts, and advocating on behalf of women.

NOW's future activities are likely to revolve around

a continued rearguard battle in the areas of affirmative action and abortion rights. The likelihood of success cannot be gauged in these areas, but NOW will expend considerable resources to support candidates with like-minded views. While NOW will continue for the foreseeable future as the largest women's rights organization, judging from contributions, the organization has not witnessed a growth (partially due to the growth in other feminist groups) in support and is not likely to increase its influence without the return of a Democratic Congress. In that vein, NOW established a Victory 2000 campaign to elect 2,000 feminists by 2000.

FINANCIAL FACTS

During the 1998 election season, NOW/PAC raised approximately \$160,000 and disbursed a similar amount. It contributed \$80,385 to Democratic candidates and \$46 to an Independent candidate. NOW/PAC contributions represent a significant drop from its high in 1991–1992. The Clarence Thomas judicial hearings spurred contributions to feminist organizations. NOW's 1992 contributions to Democrats totaled \$287,638, whereas Republicans were provided with \$26,000 in support.

MICHAEL LEVY

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SECTION THIRTEEN

FOREIGN



Foreign governments have promoted their interests in the United States since the 1800s. As the United States became a great power, its actions (or lack of involvement) in foreign policy had greater impact on other countries. As the American economy grew stronger relative to other nations, for example, its trade policies became more significant to their welfare. Thus, the growth of United States power in the world increases the incentives of foreign governments to attempt to influence the design of American foreign policy. In the 1990s the United States has remained the world's most powerful nation, as determined by economic and military measures as well as by cultural influence. For the near future, foreign governments will have reason to continue their lobbying efforts.

The lobbying activities of foreign governments received intense media attention after the 1996 elections, with the discovery that Chinese nationals had illegally contributed to both Democratic and Republican candidates. The investigation of these contributions failed to discover a direct link to the Chinese government to a plot to take over the American foreign-policy making process. Nevertheless, questions were openly asked regarding American vulnerability to attempts by foreign governments to buy influence. This concerned many Americans despite the fact that most of the organizations that lobby on behalf of foreign entities do so for international businesses; however, this often serves the interests of foreign governments as well. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly popular for foreign governments to hire outside counsel to pursue their own interests directly. Given the perception by policy makers that most voters pay little attention to foreign-policy decision making, critics of foreign government interest groups fear that pressure from these lobbies could lead policy makers to develop a foreign policy that would fail to serve the American national interest.

In fact, contrary to the fears expressed by some during the China lobby scandal, interest groups that focus on foreign policy are greatly outnumbered by domestic organizations. Foreign government lobbies in the form of registered political action committees (PACs) contributed over \$2 million to 1990 congressional campaigns. Though not an inconsequential amount, this is dwarfed by the \$678 million contributed by domestic PACs. Although the number of interest groups that focus on foreign affairs has increased in the 1990s, it has been matched by the growth of interest groups that lobby for domestic interests.

There are several types of organizations used by foreign governments. One is ethnic lobbies: for some countries, hyphenated Americans with an interest in promoting the well-being of their mother country are a source of influence over policy makers in Washington. Another set of venues used by foreign governments directly to represent their interests are public relations firms and law firms. In some cases, the interest groups of international businesses also pursue the interests of foreign governments. Most commonly, however, foreign governments lobby through their embassies: these are not defined as formal interest groups, yet they actively lobby for their national interests. In fact, the difference between diplomacy and lobbying is fuzzy. Thus, it is difficult to measure precisely how much is being spent by foreign governments on lobbying. In addition, one indirect means for governments to influence policy is by funding academic departments and academic research in the hope that this will shape discussions of foreign policy among elite policy makers.

In the post-Cold War era, one common fear of foreign governments is the possibility of a resurgence of American isolationism. For various reasons, foreign governments do not wish to see an American withdrawal from international politics. One major goal of much of their lobbying involves access to American

money. Foreign aid, most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status, American investments, trade arrangements, and investment opportunities in the United States constitute the bulk of foreign governments' interests. Another goal of some lobbies is to obtain military assistance and security guarantees in the form of arms sales and defense arrangements. Immigration policy is another issue that affects foreign governments. In some cases, the goal of foreign government lobbies is a negative one: to avoid sanctions or admonition for a questionable human rights record. It should be noted that some of the most important goals of a foreign government are those for which it cannot directly lobby; for example, China is happy about American troop reductions in Asia. Generally, such policies affect the economic strength, political stability, and national security of other states.

Foreign governments focus their lobbying efforts on Congress, federal and state agencies (particularly the State Department), White House liaisons, governors, and local governments where foreign firms want to locate. Many foreign governments find America's decentralized and vast government structure conducive to the pursuit of their interests. They also attempt to influence the media and American public opinion in general.

AREAS OF INTEREST

Foreign governments have lobbied in America for over two centuries. One early instance of this activity involved Daniel Webster, who was retained in the 1840s by the wealthy Lord Ashburton of England. Ashburton gave Webster "secret service" funds to shape public opinion, and Webster negotiated a treaty favorable to the British. This stirred some criticism; however, it was not until 1938 that activities of foreign lobbies were regulated. In response to fascist and Nazi propaganda circulating in the United States, Congress passed the Foreign Agents Registration Act. This act required anyone who represented a foreign government or individual to register with the Department of Justice. With the rise of the Cold War, some lobbies concentrated on maintaining a security relationship with the United States. In the 1940s and the 1950s, Europeans lobbied for the Marshall Plan, and during decolonization newly independent states appealed for foreign aid. In the early 1970s, when the American economy began to falter, foreign governments lobbied against protectionist trade legislation.

Occasionally the activities of foreign government lobbies have led to political scandals. By law foreign citizens are prohibited from giving money to American campaigns, although ethnic lobbies and American subsidiaries of foreign businesses are allowed to do so. In 1976 the *Washington Post* reported that South Korean agents, led by businessman and socialite Tongsun Park, tried to bribe U.S. officials and buy influence among journalists in order to sustain a favorable legislative climate for South Korean interests. The *Post* discovered spending between \$500,000 and \$1 million annually on cash and gifts to members of Congress; three members of Congress were reprimanded, and one former member was sent to prison.

More recent scandals include reports after the 1996 election that illegal campaign contributions were made by Chinese citizens to both parties: the Democrats had to return \$3 million. These contributions had the purpose of maintaining MFN status with the United States. The investigation into the source of these contributions eventually fizzled, but the fact that foreign nationals had illegally contributed to American campaigns has made the subject of foreign government interest groups a controversial one.

CURRENT CONTEXT

In the post-Cold War era there has been considerable uncertainty about the international environment and America's proper role within the world. The United States remains a superpower, and its actions continue to affect other nations. This has led to an increase in lobbying activity on the part of foreign governments; while still outnumbered by domestic lobbies, the number of organizations formed or hired to promote the interests of foreign governments has risen steadily since the mid 1960s.

Reductions in military spending are leading to pressures to reduce or withdraw U.S. troops abroad. At the same time, American involvement in multilateral organizations such as the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) promotes continued American interest in issues of international security. On the economic front, while the strong economy of the 1990s has reduced tensions about the trade deficit, affected industries still lobby for protectionist trade policies.

It is very difficult to determine the efficacy of the lobbying of foreign governments. Direct links between lobbying and policy results are hard to prove. Further-

more, the distinction between lobbying activity and diplomacy is difficult to determine. Generally, however, foreign governments are more effective when lobbying on noncrisis issues, or issues defined as “low politics,” such as economic matters. In the “high politics” area of security, foreign government lobbies are successful only if their interests mesh with the perceived interests of the United States. They are also more likely to succeed when lobbying for issues that are less visible or salient to the public at large.

Overall, the results are mixed. Foreign aid is not a popular topic in American political discourse, and attempts by the Republican-controlled Congress to reduce it are common. Military spending was also reduced in the 1990s, and the United States reduced many of its overseas commitments. At the same time, however, the United States has not returned to a “fortress America” isolationist foreign policy. It continues to be an active member of international organizations and to play a powerful role in influencing the decisions of multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and NATO. To the extent that the United States remains active in international politics, policy makers will be confronted with foreign-policy decisions. In many cases the power of foreign government lobbies is in their role as information providers; if a member of Congress is relatively uninterested in foreign affairs, an effective lobby can sway an otherwise uncommitted policy maker to support the interests of its client.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

The most important organization that lobbies for a foreign government is its own embassy. It is commonplace for embassy personnel to visit members of Congress, congressional staff members, and White House staff members to promote their interests. These embassies are able to promote their government’s interests directly. The other type of lobbying that is used by foreign governments is to hire public relations firms and law firms. All of the foreign governments that hire these firms are required by law to disclose this information; these organizations for 1999 are listed in the appendix to this article.

More common, but less directly focused on a country’s national interest, are lobbies for foreign businesses. In the case of some countries, such as Japan, these lobbies are an important part of their overall lobbying power.

Less common, but in some cases more effective, are

ethnic lobbies, which are composed of Americans loyal to their mother country. As American citizens, members of ethnic lobbies may legally contribute to political campaigns. Countries that are able to sustain the loyalty of American ethnics benefit from the efforts of ethnic lobbies to promote the interests of their mother country. The classic example of this is Israel, which has 75 ethnic lobbies, including the powerful American-Israel Political Action Committee (AIPAC). However, not every ethnic group in the United States has a strong lobbying presence in Washington. Groups that are unsure of their status within the larger society and fearful of the disdain that their activities might generate may be constrained from active involvement: some argue that this is a partial explanation for the absence of a strong Asian ethnic lobby. Furthermore, some ethnic lobbies focus more on improving conditions for their group within the United States, rather than pursuing preferences in foreign policy; for example, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund works primarily to improve conditions for Mexican Americans within the United States.

CURRENT ISSUES

For many countries the United States is their number-one trade partner; for many others the volume of trade with the United States has increased rapidly in recent years. Consequently, one issue that continues to be important is keeping American markets open to imports. In the 1990s one major goal is the establishment of free-trade zones in order to offer foreign governments greater protection from protectionist pressures within America.

Immigration restrictions are another important issue. In 1996 Congress passed new restrictions on immigration that made entry into the United States much tougher. This action upset groups representing Mexico and Cuban exiles, which depend on immigration as an outlet for domestic pressures or to promote change within their mother country. Generally, foreign governments are interested in promoting a more positive image of immigration.

For some ethnic lobbies, issues that generate organized responses are moral and humanitarian concerns, such as imposing sanctions on a nation or regime that is acting against the interests of the mother country. These policy preferences can conflict with official arguments and policies that stress the primacy of strategic considerations as the most important rationale for foreign policy. After Turkey’s invasion of Cyprus the

Greek-American lobby worked for an embargo on arms sales to Turkey, despite Turkey's strategic location and its status as a NATO member.

Another issue for many foreign governments is American involvement in international organizations. Many states think that ultimately, given America's relative power capabilities, the decisions of multilateral groups ultimately reflect American preferences. One particular issue is America's unpaid debt to the United Nations (UN), which was \$1.6 billion in 1999; some foreign governments argue that if the United States wants to continue to have voting rights in the UN, this debt should be paid. However, this is proving to be a difficult issue, as Congress continues to resist arranging for repayment while arguing that the UN needs to enact internal reforms before it will do so. American participation in UN peacekeeping missions and the conditions for such participation are issues of concern to foreign governments. Another issue of concern regarding U.S. participation in international organizations is American support for the expansion of NATO. Foreign governments are divided on the wisdom of this expansion, with many eastern European states in favor of, but Russia strongly opposed to, the continued existence of what had been an anti-Soviet alliance.

Another important security issue is arms sales. America is by far the world's largest exporter of weaponry, and this is a concern of foreign governments in several respects. For some the goal is to purchase American weaponry on favorable terms. For others the goal is to increase the sales of weaponry produced in their state, thus reducing the dominance of American producers. Still others are concerned that arms sales may be destabilizing in some areas, and they try to reduce American sales to these sectors.

Finally, some treaties that have been signed by most of the world's governments have yet to be ratified in the United States. One international treaty would impose a ban on the use of land mines, which have maimed and killed people all around the world. The United States has resisted the appeals of other countries to support this treaty, on the advice of American military officials who argue that land mines are necessary to defend allies such as South Korea. In addition, the United States resisted appeals to sign the treaty to institute an international court to try war criminals; concerns within the military and among some members of Congress that this court would be used by rogue states such as Iraq to prosecute Americans solidified American opposition to this treaty.

ACTIVITIES

Some of the lobbying activities of foreign governments are direct, including testifying at congressional hearings and establishing personal contacts with legislators and staff members. One interest foreign governments have at the level of local governments is to establish "sister cities," which are perceived as one way to increase American interest in their country. In some cases, public relations firms and law firms that were hired by a foreign government work in direct cooperation with business lobbies, as Mexico's lobby did when the North American Free Trade Agreement was debated.

Other techniques are indirect, including mobilizing the public and contributing to American universities and charities. Ethnic lobbies also engage in activities that keep their group informed of developments in the government and throughout critical areas of the world. Foreign governments are also concerned about how they are portrayed in the media. Islamic countries are concerned about images of Islam as a violent anti-Western movement that poses a threat to America. In 1991 they lobbied Disney against the use of negative stereotypes in the theme song for the movie *Aladdin* and succeeded in altering the lyrics on the home video Disney released of the film.

FUTURE OUTLOOK

As the world heads into the twenty-first century, foreign governments will continue to have an interest in American foreign policy. At the same time, their attempts to lobby for their interests are likely to be increasingly scrutinized by those who are suspicious of their intentions. However, the growth of lobbying by foreign governments is likely to continue.

APPENDIX: OUTSIDE COUNSEL AND CONSULTANTS FOR FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

China:

Jones, Day, Reavis and Pogue
Powell, Goldstein, Frazer, and Murphy, LLP

Cuban exiles:

Jenkins and Gilchrist
Ralph Marshall

Japan:

Manatt, Phelps, and Phillips, LLP
Dechert, Price, and Rhoads
Hogan and Hortson, LLP
Milbank, Tweed, Hadley, and McCloy
Mullin Communications, Inc.
Saunders and Co.
Smith Dawson and Andrews, Inc.

Israel:

Arnold and Porter
Ifshin and Friedman, P.L.L.C.

Mexico:

Manatt, Phelps, and Phillips, LLP
Burson-Marsteller
Hon. Jack M. McDonald
Milbank, Tweed, Hadley, and McCloy

Nigeria:

Washington World Group, Inc.

Russia:

Coudert Borthers

Taiwan:

Bergner Bockorny, Inc.
Heller and Rosenblatt
O'Connor and Hannan, LLP
Oldaker and Harris, LLP
The Solomon Group, LLC
Symms, Lehn and Associates, Inc.
Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Hand,
Chartered
Gary Wasserman and Associates

Turkey:

Arnold and Porter

Ahmet Ural Duvak

IMPACT, LLC

Patton Boggs, LLP

Law Offices of David L. Simon

Source: *Washington Representatives*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

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CHINA

Since the recognition of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the 1970s, U.S.-Chinese relations have alternated between positive and critical. With the end of the Cold War the logic of triangulation, or relations with China to check Soviet power, has faded; in the aftermath of the incident in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989, China's image within the United States has been a negative one. Nevertheless, the U.S. policy of constructive engagement with China ensures that China's voice will be heard, if not always heeded.

China has four major objectives in international politics: first, to maintain national security, national unity, and protect its sovereignty; second, to obtain access to foreign markets and secure technology, natural resources, and capital for economic growth; third, to participate in international organizations, which increases China's status and affects its fate; and fourth, to use the international arena to enhance its domestic power.

To pursue these goals, China has relied on the lobbying efforts of its embassy and of several public relations firms, which in the past included Kissinger Associates (formed by former secretary of state Henry Kissinger). It relies on Chinese-Americans as a source of capital, technology, and policy advice. The scandals after the 1996 U.S. presidential election, with revelations that Chinese nationals illegally contributed to political campaigns of both Democrats and Republicans, generated discussion of whether the Chinese lobby was trying to buy American foreign policy. Although the investigation found no link, suspicion remains high.

HISTORY

On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong, the leader of the Chinese revolution, proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China. The United States refused to recognize Mao's Communist government as the le-

gitimate governing body of China, however recognizing the Taiwan-based Republic of China instead. After its founding, the PRC initially focused on establishing ties with the Soviet Union and other Communist nations. In the Korean War, China sent the People's Liberation Army to North Korea to halt the UN offensive (led by the United States) that was approaching the Yalu River. However, by the late 1960s divisions between China and the Soviet Union became increasingly apparent—particularly in 1969, when the two nations engaged in military clashes along their border.

Under the Nixon administration the United States began to open relations with the PRC. In 1969 the United States took measures to relax trade restrictions with China, and America officially met with Chinese leaders in 1972. The United States granted formal diplomatic recognition to China in 1979. Since then, both security and economic concerns have been at the forefront of Chinese issues with the United States.

In the 1980s China tried to combine central planning with market-oriented reforms to increase economic productivity, living standards, and technical capabilities. It tried to do so without increasing unemployment, inflation, and budget deficits. One way China attempted to achieve these goals was by increasing foreign financing and Chinese exports, and the United States was an important partner in this venture. During the 1980s China's annual growth rate averaged an increase of 11 percent per year, and rural incomes doubled. By the late 1980s, however, inflation became a problem and the government instituted an austerity program. In the 1990s China's economy has enjoyed an average annual growth rate of 8 percent per year. China was relatively untouched by the 1998 economic recession that affected other Asian nations.

Security concerns have been matters of contention at times. In 1981 China objected to American arms sales to Taiwan. In response Secretary of State Alexander Haig visited China in June to try to resolve unanswered questions about America's relationship with Taiwan,

and in August 1982 the United States and China signed a joint communiqué on the issue. Under this communiqué the United States pledged to reduce arms sales to Taiwan, while China pledged that it would make it a fundamental Chinese policy to strive for a peaceful resolution to the Taiwan question.

One historical event that continues to affect U.S.-Chinese relations is the Chinese suppression of demonstrators in June 1989 in Tiananmen Square. Despite Chinese objections, the U.S. took several punitive steps against China, some through Congress and some by executive decisions. These included the suspension of new activities by the Trade and Development Agency and Overseas Private Insurance Corporation and opposition to International Monetary Fund credits, except for projects that meet basic human needs. One of China's main goals in lobbying the United States is to repair its image from this event, both with policy makers and the general public.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

China places a very high value on maintaining its sovereignty. The Chinese perceive that their country has been exploited and humiliated throughout its history by outside aggressors; thus, vigilance is necessary to protect China. This applies to maintaining internal stability as well as external security; consequently, China perceives any attempt by others to shape internal Chinese politics as a threat. China has been willing to forgo gains from trade if conditions for this trade impose on its domestic policies.

Therefore, China's priority in the 1990s has been to prevent the United States from imposing sanctions or removing most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status because of China's human rights record. Since China has a large nonmarket economy, its normal trade status must be renewed annually by a presidential waiver stipulating that China meets the freedom of emigration requirements set forth in the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act of 1974. After Tiananmen, Congress exerted pressure to oppose MFN status for China. In 1991 and 1992 Congress voted to place restrictions on normal trade status renewal for China. However, China was successful at convincing the Bush administration to veto these restrictions.

In 1994 the Chinese lobby won a big victory with President Bill Clinton's decision to delink the annual

normal trade status process from China's overall human rights record. In 1998 China had a trade surplus of \$58 billion with the United States: it values the gains from trade and places a high priority on keeping the American market open.

Currently China is actively lobbying to get into the World Trade Organization (WTO) and is negotiating the terms of entry with the United States. The United States rejected Beijing's initial suggested terms in April 1999, when President Clinton acted under his advisors' suggestions that a better deal could be obtained. The issue for the United States has been whether China offers sufficient market access for both goods and services, full trading rights for all potential Chinese consumers, nondiscrimination between foreign and local commercial operations in China, the reduction of monopolistic state trading practices, and the elimination of nonscientific technical standards.

Some observers speculate that China is anxious to join the WTO in order to overcome domestic objections to further liberalization of the economy. Hence, China is working very hard to obtain United States approval of its entry, making cuts in tariffs and quotas that would make its terms of trade more liberal than those of many WTO members. Once presidential support for China's entry is granted, Congress will not need to vote on a final deal, but will have to pass legislation granting China normal trade relations with the United States on a permanent basis. In November 1999, the two nations signed an historic trade agreement that paved the way for China's entry into the WTO.

In security affairs Beijing's sense of international vulnerability has increased since the late 1980s: the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Gulf War, developments of democracy in Taiwan, and the reinforcement of the U.S.-Japanese security alliance all make China uneasy. In addition, China is wary of the growth of regional and multilateral forums in Asia. China distrusts international security organizations as the instruments of dominant powers.

One recent loss for Chinese lobbying efforts was the American decision to sell F-16 airplanes to Taiwan; this tests the limits of the U.S.-China arms sales agreement. Meanwhile, China is resisting American attempts to make it cut down or eliminate its sales of weapons and dual-use technology. However, China relies on arms sales to get foreign exchange for needed purchases of technology and supplies.

In 1996 China conducted military exercises in waters close to Taiwan in an apparent effort at intimidation. The United States responded by dispatching two aircraft carrier battle groups to the region, and tensions in the

area subsided. In 1999, however, the United States openly repudiated Taiwan's statement that it wanted to be treated as an independent state and reaffirmed its commitment to a "one China" position, under which it recognizes Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan. Beijing praised this U.S. reaffirmation of its "one China" policy.

During the Kosovo crisis of 1999, the United States accidentally bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. China successfully demanded that the United States fund the costs of repairing the embassy building; however, Chinese suspicions remain high. There are tensions on the U.S. side as well, with recent allegations of Chinese spying at the Los Alamos research laboratory in New Mexico. In June 1999 the House adopted measures to counter alleged Chinese espionage, including tightening security at Department of Energy

nuclear laboratories, strengthening monitoring of overseas satellite launches, and controls of high-technology imports. Together with lingering suspicions about the Chinese lobby after the 1996 scandals, these incidents are likely to lead to a lower profile for China in the future.

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CUBAN EXILES

Since the 1959 Cuban revolution, opponents of Fidel Castro's regime have lobbied the United States to exert pressure on the Cuban state to change its government. In service of this goal the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) was established in 1981 by Cuban exiles in the United States. It has offices in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, the New York metropolitan area, Chicago, Texas, Georgia, Puerto Rico, Miami and several other cities in Florida, Venezuela, and Spain. In 1991 CANF's Exodus Relief Fund opened an office in Moscow. The fundamental mission of CANF is, first, to generate support in the United States and elsewhere to resisting Castro's regime and replacing it with a democratic system in Cuba. In addition, it seeks to serve as a voice to unite the Cuban exiles.

CANF states that it is in favor of nonviolent change and does not condone the use of force to promote change in Cuba. However, the organization also opposes negotiations with Castro. CANF argues that there is nothing to be gained from meeting with the current Cuban government, as it will not negotiate its own demise. Consequently, CANF's goal is to isolate and weaken the Castro regime, with the eventual result of forcing a change of government in Cuba.

HISTORY

CANF has been effective in maintaining American opposition to the Castro regime. During the Cold War this was not difficult, since Cuba was widely perceived as a Soviet puppet state. However, CANF has continued to be successful in the post-Cold War era in its main goal of preventing the establishment of normal relations between the United States and Cuba.

In the 1980s CANF lobbied for official U.S. and public support for the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) rebels in Angola, who were

fighting a Marxist government backed by 50,000 Cuban troops. Longtime CANF president Jorge Mas Canosa was a close personal friend of UNITA's Jonas Savimbi, and he tried to counter the negative image of Savimbi as a brutal despot.

In 1984 CANF formed the Cuban Exodus Relief Fund, which provided humanitarian aid to Cuban refugees without legal status who are in other countries waiting for entry into the United States. This organization was incorporated as an independent nonprofit organization in March 1991.

CANF has been particularly active within the Republican Party and established close ties to the Reagan administration. During the Iran-Contra hearings CANF helped fund the legal expenses of Oliver North. When Bill Clinton came to office, however, this partisanship may have worked against CANF's interests. In 1993, after the Clinton administration blocked a black Cuban nominee for the post of chief policy maker on Latin America, its policies tilted toward a moderate approach. The president hosted 100 Cuban-Americans at the White House to celebrate Cuban Independence Day, but did not include CANF officeholders.

CANF was able to establish closer relations with the Clinton administration in 1994, however, when it convinced the administration to take a tough line against a wave of Cuban refugees. At the explicit urging and support of Jorge Mas Canosa, who intended to place the Castro regime under greater pressure, the Clinton administration put the refugees in detention and sent them back to Cuba.

CANF has also been effective in lobbying for its interests outside the United States. In 1989 CANF lobbyists visited Russia and met with President Boris Yeltsin; Russian aid to Cuba was later revoked. CANF also meets regularly with leaders of other Latin American states, though it has a mixed record there.

One success of CANF lobbying was the establishment of TV Marti in 1991. This was a complement to Radio Marti, a media outlet managed by the U.S. In-

formation Agency and broadcast to Cuba, transmitting uncensored news, information, and entertainment in an attempt to stir popular resentment of the Castro regime within Cuba. However, in the mid 1990s budget problems led Congress to reduce funding for Radio Marti by half and to abolish TV Marti.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

One of the major goals of CANF is public education. It formed the Foundation for Human Rights in Cuba, which maintains daily telephone contact with opposition and human rights groups within that country. The foundation publishes a free publication, the *Cuban Human Rights Monitor*.

CANF also promotes its interests through involvement in American education. In 1989 it established an endowment for Cuban studies in Florida universities, for the purpose of supporting scholarly research and publications on Cuba. Under this endowment CANF pledged to raise funds in the private sector to match, dollar for dollar, funds allocated for this purpose by the Florida state legislature.

CANF also has written over 60 monographs, reports, and analyses on subjects such as Cuba's involvement in narcotics trafficking, Cuban ties to terrorist organizations in Latin America and elsewhere, and Cuban economic and human rights problems. CANF distributes issue briefs, newsletters, and news updates; it also hosts press conferences, briefings, and seminars on conditions within Cuba. In preparation for the hoped-for regime change, CANF has established a Blue Ribbon Commission on the Economic Reconstruction of Cuba. This multilateral panel of economic and political leaders gathers to formulate strategies for the economic revival of Cuba after the Castro regime.

CANF's most recent lobbying success in Washington was obtaining passage of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, or the Helms-Burton Act. In early 1996, relations between the United States and Cuba appeared to be improving despite CANF's opposition; however, on February 24, 1996, the Cuban army shot down two small planes flown by unarmed Cuban Americans. On March 11, 1996, Helms-Burton was signed into law. The purpose of the act is to increase pressure on the Castro regime and to discourage investment in expropriated properties in Cuba, the claims to which are owned by American nationals. The law

permits Americans with these claims to bring suit in American courts against persons who traffic in such property, and any foreign national who invests in these properties can be barred from entry into the United States.

Another strategy of CANF that has proved to be more controversial is to boycott Cuban entertainers. In 1994 an employee of the Spanish-language network of MTV organized a private tour to Havana to see a Cuban singer in concert; she claimed that CANF subsequently pressured MTV to fire her. In 1995 a federal investigation into Radio Marti found that Jorge Mas Canosa improperly tried to intervene with the station's operations and fire his critics. Gloria Estefan was attacked by the organization in 1997 when she supported a Miami concert by Cuban performers.

The main policy goal of CANF currently is to resist congressional moderates who seek to lift the American embargo on sales of food and medicine to Cuba. U.S. law forbids the sale of food and permits the sale of medicine and medical equipment only to nongovernmental organizations. The 1999 Cuban Humanitarian Trade Act of 1999 would exempt necessary medical supplies and food from the embargo, and defeating this bill, sponsored by Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) is CANF's priority.

CANF's future is mixed. On the one hand it continues to enjoy the support of many Cuban Americans. Since it was founded, it claims to have received contributions from seven out of ten Cuban families in the United States. Over 54,000 families contribute each month, making CANF by far the largest Cuban-American organization in the United States. One Miami poll found that of those Cuban Americans with a preference, three out of four selected CANF as the most effective and trustworthy Cuban-American organization.

However, other public opinion polls find that, particularly among young Cuban Americans, differences of opinion exist regarding what America's policy toward Cuba should be. One survey of Cuban Americans in 1995 found that 68 percent favored negotiation with Castro regarding the future of Cuba, and a Spanish-language radio station in Miami broadcasts a talk show with a host who regularly criticizes CANF and other hard-liners. These divisions within the Cuban-American community may reduce the long-term effectiveness of CANF as the voice of the Cuban exile community.

In addition, many view the November 1998 death of Jorge Mas Canosa as a setback for the organization, given his effective leadership within CANF: he was

described by one Washington observer as “the most significant individual lobbyist in the country.” To the extent that CANF’s success depended on the talents of his leadership, it may suffer in the future. Nevertheless, CANF is the best organized and most established Cuban-American organization in Washington and is likely to continue to be influential over the short term.

FINANCIAL FACTS

CANF receives monthly donations from over 54,000 donors. In addition, CANF has 100 directors, each of

whom contributes \$10,000 to the organization; CANF trustees contribute \$500. CANF also runs a political action committee (PAC) called Free Cuba, which contributes to political campaigns. In 1998 it contributed \$102,500: \$53,500 to Democratic candidates and \$49,000 to Republicans.

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EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union (EU) is a supranational government concerned with promoting European unity and cooperation whose origins date to the end of the Second World War. One of the American preconditions of Marshall Plan aid to Europe was regional cooperation among recipient countries; generally, the United States has encouraged the development of the EU and has enjoyed good relations with it. Though European integration has not been a story of linear progress, the EU has made great strides in the 1990s after the Maastricht Treaty and has an elected parliament in Brussels. It consists of 15 states: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The EU has a delegation to the United States, with full ambassadorial status, in Washington, D.C. The EU also has an office in New York that serves as a delegation to the United Nations (UN).

The EU is a diverse community, and its members have different interests and perspectives. There are more differences between Germany and Greece than there are between Maine and Mississippi. Nevertheless, union members have some regional interests in common, and the EU actively lobbies the U.S. government to promote these. As a supranational organization, it has no ethnic lobby; few Americans identify themselves as European Union Americans. The EU also does not register lobbying organizations under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and had no outside counsel listed in *Washington Representatives*. However, EU representatives visit American federal, state, and local officials on a regular basis.

HISTORY

The story of the EU's lobbying efforts in the United States begins when its predecessor, the European Coal

and Steel Community, suffered a setback with France's rejection of the European Defense Community. The "founding father" of the EU, Jean Monnet of France, contacted George Ball, later an influential figure in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Ball arranged for Leonard Tennyson to set up an office in Washington in 1954. The purpose was to convince policy makers that the process of European integration was not defeated by this setback. These efforts were successful, though during the 1960s not one official was detailed full time to Congress. The Nixon administration marked a decline in U.S.-EU relations, as Nixon was openly cynical about the prospects for European integration. Nevertheless, the Cold War context made for generally good relations between the EU and the United States.

In the post-Cold War era, the EU has become more powerful within Europe. At the end of 1993 the Maastricht Treaty on European Union came into effect. The goal of the Maastricht Treaty was to create a large market without borders, set a single currency—the euro—for use by member nations, and open trade markets within the union. The treaty also provided for the establishment of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Twice yearly the presidents of the EU and the United States hold summit meetings.

The CFSP was intended to give member nations one voice with which to pursue their interests. However, so far the effectiveness of the CFSP is mixed. As Representative Lee Hamilton (D-IN) stated: "We meet often enough with members of the European parliament. But there is a mismatch between that body and ours—we do not know with whom to deal." Or as Henry Kissinger famously put it, "When I want to talk to Europe, whom do I call?"

Whether the EU will develop a centralized foreign-policy establishment in the future is difficult to predict: most member states wish to preserve state sovereignty in an issue area central to the independent life of member states. At the same time, they also seek the advan-

tages of mutual consultation, support, and coordinated diplomatic action. Future development of the CFSP will depend on the management of national differences within the EU.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Most of the issues that concern the EU are economic: together, the United States and the EU compose half the world's economy and have the world's largest bilateral trading and investment relationship. Almost 40 percent of world trade, around \$1 billion a day, is exchanged between them. However, the EU has had several issues with the United States regarding economic interests in the 1990s. Its record in these issues is mixed, but generally, by the end of the 1990s, trade issues were increasing frictions between the EU and the United States. Both the United States and the EU support multilateral management of international trade; however, they differ on specific sectoral issues. Disputes arose in agricultural trade, aircraft manufacturing, steel products, import quotas, and state subsidies. Another issue the EU is concerned about is state and local government procurement laws that establish "buy-local" requirements: the EU actively lobbies against these, but has had mixed results.

One issue of contention between the EU and the United States is the enactment of secondary trade boycotts in the United States. The Helms-Burton Act and the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act were both written to penalize foreign firms that conducted business in Cuba, Libya, or Iran: the EU perceives this as an infringement on its sovereignty and seeks to overturn the laws. Its attempts to lobby Congress to drop the laws have been unsuccessful; however, in May 1998 the EU did reach an agreement with the Clinton administration in which the United States waived sanctions against EU countries.

Two trade issues have added tensions to the relationship. One involves the EU agricultural import regime, which favored banana imports from former colonies in the Caribbean over Latin American imports from U.S. businesses. The EU argued that its policy was a development issue, not a trade issue, but was unable to convince American policy makers. Against EU wishes, the United States took the case to the World Trade Organization (WTO), and in mid 1999 the case

was decided in favor of the United States. The EU is trying to find a compromise solution in which it could comply with the ruling but still give some consideration to its former colonies: it is currently working with U.S. trade representatives to develop a policy that the United States will not challenge in the WTO.

Another recent trade issue is the use of hormones in imported agricultural goods. The EU is trying to prevent the United States from exporting hormone-treated beef. In the aftermath of mad cow disease in Britain, many Europeans are not confident in scientific research showing no ill effects from hormone-treated products; however, the United States is not budging from its argument that this is an unfair trade restriction. In fact, in 1999 the United States imposed 100 percent ad valorem duties on EU products in retaliation for the EU's ban on beef produced with growth hormones. The EU is currently challenging these duties at the WTO; the case was pending in mid 1999.

Other economic issues have been resolved more favorably. After six years of negotiations, in July 1992 agreement was reached regarding public aid from EU countries to the European aircraft manufacturer Airbus. The agreement regulates, but does not eliminate, this aid. Since there is no serious trade deficit or investment imbalance on either side, there is relatively little pressure within the United States to enact across-the-board protectionist legislation against EU imports.

In security affairs the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance promotes overall cooperative relations between the United States and the EU; many, though not all, EU members are also NATO members. However, there have also been disputes. There were differences in the early to mid 1990s regarding how to resolve the Bosnian crisis. Some EU members had troops on the ground in Bosnia and lobbied the United States not to bomb Serbia; at the same time, they encouraged increased U.S. involvement in the region. The 1999 Kosovo crisis saw greater cooperation between the United States and the EU; the United States financed the war and the EU is to finance the peace.

Besides its lobbying efforts, the EU is also beginning to be active in public education. It is funding a new network of ten EU centers in universities in the United States. This effort was launched in the fall of 1998. In their communities and regions the centers will conduct outreach programs to colleges and universities, local businesses, chambers of commerce, and others, to promote knowledge about the EU, its institutions and policies, and to enhance U.S.-EU relations.

With the introduction of a common currency in 1999, the EU appears to be making steady progress toward integration. How far that process will go and how much that will contribute to successful lobbying in the United States is open to question. Nevertheless, it is likely that the EU will increase its lobbying efforts in the United States in the future.

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ISRAEL

To lobby for its interests, Israel uses a diverse number of organizations, including its embassy and various ethnic lobbies in the United States. However, the one that is most widely recognized is the American-Israel Political Action Committee (AIPAC). Headquartered in Washington, D.C., with ten regional offices in the United States and one in Jerusalem, along with chapters on over 200 college campuses, AIPAC has 55,000 members. Its interest is to promote friendly relations between Israel and the United States. While these relations have generally been good since the founding of the Israeli state, many credit AIPAC for helping to maintain a close relationship with the United States.

HISTORY

American Jewish community leaders founded AIPAC in 1954. Its mission was twofold: first, to lobby the U.S. government to continue to provide economic and military assistance to support the survival of Israel; second, to nurture and advance the U.S.-Israeli relationship in general.

Up to the 1960s U.S.-Israeli relations were generally good. However, Israel did not receive military aid: American officials in the State Department and the Defense Department felt that such aid would potentially set off an arms race and destabilize the area and that the Suez crisis showed that Israel was strong enough to defend itself on its own. U.S. policy shifted in 1962, with the Kennedy administration's sale of HAWK antiaircraft missiles to Israel. By 1968, with the Johnson administration's sale of Phantom jets to Israel, American arms sales gave Israel a qualitative edge over its neighbors.

During the Nixon and Carter administrations, the United States assisted in concluding disengagement agreements between Israel and Egypt and Israel and Syria. Aid to Israel was increased substantially in this pe-

riod: between 1946 and 1971 Israel received an average of \$60 million in aid annually. From 1974 to 1999, however, Israel has received nearly \$50 billion in U.S. aid, averaging \$2 billion per year. Relations between the United States and Israel were particularly strong in the Reagan era; despite growing criticism about Israeli policies in Lebanon and in the *intifada* (an armed insurrection of Palestinians in the West Bank and other territories under Israeli occupation), two memorandums of understanding were signed in 1981 and 1988. These set up a number of joint planning and consultative bodies in both military and civilian issue areas.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Generally, AIPAC has been very successful in achieving its goals. Israel has become the number one recipient of U.S. foreign aid, receiving up to \$3 billion a year. AIPAC actively promotes this aid and in 1991 organized 1,500 "citizen lobbyists" to go to Capitol Hill. Armed with computer printouts of their legislators' backgrounds, this group lobbied for additional aid to Israel after the Gulf War damage.

One area where AIPAC has had mixed results is in maintaining a positive image of Israel after the *intifada* of the late 1980s. Israeli actions to combat a Palestinian uprising appeared to many as brutal actions inappropriate for a democratic state, and there was some decline in American public opinion polls on the support of Americans for Israel. However, this problem is mitigated by the magnitude of American support for Israel; public opinion polls show that Americans favor the Israeli position by between three and five to one.

Over the years, there has been some variation in AIPAC's commitment to the peace process with Palestinians. In the early 1990s AIPAC's leadership was conservative and hawkish on the issue. This led Israeli Prime

Minister Yitzhak Rabin to appeal to American rabbis to support the peace process; this appeal was widely perceived as a warning to AIPAC. A subsequent power struggle within the organization resulted in the removal of the hard-liners.

AIPAC continues to lobby the United States on its position on the peace process. In the post-Cold War era, the United States remains actively involved in this process, assisting in the 1993 peace accords and the October 1998 Wye-River Agreement between Israel and the Palestinian National Authority. At times, these negotiations have been difficult, and there have been several setbacks in the peace process. However, when the Clinton administration attempted to promote peace terms that Israel perceived to be unfavorable, AIPAC was able to get 81 U.S. senators to sign a letter to the president asking him not to pressure Israel in 1998. AIPAC is also lobbying for the United States to help pay for the implementation of the Wye-River Agreement; \$1.9 billion was pledged to Israel at that time, and AIPAC is currently lobbying in Congress for the appropriation of these funds.

AIPAC continues to lobby for American support of Israel's security. Recent achievements include obtaining American funding for Israeli research on the Arrow missile and tactical high-energy lasers. In 1997 Israel linked up to the U.S. missile warning system: this will provide Israel with real-time warning if a missile is launched against it. Its lobbying efforts on the peace process are more mixed: while the United States continues generally to support the Israeli position, American officials are increasingly inclined to sympathize with Palestinian concerns and to prod Israel to compromise. However, this is still a delicate issue, as Hillary Clinton discovered after public outcry forced her to back away from a statement supporting eventual statehood for Palestinians.

Another issue of contemporary concern for AIPAC is the provision of aid for the resettlement of refugees who come to Israel. Recently AIPAC lobbied successfully for \$70 million in assistance from the United States for the resettlement of refugees from the former Soviet Union into Israel. In 1999 Israel obtained just under \$3 billion in aid—\$1.92 billion in military aid and \$960 million in economic aid. This was a reduction of \$60 million from the previous year, however, and some Israelis such as former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu have stated publicly that Israel should wean itself away from dependence on American aid.

Generally, AIPAC is very actively involved in several layers of policy making. In 1996 the Democratic Platform Committee held a marathon one-day hearing in Cleveland, at which representatives of various do-

mestic and foreign interests testified. AIPAC was particularly effective in getting its views heard and in influencing the convention. It got strongly pro-Israel activists selected to the drafting and platform committees, which influenced the wording of some sections of the platform document. Yet the issue of American support for Israel has been kept relatively nonpartisan, even though the majority of Jewish Americans vote Democratic.

AIPAC is very active on Capitol Hill. During the 1998 elections it held over 2,000 meetings with members of Congress and met with over 600 congressional candidates, including all of those elected. AIPAC activists are also involved in public education, publishing over 500 letters to editors, op-ed pieces, and articles on U.S.-Israeli relations.

AIPAC is also promoting the 1999 Iran Nonproliferation Act, which would increase congressional oversight of weapons proliferation to Iran. The act would require the president to report to Congress every six months on all foreign entities about which there is credible evidence that they have transferred to Iran goods, services, or technology that would contribute to the development of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons.

Due to its successes, AIPAC was recognized as America's second most powerful lobby by *Fortune* magazine in 1998. Factors that contribute to its success include the relatively high issue attentiveness, voting rates, and campaign contributions from American Jews. In 1996 26 percent of Jewish Americans contributed money to one of the presidential candidates; only 5 percent of other American citizens contributed money to any 1996 campaign. This level of involvement reinforces the power of AIPAC: even though it does not contribute directly to political campaigns, its perceived influence over Jewish American contributors is an important source of its strength.

However, there has been some backlash against the power of AIPAC. In 1985 former member of Congress Paul Findley wrote a best-seller that was harshly critical of the Israeli lobby in general and AIPAC in particular. His book, *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby*, argued that AIPAC was so powerful that policy makers were afraid to resist its wishes, for fear of retribution. Other critics of AIPAC argue that this power makes it an impediment to the peace process: since its clout in Washington is unmatched by Arab lobbies, it is difficult for American negotiators to take a neutral stance.

However, defenders of Israel and AIPAC argue that the U.S. policy of support for Israel is better explained by strategic considerations than by domestic political pressures. Generally, AIPAC's defenders argue that the

Israeli lobby has been consistent, while American foreign policy has varied: consequently, the pressure from AIPAC does not explain American policy toward Israel. For example, they note that the Reagan administration was strongly pro-Israel even though he had relatively little support from Jewish American voters. Nevertheless, throughout its existence AIPAC has played a role in maintaining some stability in the level of American support for Israel.

Whether AIPAC will continue to maintain its successful record depends in part on unity within the American Jewish community, which mirrors recent splits within Israel. Divisions exist regarding the peace process, with the majority of Reform and Conservative Jews in support and the majority of Orthodox Jews in opposition. In trying to represent the interests of the Jewish state, AIPAC may have a very difficult time if common agreement on what constitutes the national interest declines. Nevertheless, the organizational skills of AIPAC remain strong, and its ability to adapt to policy changes in Israel bodes well for its near future.

FINANCIAL FACTS

AIPAC is classified as a 501(c)(4) organization under the Internal Revenue Service code for registered lobbies. Despite its name, it does not maintain a political action committee that makes contributions to candidates for office.

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JAPAN

Since the end of the Second World War, the Japanese-U.S. relationship has consisted of general cooperation in security affairs but increased friction on economic issues. Concerns about the possibility of an aggressive North Korea or China continue to promote Japanese interest in an American presence in the region. Since the United States is a \$130 billion-a-year export market and holds over \$400 billion of Japanese assets in U.S. government bonds, American economic policies are a vital interest of the Japanese government.

While the Japanese embassy is also involved in lobbying efforts and Japan hires several public relations and law firms, it is difficult to separate the lobbying of the Japanese government from that of Japanese businesses. According to *Washington Representatives*, there are over 90 Japanese and international businesses that have hired outside counsel and consultants to represent their interests in Washington. Combined, the Japanese spend hundreds of millions of dollars a year to maintain the world's largest, most expensive, and arguably most effective foreign-financed lobbying, commercial intelligence, and public relations operation. Reported total payments to Japanese lobbies in 1995 totaled \$56 million: this is more than the combined payments of the second and third largest countries, Great Britain and Canada.

The main goal of these groups is to influence policy development in the U.S. government. Since the late 1970s, many of their activities have involved prevention of protectionist legislation and other punitive actions against Japan. Another goal is to distinguish between American bluster, or bluffs, and a genuine commitment to unilateral action if not appeased by U.S. actions. Finally, these groups seek to promote Japan's image among American officials and citizens.

HISTORY

The development of modern Japan dates back to the Meiji Restoration of the late 1800s, which instituted

Westernizing reforms within Japan. During the restoration Japan adopted a Western-style legal system and other political institutions. During the First World War Japan fought on the winning side; this increased its relative power. During the interwar years its power in Asia grew and it engaged in military expansions throughout the region. However, Japan was driven back to its mainland during the Second World War, and the United States got involved with Japanese reconstruction when the country was placed under international control of the allies through the supreme commander, Douglas MacArthur.

After the war, the United States was actively involved in the reconstruction of Japan, giving \$2 billion in direct economic aid and going so far as to design its constitution to prohibit a substantial portion of the Japanese budget to be allocated to the military. Lobbying activity on behalf of Japan in the United States can be traced to the late 1940s: the American Council of Japan, a group of Americans sympathetic to Japanese interests, tried to sidetrack MacArthur's reforms. The council was successful in preventing the proposed breakup of *zaibatsu*, or conglomerate, of banks: this set the stage for the Japanese to establish government control of its economy. As the Cold War developed, the United States offered a security guarantee to Japan in the Mutual Defense Treaty.

By the 1970s, however, the combination of rapid growth of Japanese exports to the United States and the relative decline of the American economy led many Americans to question whether U.S.-Japanese economic relations were managed on a fair basis. Generally, Japan perceives itself to be a small country that has to work hard and fight aggressively in order to survive. However, many in the United States argued that Japan was dumping its products at below-market prices and called for protectionist legislation, particularly against Japanese automobiles. This appeal was intensified by comparisons of the relative openness of American markets to the restricted access that American businesses had to the Japanese market. The major goal of the Japanese

lobbies has been and remains to resist the enactment of protectionism. They have been only partly successful in this goal.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In response to pressures within the United States to establish trade protections against Japanese imports, Japan became more active in lobbying the U.S. government. One early failure of the Japanese lobby occurred in 1981, when congressional and corporate pressures persuaded AT&T to reject Fujitsu's low bid and accept a domestic bid on a major optical filter telephone cable link between the major cities of the northeastern United States. However, Japan was able to avoid the imposition of some proposed trade restrictions by agreeing to voluntary restraint agreements. In addition, the Japanese government resisted pressures from the United States to lower its agricultural tariffs and quotas: as they pointed out in their defense, Japan was by far the world's largest importer of American agricultural goods.

Throughout the 1980s, however, the trade imbalance with Japan was an important political issue. Trade concerns were one issue in the 1986 elections, in which the Democrats regained control of the Senate. The next year Congress passed an omnibus trade bill, which contained provisions requiring mandatory retaliation by the president against violations of U.S. trade agreements. Japan denounced this act, as did President Ronald Reagan, and in 1988 Congress passed a modified trade bill that was less protectionist; this bill was enacted over Reagan's veto. Under this act the Reagan administration placed a retaliatory tariff on \$300 million of Japanese electronic products.

Nevertheless, Japan scored several important successes in lobbying the United States. One was its defeat of American efforts in 1988 to punish Toshiba Machine Company for selling restricted propeller-silencing military technology to the Soviet Union. The House voted to ban the sale of Toshiba's products in military exchange stores, and it looked as though it might ban sales of Toshiba products throughout America. But after extensive lobbying by both Toshiba and Japan, the response of the Reagan and Bush administrations was limited to deferred enforcement of a two-year ban on sales by Toshiba's machine tool subsidiary.

In the late 1980s the activities of the Japanese lobby became the target for criticism. Author Pat Choate's

Agents of Influence, published in 1990, discussed numerous instances of Japanese lobbying of the United States and argued that the power of the Japanese lobby was harmful to the interests of the United States. Although the book attracted much criticism for its sensationalist tone, it also reflected the attitude of many Americans against Japan, which was increasingly perceived as a threat to the economic well-being of the United States. After its publication Japan switched lobbying techniques and now depends more on the lobbying efforts of U.S.-based companies that benefit from free trade with Japan, such as those that are dependent on Japanese suppliers of components of American products.

In the 1990s the economic fortunes of Japan declined. The "bubble economy," which at one point led the land under the Japanese palace to be more highly valued than the real estate of all of California, burst dramatically. Currently Japan is in its worst recession since the Second World War, and its real growth rate in 1998 was -2.5 percent. Meanwhile, the American economy has been relatively strong and unemployment has been at historically low levels. These conditions have reduced the tensions between the United States and Japan regarding trade issues, although in early 1995 Japanese interests spent \$3 million on ads in the American media to oppose threatened import sanctions against luxury autos.

Japan has been forced to alter one of its lobbying strategies. It used to be quite common for Japanese interests to hire former federal officials, such as former U.S. trade representatives and Commerce Department employees, who would then make public statements and write articles about bilateral trade negotiations without openly revealing this connection. Critics charged that this "revolving door" meant that, while in government, those who hoped for a lucrative lobbying position in the future were less likely to support a tough stance on Japanese trade. Partly in response to this, recent laws in the United States imposed a waiting period on lobbying activities by departing government officials.

Other Japanese activities include funding academic and charitable institutions, in the goal of being good corporate citizens and promoting a positive image of Japanese businesses. Organized major philanthropic efforts are estimated at \$500 million annually. However, Japanese funding of academic research has also attracted criticism from those who believe that Japan does so not to promote objective research, but to use American universities to push the Japanese government's interests.

Security issues continue to be more cooperative, and Japan has been largely successful in promoting its security interests in the post-Cold War era. There was an

outrage when U.S. servicemen attacked a teenage girl in Okinawa; in response to the outrage within Japan, the United States closed its military base. More recently, however, concerns about possible nuclear proliferation in North Korea have led to greater cooperation between the United States and Japan. In 1999 the Mutual Security Treaty was updated to provide a more explicit military role for Japan in responding to regional crises such as tensions on the Korean peninsula.

Given the aging of the Japanese population, it is open to question whether it will ever regain the strong economy of the 1980s. This may reduce tensions with the United States, as Japan appears to be less threatening; alternatively, it may increase tensions if Japan attempts

to regain economic strength by promoting cheap imports. Nevertheless, Japan remains a major economic power, both within its region and internationally, and it will be likely to continue to try to influence American foreign policy.

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MEXICO

Throughout the twentieth century U.S.-Mexican relations have been mixed. On the one hand, as its neighbor to the south, Mexico has had many common interests with the United States. On the other hand, there is a perception in Mexico that it is powerless to resist U.S. pressures: as early-twentieth-century Mexican President Porfirio Diaz put it, "Poor Mexico! So far from God, and so close to the United States." Since 1980, however, the United States and Mexico have become increasingly interdependent, particularly in economic affairs, and tensions between the two countries have increased.

Mexico has greatly expanded its lobbying presence in the United States in the 1990s. Its embassy regularly engages in efforts to affect U.S. policy in a number of issue areas, including trade and economic policies, drug control, and immigration. Also lobbying for Mexican concerns are international businesses; there are more than 2,600 American companies with operations in Mexico, and the United States accounts for 60 percent of all foreign direct investment in Mexico. Mexican state and local governments also actively lobby within the United States, particularly with state and local governments of American states that touch on the 2,000-mile border between the United States and Mexico. Ethnic organizations, such as the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund, focus primarily on conditions within the United States, but also promote some Mexican interests, such as immigration policy preferences.

HISTORY

Mexico proclaimed its independence in 1810 and established itself as a republic in 1824. Early relations with the United States were poor, and during the Mexican War in the 1840s Mexico lost considerable territory in what are now the Southwest and the West Coast of the

United States. During the early 1900s Mexico suffered from economic and social problems, and U.S. President Woodrow Wilson intervened in Mexico under the stated purpose of forcing the country to democratize. The Mexican Revolution gave rise to the 1917 constitution, which established a federal republic. Relations with the United States have been mixed since then, with relatively good relations under the Good Neighbor Policy of the 1930s and the Alliance for Progress in the Kennedy administration.

Since 1981 the management of U.S.-Mexican issues has been formalized within the U.S.-Mexico Binational Commission, which consists of several U.S. cabinet members and their Mexican counterparts. The commission holds annual meetings, with subgroups meeting separately, to discuss U.S.-Mexican relations. Currently Mexico's record in promoting its interests in Washington is mixed.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Until recently Mexico did not engage in significant lobbying activity in the United States. Their strong belief in noninterventionism led Mexicans to believe that if their country stayed out of American politics, the United States would do the same for Mexico. However, this changed when the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was developed. Between 1985 and 1991 the Mexican government's lobbying representation jumped from two minor contracts of \$67,229 to more than a dozen contracts worth at least \$9 million. Unlike many other governments which rely on their private sectors to finance lobbying in Washington, these lobbies were funded by Mexico's public sector.

NAFTA also marked the beginning of an attempt by Mexico to mobilize Mexican Americans as an ethnic lobby, which it had previously shied away from. Efforts

to sway public opinion among Mexican Americans included placing advertisements in the mass media, especially Spanish-language television, to urge Mexican-American voters to pressure their representatives to approve the fast-track strategy in 1991. Fast track would have permitted the president to negotiate trade legislation without the input of Congress on specific details. Congress could only vote for or against.

Mexico also lobbied members of Congress through the Mexican embassy in Washington. This effort was described at the time by the Center for Public Integrity as “the most expensive and elaborate campaign ever conducted by a foreign government in the U.S.” The center went on to note that Mexico’s lobbying effort for NAFTA exceeded the combined cost of the three previous largest lobbying campaigns in Washington. However, the successful effort was perceived as vital to Mexico’s economic interests. Mexico had a debt crisis in the 1980s, and the subsequent austerity conditions imposed on the country by the International Monetary Fund led it to pursue an economic strategy based on exporting goods. NAFTA represented a large portion of this strategy; it will phase out all tariffs between the United States, Canada, and Mexico over a 15-year period. While it does include some provisions for labor rights and environmental protection, these standards were not as high as opponents of the accord would have liked, and Mexico was able to prevent them from being toughened during negotiations. Mexico is hoping that NAFTA and internal economic liberalization will strengthen the nation’s economy. Mexico is the United States’ third-ranked trading partner, accounting for 10 percent of American trade. In 1994, due in part to NAFTA, the Mexican economy grew by 3.5 percent. In 1998 U.S. imports from Mexico grew nearly 140 percent from 1993 levels. Thus, the passage of NAFTA has proved a boon to the Mexican economy and marked a turning point in U.S.–Mexican relations.

Another partial victory in economic issues for the Mexican government was obtaining American aid during the 1995 debt crisis. Heavy congressional opposition to a \$40 billion loan guarantee threatened to defeat delivery of assistance, but acting on his own authority, President Bill Clinton offered Mexico a \$20 billion package of short-term loans and loan guarantees from the Federal Exchange Stabilization Fund, and Mexico obtained another \$20 million from international sources. However, months after the crisis began, Congress considered legislation to cut off the guarantees, thus reducing investor confidence in Mexico. Generally, when it comes to receiving U.S. foreign aid, Mexico’s record is mixed. Nevertheless, Mexico was able to

repay the loans from the United States more than three years ahead of schedule.

Mexico has been less successful in lobbying on other issues, notably immigration policy. Federal immigration law, which is set by Congress, determines the legal rights, duties, and obligations of aliens in the United States. Immigration to the United States is an informal means by which Mexico can keep a lid on social tensions, poverty, and other potentially destabilizing problems. However, immigration can be an unpopular political issue, as the 1996 approval of a California initiative to eliminate most social services for illegal aliens shows.

In 1986 Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act, which tightened criminal sanctions for employers who hire illegal aliens and denied federally funded welfare benefits to illegal aliens. Mexico was unable to prevent passage of this bill, but that country’s supporters were able to include a provision under which some aliens were legitimized through an amnesty program. In 1993 the Border Liaison Mechanism (BLM) was established, and there are nine BLMs chaired by U.S. and Mexican consuls. These deal with issues such as violation of sovereignty by law enforcement officials, charges of mistreatment of foreign nationals, and coordination of port security and public health matters.

In spite of the establishment of BLMs, however, Mexico was unable to prevent Congress from passing newly restrictive immigration laws. In 1996 Congress passed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, which increased border patrol and investigative personnel, increased penalties for alien smuggling and document fraud, and reformed deportation law and procedures. Mexico continues to lobby on immigration affairs: one concern for Mexico is to prevent the use of U.S. troops in controlling immigration, which it perceives as an affront to its sovereignty.

Another issue that has generated tensions in recent years involves certification that Mexico is cooperating on drug-trafficking abatement. Mexico has had to fight accusations in recent years that it is not cooperating in these efforts: if it is not certified as a cooperative state, it will not be eligible for most forms of U.S. foreign aid. Questions about corruption within the Mexican state and the capability of Mexico to resist pressures from those involved in transporting narcotics continue to be raised in Congress. Mexico’s lobby points to Mexican internal reforms in 1998 to increase enforcement and reduce corruption, and so far it has been able to prevent

decertification. In 1997 the binational alliance developed a U.S.-Mexico Binational Drug Strategy to coordinate anti-drug trafficking efforts.

It is open to question how effective Mexico's lobby was in the NAFTA debate. The vote in Congress was very close, and the remaining undecided members of Congress were swayed not by the efforts of Mexico, but by the Clinton administration's delivery of federal largess, or pork barrel benefits. However, Mexican Americans are a growing portion of the American population: they are 60 percent of U.S. Latinos, who make up 10

percent of the country's population. This could provide Mexico with increased clout in Washington in the future.

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NIGERIA

Since achieving independence from Britain in 1960, Nigeria has often suffered from corruption and political misrule. It has leaned to the West to varying degrees, and as the regional power of West Africa, it was of strategic importance during the Cold War. Relations with the United States have been strained in the 1990s, however, as a military government repressed the population. Therefore, Nigeria's main goal in lobbying the United States is to repair its image as a repressive state. With the rise of a new government in 1999 and an attempt to democratize the Nigerian state, there is an opportunity to improve relations with the United States. This will depend on Nigeria's success in stabilizing its new regime; in mid 1999 it was difficult to predict the fate of the newly elected government. One hopeful sign is the return of some Nigerians who lived abroad during the military rule. In 1998 the Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka, who had lived in exile during the military regime, visited the country and met with government officials; he has returned to visit Nigeria several times since then. In mid 1999, the writer Chinua Achebe returned to Nigeria after nine years abroad.

Most of the lobbying done for the Nigerian government comes from the Nigerian embassy and its hired public relations firm. There is no ethnic lobby for Nigeria; in fact, the lobbying group TransAfrica and human rights organizations actively spoke out against the military regime. The other important lobby for Nigeria is international oil companies, particularly Shell: they have been very active in the fight to prevent sanctions on Nigerian oil exports.

HISTORY

As a developing country, Nigeria was initially interested in obtaining foreign aid. During the 1970s Nigeria's fortunes appeared to improve under the oil boom. As the

sixth-largest producer of oil, it was in a good position to benefit from increased oil prices. By the 1980s, however, the oil glut depressed oil prices, and Nigeria was very hard hit. As an oil producer, Nigeria had been able to run up a large debt on the basis of its projected ability to repay; when oil prices plummeted, Nigeria's debt rose rapidly: between 1987 and 1990 its debt increased by 25 percent, from \$28.7 to \$36.1 billion. These economic problems have continued throughout the 1990s—annual economic growth has averaged only 1.6 percent, showing the effect of slow growth and lack of investor confidence.

These economic problems led to political instability in Nigeria. In 1993 General Sani Abacha imposed military rule on the country. His regime lasted for five years, drove many Nigerians into exile, permitted little criticism, and imprisoned or hanged many opponents. Nigeria became an international pariah in 1995 after hanging the writer and political critic Ken Saro-Wiwa.

However, the June 1998 death of military dictator Sani Abacha led to the opening up of the repressive military regime in Nigeria by his successor, General Abubakar. Within months Abubakar implemented political, economic, and military reforms to democratize Nigeria. A civilian government took office in May 1999, and attempts to develop democratic institutions are currently under way.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Within this context, before mid 1999, Nigeria's two main goals in lobbying the United States were to improve its human rights image and to prevent economic sanctions. The United States is by far Nigeria's number-one trade partner, and 95 percent of Nigerian exports consist of oil. Therefore, the Nigerian lobby fought very hard to prevent the imposition of trade sanctions on its

oil exports by critics of its human rights record. Nigeria successfully prevented the imposition of sanctions but was not able to improve its image. After the 1995 executions Nigeria was in a tense diplomatic standoff with the United States, but international measures against the Nigerian government were restricted to verbal and symbolic gestures. After waging a well-funded and aggressive lobbying effort in the United States, Nigeria was able to prevent federal sanctions.

However, it was less successful with other bodies of government. In 1997 Alameda County, California, adopted a binding resolution prohibiting the county from contracting with or purchasing from those who do business in Nigeria. The same year the U.S. Conference of Mayors passed a resolution calling for swift restoration of human rights and democracy in Nigeria as well as the release of political prisoners. These issues were supported by TransAfrica and the Free Nigeria Movement—lobbies in the United States that opposed Nigeria's military government.

For the newly established government, obtaining economic aid is the major goal in its lobbying of the U.S. government. Current U.S. investments in Nigeria are estimated at between \$8 billion and \$10 billion. American aid to Nigeria in 1999 is projected to be \$13.2 million, which funds health, child survival, population control, HIV/AIDS programs, civil society, democracy, and governance activities. Except for a brief period between 1995 and 1997, however, Nigeria's economy has been in decline for the last two decades, and 49 percent of its population lives below the poverty line of \$8 a month.

Nigeria is a debtor nation: it holds \$30 billion in debts, and debt service payments are the major expenditure of the Nigerian budget. This threatens to undermine the new government, and President Olusegun Obasanjo has made it his number-one priority to get the

suspension or renegotiation of this debt. The Nigerian Democracy and Civil Society Empowerment Act of 1999, sponsored by Senator Russell Feingold (D-WI), would allocate \$10 million in aid to the new government in 2000, \$12 million in 2001, and \$15 million in 2002. As of mid 1999, the bill had been read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations; passage of this bill is a top priority for Nigeria.

The future of Nigeria's new government is difficult to predict. Even if the democratic government is able to establish itself, the economic situation in Nigeria has been steadily worsening since 1995. Its vital oil industry has experienced unprecedented difficulties that have included cutbacks in employees and production goals. Nigeria blames foreign oil companies, who in turn blame Nigerian mismanagement of the economy. These divisions between the Nigerian government and foreign oil producers who have been instrumental in promoting Nigeria's interests in Washington may lead to a less effective lobby. In addition, there are still political prisoners in Nigeria, and it is unclear when or if they will be released. However, if Nigeria does democratize its government, it may gain the support of the human rights lobbies that were in opposition to its military government.

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RUSSIA

When the Cold War first ended, hopes were high that the United States and Russia would enjoy friendlier relations. However, Russia has become more and more critical of American foreign policy. Between 1992 and 1998 the Russian people became increasingly isolated from the West in general and the United States in particular: they blamed the economic shock therapy promoted by the United States for the decline in Russian living standards. Given nationalist pressures within Russia, its leaders have to avoid giving the appearance of taking a strong pro-Western stance; in fact, some observers argue that much of Russia's criticism of America is more for the purpose of placating domestic groups than to alter U.S. actions. Nevertheless, there are real conflicts of interest between the United States and Russia, and Russia has had a difficult time successfully pressing its case in Washington.

Most of the lobbying on behalf of the Russian government is done by its embassy and its public relations firm. While there are some international businesses with interests in Moscow, they have not focused on issues that concern the Russian government. Interestingly, Russia does not have a substantial ethnic lobby within the United States.

HISTORY

During the twentieth century U.S.-Russian relations have varied from attempts to establish close relations to an openly adversarial stance. When the Russian Revolution occurred in 1917 and Russia changed its governmental structure under the Soviet Union, the United States was resisting the rise of communist and socialist movements in America. Consequently, it did not welcome the regime change and did not recognize the Soviet Union until 1933. During the Second World War, however, the United States and the Soviet Union were allies in the fight against Hitler, and there was some

discussion between Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin about the possibility that their nations could continue to cooperate with each other in the postwar era.

However, concerns about Soviet action in Eastern Europe and American opposition to communism led to the development of an adversarial relationship after 1945. During the Cold War the United States and the Soviet Union were the world's two great powers, and they competed for power and influence in Europe and the Third World. Relations began to improve in the 1960s, after the Cuban Missile Crisis frightened policy makers in both countries, and during the 1970s the Nixon administration pursued a policy of détente. However, after the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, relations with the Soviets again soured, and President Ronald Reagan famously referred to the Soviet Union as the "evil empire." Relations began to improve when President Mikhail Gorbachev took power and began to change the internal structure of the Soviet Union; this culminated in the dissolution of the Soviet Union by President Boris Yeltsin in 1991.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Generally, Russia has lobbied against many foreign-policy decisions of the United States but has had to yield on most of its interests. Though it is tactically helpful to demonstrate Russian independence, Russia is too dependent on the benefits it receives from the United States, such as postponements of debt repayments, receiving foreign credits from partners and international financial institutions, and obtaining other forms of aid and business counsel. Russia is not strong enough to risk confrontation with the United States, and after the war in Chechnya, it is not in a position to bluff.

The most important issue, and the source of failure on the part of Russian lobbying, is the attempt to get

the United States to understand Moscow's attitude toward the "near abroad." Russia believes that the former Soviet republics are a legitimate sphere of its concern and interest. Consequently, Russia was very opposed to the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and lobbied very heavily against the inclusion of the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. Russia promoted greater reliance on the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the only European international organization in which it is an equal member, as an alternative to NATO enlargement. However, this alternative was not seriously considered by NATO. Russia's failure to prevent the United States from promoting the enlargement of what it perceives as an anti-Russian alliance was a severe disappointment. Russia was able to mitigate this loss, however, by obtaining a promise that nuclear weapons would not be deployed on the territories of the new members. In addition, as a reward for its eventual acceptance of NATO expansion, Russia was admitted to the G-7 (now the G-8), an international group of economic great powers, even though it is not itself an economic power.

Another recent source of tension, and a failure of Russian lobbying, took place in 1997 when the U.S. Department of Commerce, acting under the Enhanced Proliferation Control Initiative, added to its list of "entities of concern" several Russian nuclear research laboratories that it identified with weapons proliferation. This action means that no one in America can send exports to these centers without obtaining a special license. Russia stated that this was a policy of double standards and an example of "new Cold War thinking"; nevertheless, the policy stands.

Russia is also trying to get the United States to concede some part of its large international arms market to cash-strapped Russia. In the mid 1990s Russia wanted to sell advanced rocket engines to India in order to gain badly needed funds for its military and space industries. However, the United States wanted to limit the proliferation of long-range missile technology and objected to the sale. Russia tried to convince the United States not to protest the sale but in the end canceled the arrangement. However, another sale, of Russian nuclear reactors and submarines to Iran, went through despite U.S. objections.

Russia has also taken issue with American policy in the Balkans, believing it to be biased against the Serbian side. Its opposition to Western intervention limited, but did not prevent, NATO actions to stop the violence in Bosnia. More recently Russia opposed Western involvement in Kosovo but was successful in obtaining

the participation of Russian troops in the peacekeeping force after the 1999 bombing of that region.

A current issue in security affairs that is causing divisions between Russia and the United States is the possibility that the United States will deploy a national defense missile system. Russia believes that the deployment of this system would violate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and strongly opposes this plan. The Clinton administration has until June 2000 to make a decision, and Russia is applying pressure on him to act against a system.

Lobbying efforts on behalf of Russian economic interests have been slightly more successful. Russia received a total of \$8.7 billion from the United States in aid between 1992 and 1998, plus \$40 billion from other countries and international organizations. American aid programs include economic reforms, such as small- and medium-enterprise development, the establishment of alternative credit sources and loan guarantees for small and micro-enterprises, and help for local governments in developing investor-friendly regulations. U.S. funds have also supported the development of political parties and free and fair elections, healthcare programs, and other social services. Recently new emphasis has been placed on funding nonproliferation programs, such as funding scientific research centers and efforts to employ Russian scientists in nonmilitary areas. Still, these funds are minuscule in comparison to Russian needs. In 1999 the U.S. Agency for International Development declared that it wanted to shift funds from the central government in Moscow and concentrate aid toward reform-minded regions, such as the Russian Far East.

Russia's gross national product was halved between 1989 and 1994, and it continues to suffer from economic recession. In August 1998 its situation worsened with the collapse of the Russian banking system; this was the result of heavy borrowing by the Russian government to fund government expenses. Russia has had to lobby very hard to get International Monetary Fund (IMF) funding (and U.S. support for IMF funding) throughout the 1990s, and while it has received some aid, the conditions imposed by the IMF were opposed, but eventually accepted, by Moscow.

Though foreign direct investment is providing some help to Russia, its situation remains bleak. Although Russia engages in trade with the United States, it ranks 30th in the list of American trade partners, between Colombia and the Dominican Republic. In 1999 Russia's federal reserves were projected to be no more than \$25 billion; this compares to \$35 billion in reserves held by New York City.

American aid to Russia has dropped since the mid

1990s, and recent allegations of corruption in the Russian government—involving a money-laundering scheme through the Bank of New York and allegations that Boris Yeltsin and his daughters made purchases with credit cards that were paid by a Russian business—make improvement in the U.S.-Russian relationship unlikely in the near future. In August 1999 Treasury Department Secretary Lawrence Summers stated that the United States would oppose further aid to Russia until the scandal was investigated thoroughly; Russia's response was to argue that allegations of corruption were exaggerated. Although Russia is investigating the claims, it also resents American pressure to do so.

Russian relations with the United States have been important since the Second World War, and Russia still has the power to affect American interests for better or for worse. Russia sees its meetings with the United

States as a symbol of its continued status as a superpower and values its friendship. Therefore, while Russia may object to much of U.S. foreign policy, it is unlikely to take steps to return to a new Cold War. At the same time, however, Russia perceives less friendship on the part of the West and may be more likely to pursue an independent path. In the near future, however, this is unlikely to make its lobbying efforts more successful.

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TAIWAN

The island of Taiwan is about 14,000 square miles in size—approximately the size of West Virginia—and is located off the southeast coast of China. It continues to resist efforts by the government of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) to claim it as territory under its sovereign control, and Taiwan refers to itself as the Republic of China. After the 1949 defeat of the Kuomintang (KMT) in the Chinese revolution, the KMT regime retreated to Taiwan and commenced a diplomatic battle over who was the legitimate government in China. Over two million refugees, mainly from the nationalist government, fled to Taiwan. They established a base in Taiwan and declared that they were the legitimate governmental representatives of China. To this day their ultimate goal is to be recognized as either the legitimate government of China or as a separate sovereign state.

Taiwan has been unsuccessful in achieving either of these goals in the United States; however, it does have unofficial representation in the United States and has received benefits such as U.S. arms sales. The Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO), which offers unofficial government representation in Washington, carries out lobbying on behalf of Taiwan. There is also an ethnic lobby, the Taiwan Benevolent Association, which fights for recognition of Taiwan as the legitimate government of China.

HISTORY

Taiwan’s lobbying effort was very successful in the United States in the early Cold War, with the Committee of One Million lobbying to preserve American recognition of Taiwan. In 1954 a Mutual Defense Treaty was formed between Taiwan and the United States. Although Secretary of State John Foster Dulles did not want America to sign the treaty, he was maneuvered into doing so during the Taiwan Strait Crisis. He agreed to the treaty in exchange for Chiang Kai-Shek’s agreement not to veto the U.S. effort to resolve the crisis through the United Nations (UN).

However, once China was perceived as a critical element in the balance of power and a state that could be interested in allying against Russia, Taiwan was unable to prevent the United States from establishing relations with China in the 1970s. The 1978 normalization of American relations with China made it difficult for Taiwan to continue to assert that it was the government of all of China. Following derecognition, the United States terminated its Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan. However, it has continued to sell the country arms and military equipment. It also maintains a policy that it will oppose the use of force by China in Taiwan. In 1979 President Jimmy Carter signed the Taiwan Relations Act, which gave domestic and legal authority for the conduct of unofficial relations with Taiwan.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

Taiwan has had a positive image among the American public and has good economic relations with the United States. Nevertheless, its record in lobbying Washington on security concerns is mixed. After criticizing the Carter administration for its official recognition of the PRC, the Reagan administration nevertheless pursued a policy of engagement with that country, despite criticism from administration hard-liners who wanted to take a stronger stand for Taiwan. Subsequent administrations have continued to resist Taiwan’s call for support of its independence from the PRC. Questions in the 1990s about whether China would become a great power and whether China would threaten U.S. interests have so far failed to lead American policy makers to offer increased support for Taiwan, though this could change in the future.

The KMT’s medium-term goal is to gain recognition as a separate state. However, its attempts to assert this status in 1999 were openly rejected by the U.S. government, which stated that it would stick to its “one China” policy, which recognizes PRC sovereignty over

Taiwan. The “one China” policy rejects both the idea that there are two Chinas and that there is one China and one Taiwan. The United States further responded to Taiwan’s effort to gain autonomy by arguing that when relations between the United States and China deteriorate, Taiwan’s position becomes more tenuous and thus Taiwan should not take actions that would destabilize U.S.-Chinese relations. This American response was a blow to Taiwanese interests.

The United States also opposes Taiwanese membership in the UN or other organizations where membership is limited to states. It does support Taiwanese membership in other international organizations, however. Taiwan seeks opportunities for nonstate entities substantively to participate in international organizations, such as the Asian Development Bank and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperative Forum. American pressure helps maintain Taiwan’s presence in these organizations. In June 1999, the House Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific marked up a bill supporting the participation of Taiwan in the World Health Organization (WHO).

In July 1998 when President Bill Clinton visited China and publicly reaffirmed the American commitment to the “one China” policy, Congress responded by passing a resolution reaffirming American commitments to Taiwan. Sponsors of the resolution stated that they intended to counter the president’s remarks, which they said represented a new and damaging direction in U.S.-Taiwanese relations.

One victory, one for which Taiwan had lobbied for over a decade, was the decision to sell U.S. F-16 jet fighters to Taiwan. This sale had been rejected as recently as June 1992, before it was approved in September 1992. Although Taiwan would have preferred more advanced models, the sale allowed for up to 150 F-16/A and F-16/B fighter jets to be sold. This contribution to Taiwan’s security was strongly opposed by China, and the approval of the sale was a big victory for Taiwan. Overall U.S. sales of arms to Taiwan include F-16s, AWACS planes, M60-A3 tanks, Knox-class destroyers, minesweepers, helicopters, Stinger missiles, and a derivative of the Patriot missile air defense system. However, the 1992 East Asia Strategic Initiative called for a phased reduction in American troops in the Pacific, and it is open to question whether Taiwanese security will continue to be a concern of the United States.

In May 1999 a Pentagon report to Congress argued that Taiwan will require either a sea- or a land-based missile defense system to protect its territory against

Chinese short- and medium-range missile attacks. Obtaining this system is one of Taiwan’s current priorities.

A symbolic victory for Taiwan took place in 1993, when the president of Taiwan sought permission to enter the United States to attend a college reunion at his alma mater, Cornell. China opposed his entry on the grounds that this was a decision for China to make; however, President Clinton agreed to let him attend the reunion.

Taiwan has had more success pursuing other interests, such as immigration policy. One successful project of the Taiwan lobby was a 1981 congressional initiative under which Taiwan-born people were given a 29,000 annual quota of immigration visas: this quota was separate from the Chinese one, and the Taiwanese-American population has been growing steadily.

Economic ties between the United States and Taiwan have grown since 1979. In the 1950s and early 1960s Taiwan received foreign economic aid from the United States; now it is a donor and investor, especially in Asia. The United States is Taiwan’s number-one trade partner, receiving 26 percent of Taiwan’s exports and supplying 19 percent of Taiwan’s imports. The United States runs a trade deficit with Taiwan, and when this threatened to become an issue, Taiwan reduced its tariffs on American-made goods. Taiwan’s 1998 trade surplus was \$14.9 billion, a decrease from the 1997 surplus of \$17 billion. Taiwan enjoys ready access to American markets.

A 1995 Harris Poll found that only 22 percent of the American public believed that the United States should help defend Taiwan, even though a majority of Americans have a positive image of Taiwan as an ally or a friend. Since China insists that Taiwan is a part of China, there are limits to how much the United States can support Taiwan on issues that the PRC opposes. Generally, the United States has tended to believe that the less it says about Taiwan, the better. Nevertheless, Taiwan maintains relations with the United States and has achieved some success in being recognized as a political entity, if not as a state.

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TURKEY

Turkey was an important North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally during the Cold War due to its strategic location near Russia. Its willingness to provide air bases that could be used for out-of-area operations continues to be valuable to the United States; it was a key ally during the Gulf War. Generally, Turkey has pursued a pro-Western policy, and the United States has consistently promoted its integration into Western institutions such as the European Union (EU). Yet opposition to Turkish interests from Greek, Armenian, Cypriot, and Kurdish lobbyists in Washington makes the job of lobbying for Turkey a difficult one.

Turkey does not have a large lobbying presence in Washington. There is an ethnic lobby, the American Friends of Turkey, although since there are only about 180,000 Turkish Americans it is not as powerful as the ethnic lobbies for Israel or the Cuban exiles. Consequently, Turkey depends primarily on efforts of its embassy and of its hired public relations firms.

HISTORY

Turkey's association with the United States began in the late 1800s, but its current relations with the United States date back to 1947, when the Truman Doctrine designated Turkey as the recipient of special economic and military assistance. Since then Turkey has received over \$4 billion in economic aid and loans and more than \$14 billion in military assistance. In 1952 Turkey became a NATO member, and its strategic location made it a valuable ally.

Until 1974 Turkey had a strong relationship with the United States. This changed after Turkey invaded the island of Cyprus in 1974, violating a 1960 treaty of guarantee for Cyprus. Turkey did so with the aim of protecting Turkish minorities there from Greek oppression following the overthrow of the Cypriot government by mainland Greek officers in the Cypriot

national guard. The subsequent hostilities led to Turkish occupation of the northern part of the island, which continues to this day. Turkey used American-made arms during this intervention.

In reaction Greek Americans successfully lobbied to reduce arms aid to Turkey, and for the next four years an embargo was imposed on military shipments to Turkey. In reaction Turkey canceled several U.S. defense activities at joint installations in an effort to increase military aid. By October 1975, however, Turkey was able to obtain a relaxation of the U.S. arms embargo. In March 1976 a new defense agreement was signed, but not approved by Congress. In September 1978 the embargo ended and U.S.-Turkish relations improved, with Turkey lifting restrictions on U.S. activities in late 1978.

The Greek lobby was also successful in imposing a ten to seven ratio on military aid to Turkey: for every \$10 in military aid to Turkey, \$7 must be sent to Greece. This ratio exists to this day, and Turkey argues that it is an unfair burden on it, given that its population is six times that of Greece and it has a heavier burden of NATO commitments. However, Turkish lobbying to remove this ratio has been unsuccessful. Nevertheless, Turkey is the third-largest recipient of military aid, after Israel and Egypt.

In early 1990 Turkey imposed temporary restrictions on American military activities in response to the U.S. Senate's consideration of a resolution to declare a day of remembrance for what Armenians and others have described as genocide of Armenians by pre-republican Turkey. Turkey lifted these restrictions after it successfully lobbied against passage of the resolution. In 1990 the United States had 10,000 members of its armed forces in Turkey; by 1992 this number was halved.

Turgut Ozal, Turkey's prime minister from 1983 to 1989 and president from 1989 to 1991, developed close personal relations with President George Bush. However, when Bill Clinton was elected president, the economic, political, and military benefits Turkey hoped for did not materialize. Turkey was able to get the United States to double its textile import quota, to \$300 million,

and the United States did lobby for Turkey's failed bid to join the EU. However, Turkey was unable to obtain the reimbursement it sought for the economic costs it paid for imposing international sanctions on Iraq.

ACTIVITIES: CURRENT AND FUTURE

In the 1990s there have been some tensions regarding Turkey's policy toward the Kurds. Turkey opposes the establishment of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq and Kurdish separatism in general. When the United States appeared to back the Kurds during the Gulf War, Turkey became very concerned. Its fear is that unless tightly controlled, the Kurdish separatist movement, as led by the Kurdish Worker's Party, will push Turkey into a civil war.

There were reports in the Turkish press that arms may have been transferred to Kurds in northern Iraq by allied troops during the Gulf War; this led Turkey to tighten its border patrols. Western reports that Turkey's action was hampering the war effort were not well received in Turkey. Turkey has had mixed feelings about Operation Provide Comfort, which patrolled the no-fly zone above the 36th parallel in northern Iraq. This provided a deterrent to prevent Saddam Hussein from trying to repeat his 1991 stampeding of Kurdish refugees toward the Turkish border, but Turks also feared that the eventual result would be an independent Kurdistan. Since the Gulf War the Turks have intensified repression against the Kurds, despite international criticism for doing so.

This is relevant to Turkish lobbying in the United States, which has linked military aid and support to human rights. America is cutting its aid to Turkey and converting it into loans; in the mid 1990s this aid dropped from \$543 million to \$450 million. In 1997 Turkey's aid was cut from \$49 million to \$25 million to protest the Turkish army's campaign against the Kurds. Then, Armenian lobbyists succeeded in chipping off another \$3 million unless Turkey opened its border gates to Armenia—Turkey closed these gates to protest Armenian actions in Nagorno-Karabagh, an Armenian region currently seeking autonomy. When Turkey lobbied against these cuts, this provoked threats that aid would be conditioned on a solution to the Kurdish problem. Turkey fears that if it continues to seek guarantees to reverse the downward trend in aid, the United States will close its Turkish bases.

While the United States has been critical of Turkish policy toward the Kurds, Turkey has been able to prevent America from actively coming to the aid of the Kurds. It appears that the United States thinks that the Kurdish problem will be more amenable to a solution once Saddam Hussein is removed from power in Iraq. However, the Turkish lobby has not been able to prevent some punitive actions taken against it. In the 1990s Turkey was unable to prevent Congress from making a 10 percent reduction of funds appropriated for Turkey until the Department of State could verify improvement of that country's human rights record and progress on confidence-building mechanisms in Cyprus. Turkey considered this to be interference with its internal affairs, yet made no effort to have the funds restored.

One other outcome Turkish lobbying seeks to prevent is the passage of congressional resolutions condemning it for the 1915–1916 massacre of Armenians. Turkey claims that Armenian charges of genocide are greatly exaggerated, yet Armenians have increased awareness of this issue, and this is likely to continue to be a challenge to Turkey's lobby in the future.

On economic issues Turkey's main interest is to obtain the route through which oil from the Caspian Sea will be shipped to the West. It is unknown exactly how much oil there is in this area, but there are at least 42 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, and Western businesses want to drill. There are two possible routes: one, the northern route, would extend a pipeline through Russia, across the Black Sea, and through the Bosphorus strait to the Mediterranean. The other route, the Mediterranean route, would go across Turkey, bypassing the Black Sea and the Bosphorus strait. Turkey is lobbying for the second route, partly for the economic benefits it would receive in compensation but also for environmental reasons. It argues that the route through the Bosphorus would increase traffic jams on one of the world's busiest waterways and that the difficulty of navigating this waterway would increase the danger of a collision and an oil spill. Such a collision occurred in the Bosphorus in 1979—over 95,000 tons of oil were dumped, some of which burned for weeks.

In early 1995 Washington decided to back the Mediterranean route. However, the company developing the pipeline, the Azerbaijan International Operating Company (AIOC), refused to commit to building the main pipeline to the Mediterranean through Turkey. The AIOC is not scheduled to decide which route to take until 2000.

Turkey seeks help for the devastation it suffered in the August 1999 earthquake in Imit. It has made successful appeals to the U.S. government and the U.S.

public for donations. The total value of American aid to Turkey for this disaster was \$11 million in goods, services, and economic assistance. Two weeks later an earthquake occurred in Greece. Turks and Greeks both came to each other's aid; this offers the potential to lead to improved relations between the two countries. If so, this would decrease opposition to Turkish interests by the Greek-American lobby. In the face of this natural disaster, Turkey appears relatively sympathetic and could have an opportunity to promote its interests more effectively in Washington.

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PART II
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES
AND LOBBYISTS:
TABLES AND FIGURES



SECTION ONE

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES



Political action committees (PACs) are organizations that pool campaign contributions from the members of an interest group and donate them to candidates for political office. PAC contributions are part of an interest group’s overall effort to gain access to, lobby, and influence elected officials. PACs have existed for several decades, but only since the mid 1970s have they been a major force in political campaigns as well as a target for critics and reformers of campaign finance laws.

As the old saying goes, “money is the mother’s milk of politics.” Because of the huge expenses of campaigns, candidates must raise large amounts of money to be competitive. Congressional candidates spent more than \$765 million in 1995–96, almost double the \$391 million spent a decade earlier. They raised \$232.9 million in 1997, a record for off-year fund-raising. Ten years earlier, in 1987, Congressional candidates raised half of that amount, \$111.5 million. Political action committees accounted for \$62.7 million of the 1997 total, or 27 percent; ten years earlier the candidates raised \$42.2 million from PACs.

It is ironic that twenty-five years ago PACs were seen as a positive step in the direction of reforming the system of campaign finance. The 1972 Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) forbade corporations and unions from contributing directly to national campaigns. Instead, it allowed them to establish their own PACs, solicit voluntary contributions for them and pay their expenses. Amendments to FECA, enacted in the wake of the Watergate scandal in 1974, allowed for the expansion of PACs by authorizing more kinds of interest groups to form them. It also imposed new financial disclosure requirements so that the public would know who was giving and receiving PAC contributions.

Each PAC can accept contributions of up to \$5,000 a year per person. In any one year no individual may contribute more than a total of \$25,000 to PACs, national party organizations, and candidates for federal of-

fice. PACs can give up to \$5,000 to a candidate for both the primary and general elections, or \$10,000 per year. Individuals can contribute only \$1,000 on their own to each candidate for each election.

While PACs are limited in the amount of money they can give to candidates directly, as long as they do not coordinate their campaign activities with the candidate or the candidate’s campaign committee there is no limit on what they may spend on behalf of a candidate. These “independent” expenditures constitute only a fraction of total PAC spending, but the amounts have been increasing each year. Because independent expenditures enable PACs to skirt the limits on contributions per campaign, critics see them as giving interest groups the very kind of disproportionate influence that the campaign finance laws were intended to guard against. FECA banned independent expenditures, but the Supreme Court reversed this ban in 1976, ruling in *Buckley v. Valeo* that it violated the First Amendment’s protection of free speech.

The Federal Election Commission (FEC) monitors and regulates PACs. Soon after they are established and begin receiving contributions, PACs must register with the FEC and report regularly their contributions and expenditures. Congressional candidates must also file with the FEC concerning which PACs are donating to their campaigns and the amounts of the donations.

THE NUMBER AND VARIETY OF PACS

The number of PACs has risen sharply over the past few decades. Although their number has declined somewhat in recent years from a high of 4,268 in 1988, PACs grew from 608 at the end of 1974 to 3,844 at the beginning of 1998. The importance of PACs in campaign finance has grown along with their numbers. In the 1981–82

election cycle, PACs contributed \$87.6 million; in 1995–96, they gave \$217.8 million.

The two main kinds of PACs are *connected* and *unconnected*. Connected PACs are those affiliated with specific interest groups, like corporations, trade associations, professional associations, and unions. The parent organization uses its own money to pay the expenses of operating and raising money for the PAC, appoints individuals who direct the PAC, and can decide how the PAC will spend its money. The PAC can solicit contributions only from members of the parent organization, such as stockholders, employees, or union members. The parent organization cannot use its own money to fund contributions, however.

Unconnected PACs are not tied to corporations, trade associations, or labor unions. Their fund-raising and operating expenses must be paid out of the PAC's funds. Unlike connected PACs, however, unconnected PACs have no restrictions on where they can solicit contributions.

Business interests representing particular firms and industries compose the largest number of PACs. These PACs contribute more money than labor union and other nonbusiness PACs. Corporate PACs gave \$78.2 million to national candidates in the 1995–96 election cycle, as compared to \$48 million from labor PACs. Of the top 20 PACs in terms of contributions, 9 were businesses and trade associations. They included the National Automobile Dealers Association, United Parcel Service (UPS), the National Association of Home Builders, Lockheed Martin, the National Association of Realtors, the American Bankers Association, AT&T Corporation, Philip Morris, and Federal Express Corporation.

Nevertheless, unions are major players in the PAC world. Nine of the top 20 PACs that contributed the most money to federal campaigns in 1997 were unions; for the 1995–96 election cycle, the figure was 12 of the top 20. The top PAC contributor in 1997 was the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which contributed over \$925,000. The leading PAC in 1995–96 was the Teamsters, which contributed \$2.6 million. Other unions among the top twenty PACs included the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Laborers' International Union of North America, the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, the United Auto Workers, the Carpenters Union, the United Transportation Union, and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers Union.

Other important PACs represent professional groups, such as the Association of Trial Lawyers of

America, the Airline Pilots Association, the American Medical Association, and the American Dental Association, which were among the top 25 PAC contributors for 1997. There are also "ideological" PACs that promote various causes, principles and policies. Among the major ideological PACs are the National Rifle Association, which has made the largest contributions among these groups, ranking eleventh among all PACs in 1997. Others include the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare, the Human Rights Campaign (gay rights), the Sierra Club, the Adam Smith PAC (free markets), the Women's Campaign Fund and the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL).

Finally, dozens of members of Congress, such as former House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA), Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO), Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA), and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-MS), have established their own "leadership PACs." "Campaign America," affiliated with former Vice President Dan Quayle, raised over \$829,000 in 1995–96. Rep. Gephardt's "Effective Government Committee" raised over \$461,000 in those years. Gingrich's "Monday Morning PAC" raised \$766,500, and the figure for Majority Leader Dick Arme's PAC was over \$737,000. Because of their clout, leaders can easily raise money from donors. They can then funnel the contributions to other candidates or keep the money for their own expenses. PACs, which can give \$10,000 every two years to the reelection committees of the leaders, such as Gephardt's and Gingrich's, can then give another \$10,000 to Gephardt's and Gingrich's leadership PACs, and these funds can then be used to benefit other candidates to whom the PACs have contributed directly.

PAC STRATEGIES AND WHO GETS THE MONEY

PACs heavily favor incumbent candidates over challengers. In the 1995–96 election cycle, incumbents received 68 percent of PAC contributions (\$145.5 million), with only 13 percent going to challengers (\$28.5 million) and 18 percent going to candidates in open races (\$39.3 million). PACs view giving money to incumbents as similar to betting on horses. They want to spend their money on candidates that are likely to win, which mostly includes incumbents. House candidates rely upon PAC contributions more than those in Senate

rices. For the average House of Representatives candidate, PACs accounted for 31 percent of the money raised; for Senate seats, the figure was 16 percent. The reason for this is that Senate campaigns are much more expensive than those for the House. The \$5,000 limitation on PAC contributions per election means that Senate candidates need to tap other sources of funds in order to raise enough money.

There are clear patterns of PAC contributions to candidates of the two major political parties. Certain PACs favor Republicans and others favor Democrats. This is most clearly the case with business and labor PACs as well as with ideological PACs. Of the top 50 business PAC recipients in 1995–96, 47 were Republicans. The top five contributors to Republican candidates were insurance companies, health professionals, commercial banks, oil and gas interests, and the GOP's own leadership PACs. All of the top 50 labor PAC recipients were Democrats. The top 5 contributors to Democratic candidates were industrial, public sector, transportation, building trades, and miscellaneous unions.

Among the ideological PACs, a similar partisan pattern is evident. The Adam Smith and antiunion National Right to Work Committee PACs, for example, gave 100 percent of their contributions to Republicans. For the conservative Eagle Forum, the figure was 99 percent; for the National Right to Life Committee, it was 91 percent; and for the NRA, it was 83 percent. By contrast, the feminist Emily's List gave 100 percent of its contributions to Democrats. For the Sierra Club, the figure was 97 percent; for Handgun Control, Inc. it was 94 percent; for NARAL it was 91 percent; for the Human Rights Campaign, it was 89 percent; for the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare, it was 80 percent; and for the Women's Campaign Fund, it was 79 percent.

However, many PACs affiliated with businesses, trade associations, and professional groups give generously to candidates in both parties. A comparison of the top 20 industry and professional groups that contribute to each party shows considerable overlap. Health professionals, lawyers and law firms, insurance companies, commercial banks, telephone utilities, accountants, crop production and basic food processing firms, and electric utilities appear on both parties' lists of top contributors. Furthermore, the apparent partisan tilt of many PACs masks a nonpartisan strategy of giving the most money to whichever party controls Congress and reflects PACs' pro-incumbent preference regardless of party affiliations. Most PACs want to curry favor with the party that controls the agenda and the flow of legislation on

the floors of both houses. For instance, although business interests are traditionally allied with Republicans, the Democrats received more contributions from those PACs than the Republicans did when the Democrats controlled Congress up through 1994. In the 1993–94 election cycle, Democrats won 54 percent of corporate PAC donations. When the GOP took over Congress after the 1994 election, business PACs immediately began to support the new Republican majority. AT&T, which had given 61 percent of its PAC money to the Democrats before 1994, gave 80 percent to Republicans in the months following the '94 election. Similarly striking reversals were followed by the United Parcel Service, Northrop Grumman, Merck & Co., Bell Atlantic, and NationsBank.

PACs target legislators whom they think will carry the greatest weight in determining policy outcomes of interest to them. Particular committees in Congress are the focus of much PAC money. The party leaders and main "money committees" are especially important: the House Ways and Means Committee and Senate Finance Committee, which deal with taxation, trade, health and welfare; Appropriations, which deals with spending; Commerce, which has jurisdiction over health, energy and communications; and Banking and Financial Services. Of the top 20 recipients of the most PAC money in 1997, 10 were members of these committees and another five were legislative party leaders. For the 1996 elections, 19 of the top 20 recipients fit these categories.

There is evidence that the contributions of specific PACs rise and fall depending upon whether a specific policy decision is on the agenda. For example, during the first half of 1993, while Congress prepared to consider President Clinton's proposed healthcare plan, PAC contributions from the healthcare industry to members of the House Ways and Means Committee rose by 46 percent, from \$671,742 to \$981,279. For the 17 new members of this committee, contributions more than tripled. A similar change occurred on the Senate Finance Committee. Once the bill was defeated, contributions from health care interests dropped off. Taking other examples, when the Republican majority proposed deregulating the telecommunications industry, PACs from Bell Atlantic, Ameritech, and other firms in the industry jumped significantly. UPS, the PAC that gave the most money, \$2.6 million, in 1992–93, opposed efforts to give the U.S. Postal Service more flexibility in setting its rates and regulations governing ergonomics that the Labor Department could issue. During 1993–94, labor fought to defeat the North American Free Trade Agreement. On the Teamsters' agenda in those years were trade issues and efforts to

block Republican attempts to cut highway funding and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. The trial lawyers' PAC opposed Republican efforts to limit punitive damages in product liability cases and other tort law reforms.

THE INFLUENCE OF PAC MONEY

What evidence is there that PAC activities actually matter? That is, do they influence electoral outcomes and public policy? For many citizens, reformers, and muckraking journalists, the answer to these questions is an unqualified "yes." For example, a few months after the House voted to repeal the ban on certain assault weapons in 1996, which was a top priority of the NRA, the NRA contributed \$2,500 to House Majority Leader Dick Arney's leadership PAC. Arney had led the charge to repeal the ban. AT&T contributed nearly \$1.4 million to congressional candidates between 1979 and 1986. Over that same period, Congress legislated tax provisions saving the corporation a total of \$12 billion. In 1997, Congress debated whether the budget for the Forest Service to build logging roads should be cut. Environmentalists supported the cuts; industry interests opposed them. Senators who voted against the budget cuts received an average of \$42,880 from timber companies from 1991 to 1998; those who voted in favor of the cuts averaged \$8,565 from those companies. House members who opposed the cuts received an average of \$3,873 from the companies; those who favored them received an average of only \$606.

The problem with this kind of evidence is twofold, however. It is anecdotal, focusing on particular instances of apparent influence, while telling us nothing about what happens the many other times in which PACs give money and policymakers make decisions affecting them. Second, it assumes that correlation is causation. We observe that a PAC which favors a certain policy gives a generous contribution to certain candidates. Next we see those candidates, or Congress generally, responding favorably by taking, or failing to take, an action consistent with the policy favored by the PAC. The problem is that we cannot be sure that Congress would not have acted in the same way in the absence of the PAC contribution and whatever other influences were operating on congressional behavior at the time. This is not to say that PAC contributions make no difference. Indeed, it would be surprising if they did not. Certainly those who contribute and operate PACs must think they make a difference or they would probably not commit the

money and effort that they do. But most political scientists would agree that pinning down the influence of PACs in a systematic manner is no easy matter.

Because PACs favor incumbents over challengers, it is possible they could help to reelect the former. One way this may happen is if incumbents are able to raise large amounts of money early, which could discourage challengers from entering the race in the first place. Incumbents already start with great advantages over challengers. Hence, the early money could be enough to intimidate otherwise highly qualified candidates. Scholars have debated whether incumbents or challengers benefit more from campaign spending once the campaign has begun. Often it is the most vulnerable incumbents who spend the most. It may be that campaign spending from PACs and other sources help challengers more than incumbents. Challengers are almost always far less well known by the voters than incumbents, so money can buy challengers name recognition and familiarity with their campaign's message that incumbents already enjoy. (This benefit accrues from initial expenditures. As more voters become aware of the challenger, the effectiveness of the spending falls.) On the other hand, incumbents may also benefit if more spending increases turnout or prevents them from losing the support of those who previously committed to them. The effect of challengers' expenditures may depend upon larger political trends. If national opinion trends favor the challenger's party, if an unpopular president is of the incumbent's party, and if macro-economic conditions are declining, then the challenger's campaign spending may make a difference.

Political scientists have also explored whether there is a relationship between PAC contributions and the roll-call votes cast in Congress. The evidence is mixed and conflicting. On the one hand, studies of votes on minimum wage legislation, the B-1 bomber, the debt limit, the windfall profits tax, wage and price controls, trucking deregulation, and legislation of interest to doctors and auto dealers suggest that PAC money affects recipients' support for these policies. One study of labor union contributions showed that contributions influence support for labor's preferred legislation, but another showed support in some congressional sessions but not in others. Yet another study found that labor's contributions had a significant impact on 5 of 9 votes on urban issues and 5 of 8 votes on general issues. On the other hand, the same study showed that business contributions were significant in only one issue conflict of each type.

Still other research suggests that campaign contributions were not important in influencing votes on the

Chrysler Corporation's loan guarantee, the windfall profits tax and dairy price supports. Another study that analyzed roll calls over an eight-year period concluded that contributions are hardly ever related to roll-call voting patterns.

CRITICISMS OF PACS AND PROPOSED REFORMS

As the number of PACs has grown and more and more money has been disbursed, critics have charged that they distort the democratic process by giving "special interests" access to elected officials that citizens who are not members of groups do not have. Furthermore, because some PACs are able to give much more money than others, some groups may have more influence. While the evidence is mixed and our knowledge is limited from which to draw firm conclusions about the effects of campaign contributions on the behavior of elected officials, it cannot be denied that the *perception* that money buys elections and influences policy outcomes exists and is a problem. If the current system engenders suspicion and cynicism, that may be reason enough to reform the system. Furthermore, since PACs give most of their money to incumbents, and since incumbents have other advantages over challengers, certain reforms might induce greater competition in congressional elections.

One proposed reform is to limit the total amount of PAC money that candidates may receive. The argument against doing this is that it may make it more difficult for challengers to seek office. Thus, this reform is often coupled with other reforms, such as permitting individuals to make larger contributions to candidates and political parties, and permitting the parties to give more to candidates and spend more on their behalf. Democrats have opposed these reforms because Republicans are able to raise more money from non-PAC sources. Also, increasing the maximum that an individual may give could increase the influence of those who are more affluent. Another proposed reform to reduce candidates' dependence on PAC money is to encourage more individuals to give small contributions by allowing them to deduct part of the contribution from their gross income or the taxes that they owe.

Yet other proposals would seek to limit the amount of money candidates may spend on their campaigns. Because of the Supreme Court ruling in *Buckley*, such lim-

its would have to be voluntary. Therefore, these proposals are typically tied to schemes that induce compliance with the limits by providing public financing. President Clinton proposed that candidates who comply with spending limits be eligible to receive some of their campaign funds from the government. If a candidate accepted the limits but the opponent did not, the candidate would receive more from the fund. This proposal has been criticized by opponents of use of the federal treasury for funding political campaigns, and has also been criticized on the grounds that spending limits could dampen electoral competition, thus helping incumbents. Finally, there are proposals to encourage voluntary spending limits by providing candidates who comply with them free media time or time at a reduced rate.

Campaign finance reform appeared on the congressional agenda frequently during the 1990s, although no major reforms were enacted. In 1995, President Bill Clinton and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, pledged to name a blue-ribbon commission to study reforms in the campaign finance system. This never happened. The two parties have differed sharply over the direction that reform should take. Democrats have advocated limiting expenditures, whereas Republicans seek to limit the sources of campaign money. Democrats have been more receptive to public financing of elections as well. Nevertheless, beginning in 1996, a bipartisan coalition led by Senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Russell Feingold (D-WI) introduced a bill to ban PACs and "soft money," and to provide free or discounted television time and reduced mailing rates to candidates willing to limit how much they spend on their campaigns. Soft money, which is money raised by the national party that gets funneled to state party organizations, falls outside federal regulations on donation limits. The McCain-Feingold bill never reached a vote on the floor of the House or Senate, mainly because of Republican opposition. In 1998, a scaled-back version was introduced, proposing to ban soft money and curb issue ads, but leaving PACs alone. Again, Republicans blocked it from coming to the floor for a vote.

GARY MUCCIARONI

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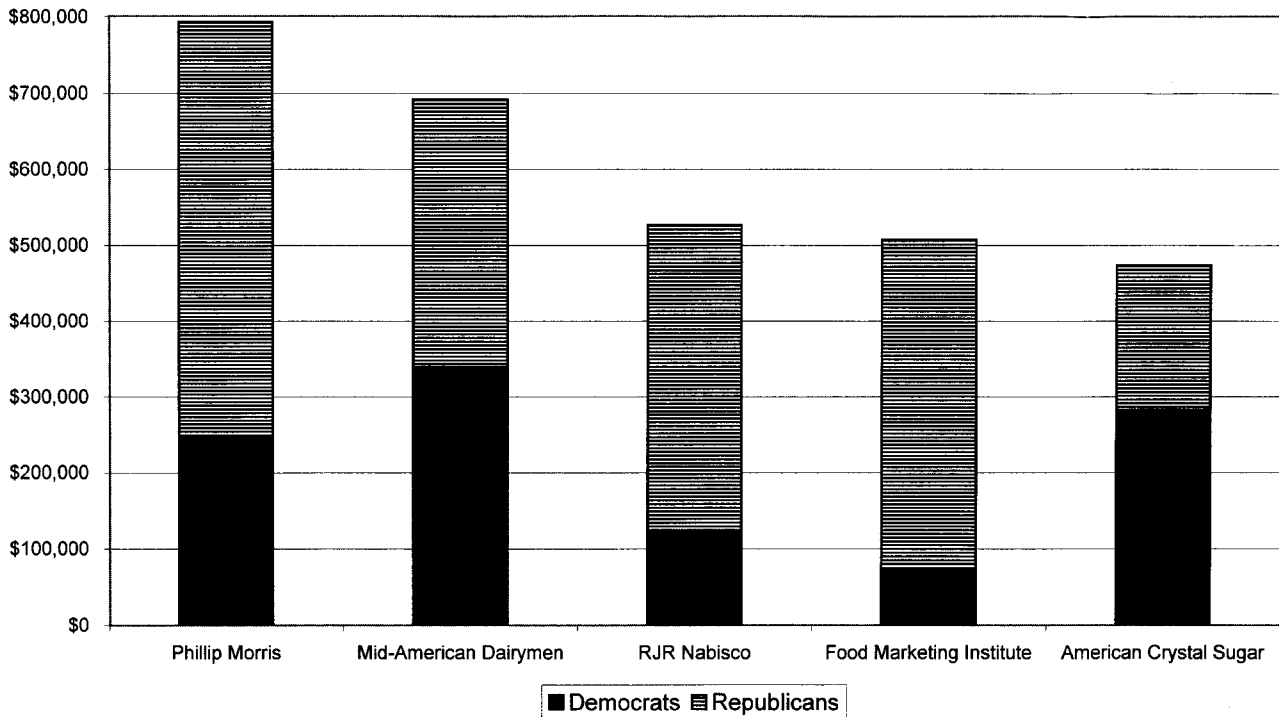
HOW TO USE THE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (PAC) TABLES

The following 69 tables list the contributions made by PACs in 1997 and 1998 for Republican and Democratic candidates for federal office, as listed and published by the Federal Election Commission. As these years represent a Congress-only election cycle, virtually all of the amounts listed are for congressional candidates. In some cases, the figures for contributions to Democratic and Republican candidates do not add up to the figure in the "total" column. This is because some of the contributions went to independent or third party candidates. Also note that many of the tables list industries in different categories than those provided in the entry section of the encyclopedia. A certain portion of the tables are accompanied by a graphic, offering a more visual presentation of the data.

Top Agriculture PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
PHILLIP MORRIS	\$793,533	\$247,471	\$546,062
MID-AMERICA DAIRYMEN	691,956	339,500	352,456
RJR NABISCO	527,000	123,000	404,000
FOOD MARKETING INSTITUTE	506,972	74,220	432,752
AMERICAN CRYSTAL SUGAR	473,850	282,500	191,350
AMERICAN VETERINARY MEDICAL	378,100	138,000	240,100
BROWN & WILLIAMSON TOBACCO	350,821	90,000	260,821
US TOBACCO	347,350	84,500	262,850
NATIONAL CATTLEMEN'S BEEF ASSN.	332,046	68,043	264,003
FARM CREDIT COUNCIL	316,452	133,122	183,330
CONAGRA INC.	303,827	73,500	230,327
AMERICAN SUGAR CANE LEAGUE	281,750	140,000	141,750
CHAMPION INTERNATIONAL	279,334	82,500	196,834
INTERNATIONAL PAPER	251,819	25,000	226,819
AMERICAN SUGARBEET GROWERS ASSN.	231,985	120,789	111,196
ALABAMA FARMERS FEDERATION	209,847	71,575	138,272
PEPSICO	205,001	42,900	162,101
ARCHER-DANIELS-MIDLAND	200,500	95,000	105,500
AMERICAN MEAT INSTITUTE	198,473	32,500	165,973
STONE CONTAINER	180,100	7,000	173,100
SOUTHERN MINNESOTA BEET SUGAR CO-OP	178,500	90,000	88,500
NATIONAL COTTON COUNCIL	177,291	80,515	96,776
FLOWERS INDUSTRIES	177,000	0	177,000
CARGILL	175,000	34,500	140,500
ASSOCIATED MILK PRODUCERS	174,500	82,700	91,800

**Top 5 Agriculture Political Action Committees
1997–1998**



Top Livestock/Poultry PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
AMERICAN VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION	\$378,100	\$138,000	\$240,100
NATIONAL CATTLEMEN'S BEEF ASSOCIATION	332,046	68,043	264,003
NATIONAL BROILER COUNCIL	120,000	33,000	87,000
NATIONAL PORK PRODUCERS COUNCIL	109,819	45,549	64,270
UNITED EGG ASSOCIATION	109,000	41,100	67,900
TEXAS CATTLE FEEDERS ASSOCIATION	85,575	15,000	70,575
NATIONAL TURKEY FEDERATION	78,750	31,250	47,500
TYSON FOODS	46,500	17,500	29,000
GOLD KIST	39,768	5,000	34,768
TENNESSEE WALKING HORSE BREEDERS	35,500	24,500	11,000

Top Dairy PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
MID-AMERICA DAIRYMEN	\$691,956	\$339,500	\$352,456
ASSOCIATED MILK PRODUCERS	174,500	82,700	91,800
INTERNATIONAL DAIRY FOODS ASSOCIATION	154,413	23,000	131,413
LAND O'LAKES	46,250	28,750	17,500
DAIRYMAN'S CO-OP CREAMERY ASSOCIATION	34,300	8,400	25,900

Top Tobacco PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
PHILIP MORRIS	\$793,533	\$247,471	\$546,062
RJR NABISCO	527,000	123,000	404,000
BROWN & WILLIAMSON TOBACCO	350,821	90,000	260,821
US TOBACCO	347,350	84,500	262,850
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	75,000	28,250	46,750

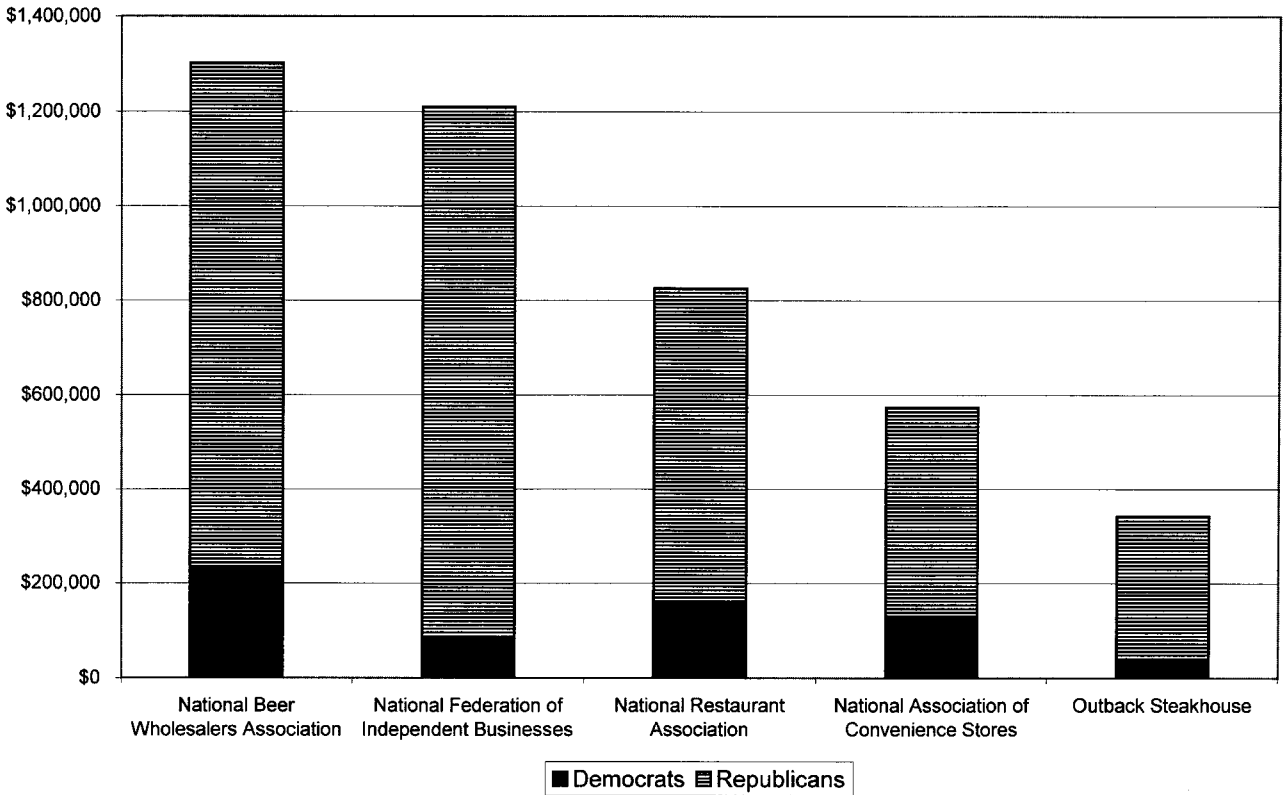
Top Forestry and Paper PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
CHAMPION INTERNATIONAL	\$279,334	\$82,500	\$196,834
INTERNATIONAL PAPER	251,819	25,000	226,819
STONE CONTAINER	180,100	7,000	173,100
WILLAMETTE INDUSTRIES	140,000	12,500	127,500
GEORGIA-PACIFIC	138,838	52,585	86,253
WEYERHAEUSER	135,687	21,627	114,060
AMERICAN FOREST & PAPER ASSOCIATION	118,207	11,800	106,407
WESTVACO	100,500	12,500	88,000
MEAD	88,350	13,000	75,350
BOISE CASCADE	55,000	9,000	46,000

Top Business PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL BEER WHOLESALERS ASSOCIATION	\$1,301,719	\$231,500	\$1,070,219
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESSES	1,209,836	86,500	1,123,336
NATIONAL RESTAURANT ASSOCIATION	825,983	157,704	668,279
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CONVENIENCE STORES	573,853	129,956	443,897
OUTBACK STEAKHOUSE	342,000	34,500	307,500
HARRAH'S ENTERTAINMENT	336,150	124,000	212,150
AMERICAN HOTEL & MOTEL ASSOCIATION	315,577	46,750	268,827
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SHOPPING CENTERS	223,999	54,000	169,999
NATIONAL FRANCHISEE ASSOCIATION	219,500	6,000	213,500
WINE & SPIRITS WHOLESALERS OF AMERICA	210,837	62,233	148,604
BUSINESS INDUSTRY	204,866	13,819	191,047
MCDONALD'S	200,500	47,500	153,000
JC PENNEY	185,500	23,900	161,600
COCA-COLA	168,024	71,074	96,950
NATIONAL FUNERAL DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION	159,150	54,650	104,500
LIMITED	156,000	22,000	134,000
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHAIN DRUG STORES	152,217	56,667	95,550
OUTDOOR ADVERTISING ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	150,136	67,298	82,838
COCA-COLA ENTERPRISES	143,566	40,000	103,566
JOSEPH E SEAGRAM & SONS	136,190	56,012	80,178
WAL-MART STORES	135,750	9,250	126,500
BROWN-FORMAN	132,000	31,500	100,500
MAY DEPARTMENT STORES	130,250	40,250	90,000
DIRECT MARKETING ASSOCIATION	127,944	57,550	70,394
MIRAGE RESORTS	127,596	53,096	74,500

**Top 5 Business Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Food and Beverage PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL BEER WHOLESALERS ASSOCIATION	\$1,301,719	\$231,500	\$1,070,219
NATIONAL RESTAURANT ASSOCIATION	825,983	157,704	668,279
OUTBACK STEAKHOUSE	342,000	34,500	307,500
WINE & SPIRITS WHOLESALERS OF AMERICA	210,837	62,233	148,604
MCDONALD'S	200,500	47,500	153,000
COCA-COLA	168,024	71,074	96,950
COCA-COLA ENTERPRISES	143,566	40,000	103,566
JOSEPH E SEAGRAM & SONS	136,190	56,012	80,178
BROWN-FORMAN	132,000	31,500	100,500
NATIONAL SOFT DRINK ASSOCIATION	117,791	37,791	80,000
ANHEUSER-BUSCH	108,050	35,350	72,700
TACO	98,428	24,100	74,328
BRINKER INTERNATIONAL	84,500	25,000	59,500
DARDEN RESTAURANTS	80,867	19,500	61,367
PIZZA HUT FRANCHISEES ASSOCIATION	80,250	0	80,250

Top Retail PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CONVENIENCE STORES	\$573,853	\$129,956	\$443,897
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SHOPPING CENTERS	223,999	54,000	169,999
JC PENNEY	185,500	23,900	161,600
LIMITED	156,000	22,000	134,000
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHAIN DRUG STORES	152,217	56,667	95,550
WAL-MART STORES	135,750	9,250	126,500
MAY DEPARTMENT STORES	130,250	40,250	90,000
DIRECT MARKETING ASSOCIATION	127,944	57,550	70,394
RITE AID	116,750	43,250	73,500
DAYTON HUDSON	94,788	44,538	50,250

Top Miscellaneous Services PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL FUNERAL DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION	\$159,150	\$54,650	\$104,500
OUTDOOR ADVERTISING ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	150,136	67,298	82,838
EQUIPMENT LEASING ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	106,800	25,300	81,500
PROFESSIONALS IN ADVERTISING	86,899	22,499	64,400
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPORARY SERVICES	66,250	23,000	43,250
SERVICE CORP. INTERNATIONAL	45,500	24,500	21,000
SERVICEMASTER	44,070	9,250	34,820
ASSOCIATION OF PROGRESSIVE RENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	43,500	18,000	25,500
NATIONAL PEST CONTROL ASSOCIATION	41,405	19,655	21,750
VIAD	35,911	3,400	32,511

Top Gambling/Recreation/Tourism PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
HARRAH'S ENTERTAINMENT	\$336,150	\$124,000	\$212,150
AMERICAN HOTEL & MOTEL ASSOCIATION	315,577	46,750	268,827
MIRAGE RESORTS	127,596	53,096	74,500
MARRIOTT INTERNATIONAL	123,500	16,000	107,500
SABRE GROUP	82,499	31,500	50,999
MGM GRAND	73,024	36,000	37,024
PROMUS HOTEL	62,500	8,000	54,500
STARWOOD HOTELS & RESORTS WORLDWIDE	62,304	33,500	28,804
HOLIDAY INNS	53,000	11,000	42,000
BOYD GAMING	52,500	27,000	25,500

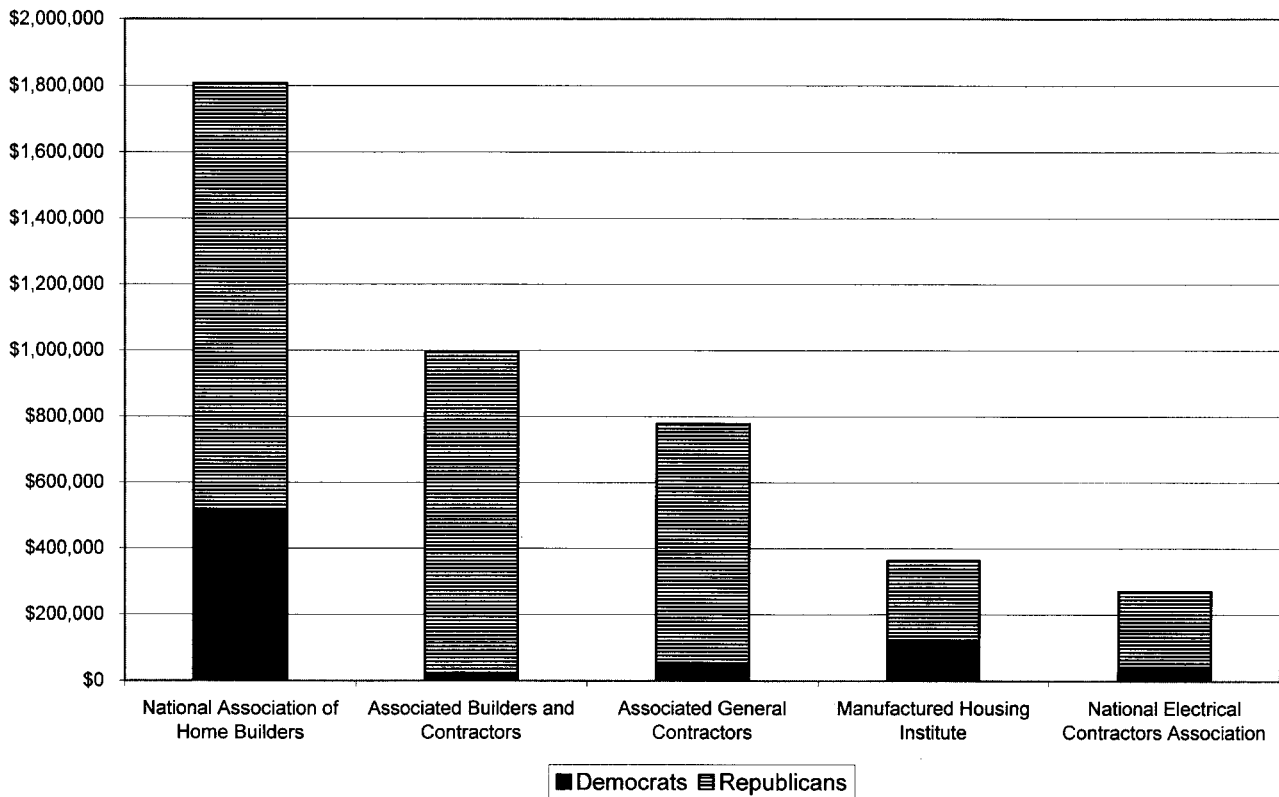
Top Miscellaneous Business PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESSES	\$1,209,836	\$86,500	\$1,123,336
NATIONAL FRANCHISEE ASSOCIATION	219,500	6,000	213,500
BUSINESS INDUSTRY	204,866	13,819	191,047
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SMALL BUSINESS INVESTMENT COMPANIES	93,000	12,000	81,000
GREATER WASHINGTON BOARD OF TRADE	61,250	21,750	39,500
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS	33,500	32,750	750

Top Construction PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL ASSN. OF HOME BUILDERS	\$1,807,240	\$517,990	\$1,289,250
ASSOCIATED BUILDERS & CONTRACTORS	996,117	21,000	975,117
ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS	778,585	53,750	723,835
MANUFACTURED HOUSING INSTITUTE	362,950	116,500	246,450
NATIONAL ELECTRICAL CONTRACTORS ASSN.	270,000	39,000	231,000
NATIONAL UTILITY CONTRACTORS ASSN.	252,865	45,416	207,449
CATERPILLAR	224,500	12,500	212,000
NATIONAL MULTI HOUSING COUNCIL	200,178	43,394	156,784
NATIONAL ROOFING CONTRACTORS ASSN.	172,250	2,500	169,750
FLUOR	162,750	48,500	114,250
AMERICAN PORTLAND CEMENT ALLIANCE	161,850	51,650	110,200
CH2M HILL	151,965	53,515	98,450
SHEET METAL/AIR CONDITIONING CONTRACTORS	151,114	19,300	131,814
NATIONAL SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS	141,512	41,250	100,262
NATIONAL STONE ASSN.	140,475	27,000	113,475
AMERICAN CONSULTING ENGINEERS COUNCIL	128,356	35,092	93,264
BROWN & ROOT	127,700	4,200	123,500
ICF KAISER INTERNATIONAL	118,625	61,425	57,200
OWENS CORNING	116,356	37,200	79,156
SVERDRUP	106,800	36,300	70,500
PARSONS BRINCKERHOFF	83,617	50,600	33,017
AMERICAN SUPPLY ASSN.	83,000	12,500	70,500
NATIONAL READY MIXED CONCRETE ASSN.	80,017	11,230	68,787
JACOBS ENGINEERING GROUP	71,544	46,044	25,500
NATIONAL LUMBER & BLDG. MATERIALS DEALERS	67,600	15,500	52,100

**Top 5 Construction Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Building Equipment/Materials PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
CATERPILLAR	\$224,500	\$12,500	\$212,000
AMERICAN PORTLAND CEMENT ALLIANCE	161,850	51,650	110,200
NATIONAL STONE ASSN.	140,475	27,000	113,475
OWENS CORNING	116,356	37,200	79,156
AMERICAN SUPPLY ASSN.	83,000	12,500	70,500
NATIONAL READY MIXED CONCRETE ASSN.	80,017	11,230	68,787
NATIONAL LUMBER & BLDG. MATERIALS DEALERS	67,600	15,500	52,100
ASSOCIATED EQUIPMENT DISTRIBUTORS	65,000	9,000	56,000
VULCAN MATERIALS	54,100	9,250	44,850
HOLNAM	47,062	13,778	33,284

Top Engineering/Architecture PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
CH2M HILL	\$151,965	\$53,515	\$98,450
NATIONAL SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS	141,512	41,250	100,262
AMERICAN CONSULTING ENGINEERS COUNCIL	128,356	35,092	93,264
ICF KAISER INTERNATIONAL	118,625	61,425	57,200
SVERDRUP	106,800	36,300	70,500
PARSONS BRINCKERHOFF	83,617	50,600	33,017
JACOBS ENGINEERING GROUP	71,544	46,044	25,500
PARSONS	47,000	15,000	32,000
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS	38,775	24,275	14,500
STONE & WEBSTER	31,560	15,450	16,110

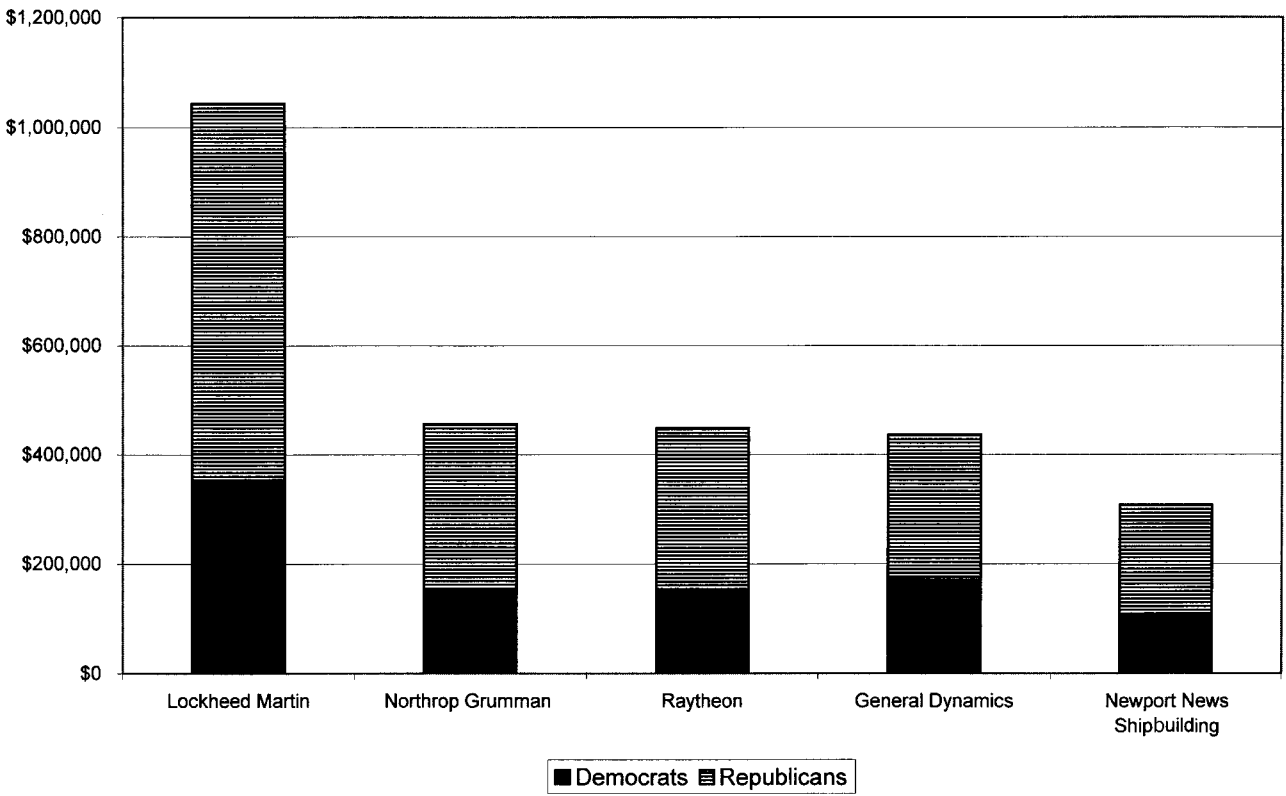
Top Contractors and Builders PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL ASSN. OF HOME BUILDERS	\$1,807,240	\$517,990	\$1,289,250
ASSOCIATED BUILDERS AND CONTRACTORS	996,117	21,000	975,117
ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS	778,585	53,750	723,835
MANUFACTURED HOUSING INSTITUTE	362,950	116,500	246,450
NATIONAL ELECTRICAL CONTRACTORS ASSN.	270,000	39,000	231,000
NATIONAL UTILITY CONTRACTORS ASSN.	252,865	45,416	207,449
NATIONAL MULTI HOUSING COUNCIL	200,178	43,394	156,784
NATIONAL ROOFING CONTRACTORS ASSN.	172,250	2,500	169,750
FLUOR	162,750	48,500	114,250
SHEET METAL/AIR CONDITIONING CONTRACTORS	151,114	19,300	131,814
BROWN & ROOT	127,700	4,200	123,500
AMERICAN ROAD & TRANSPORT BUILDERS ASSN.	64,609	13,500	51,109
MORRISON-KNUDSEN	49,600	17,250	32,350
HB ZACHRY	40,250	14,500	25,750
INDEPENDENT ELECTRICAL CONTRACTORS	38,750	1,100	37,650

Top Defense PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
LOCKHEED MARTIN	\$1,043,745	\$353,478	\$690,267
NORTHROP GRUMMAN	456,775	153,750	303,025
RAYTHEON	448,858	150,300	298,558
GENERAL DYNAMICS	436,900	170,650	266,250
NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING	308,250	105,750	202,500
MARCONI NORTH AMERICA	289,750	102,200	187,550
TENNECO	271,900	84,500	187,400
UNITED TECHNOLOGIES	259,550	106,500	153,050
TRW	236,008	64,983	171,025
SCIENCE APPLICATIONS INTERNATIONAL	227,500	72,250	155,250
TEXTRON	221,550	71,250	150,300
HARRIS	210,999	4,360	206,639
MCDONNELL DOUGLAS	193,250	69,250	124,000
ALLIEDSIGNAL	160,750	55,500	105,250
ALLIANT TECHSYSTEMS	127,750	39,250	88,500
LITTON INDUSTRIES	104,450	32,250	72,200
GENCORP	90,100	37,600	52,500
CUBIC	63,750	10,000	53,750
MANTECH INTERNATIONAL	52,750	29,250	23,500
UNITED DEFENSE	49,500	11,500	38,000
ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL	48,500	9,500	39,000
THIOKOL	46,850	11,350	35,500
DRS TECHNOLOGIES	41,550	17,250	24,300
ATLANTIC RESEARCH	31,000	8,500	22,500
KAMAN	30,800	13,800	17,000

**Top 5 Defense Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Electronics/Communications PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
BELL ATLANTIC	\$783,495	\$288,774	\$494,721
AT&T	772,460	335,177	437,283
SBC COMMUNICATIONS	761,071	307,046	454,025
NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSN.	612,968	249,388	363,580
AMERITECH	610,942	224,939	386,003
GTE	589,429	193,026	396,403
BELLSOUTH TELECOMMUNICATIONS	469,208	188,650	280,558
NATIONAL ASSN. OF BROADCASTERS	456,671	147,367	309,304
MCI TELECOMMUNICATIONS	377,250	155,750	221,500
TIME WARNER	327,073	189,440	137,633
BELLSOUTH	268,200	95,200	173,000
LUCENT TECHNOLOGIES	233,250	81,500	151,750
SPRINT	213,249	98,499	114,750
MICROSOFT	212,000	71,750	140,250
EDS	209,800	96,300	113,500
UNIVERSAL STUDIOS	209,100	89,500	119,600
US WEST	203,365	54,350	149,015
VIACOM INTERNATIONAL	173,038	82,238	90,800
WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC	170,600	55,550	115,050
PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA	167,100	22,000	145,100
WALT DISNEY	156,986	94,054	62,932
HUGHES ELECTRONICS	144,750	60,000	84,750
ASCAP	130,360	73,610	56,750
LORAL SPACECOM	127,750	85,750	42,000
SONY PICTURES ENTERTAINMENT	109,500	48,750	60,750

Top Electronic/Computer Manufacturing PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
MICROSOFT	\$212,000	\$71,750	\$140,250
EDS	209,800	96,300	113,500
WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC	170,600	55,550	115,050
INTEL	81,007	16,103	64,904
AMP	80,500	4,000	76,500
COMPUTER SCIENCES	79,500	25,000	54,500
HEWLETT-PACKARD	75,750	20,000	55,750
PHILIPS ELECTRONICS NORTH AMERICA	59,325	11,650	47,675
NCR	58,000	7,500	50,500
HONEYWELL	56,500	11,000	45,500

Top Telephone PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
BELL ATLANTIC	\$783,495	\$288,774	\$494,721
AT&T	772,460	335,177	437,283
SBC COMMUNICATIONS	761,071	307,046	454,025
AMERITECH	610,942	224,939	386,003
GTE	589,429	193,026	396,403
BELLSOUTH TELECOMMUNICATIONS	469,208	188,650	280,558
MCI TELECOMMUNICATIONS	377,250	155,750	221,500
BELLSOUTH	268,200	95,200	173,000
SPRINT	213,249	98,499	114,750
US WEST	203,365	54,350	149,015

Top TV/Music/Movies PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSN.	\$612,968	\$249,388	\$363,580
NATIONAL ASSN. OF BROADCASTERS	456,671	147,367	309,304
TIME WARNER	327,073	189,440	137,633
UNIVERSAL STUDIOS	209,100	89,500	119,600
VIACOM INTERNATIONAL	173,038	82,238	90,800
WALT DISNEY	156,986	94,054	62,932
ASCAP	130,360	73,610	56,750
SONY PICTURES ENTERTAINMENT	109,500	48,750	60,750
COMCAST	98,475	52,700	45,775
MOTION PICTURE ASSN. OF AMERICA	89,118	39,771	49,347

Top Telecommunications PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
LUCENT TECHNOLOGIES	\$233,250	\$81,500	\$151,750
HUGHES ELECTRONICS	144,750	60,000	84,750
LORAL SPACECOM	127,750	85,750	42,000
MOTOROLA	108,306	35,500	72,806
NORTHERN TELECOM	91,879	45,766	46,113
AIRTOUCH COMMUNICATIONS	91,720	33,898	57,822
CELLULAR TELECOM INDUSTRY ASSN.	87,158	32,539	54,619
COMSAT	76,003	41,250	34,753
GENERAL INSTRUMENT	47,500	4,500	43,000
AT&T WIRELESS SERVICES	45,022	13,489	31,533

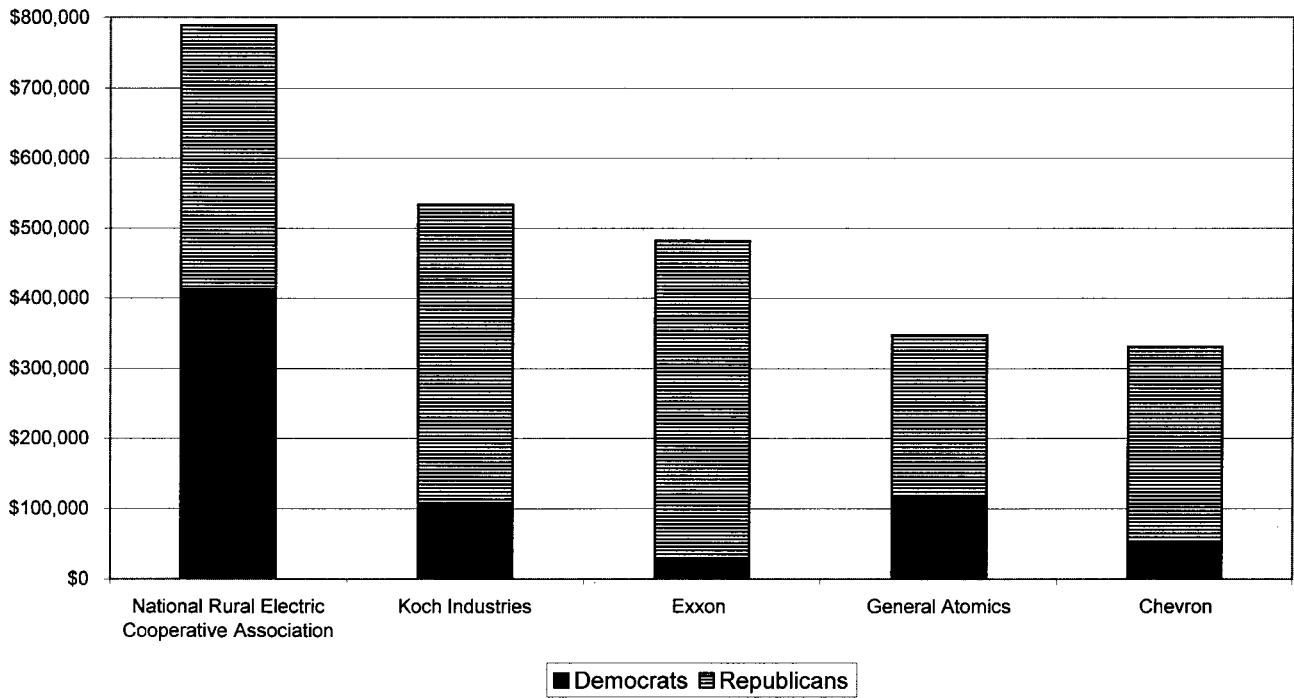
Top Printing and Publishing PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
PRINTING INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA	\$167,100	\$22,000	\$145,100
HALLMARK CARDS	66,750	15,750	51,000
PHILLIPS PUBLISHING INTERNATIONAL	64,550	100	64,450
RR DONNELLEY & SONS	59,750	6,000	53,750
NEWS AMERICA PUBLISHING	48,000	14,000	34,000

Top Energy/Resource PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSN.	\$789,771	\$412,345	\$377,426
KOCH INDUSTRIES	533,878	105,600	428,278
EXXON	482,900	27,600	454,800
GENERAL ATOMICS	347,977	115,150	232,827
CHEVRON	331,529	53,150	278,379
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EDISON	307,224	127,831	179,393
NATIONAL MINING ASSN.	282,949	37,000	245,949
CYPRUS AMAX MINERALS	268,750	45,100	223,650
MOBIL OIL	237,250	29,500	207,750
HOUSTON INDUSTRIES	222,130	71,785	150,345
PG&E	220,952	94,070	126,882
TEXACO	219,200	44,700	174,500
EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE	213,472	65,505	147,967
ENRON	209,893	64,864	145,029
PETROLEUM MARKETERS ASSN.	207,140	38,238	168,902
HALLIBURTON	190,500	6,500	184,000
FLORIDA POWER & LIGHT	182,250	37,000	145,250
AMOCO	172,500	42,000	130,500
CAROLINA POWER & LIGHT	170,500	66,500	104,000
CMS ENERGY	169,333	81,135	88,198
DTE ENERGY	161,400	79,200	82,200
OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM	161,000	50,000	111,000
UNION PACIFIC RESOURCES GROUP	159,516	33,500	126,016
TEXAS UTILITIES	157,650	72,650	85,000
EL PASO ENERGY	157,250	23,250	134,000

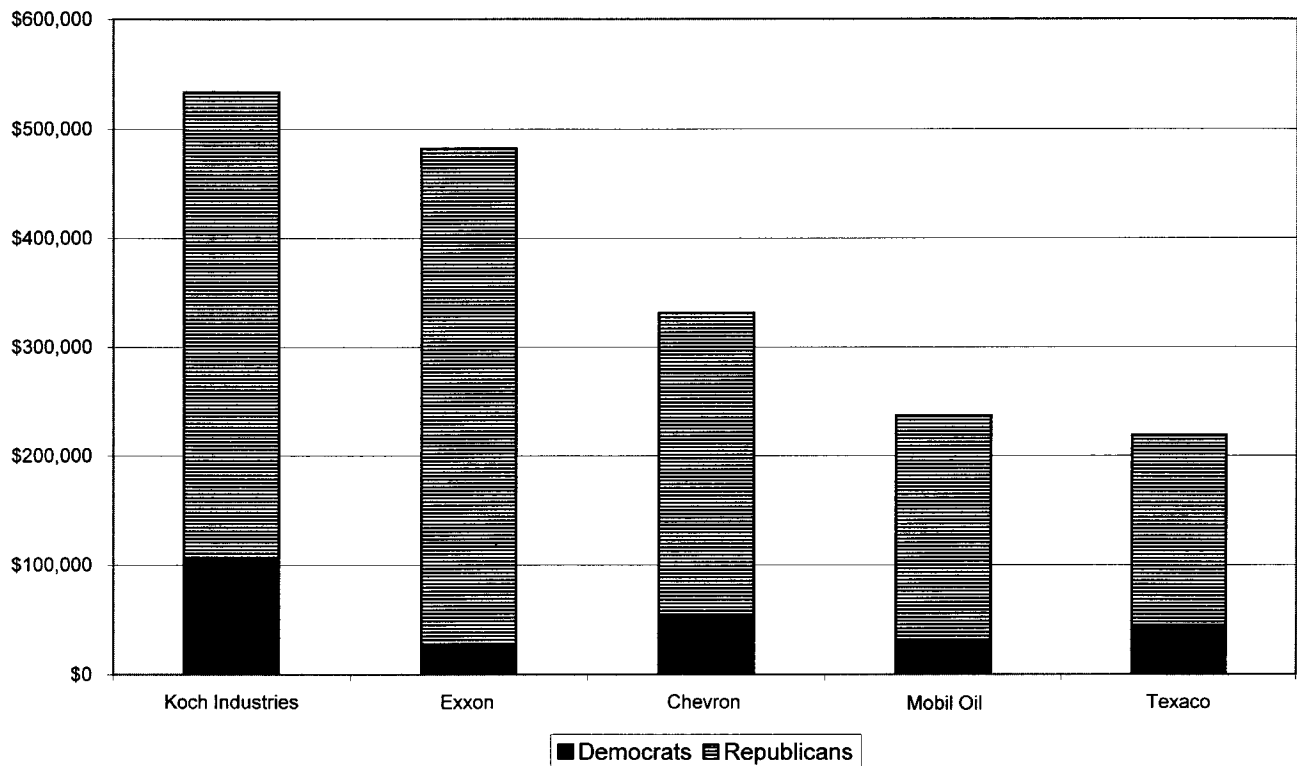
**Top 5 Energy/Resource Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Oil and Gas PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
KOCH INDUSTRIES	\$533,878	\$105,600	\$428,278
EXXON	482,400	27,600	454,800
CHEVRON	331,529	53,150	278,379
MOBIL OIL	237,250	29,500	207,750
TEXACO	219,200	44,700	174,500
ENRON	209,893	64,864	145,029
PETROLEUM MARKETERS ASSN.	207,140	38,238	168,902
HALLIBURTON	190,500	6,500	184,000
AMOCO	172,500	42,000	130,500
OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM	161,000	50,000	111,000
UNION PACIFIC RESOURCES GROUP	159,516	33,500	126,016
EL PASO ENERGY	157,250	23,250	134,000
ATLANTIC RICHFIELD	154,814	34,250	120,564
COASTAL	146,521	48,271	98,250
WILLIAMS COMPANIES	143,350	21,600	121,750
PHILLIPS PETROLEUM	132,996	19,500	113,496
SOCIETY OF INDEP. GASOLINE MARKETERS	128,000	35,500	92,500
BP AMERICA	122,361	31,250	91,111
USX	120,792	53,171	67,621
MARATHON OIL	119,250	19,500	99,750

**Top 5 Oil and Gas Political Action Committees
1997–1998**



Top Mining PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL MINING ASSN.	\$282,949	\$37,000	\$245,949
CYPRUS AMAX MINERALS	268,750	45,100	223,650
PHELPS DODGE	100,000	16,500	83,500
OHIO VALLEY COAL	88,700	5,000	83,700
PEABODY COAL	65,500	10,500	55,000
FREEPORT-MCMORAN COPPER & GOLD	62,500	25,000	37,500
DRUMMOND	61,850	21,250	40,600
BARRICK GOLDSTRIKE MINES	59,878	26,128	33,750
CLEVELAND-CLIFFS IRON	49,725	13,300	36,425
KENNECOTT	33,500	8,000	25,500

Top Electric Utility PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSN.	\$789,771	\$412,345	\$377,426
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EDISON	307,224	127,831	179,393
HOUSTON INDUSTRIES	222,130	71,785	150,345
PG&E	220,952	94,070	126,882
EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE	213,472	65,505	147,967
FLORIDA POWER & LIGHT	182,250	37,000	145,250
CAROLINA POWER & LIGHT	170,500	66,500	104,000
CMS ENERGY	169,333	81,135	88,198
DTE ENERGY	161,400	79,200	82,200
TEXAS UTILITIES	157,650	72,650	85,000
ENTERGY OPERATIONS	126,300	38,000	88,300
PUBLIC SERVICE ELECTRIC & GAS	112,314	51,735	60,579
AMERICAN ELECTRIC POWER	109,000	29,500	79,500
GENERAL PUBLIC UTILITIES	108,960	37,200	71,760
COMMONWEALTH EDISON	106,250	40,750	65,500

Top Nuclear/Misc. Energy PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
GENERAL ATOMICS	\$347,977	\$115,150	\$232,827
BECHTEL GROUP	153,900	65,900	88,000
NUCLEAR ENERGY INSTITUTE	70,819	25,624	45,195
SOUTHERN NUCLEAR	57,000	11,000	46,000
STEWART & STEVENSON SERVICES	51,750	13,750	38,000

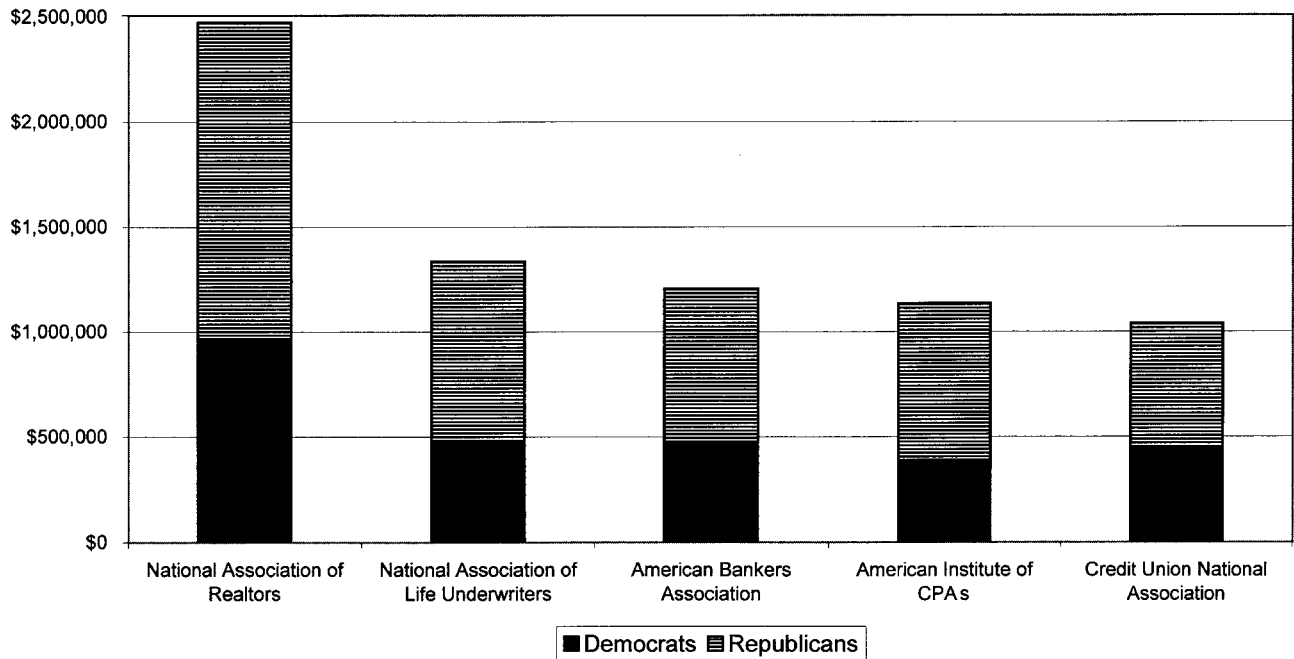
Top Waste Management/Environmental Service PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
WASTE MANAGEMENT	\$129,100	\$46,100	\$83,000
BROWNING-FERRIS INDUSTRIES	97,475	30,100	67,375
IT GROUP	88,750	23,250	65,500
BATTELLE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE	43,050	15,400	27,650
MONTGOMERY WATSON AMERICAS	42,750	21,500	21,250

Top Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL ASSN. OF REALTORS	\$2,473,633	\$966,159	\$1,507,474
NATIONAL ASSN. OF LIFE UNDERWRITERS	1,336,000	481,500	854,500
AMERICAN BANKERS ASSN.	1,205,350	469,750	735,600
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CPAs	1,134,414	387,349	747,065
CREDIT UNION NATIONAL ASSN.	1,039,333	448,796	590,537
ERNST & YOUNG	897,241	347,743	549,498
PRICEWATERHOUSE-COOPERS	889,675	300,744	588,931
BANK ONE	776,399	305,750	470,649
DELOITTE & TOUCHE	712,379	234,558	477,821
AFLAC	632,000	272,000	360,000
INVESTMENT CO INSTITUTE	563,687	214,904	348,783
MBNA AMERICA BANK	514,000	113,000	401,000
KPMG LLP	513,785	107,705	406,080
JP MORGAN	502,600	195,550	307,050
INDEPENDENT INSURANCE AGENTS OF AMERICA	500,580	173,354	327,226
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LIFE INSURANCE	495,780	129,033	366,747
INDEPENDENT BANKERS ASSN.	462,705	211,660	251,045
CITICORP	437,543	177,248	260,295
NATIONSBANK	431,950	232,250	199,700
BANKAMERICA	430,478	138,190	292,288
ARTHUR ANDERSEN	427,586	157,619	269,967
CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE	399,700	181,500	218,200
MORTGAGE BANKERS ASSN. OF AMERICA	399,494	123,224	276,270
NATIONAL VENTURE CAPITAL ASSN.	394,000	88,000	306,000
BLUE CROSS & BLUE SHIELD ASSN.	347,114	111,300	235,814
CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE	310,027	143,054	166,973

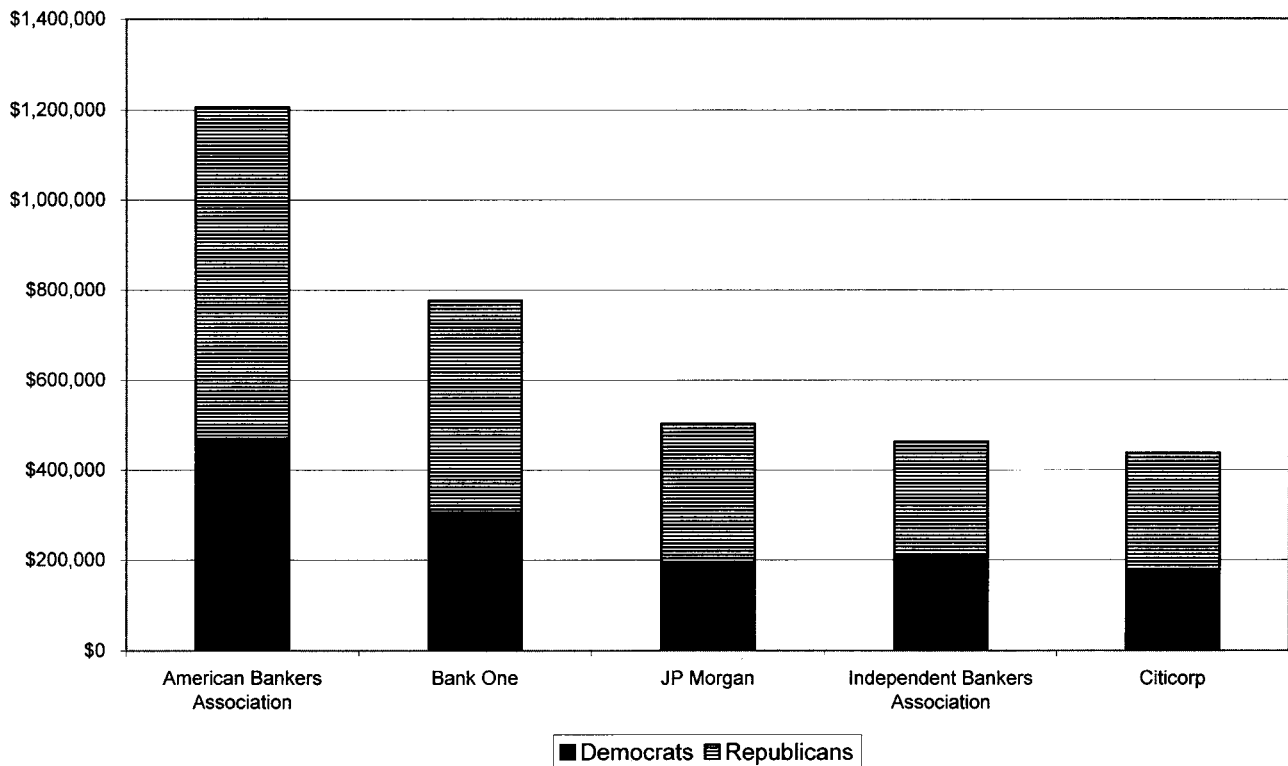
**Top 5 Finance, Insurance and Real Estate Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Commercial Bank PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
AMERICAN BANKERS ASSN.	\$1,205,350	\$469,750	\$735,600
BANK ONE	776,399	305,750	470,649
JP MORGAN	502,600	195,550	307,050
INDEPENDENT BANKERS ASSN.	462,705	211,660	251,045
CITICORP	437,543	177,248	260,295
NATIONSBANK	431,950	232,250	199,700
BANKAMERICA	430,478	138,190	292,288
CHASE MANHATTAN	299,186	102,273	196,913
NORWEST	228,425	101,200	127,225
FIRST UNION	172,499	60,820	111,679
KEYCORP	159,050	55,800	103,250
NATIONAL CITY	116,375	25,600	90,775
BANKERS TRUST	112,500	61,000	51,500
MERCANTILE BANCORP	86,000	27,050	58,950
FLEET FINANCIAL GROUP	72,474	50,474	22,000

**Top 5 Commercial Bank Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



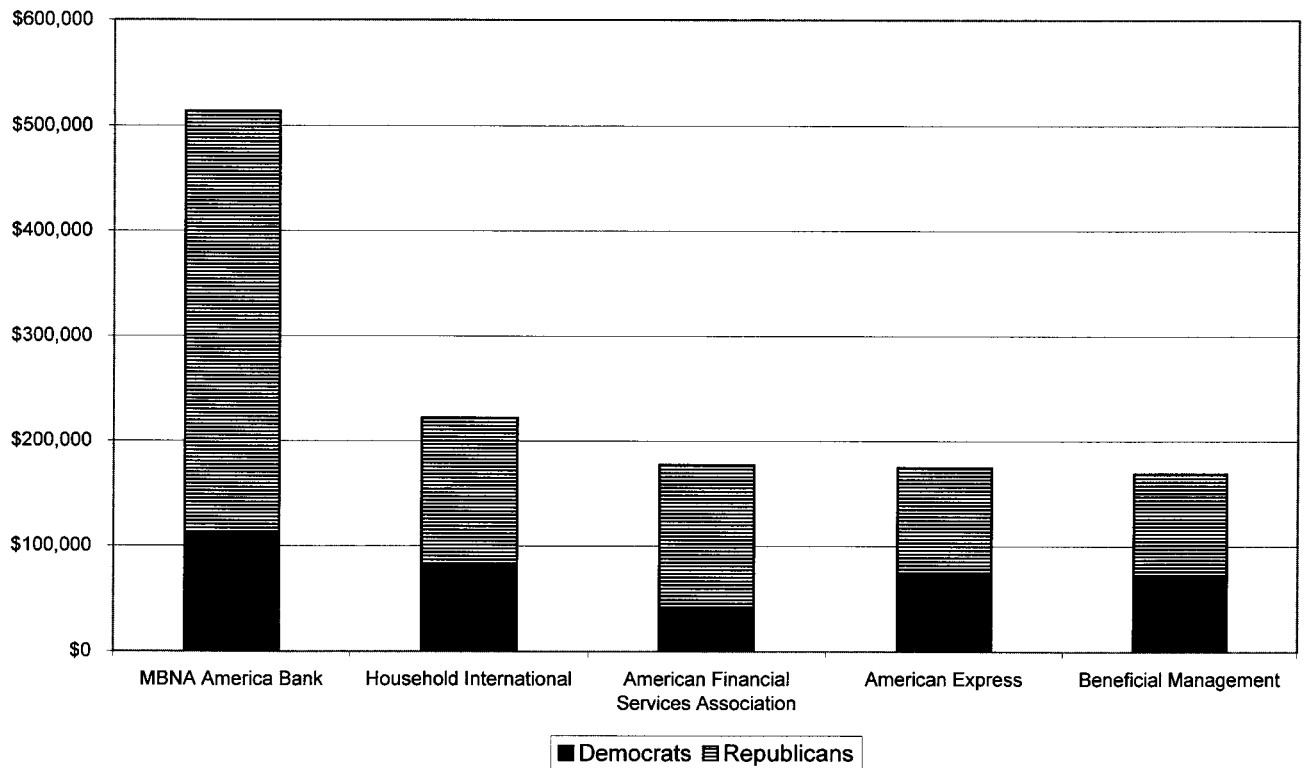
Top Savings and Loan/Credit Union PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
CREDIT UNION NATIONAL ASSN.	\$1,039,333	\$448,796	\$590,537
AMERICA'S COMMUNITY BANKERS	202,705	78,285	124,420
WASHINGTON MUTUAL	131,648	51,983	79,665
NATIONAL ASSN. OF FEDERAL CREDIT UNIONS	114,765	53,025	61,740
MICHIGAN CREDIT UNION LEAGUE	102,719	83,629	19,090
HF AHMANSON	83,600	46,000	37,600
CHEVY CHASE SAVINGS BANK	51,600	19,600	32,000
ALABAMA CREDIT UNION ASSN.	38,000	15,000	23,000
SAVINGS BANKS ASSN. OF NY STATE	33,400	16,000	17,400
WESTERN LEAGUE OF SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS	29,000	12,550	16,450

Top Finance/Credit Company PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
MBNA AMERICA BANK	\$514,000	\$113,000	\$401,000
HOUSEHOLD INTERNATIONAL	221,970	82,000	139,970
AMERICAN FINANCIAL SERVICES ASSN.	177,132	41,745	135,387
AMERICAN EXPRESS	174,550	72,550	102,000
BENEFICIAL MANAGEMENT	169,038	72,037	97,001
SALLIE MAE	153,500	63,500	90,000
ADVANTA	90,528	28,028	62,500
ASSOCIATED CREDIT BUREAUS	66,471	16,202	50,269

**Top 5 Finance/Credit Company Political Action Committees
1997–1998**



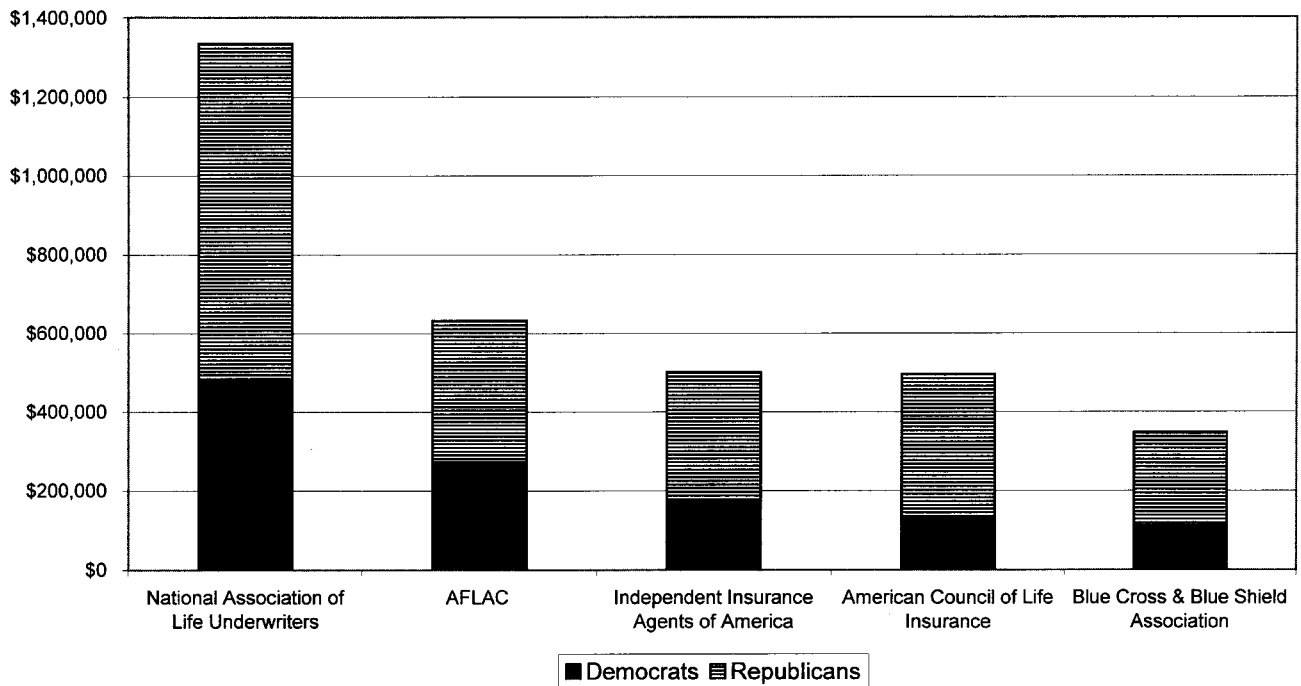
Top Security and Investment PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
INVESTMENT CO. INSTITUTE	\$563,687	\$214,904	\$348,783
CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE	399,700	181,500	218,200
NATIONAL VENTURE CAPITAL ASSN.	394,000	88,000	306,000
CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE	310,027	143,054	166,973
SALOMON SMITH BARNEY	293,303	94,675	198,628
GOLDMAN, SACHS	229,233	106,499	122,734
BOND MARKET ASSN.	227,899	81,020	146,879
CHICAGO BOARD OF OPTIONS EXCHANGE	204,499	92,499	112,000
MORGAN STANLEY, DEAN WITTER	200,625	82,500	118,125
CREDIT SUISSE FIRST BOSTON	187,500	89,500	98,000
NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE	166,309	69,309	97,000
MERRILL LYNCH	156,300	51,550	104,750
LEHMAN BROTHERS	135,650	73,050	62,600
SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSN.	134,427	54,652	79,775
SALOMON BROTHERS	130,691	70,691	60,000

Top Insurance PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL ASSN. OF LIFE UNDERWRITERS	\$1,336,000	\$481,500	\$854,500
AFLAC	632,000	272,000	360,000
INDEPENDENT INSURANCE AGENTS OF AMERICA	500,580	173,354	327,226
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LIFE INSURANCE	495,780	129,033	366,747
BLUE CROSS & BLUE SHIELD ASSN.	347,114	111,300	235,814
MASSACHUSETTS MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE	286,699	114,000	172,699
CNA FINANCIAL	269,550	57,300	212,250
UNITED SERVICES AUTOMOBILE ASSN. GROUP	259,500	30,000	229,500
NATIONAL ASSN. OF INDEPENDENT INSURERS	258,657	16,075	242,582
NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE	250,770	103,170	147,600
MUTUAL OF OMAHA	236,790	45,000	191,790
COUNCIL OF INSURANCE AGENTS & BROKERS	223,530	44,508	179,022
METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE	220,919	106,973	113,946
CIGNA	212,350	35,800	176,550
LIBERTY MUTUAL INSURANCE	196,000	55,000	141,000
PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE	192,750	81,000	111,750
NATIONAL ASSN. OF PROF INSURANCE AGENTS	189,961	32,599	157,362
NORTHWESTERN MUTUAL LIFE	169,300	70,300	99,000
CHUBB	160,286	59,250	101,036
CITIGROUP	157,524	65,600	91,924

**Top 5 Insurance Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Accounting PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CPAs	\$1,134,414	\$387,349	\$747,065
ERNST & YOUNG	897,241	347,743	549,498
PRICEWATERHOUSE-COOPERS	889,675	300,744	588,931
DELOITTE & TOUCHE	712,379	234,558	477,821
KPMG LLP	513,785	107,705	406,080
ARTHUR ANDERSEN	427,586	157,619	269,967

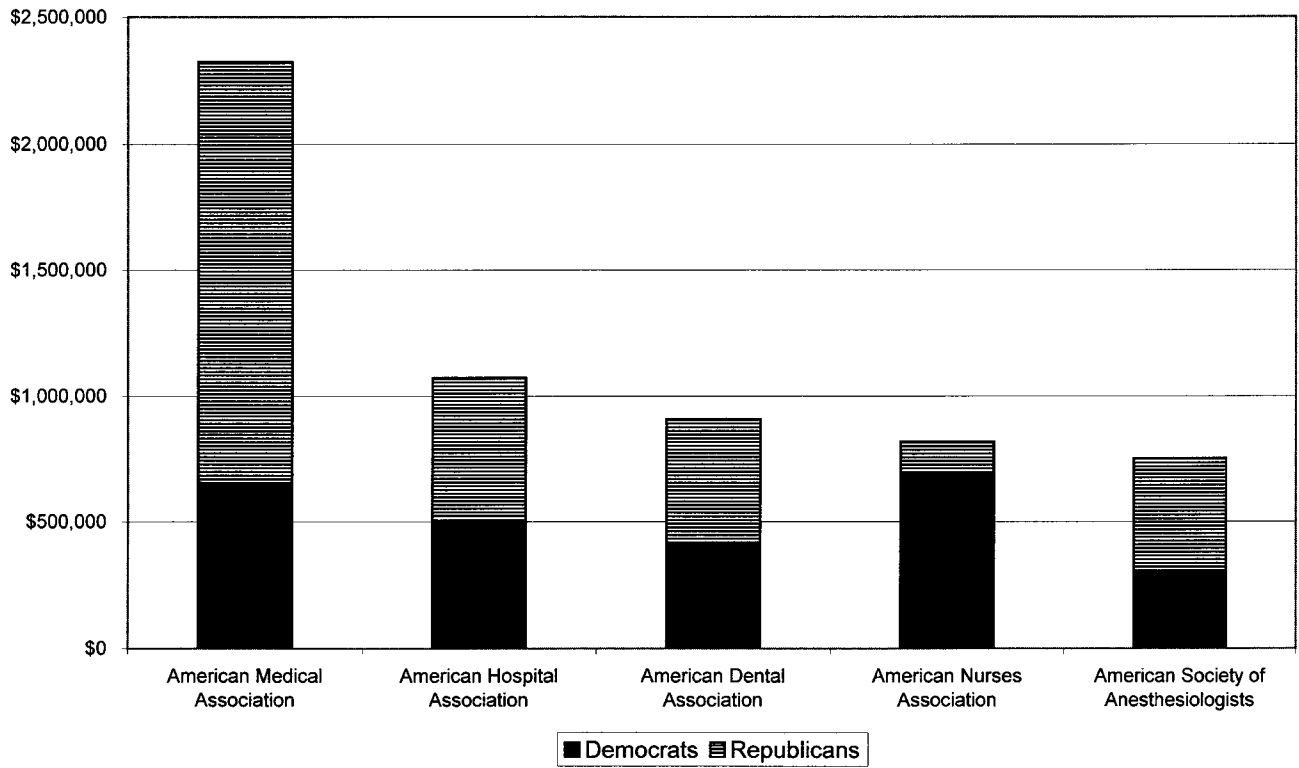
Top Real Estate PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL ASSN. OF REALTORS	\$2,473,633	\$966,159	\$1,507,474
MORTGAGE BANKERS ASSN. OF AMERICA	399,494	123,224	276,270
AMERICAN LAND TITLE ASSN.	167,291	64,713	102,578
NATIONAL ASSN. OF MORTGAGE BROKERS	112,555	33,000	79,555
NATIONAL ASSN. OF REITS	99,350	32,500	66,850
COUNTRYWIDE CREDIT INDUSTRIES	77,905	28,400	49,505
ASSN. FOR COMMERCIAL REAL ESTATE	75,800	6,250	69,550
DEL WEBB	50,130	2,750	47,380
NATIONAL HOME EQUITY MORTGAGE ASSN.	48,500	14,500	34,000
OHIO ASSN. OF MORTGAGE BROKERS	42,550	5,500	37,050

Top Health PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION	\$2,323,781	\$654,026	\$1,669,755
AMERICAN HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION	1,072,868	505,932	566,936
AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION	908,312	414,483	493,829
AMERICAN NURSES ASSOCIATION	817,848	687,248	130,600
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ANESTHESIOLOGISTS	751,529	298,725	452,804
AMERICAN HEALTH CARE ASSOCIATION	722,580	338,813	383,767
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF OPHTHALMOLOGY	579,663	323,000	256,663
AMERICAN OPTOMETRIC ASSOCIATION	519,950	310,500	209,450
GLAXO WELLCOME	406,001	110,825	295,176
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF NURSE ANESTHETISTS	401,669	172,849	228,820
AMERICAN PODIATRY ASSOCIATION	364,750	216,250	148,500
AMERICAN COLLEGE OF EMERGENCY PHYSICIANS	352,675	194,000	158,675
AMERICAN PHYSICAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	313,536	162,617	150,919
AMERICAN SPEECH-LANGUAGE-HEARING ASSOCIATION	305,127	241,635	63,492
ELI LILLY	302,800	92,750	210,050
PFIZER	301,800	91,550	210,250
AMERICAN CHIROPRACTIC ASSOCIATION	270,427	135,204	135,223
MERCK	262,437	88,747	173,690
AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	238,445	142,960	95,485
COLLEGE OF AMERICAN PATHOLOGISTS	232,638	100,138	132,500
AMERICAN DIETETIC ASSOCIATION	212,118	101,800	110,318
BRISTOL-MYERS SQUIBB	211,949	68,600	143,349
JOHNSON & JOHNSON	209,350	79,350	130,000
BAYER	187,500	50,250	137,250
ABBOTT LABORATORIES	182,371	54,122	128,249

**Top 5 Health Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Health Professional PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION	\$2,323,781	\$654,026	\$1,669,755
AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION	908,312	414,483	493,829
AMERICAN NURSES ASSOCIATION	817,848	687,248	130,600
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ANESTHESIOLOGISTS	751,529	298,725	452,804
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF OPHTHALMOLOGY	579,663	323,000	256,663
AMERICAN OPTOMETRIC ASSOCIATION	519,950	310,500	209,450
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF NURSE ANESTHETISTS	401,669	172,849	228,820
AMERICAN PODIATRY ASSOCIATION	364,750	216,250	148,500
AMERICAN COLLEGE OF EMERGENCY PHYSICIANS	352,675	194,000	158,675
AMERICAN PHYSICAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	313,536	162,617	150,919
AMERICAN SPEECH-LANGUAGE-HEARING ASSOCIATION	305,127	241,635	63,492
AMERICAN CHIROPRACTIC ASSOCIATION	270,427	135,204	135,223
AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	238,445	142,960	95,485
COLLEGE OF AMERICAN PATHOLOGISTS	232,638	100,138	132,500
AMERICAN DIETETIC ASSOCIATION	212,118	101,800	110,318
ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY	159,182	97,370	61,812
AMERICAN NEUROLOGICAL SURGERY	136,688	53,000	83,688
COMMITTEE FOR QUALITY ORTHOPEDIC HEALTH CARE	133,119	61,960	71,159
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETAIL DRUGGISTS	129,750	79,000	50,750
SOCIETY OF THORACIC SURGEONS	124,370	36,000	88,370

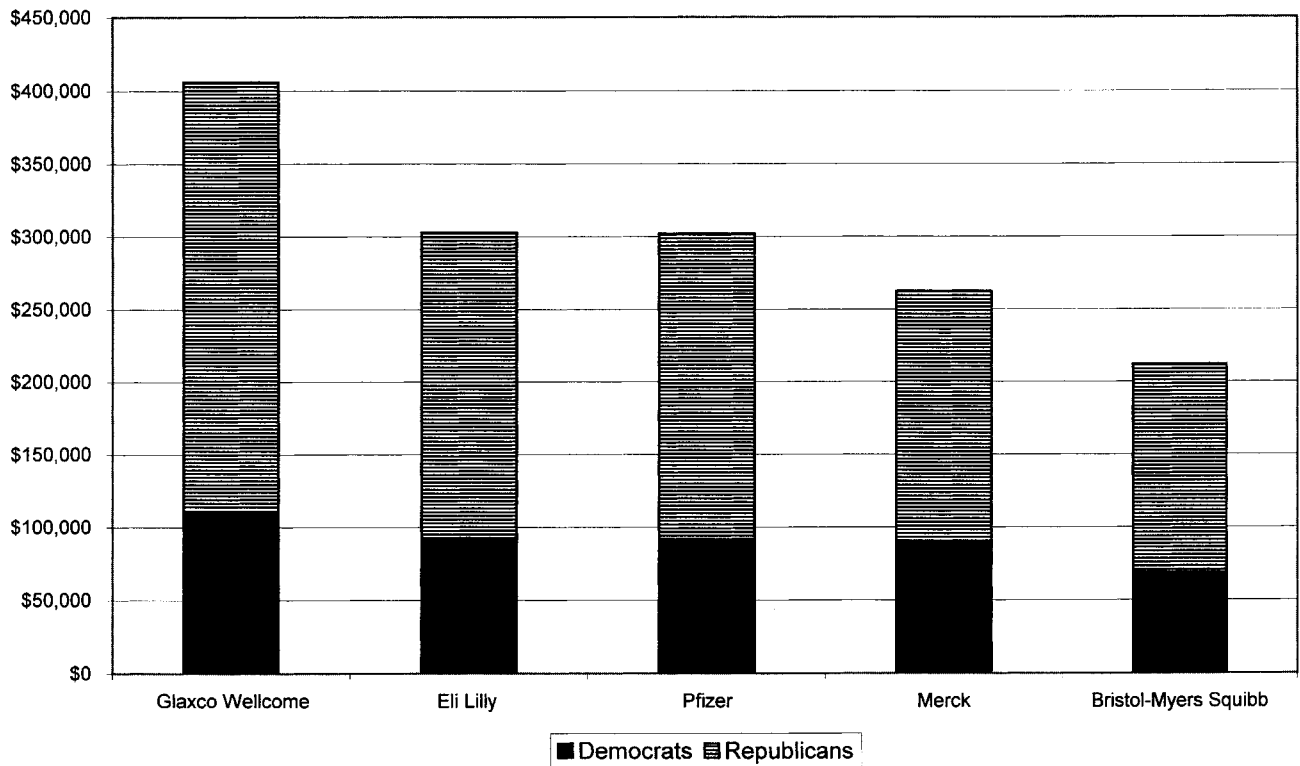
Top Hospital/Nursing Home PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
AMERICAN HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION	\$1,072,868	\$505,932	\$566,936
AMERICAN HEALTH CARE ASSOCIATION	722,580	338,813	383,767
FEDERATION OF AMERICAN HEALTH SYSTEMS	173,811	45,734	128,077
TENET HEALTHCARE	85,974	31,900	54,074
MANOR HEALTHCARE CORP	85,814	49,565	36,249
COLUMBIA/HCA HEALTHCARE	69,950	31,250	37,700
COLUMBIA/HCA HEALTHCARE-TEXAS	57,650	24,100	33,550
GENESIS HEALTH VENTURES	57,500	26,000	31,500
CALIFORNIA HEALTHCARE ASSOCIATION	40,795	27,495	13,300
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PSYCHIATRIC HEALTH SYSTEMS	35,000	10,000	25,000

Top Pharmaceutical and Health Product PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
GLAXO WELLCOME	\$406,001	\$110,825	\$295,176
ELI LILLY	302,800	92,750	210,050
PFIZER INC	301,800	91,550	210,250
MERCK	262,437	88,747	173,690
BRISTOL-MYERS SQUIBB	211,949	68,600	143,349
JOHNSON & JOHNSON	209,350	79,350	130,000
BAYER	187,500	50,250	137,250
ABBOTT LABORATORIES	182,371	54,122	128,249
SCHERING-PLOUGH	169,500	39,000	130,500
NOVARTIS	155,763	44,500	111,263

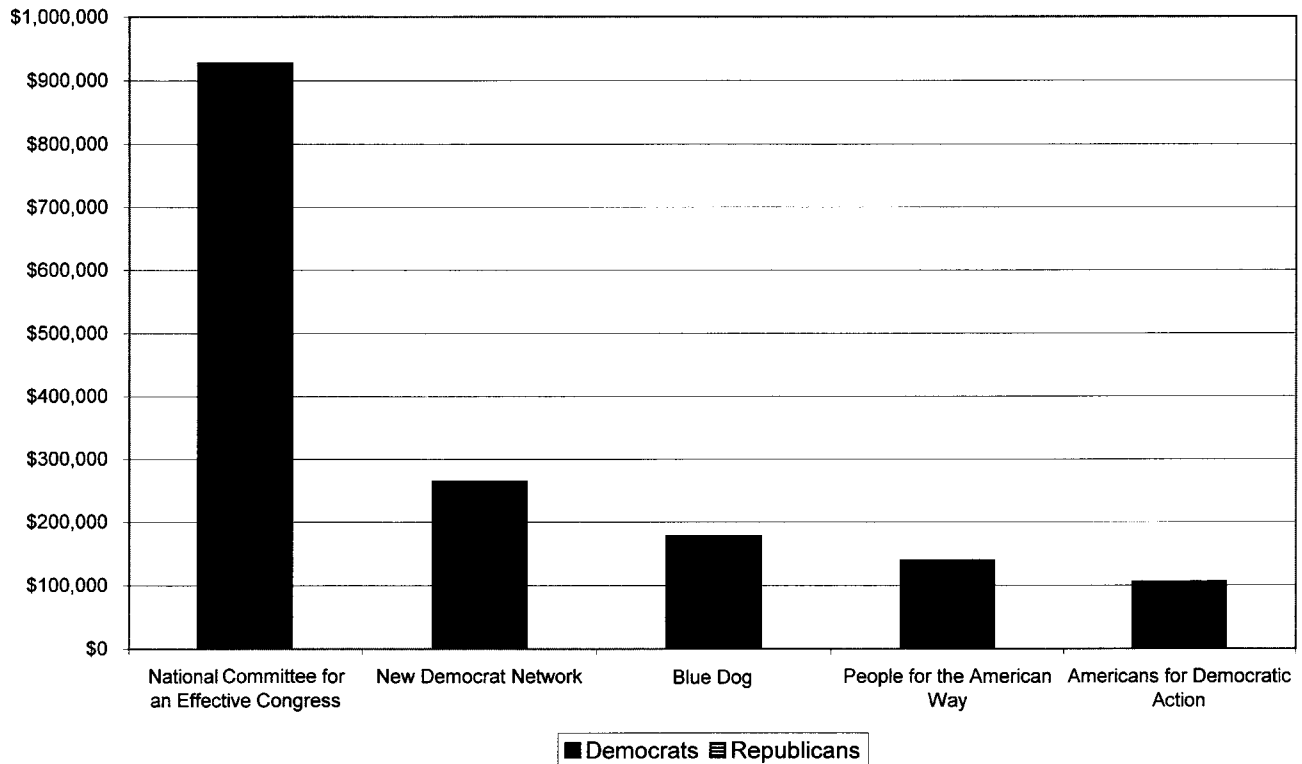
**Top 5 Pharmaceutical and Health Product Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Democratic/Liberal PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS	\$927,535	\$927,535	\$0
NEW DEMOCRAT NETWORK	264,257	264,176	81
BLUE DOG	177,500	177,500	0
PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY	139,235	138,235	1,000
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION	105,551	104,551	1,000
AMERICA WORKS	84,500	84,500	0
DEMOCRATIC STUDY GROUP CAMPAIGN FUND	43,102	43,102	0
IRISH-AMERICANS FOR A DEMOCRATIC VICTORY	15,000	15,000	0
AGENDA FOR THE 90S	11,000	11,000	0
FIFTH HORSEMAN	11,000	11,000	0

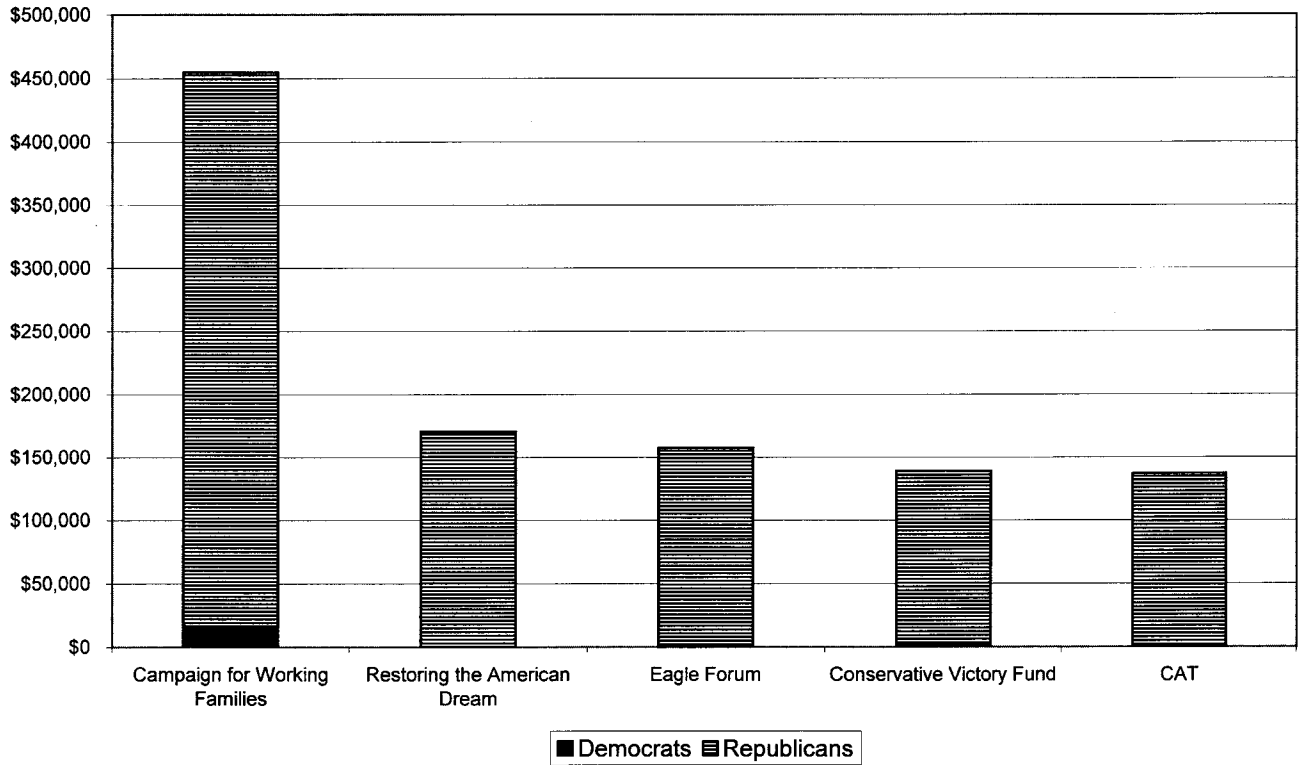
**Top 5 Democratic/Liberal Political Action Committees
1997–1998**



Top Republican/Conservative PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
CAMPAIGN FOR WORKING FAMILIES	\$454,847	\$16,500	\$438,347
RESTORING THE AMERICAN DREAM	170,500	0	170,500
EAGLE FORUM	158,912	1,500	157,412
CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND	139,224	0	139,224
CAT	137,000	0	137,000
UNITED SENIORS	125,200	8,250	116,950
BLACK AMERICA'S	103,275	0	103,275
REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL	87,500	0	87,500
DALENPAC	75,000	0	75,000
CALIFORNIA 2000	45,000	0	45,000

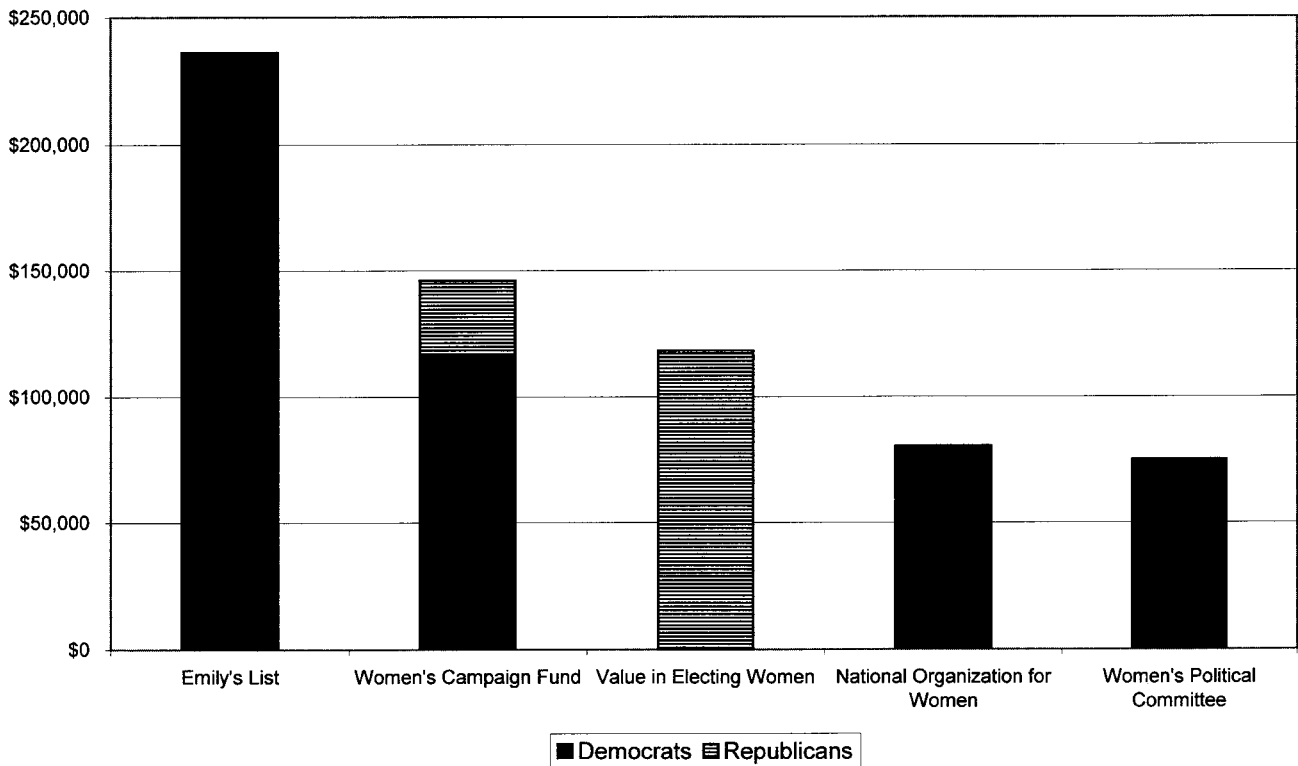
**Top 5 Republican/Conservative Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Women's Issues PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
EMILY'S LIST	\$236,221	\$236,221	\$0
WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN FUND	146,017	116,017	30,000
VALUE IN ELECTING WOMEN	118,250	0	118,250
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN	80,385	80,385	0
WOMEN'S POLITICAL COMM.	75,000	75,000	0

**Top 5 Women's Issues Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Miscellaneous Human Rights/Identity Group PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN	\$801,125	\$711,400	\$89,725
KIDSPAC	290,500	283,500	6,000
NATIONAL COMMUNITY ACTION FOUNDATION	138,500	105,000	33,500
AMERICAN AIDS	74,586	71,967	2,619
ALBANIAN AMERICAN	42,100	12,600	29,500

Top Law Firm PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
ASSN. OF TRIAL LAWYERS OF AMERICA	\$2,408,300	\$2,091,300	\$318,000
AKIN, GUMP ET AL.	384,973	166,738	218,235
VERNER, LIIPFERT ET AL.	268,054	153,358	114,696
VINSON & ELKINS	213,313	134,911	78,402
HOLLAND & KNIGHT	181,727	91,727	90,000
PRESTON, GATES ET AL.	149,782	57,684	92,098
SHAW, PITTMAN ET AL.	140,350	76,350	64,000
MCDERMOTT, WILL & EMERY	135,400	57,400	78,000
GREENBERG, TRAURIG ET AL	120,667	76,500	44,167
HOGAN & HARTSON	111,800	50,550	61,250
WILLIAMS & JENSEN	107,569	37,857	69,712
SKADDEN, ARPS ET AL.	100,500	58,000	42,500
O'MELVENY & MYERS	97,964	39,000	58,964
KING & SPALDING	96,515	39,642	56,873
WINSTON & STRAWN	95,874	44,958	50,916
FULBRIGHT & JAWORSKI	93,462	39,100	54,362
REID & PRIEST	93,055	54,305	38,750
MANATT, PHELPS ET AL.	89,379	53,379	36,000
DICKSTEIN, SHAPIRO & MORIN	88,612	39,712	48,900
POWELL, GOLDSTEIN ET AL.	87,242	52,892	34,350

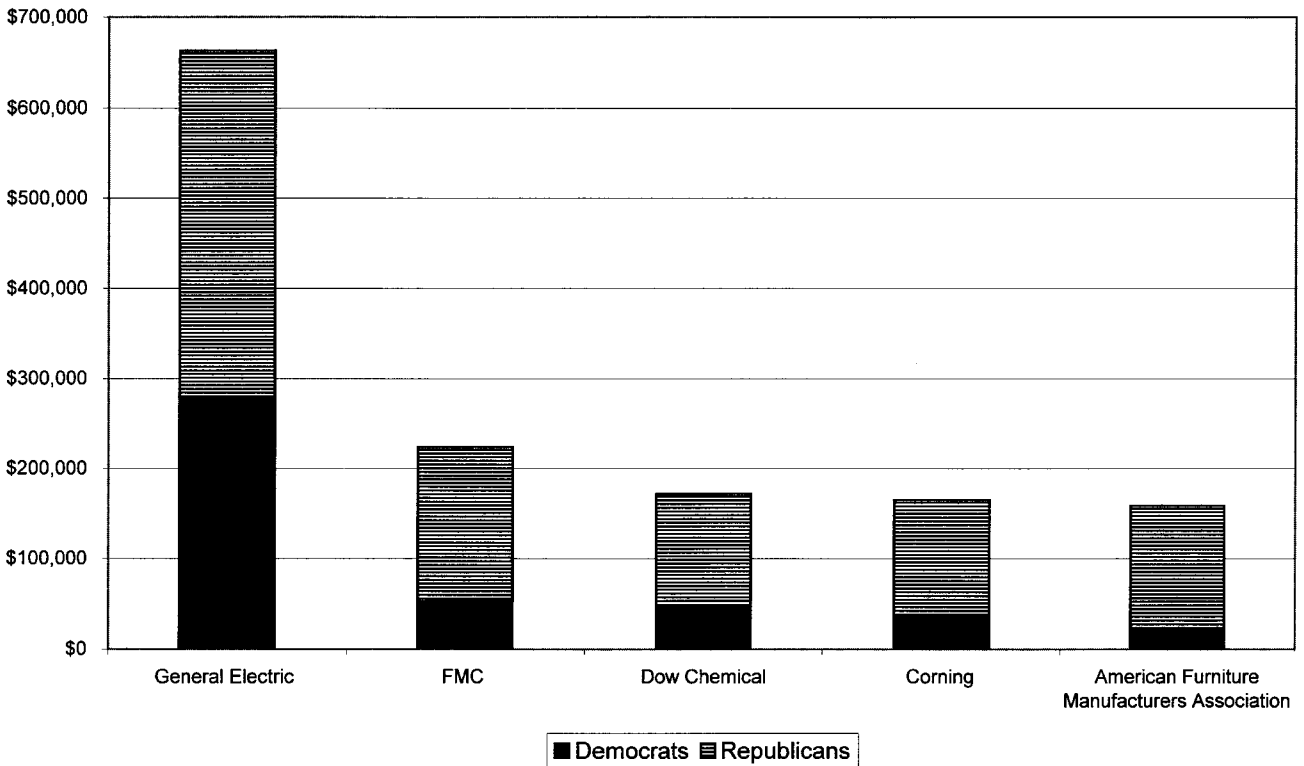
Top Lobbyist Firm PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
WEXLER GROUP	\$112,098	\$47,498	\$64,600
PAUL MAGLIOCCHETTI ASSOC.	104,500	53,500	51,000
R DUFFY WALL & ASSOC.	84,045	27,061	56,984
BURSON-MARSTELLER	70,278	21,375	48,903
HILL & KNOWLTON	54,575	26,325	28,250
LENT & SCRIVNER	38,717	2,250	36,467
JEFFERSON GROUP	38,150	19,650	18,500
FLEISHMAN-HILLARD	37,250	16,750	20,500
SYMMS, LEHN & ASSOC.	35,950	500	35,450
BROWN	33,788	15,750	18,038

Top Manufacturing PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
GENERAL ELECTRIC	\$663,000	\$278,000	\$385,000
FMC	224,000	52,750	171,250
DOW CHEMICAL	171,750	48,500	123,250
CORNING	165,257	38,000	127,257
AMERICAN FURNITURE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION	158,750	21,000	137,750
BURLINGTON INDUSTRIES	155,266	54,000	101,266
DUPONT	132,000	31,000	101,000
CHEMICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION	125,199	28,829	96,370
AMERICAN TEXTILE MANUFACTURERS INSTITUTE	119,000	40,500	78,500
PROCTER & GAMBLE	117,100	25,500	91,600
INSTITUTE OF SCRAP RECYCLING INDUSTRIES	109,499	60,499	49,000
NATIONAL MACHINE TOOL BUILDERS ASSOCIATION	98,130	17,000	81,130
TIMKEN	91,500	7,000	84,500
HOECHST CELANESE	74,500	29,500	45,000
LTV STEEL	68,250	27,750	40,500

**Top 5 Manufacturing Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Chemical Manufacturing PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
FMC	\$224,000	\$52,750	\$171,250
DOW CHEMICAL	171,750	48,500	123,250
DUPONT	132,000	31,000	101,000
CHEMICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION	125,199	28,829	96,370
PROCTER & GAMBLE	117,100	25,500	91,600

Top Steel PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
LTV STEEL	\$68,250	\$27,750	\$40,500
ALLEGHENY TELEDYNE	\$45,600	\$15,800	\$29,800
BETHLEHEM STEEL	\$43,675	\$18,175	\$25,500
AMERICAN IRON & STEEL INSTITUTE	\$31,750	\$14,750	\$17,000
AK STEEL	\$21,700	\$3,000	\$18,700

Top Textile PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
BURLINGTON INDUSTRIES	\$155,266	\$54,000	\$101,266
AMERICAN TEXTILE MANUFACTURERS INSTITUTE	119,000	40,500	78,500
SPRINGS INDUSTRIES	31,000	18,000	13,000
AMERICAN YARN SPINNERS ASSOCIATION	29,750	9,500	20,250

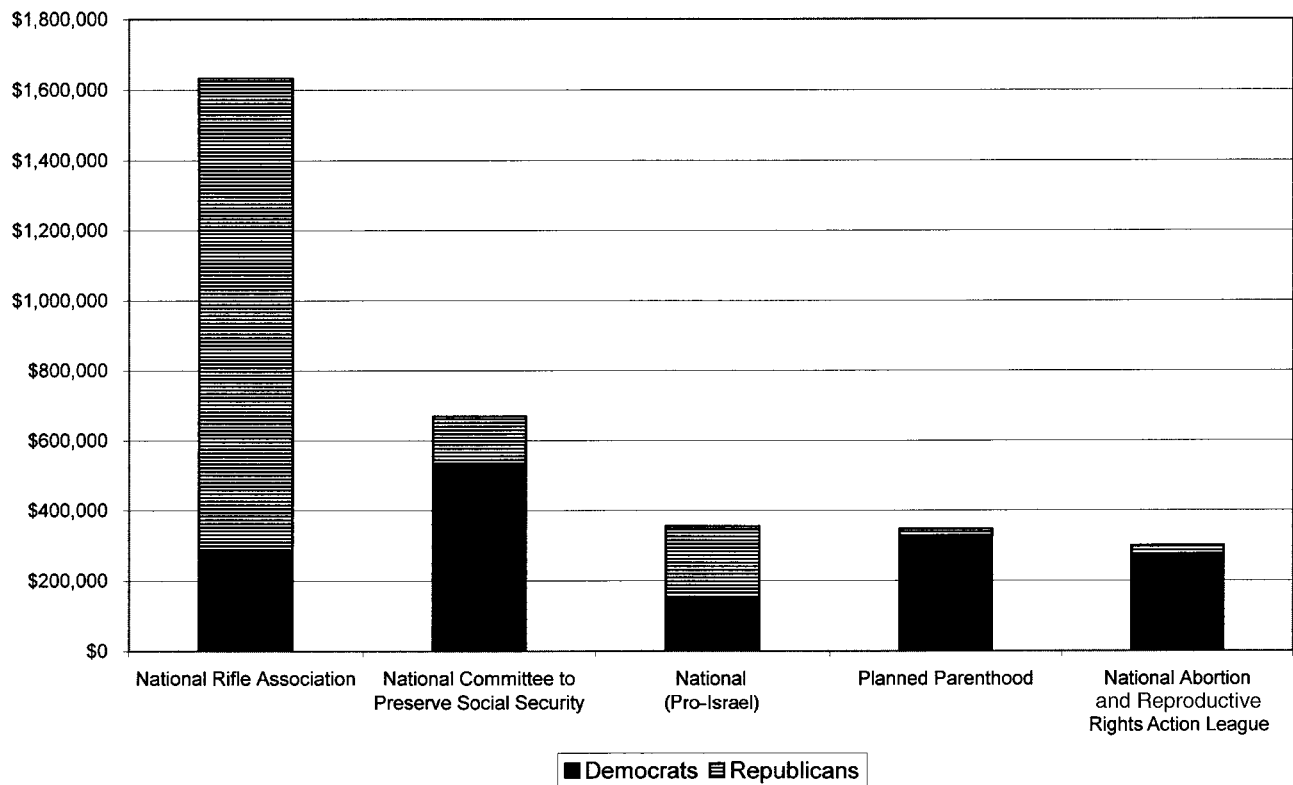
Top Miscellaneous Manufacturing PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
GENERAL ELECTRIC	\$663,000	\$278,000	\$385,000
CORNING	165,257	38,000	127,257
AMERICAN FURNITURE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION	158,750	21,000	137,750
INSTITUTE OF SCRAP RECYCLING INDUSTRIES	109,499	60,499	49,000
NATIONAL MACHINE TOOL BUILDERS ASSOCIATION	98,130	17,000	81,130
TIMKEN	91,500	7,000	84,500
HOECHST CELANESE	74,500	29,500	45,000
PRECISION MACHINED PRODUCTS ASSOCIATION	65,000	0	65,000
EMERSON ELECTRIC	64,500	3,500	61,000
PRECISION METALFORMING ASSOCIATION	63,500	0	63,500

Top Single-Issue PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION	\$1,633,211	\$283,200	\$1,350,011
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE SOCIAL SECURITY	669,246	534,057	135,189
NATIONAL (PRO-ISRAEL)	354,000	153,000	201,000
PLANNED PARENTHOOD	346,757	323,042	23,715
NATIONAL ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE	299,255	271,700	27,555
SIERRA CLUB	235,658	229,950	5,708
SAFARI CLUB INTERNATIONAL	173,846	26,000	147,846
DESERT CAUCUS	168,000	89,000	79,000
HANDGUN CONTROL	146,614	137,114	9,500
WASHINGTON	137,650	84,150	53,500
VOTERS FOR CHOICE/FRIENDS OF FAMILY PLANNING	132,569	130,339	2,230
WOMEN'S ALLIANCE FOR ISRAEL	116,000	73,500	42,500
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COALITION FOR LIFE	111,488	500	110,988
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE	106,954	10,000	96,954
AMERICANS FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT	100,350	38,350	62,000

**Top 5 Single-Issue Political Action Committees
1997–1998**



Top Pro-Israel PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL	\$354,000	\$153,000	\$201,000
DESERT CAUCUS	168,000	89,000	79,000
WASHINGTON	137,650	84,150	53,500
WOMEN'S ALLIANCE FOR ISRAEL	116,000	73,500	42,500
NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE	102,000	67,000	35,000
AMERICANS FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT	100,350	38,350	62,000
MOPAC	90,750	90,750	0
JOINT ACTION COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS	86,168	83,141	3,027
CITIZENS ORGANIZED	84,500	58,000	26,500
ST. LOUISIANS FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT	82,000	56,500	25,500

Top Environment PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
SIERRA CLUB	\$235,658	\$229,950	\$ 5,708
LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS	70,926	53,879	17,047
CALIFORNIA LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS	31,163	31,163	0
DUCK	13,500	11,500	2,000
IDAHOANS FOR THE OUTDOORS	10,700	10,700	0

Top Gun and Gun Control PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION	\$1,633,211	\$283,200	\$1,350,011
SAFARI CLUB INTERNATIONAL	173,846	26,000	147,846
HANDGUN CONTROL	146,614	137,114	9,500
GUN OWNERS OF AMERICA	56,843	911	55,932
ARENA	26,932	489	26,443

Top Pro-Choice and Pro-Life PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
PLANNED PARENTHOOD	\$346,757	\$323,042	\$23,715
NATIONAL ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE	299,255	271,700	27,555
VOTERS FOR CHOICE/FRIENDS OF FAMILY PLANNING	132,569	130,339	2,230
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COALITION FOR LIFE	111,488	500	110,988
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE	106,954	10,000	96,954

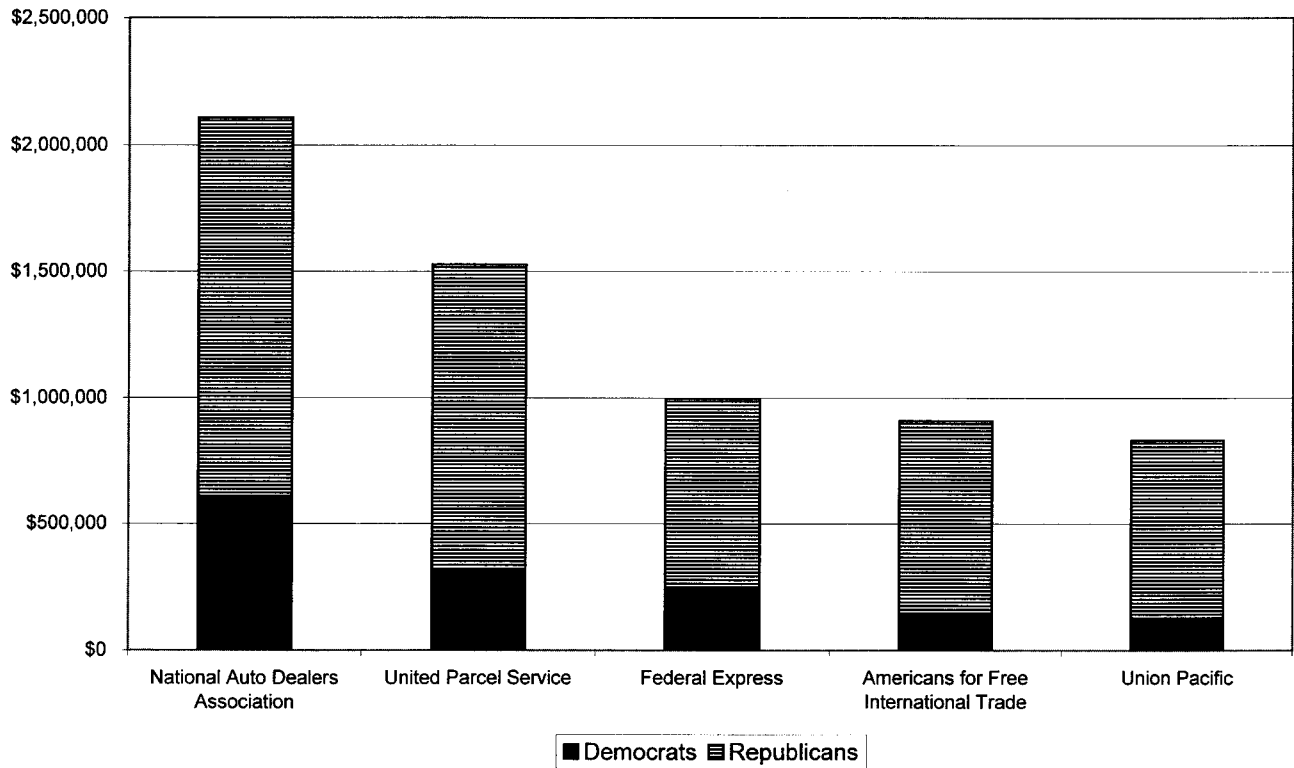
Top Miscellaneous Single-Issue PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE SOCIAL SECURITY	\$669,246	\$534,057	\$135,189
RIGHT TO WORK	61,335	0	61,335
HOWARD JARVIS TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION	31,200	200	31,000
TERM LIMITS AMERICA	29,750	8,750	21,000
FRIENDS OF HIGHER EDUCATION	28,250	13,250	15,000
CAMPAIGN FOR U.N. REFORM	23,371	23,371	0
KENNEDY SPACE CENTER SUPPORT COMM.	22,182	12,791	9,391
ENGLISH LANGUAGE	17,000	1,000	8,500

Top Transport PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL AUTO DEALERS ASSOCIATION	\$2,107,800	\$609,175	\$1,498,625
UNITED PARCEL SERVICE	1,527,149	320,174	1,206,975
FEDERAL EXPRESS	995,750	249,000	746,750
AMERICANS FOR FREE INTERNATIONAL TRADE	908,500	135,500	773,000
UNION PACIFIC	831,268	127,399	703,869
BOEING	660,175	238,800	421,375
DAIMLERCHRYSLER	493,386	192,936	300,450
AMERICAN TRUCKING ASSOCIATION	419,196	78,677	340,519
FORD MOTOR	414,750	103,200	311,550
GENERAL MOTORS	339,490	83,350	256,140
AMERICAN AIRLINES	328,708	149,723	178,985
AIRCRAFT OWNERS & PILOTS ASSOCIATION	287,500	63,500	224,000
NORFOLK SOUTHERN	263,600	86,000	177,600
BURLINGTON NORTHERN RAILROAD	209,042	65,395	143,647
UNITED AIRLINES	198,700	83,700	115,000
CSX TRANSPORTATION	194,400	69,300	125,100
GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER	178,763	25,000	153,763
NORTHWEST AIRLINES	177,388	73,500	103,888
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF CRUISE LINES	168,146	79,000	89,146
SEA-LAND SERVICE	165,175	39,675	125,500
CONTINENTAL AIRLINES	129,500	46,000	83,500
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS	111,850	32,000	79,850
YELLOW	111,500	21,500	90,000
DELTA AIRLINES	108,317	26,567	81,750
CALIBER SYSTEM	105,250	30,500	74,750

**Top 5 Transport Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Air Transport PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
UNITED PARCEL SERVICE	\$1,527,149	\$320,174	\$1,206,975
FEDERAL EXPRESS	995,750	249,000	746,750
BOEING	660,175	238,800	421,375
AMERICAN AIRLINES	328,708	149,723	178,985
AIRCRAFT OWNERS & PILOTS ASSOCIATION	287,500	63,500	224,000
UNITED AIRLINES	198,700	83,700	115,000
NORTHWEST AIRLINES	177,388	73,500	103,888
CONTINENTAL AIRLINES	129,500	46,000	83,500
DELTA AIRLINES	108,317	26,567	81,750
GENERAL AVIATION MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION	82,400	33,200	49,200

Top Automobile PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
NATIONAL AUTO DEALERS ASSOCIATION	\$2,107,800	\$609,175	\$1,498,625
AMERICANS FOR FREE INTERNATIONAL TRADE	908,500	135,500	773,000
DAIMLERCHRYSLER	493,386	192,936	300,450
FORD MOTOR	414,750	103,200	311,550
GENERAL MOTORS	339,490	83,350	256,140
GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER	178,763	25,000	153,763
ENTERPRISE LEASING	58,650	4,200	54,450
AUTOZONE	52,500	4,500	48,000
TORRINGTON	39,750	26,000	13,750
JM FAMILY ENTERPRISES	39,050	12,250	26,800

Top Trucking PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
AMERICAN TRUCKING ASSOCIATION	\$419,196	\$78,677	\$340,519
YELLOW	111,500	21,500	90,000
CALIBER SYSTEM	105,250	30,500	74,750
PACCAR	73,797	8,000	65,797
RYDER SYSTEM	60,203	18,601	41,602

Top Railroad PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
UNION PACIFIC	\$831,268	\$127,399	\$703,869
NORFOLK SOUTHERN	263,600	86,000	177,600
BURLINGTON NORTHERN RAILROAD	209,042	65,395	143,647
CSX TRANSPORTATION	194,400	69,300	125,100
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS	111,850	32,000	79,850

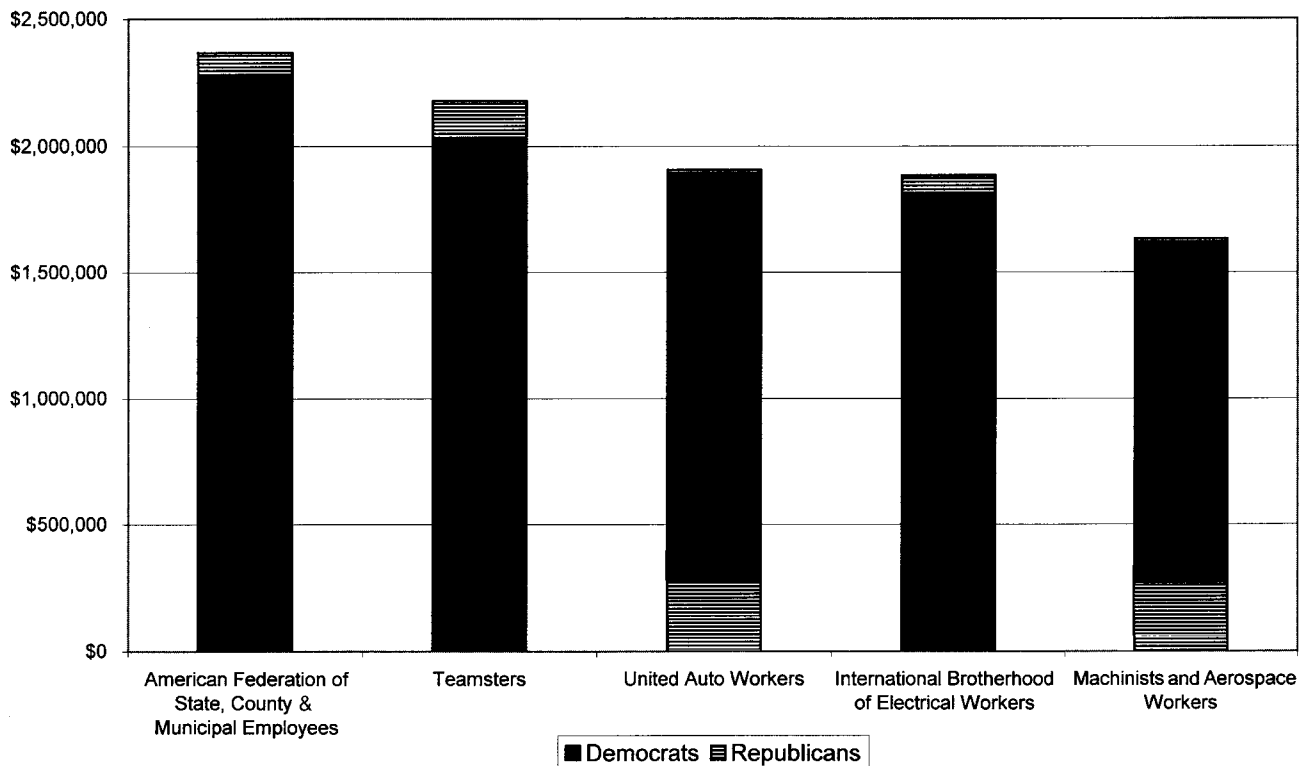
Top Sea Transport PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF CRUISE LINES	\$168,146	\$79,000	\$ 89,146
SEA-LAND SERVICE	165,175	39,675	125,500
AMERICAN COMMERCIAL BARGE LINE	73,310	13,500	59,810
SOUTHWEST MARINE	72,134	16,134	56,000
CROWLEY MARITIME	68,583	34,250	34,333

Top Union PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY, & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES	\$2,367,450	\$2,271,950	\$ 95,500
TEAMSTERS	2,178,250	2,026,450	151,800
UNITED AUTO WORKERS	1,905,460	1,885,460	20,000
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS	1,883,970	1,812,560	71,410
MACHINISTS AND AEROSPACE WORKERS	1,632,300	1,611,800	20,500
UNITED FOOD & COMMERCIAL WORKERS	1,494,951	1,457,651	37,300
LABORERS POLITICAL LEAGUE	1,412,350	1,255,850	156,500
CARPENTERS & JOINERS	1,369,923	1,279,500	90,423
SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL	1,293,099	1,264,599	28,500
UNITED TRANSPORTATION	1,285,375	1,099,525	185,850
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA	1,216,113	1,208,113	8,000
SHEET METAL WORKERS	1,159,900	1,107,400	52,500
IRONWORKERS	1,142,300	1,040,800	101,500
AFL-CIO	1,113,140	1,100,640	12,500
UNITED STEELWORKERS	1,078,462	1,074,462	4,000
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FIRE FIGHTERS	898,400	743,950	154,450
MARINE ENGINEERS DISTRICT 2 MARITIME OFFICERS	860,750	374,500	486,250
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES	820,150	732,900	87,250
AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION	816,200	633,500	182,700
PLUMBERS/PIPEFITTERS	757,100	713,600	43,500
TRANSPORT WORKERS	740,100	679,650	60,450
SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL	686,532	544,902	141,630
AMERICAN POSTAL WORKERS	569,740	558,040	11,700
BOILERMAKERS	550,664	525,664	25,000
NATIONAL AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS ASSOCIATION	541,150	479,050	62,100
AMALGAMATED TRANSIT	509,575	458,875	50,700
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION	477,600	454,150	23,450
UNITED MINE WORKERS	444,550	431,550	13,000

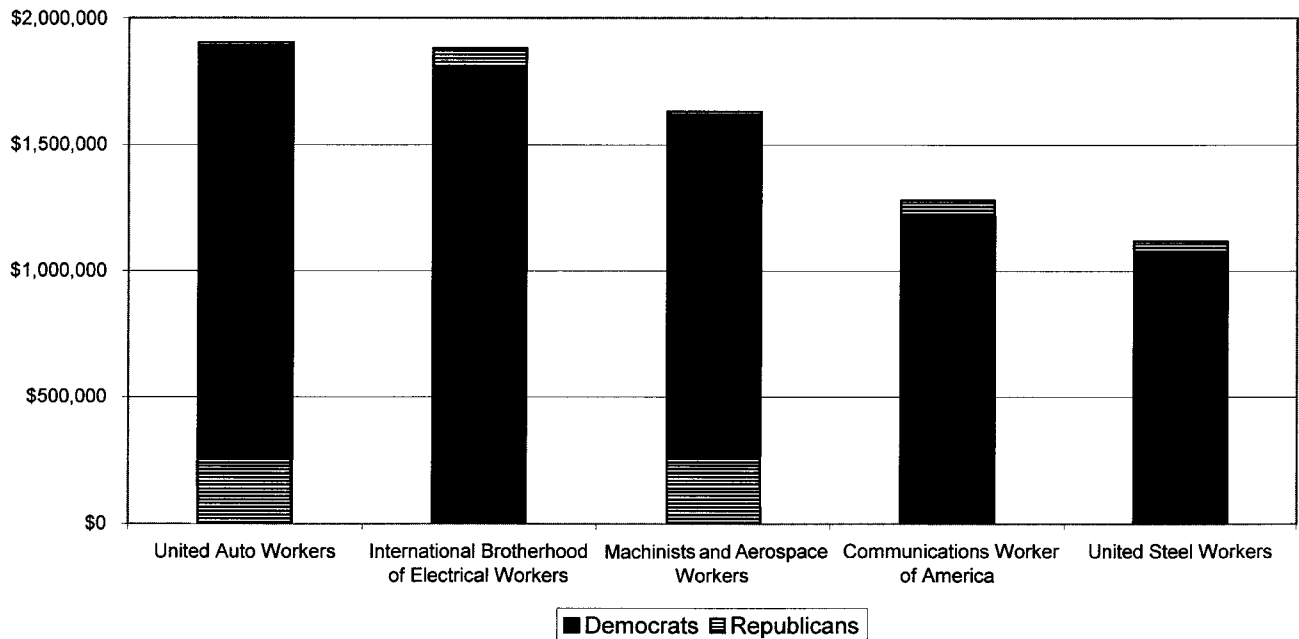
**Top 5 Union Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Industrial Union PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
UNITED AUTO WORKERS	\$1,905,460	\$1,885,460	\$20,000
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS	1,883,970	1,812,560	71,410
MACHINISTS AND AEROSPACE WORKERS UNION	1,632,300	1,611,800	20,500
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA	1,216,113	1,208,113	8,000
UNITED STEELWORKERS	1,078,462	1,074,462	4,000
BOILERMAKERS	550,664	525,664	25,000
UNITED MINE WORKERS	444,550	431,550	13,000
UNITE (UNION OF NEEDLETRADES EMPLOYEES)	361,871	346,371	15,500
ELECTRONIC MACHINE FURNITURE WORKERS	271,125	271,125	0
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS	121,900	121,900	0

**Top 5 Industrial Union Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Transport Union PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
TEAMSTERS UNION	\$2,178,250	\$2,026,450	\$151,800
UNITED TRANSPORTATION	1,285,375	1,099,525	185,850
MARINE ENGINEERS DISTRICT 2 MARITIME OFFICERS	860,750	374,500	486,250
AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION	816,200	633,500	182,700
TRANSPORT WORKERS	740,100	679,650	60,450
SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL	686,532	544,902	141,630
NATIONAL AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS ASSOCIATION	541,150	479,050	62,100
AMALGAMATED TRANSIT	509,575	458,875	50,700
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION	477,600	454,150	23,450
MARINE ENGINEERS DISTRICT 1/PACIFIC COAST DISTRICT	416,985	265,285	151,700
BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS	386,879	363,914	22,965
TRANSPORTATION COMMUNICATION INTERNATIONAL	323,350	291,850	31,500
MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES	255,466	230,166	25,300
ALLIED PILOTS ASSOCIATION	223,500	102,500	121,000
ASSOCIATION OF FLIGHT ATTENDANTS	193,350	185,850	7,500

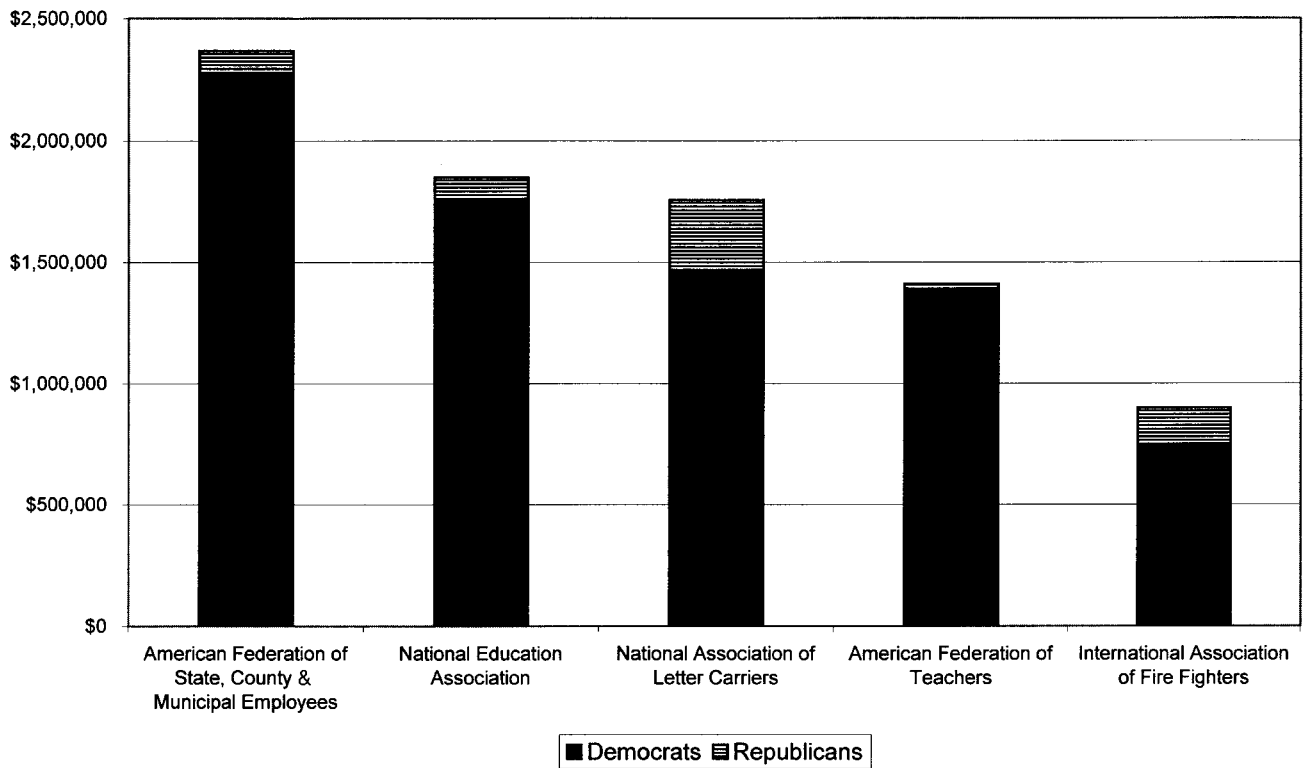
Top Building Trade Union PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
LABORERS POLITICAL LEAGUE	\$1,412,350	\$1,255,850	\$156,500
CARPENTERS & JOINERS UNION	1,369,923	1,279,500	90,423
SHEET METAL WORKERS UNION	1,159,900	1,107,400	52,500
IRONWORKERS	1,142,300	1,040,800	101,500
PLUMBERS AND PIPEFITTERS	757,100	713,600	43,500
PAINTERS & ALLIED TRADES	259,268	253,268	6,000
BRICKLAYERS	229,175	211,675	17,500
LABORERS	111,000	111,000	0
AFL-CIO BLDG/CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPT	91,650	59,150	32,500
OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 12	71,337	71,337	0

Top Public-Sector Union PACs 1997–1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES	\$2,367,450	\$2,271,950	\$95,500
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION	1,853,390	1,751,540	97,850
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS	1,763,496	1,458,996	297,000
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS	1,415,400	1,386,500	23,400
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FIRE FIGHTERS	898,400	743,950	154,450
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES	820,150	732,900	87,250
AMERICAN POSTAL WORKERS	569,740	558,040	11,700
NATIONAL RURAL LETTER CARRIERS ASSOCIATION	378,900	269,150	109,750
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POSTMASTERS	346,433	207,449	138,984
NATIONAL TREASURY EMPLOYEES	308,180	290,180	18,000
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES	296,735	270,810	25,925
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF POSTMASTERS	192,900	104,500	88,400

**Top 5 Public-Sector Union Political Action Committees
1997-1998**



Top Miscellaneous Union PACs 1997-1998

<i>PACs</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
UNITED FOOD & COMMERCIAL WORKERS UNION	\$1,494,951	\$1,457,651	\$37,300
SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL	1,293,099	1,264,599	28,500
AFL-CIO	1,113,140	1,100,640	12,500
HOTEL/RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES	371,600	305,300	66,300
HOSPITAL & HEALTH CARE EMPLOYEES 1199	199,600	199,600	0
OFFICE & PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES	196,450	196,450	0

Top Soft-Money Donors 1997-98 Election Cycle

<i>DONATING ORGANIZATION</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
PHILIP MORRIS	\$2,446,316	\$ 418,564	\$2,027,752
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA	1,464,250	1,464,250	0
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE,COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES	1,340,954	1,340,954	0
AMWAY	1,312,500	0	1,312,500
AMERICAN FINANCIAL GROUP	1,210,000	250,000	960,000
MCI WORLDCOM	1,142,390	422,565	719,825
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION	1,139,200	1,105,200	34,000
RJR NABISCO	1,132,922	132,572	1,000,350
AT&T	1,024,493	333,240	691,253
LORAL SPACECOM	1,021,000	1,021,000	0
FEDERAL EXPRESS	927,750	256,500	671,250
BELL ATLANTIC	909,519	255,300	654,219
FREDDIE MAC	875,500	650,500	225,000
WALT DISNEY	854,573	379,775	474,798
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS	854,400	854,400	0
GOLDMAN, SACHS & COMPANY	790,750	622,500	168,250
BUTTENWIESER & ASSOCIATES	783,500	783,500	0
CITIGROUP	774,879	194,300	580,579
MICROSOFT	774,816	145,000	629,816
JOSEPH E. SEAGRAM & SONS	753,846	394,110	359,736
PFIZER	747,050	100,000	647,050
BELLSOUTH	736,560	341,981	394,579
AFL-CIO	721,899	721,899	0
US WEST	719,000	142,000	577,000
ENRON	691,950	112,200	579,750
CSX	678,500	79,000	599,500
SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL	662,375	632,375	30,000
BLUE CROSS/BLUE SHIELD	657,500	163,375	494,125
SLIM-FAST FOODS/THOMPSON MEDICAL	650,000	610,000	40,000
UNITED FOOD & COMMERCIAL WORKERS	638,833	638,833	0
MA BERMAN	600,000	600,000	0
BRISTOL-MYERS SQUIBB	559,975	140,300	419,675
NORTHWEST AIRLINES	559,727	232,477	327,250
BROWN & WILLIAMSON TOBACCO	559,250	20,000	539,250
ATLANTIC RICHFIELD	547,456	207,500	339,956

Top Soft-Money Donors 1997-98 Election Cycle (Cont.)

<i>DONATING ORGANIZATION</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>DEMOCRATS</i>	<i>REPUBLICANS</i>
TELE-COMMUNICATIONS	536,000	221,000	315,000
ALFA MUTUAL INSURANCE	532,000	105,000	427,000
JW CHILDS ASSOCIATES	530,000	0	530,000
BOEING	529,000	225,800	303,200
NEWS	523,466	60,000	463,466
ARCHER-DANIELS-MIDLAND COMPANY	518,000	263,000	255,000
ERNST & YOUNG	514,866	277,300	237,566
ANHEUSER-BUSCH	501,907	202,207	299,700
FANNIE MAE	501,350	189,100	312,250
AMR	497,804	171,618	326,186
SPRINT	496,542	273,714	222,828
NOVARTIS	495,604	149,500	346,104
TIME WARNER	471,000	211,000	260,000
SBC COMMUNICATIONS	470,161	161,061	309,100
GALLO WINERY	465,000	465,000	0



SECTION TWO

LOBBYISTS



As the official representatives of interest group organizations, lobbyists communicate information and opinions to government officials in order to influence specific decisions. Rather than acting on their own, citizens who belong to these interest groups rely upon lobbyists to convey their interests to policymakers. The term “lobbyist” is traced to Britain, where it referred to journalists who stood in the lobby of the House of Commons waiting to talk to members of Parliament. In the United States, it was first used in the early nineteenth century to refer disdainfully to privilege seekers in the Capitol lobby in Albany, New York. Lobbyists’ negative image in the political culture stems from Americans’ suspicion of the motives and influence of “special interests” that began with James Madison’s warning about the “mischiefs of faction” in 1787. This suspicion was fueled by muckraking journalists who exposed the role lobbyists played in bribery and other forms of corruption in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century American politics. Although bribery and other illegal practices occur much less frequently than in the past, suspicions about lobbyists still linger.

BACKGROUND AND RECRUITMENT OF LOBBYISTS

“Experience and expertise” are the “common denominators” of the careers of most lobbyists, according to Jeffrey Berry (1989). Lobbyists typically have backgrounds either in government, law, or business, or some combination of these. Many lobbyists are former executive branch officials, members of Congress, legislative aides, corporate managers, and practicing lawyers. Government work provides important experience and connections. In the mid-1980s, the *New York Times* reported that more than 200 former members of Congress made their living as lobbyists.

Following the 1994 elections, more than 20 legislators began lobbying careers, including former senators George J. Mitchell (Democrat, ME) and Steve Symms (Republican, ID), and former Representatives Robert H. Michel (Republican, IL) and Norman Lent (Republican, NY). More former high-ranking officials from the executive branch than from the legislative branch serve as lobbyists. Several of the best-known lobbyists in Washington have held important posts in the White House and key agencies under both Republican and Democratic administrations. Charles E. Walker was a deputy Treasury secretary under President Richard Nixon before he began lobbying for big business interests, and Stuart Eizenstat was President Jimmy Carter’s chief domestic policy adviser before becoming a lobbyist for high-technology companies. Others who have gone on to become lobbyists include include Clark Clifford from the Truman administration; Robert Strauss from the Carter administration; Paul Warnke and Michael Deaver from the Reagan administration; and Joseph Califano, who served under presidents Johnson and Carter.

Legal training and experience provide valuable skills and preparation for understanding how bills and regulations are formulated. Lawyer-lobbyists are especially useful because of their ability to collect and deploy information to advocate for clients and analyze how legislative provisions will affect them. Business is a frequent recruitment channel because the majority of lobbyists represent corporations and trade associations, and the knowledge of technical complexity of tax, regulatory, and other issues of interest to the business community is particularly valuable.

Presently there are more male than female lobbyists, and most are highly educated. The majority have graduate degrees, most in law but also in economics, business, and political science. Compared to other Americans, lobbyists are highly paid, though wide disparities in income prevail between those working for trade as-

sociations, for instance, and those representing citizens groups. Tommy Boggs, the senior partner in the law firm Patton, Boggs, and Blow, reported income in 1985 of more than \$1 million. Lobbyist Clark Clifford reportedly received \$1 million (\$4 million at 1995 prices) for his advice to the DuPont family involving the divestiture of General Motors stock. Clifford's advice saved the family \$500 million. At the other end of the spectrum are Patricia Ireland, President of the National Organization for Women and Fred Wertheimer, former president of Common Cause (a "good government" reform-oriented organization), who made \$81,000 and \$73,400 in 1994, respectively. The highest-paid lobbyists tend to be attorneys in private practice, former members of Congress with lengthy careers on Capitol Hill, and former high-ranking executive branch officials.

Lobbying has become increasingly professionalized. Schools of "political management" now exist that offer formal academic training in the skills and subject matter relevant to lobbying. Lobbyists today have technical competence in the substantive aspects of their clients' work as well as in modern forms of communication, such as direct marketing.

THE NUMBER AND VARIETY OF LOBBYING ORGANIZATIONS

As the number of interest groups has proliferated, so has the volume of lobbying. Political scientist James Thurber has calculated that, as of the early 1990s, 91,000 lobbyists and individuals associated with lobbying worked in Washington, DC. They represented approximately 23,000 organizations.

Lobbyists represent a wide array of interests in society. Business organizations include individual firms; trade associations that represent entire industries; large umbrella associations; and temporary, ad hoc coalitions of business groups that come together to lobby for or against particular pieces of legislation, administrative rulings, or court decisions. For example, American Airlines is a single corporation that may lobby on its own, or as part of its trade group, the Air Transport Association. It may also belong to a general association like the Chamber of Commerce or Business Roundtable and may participate in loose, temporary coalitions of business interests, such as the Tax Reform Action Committee, which fought in favor of tax reform in 1985 and 1986.

Professional associations include organizations rep-

resenting professions, such as the American Bar Association and the American Medical Association. Trade unions include particular unions like the Teamsters and the American Federation of Teachers, as well as umbrella organizations like the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. Governmental organizations in Washington represent subnational units of government, such as the National League of Cities, the National Association of Counties, and the National Governors Association. Nonprofit sector groups encompass a broad range of interests, including religious (the National Council of Churches), and community and citizens' groups, such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Sierra Club, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the National Rifle Association (NRA).

Lobbyists are either employed directly by clients to be their full-time, in-house lobbyists, or they are employed by law and public relations firms that have interest group clients. The larger interest group organizations establish permanent lobbying departments that work full-time as their political representatives. Most lobbyists fall into this category. Lobbyists that work at law and public relations firms, on the other hand, are "hired guns," who are paid by interest groups on a retainer or fee-for-service basis. The largest customers for these firms are corporations and trade associations, some of which may not have Washington offices, or may not have the resources for undertaking major lobbying campaigns, and who rely upon the lawyers who work in these firms for their government experience and political connections. The largest law firms in Washington include Covington and Burling; Arnold and Porter; Hogan and Hartson; Steptoe and Johnson; Arent, Fox, Kinter, Plotkin and Kahn; Akin, Gump, Strauss, Haver and Feld; Jones, Day, Revis and Pogue; Morna, Lewis and Bockius, and Fried; Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobson. Each firm staffs 100 to 200 or more lawyers.

A significant change in recent years has been the rise of huge, full-service lobbying/public relations firms. These firms offer more services to clients than law firms, with specialists not only in lobbying and legal services, but also in advertising and public relations, working with the mass media and planning events, as well as engaging in grassroots lobbying and political fundraising. The largest of these include Black, Manafort, Stone, and Kelly Public Affairs; Burson-Marsteller; Hill and Knowlton Inc.; The Kamber Group; and Ogilvy and Mather Public Affairs. Many of the clients of these firms are among the top corporations, trade associations, financial institutions, universities, and nonprofit organizations in the United States, and foreign interests.

Clients of Akin, Gump, Strauss, Haver and Feld, for example, include AT&T, Dow Jones, and the government of Norway. Arnold and Porter clients include Paine Webber, the Republic of Venezuela, and Stanford University. Covington and Burling work for Proctor and Gamble and the National Football League. Black, Manafort, Stone, and Kelly serve Union Pacific Railroad, the Trump Organization, and Bethlehem Steel.

Some lobbyists and lobbying firms develop expertise in specific areas and represent clients in particular industries or sectors of the economy and society. For example, Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering represents the National Association of Broadcasters, Cable News Network, ABC, CBS, and NBC. Former Senator Mark Andrews represents a variety of Japanese consumer electronic firms, such as Akai, Fuji, Hitachi, JVC, and Sony. Some firms specialize in particular tasks. Burson, Mars-teller, for example, the large New York public relations firm, specializes in building images of its clients, using such tools as press kits, telemarketing, direct mailings, media tours, and seminars.

WHAT LOBBYISTS DO

Most lobbyists spend most of their time collecting information about what their clients want and what government officials are planning or doing that could affect them. They act as watchdogs, listening to their contacts in government, keeping tabs on all pending legislation that could affect their clients, and reporting this information to them. Lobbyists also act as advocates for their clients, contacting politicians and bureaucrats, and presenting information, arguments, and opinions to them. They do this through informal contacts, such as meetings, phone calls, receptions, and dining together, as well as through formal channels, such as testifying at committee hearings.

The relationship between lobbyists and government officials is not one-sided. Lobbyists seek favorable treatment from the government, and policymakers seek information and political support from the organizations represented by them. The information that lobbyists provide can be substantive facts and arguments concerning issues and policies that are on the agenda, or that may come on to the agenda, as well as political information concerning the positions of group members, the public generally, and other political actors.

Popular perceptions are that lobbyists mainly work behind the scenes, arm-twisting government officials to do something that they know should not be done. Po-

litical scientists view this image as inaccurate most of the time. Far from trying to be invisible, lobbyists seek attention and visibility for their organizations. Moreover, according to Leech and Baumgartner (1998), “the idea that groups are on the outside, pressuring recalcitrant government officials into doing their bidding and against their will, is wholly incomplete. Most major groups, and many small ones, benefit from long-standing relations with government officials who are predisposed to helping them.”

Lobbyists are effective when they can develop and sustain relationships with public officials that are built upon trust, and trust is earned only if the lobbyist is credible to the policymaker. If policymakers feel that they have been misled, the credibility of the lobbyist is diminished, trust erodes, and consequently so too will access and effectiveness. Credibility is determined by whether the lobbyist supplies information to the policymaker that is relevant, factual, and accurate. According to Berry, “the optimal role for a lobbyist to play is that of a trusted source of information whom policymakers can call on when they need hard-to-find data. A reputation for credibility and high-quality factual information are prerequisites for becoming a lobbyist from whom government officials request help.” Some legislators become so closely identified with specific interests that they are called “inside lobbyists.” For example, for many years former Senator Russell B. Long (D-LA) and others from oil-producing states represented oil interests in Congress.

With more special interest groups populating the Washington landscape, especially since the 1970s, more lobbying is taking place and in a greater variety of forms. Lobbying strategies include applying pressure to policymakers who are undecided or in opposition to a group’s position, and providing services to policymakers with whom they are allied in mutually reinforcing relationships. Lobbyists pressure policymakers through such tactics as argumentation, letter-writing campaigns, demonstrations of constituency support, and the threat of opposition in the next election. They provide services by cooperating closely with allies and supplying relevant information in order to affect the content of legislation. Whether lobbyists choose to apply pressure or provide services depends on the context. For instance, during the early stages of the legislative process, lobbyists may work with a small set of allies within government and then broaden their targets to undecided or opposing legislators.

Lobbying can be direct or indirect. Direct lobbying brings lobbyists as official representatives of organized groups into direct contact with government officials. It

is the most time-honored and conventional approach to seeking access and influence. Classic forms of direct lobbying include writing letters, meeting with government officials, and offering testimony at hearings. Indirect lobbying involves a more circuitous route to influencing government officials, such as stimulating grassroots or third-party efforts.

Lobbying organizations use media campaigns in numerous ways to mold public opinion and alert community leaders. They may use them to induce goodwill, attempting over the long term to create a favorable image for the interest group. For instance, the Atlantic Richfield Oil Company has funded concerts aired by the Public Broadcasting System. Philip Morris, the tobacco company whose holdings include Kraft Foods and Miller Brewing, has run advertisements celebrating the Bill of Rights and emphasizing personal freedom. Other organizations use media campaigns to attain specific policies that will benefit them, such as when Allied Chemical took out a series of ads in magazines and newspapers arguing for various changes in the federal tax laws.

Then there are those groups that work through the mass media to block policy changes they perceive as threats. Perhaps the most famous of these were the “Harry and Louise” advertisements funded by the Health Insurance Association of America in 1994. The ads, intended to create opposition to the Clinton administration’s healthcare reform proposal, portrayed a young, middle-class couple puzzled and troubled over provisions that were alleged to raise taxes and deprive Americans of personal choice. Indirect lobbying also includes stimulating the grassroots—mobilizing group members and the general public to write, fax, and e-mail letters to policymakers, as well as to engage in protest demonstrations and boycotts. Through the use of computer-based direct mail techniques, interest groups can send out slick “appeals packets,” often using fear and hyperbole, to encourage members to write letters and e-mail messages to officials targeted by the organization, or to send money to the organization to fund lobbying campaigns.

THE IMPACTS OF LOBBYING

The actual impact of lobbying activity upon public policy remains uncertain because of the many other possible influences that exist and the difficulty of trying to “control” scientifically for all of them. Compounding the difficulty is the fact that it is hard, perhaps impossible, to disentangle the effects of lobbying per se from

the other activities that interest groups engage in to influence government, such as donating to election campaigns and mobilizing constituents to vote for or against candidates.

Some political scientists discount the importance of lobbying and other forms of active participation in the political process altogether on certain critical issues. Political scientist Charles Lindblom and others have argued that the political power of business interests rests upon the structural position of business in the political system. Public officials can be expected to try their best to help business because they will stay in power only if the economy prospers, and this depends critically upon doing whatever is needed to induce businessmen to invest. In such a system, businesses do not need to exert pressure on policymakers, and thus lobbying is of secondary importance.

The major studies of lobbying, by Milbrath and Bauer, and Pool and Dexter, date back to the 1960s. The first study painted a benign picture of lobbyists contributing positively to the policymaking process. The second claimed that business lobbyists were largely incapable of influencing Congress on trade policy. More recent scholarship has also deemphasized the power of interest groups. A spate of studies have argued that relatively narrow and specific economic interests have fared poorly in making major public policy changes. The deregulation of many industries in the 1970s and 1980s, tax reform in the 1980s, the continued resistance against protectionist pressures in trade policy, and reductions in discretionary spending on subsidy programs for agriculture and “pork barrel” projects for specific localities suggest that the days in which particular interests could capture benefits for themselves at the expense of the larger public may be waning. Formerly formidable interest groups like cigarette manufacturers, tobacco farmers, pesticide producers, and the NRA have been challenged and put on the defensive in ways that years ago would have seemed highly improbable. What is striking about virtually all of these cases is that the interest groups suffering defeats have been resourceful, active, and adamantly opposed to the policy changes brought about by their opponents.

Several reasons may account for what Peterson has called “the decline of special interest politics.” First, the demands of many groups have come in conflict with the need for policymakers to maintain budgetary discipline and the dynamism of the economy. Interest groups’ demands on the government for benefits and protection may impede progress on those vital issues. In addition, policymaking arenas that were once stable and secure interest group “monopolies” or “subgovernments,”

such as agriculture, tobacco, and gun ownership, have become much more competitive and conflict ridden as new groups have emerged to counter the groups that once dominated them. The NRA, for instance, must now compete with several gun control advocacy groups. The American Medical Association cannot exert the influence it did in the 1950s and 1960s when it was the overwhelmingly dominant group in healthcare policy. Pesticide manufacturers must now contend with several environmental groups that were virtually nonexistent in decades past. As the interest group field has “thickened” and groups have crowded each other out, it may now be more difficult for particular interests to prevail.

Nevertheless, it would be unwise to conclude that interest groups no longer wield influence in politics. First, most of the literature on the decline of “special interest” influence has focused on relatively narrow economic interests, saying little about other kinds of interest organizations serving larger societal interests and social movements, such as those that represent racial and ethnic minorities, the elderly, the environment, and taxpayers. Second, if one source of the diminished influence of some groups is the mobilization and pressure of others, then what may have changed is not so much the decline of interest groups as powerful political actors, but the decline of particular interests that monopolized policymaking in the past. Finally, the role of health insurance interests in the demise of the Clinton healthcare plan, as well as the fact that many business interests continue to secure favorable legislation for themselves, suggest strongly that groups have influence. Many groups continue to get their way, particularly on what seem to most people arcane and minor provisions in law or regulation, but which prove significant victories for the groups. A slight change in an obscure provision of the tax laws, for instance, can save a corporation millions of dollars but hardly be noticed or understood by the press or public.

Perhaps the safest conclusion is that lobbying can matter, to some degree, depending upon the circumstances. Among the most important of these circumstances is whether the policies that interest groups prefer mirror the policy preferences and political goals of policymakers. The health insurers would have had much less chance of prevailing against the Clinton health plan if Congress had been dominated by liberal, activist legislators rather than conservative ones in the early 1990s. Feminist and labor groups had little chance of getting President George Bush to go along with family and medical leave regulations. They succeeded only when a new president was elected who strongly supported the

policy. Cathie Jo Martin has shown that major changes in corporate tax policy occur when partnerships of rising economic forces and political entrepreneurs in government are able to articulate the need for a new policy and forge a coalition of interests and officials to bring it about.

The opportunities for lobbying also vary with the institutional structure of government. Institutions that disperse power among a number of governmental officials, as with those in the United States, make it easier for lobbyists to gain access and exert influence in order to block unwanted policy changes. But the very same institutions make it more difficult to bring about changes in policy that groups want. Committee and agency jurisdictions and decision-making procedures may make it easier or harder for groups to find sympathetic officials and apply pressure. For instance, if a bill proposing to regulate the use of pesticides is referred to the Agriculture Committee instead of the Public Health and Welfare Committee, farm interests are more likely to be invited to testify before the committee and to be accommodated in other ways. A classic example of how institutional venue matters for group influence is the experience of African Americans in securing civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s. Because the elected branches of government were mainly concerned about how white Southern voters would react to civil rights, the NAACP and other civil rights organizations turned to the courts where they made important breakthroughs in cases like *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Two other potentially crucial factors that probably help to determine whether lobbying will have an impact are public opinion and cultural predispositions about groups and their interests. For example, David Vogel argues that the fortunes of business interests seem to wax and wane with public attitudes about the long-term health of the economy. When the public is deeply concerned about economic performance, as it was from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s, it tends to be more sympathetic to the needs and demands of business. With the public on their side, business lobbyists will have a powerful ally in trying to convince officials to enact policies friendly to business, such as lower taxes and less regulation. Conversely, when the economy prospers and the public is optimistic about economic performance, it will be less concerned about the needs of business, and may even turn toward nonmaterial wants (e.g., a cleaner environment) that entail more regulation. Business lobbyists, as a result, will be in a less advantageous position.

Images of interest groups portrayed through the mass media, which often reflect longstanding cultural myths and symbols, may also help or hinder interest groups'

political efforts. For example, because farmers and farming are a venerated part of the American past, lobbyists for farm interests can project an image of their clients as hard-working, small, independent farmers who represent the wholesome virtues of rural life and Jeffersonian democracy. By contrast, because labor unions are often viewed as run by corrupt and undemocratic “bosses,” it may be harder for labor lobbyists to persuade the public and policymakers of their arguments.

Finally, we should note that lobbying, as a chief activity of interest groups, has an ambivalent relationship with liberal democracy. On the one hand, lobbying is consistent with such values as free association, free expression, and the right to petition the government for redress. It is a crucial mechanism for citizens to communicate their demands and preferences to government officials, and thus serves as a key form of democratic control between elections. On the other hand, lobbying for group interests requires resources. Modern-day lobbying campaigns at the national level are very expensive. Lobbying thus reflects and exacerbates the political inequality that exists among citizens. If government better attends to the interests of the rich and organizationally sophisticated than to those of the poor and unorganized, then it may be because the former have the wherewithal to compete in an arena in which lobbying plays a major role in what information policymakers receive and what kinds of political pressures they come under.

GARY MUCCIARONI

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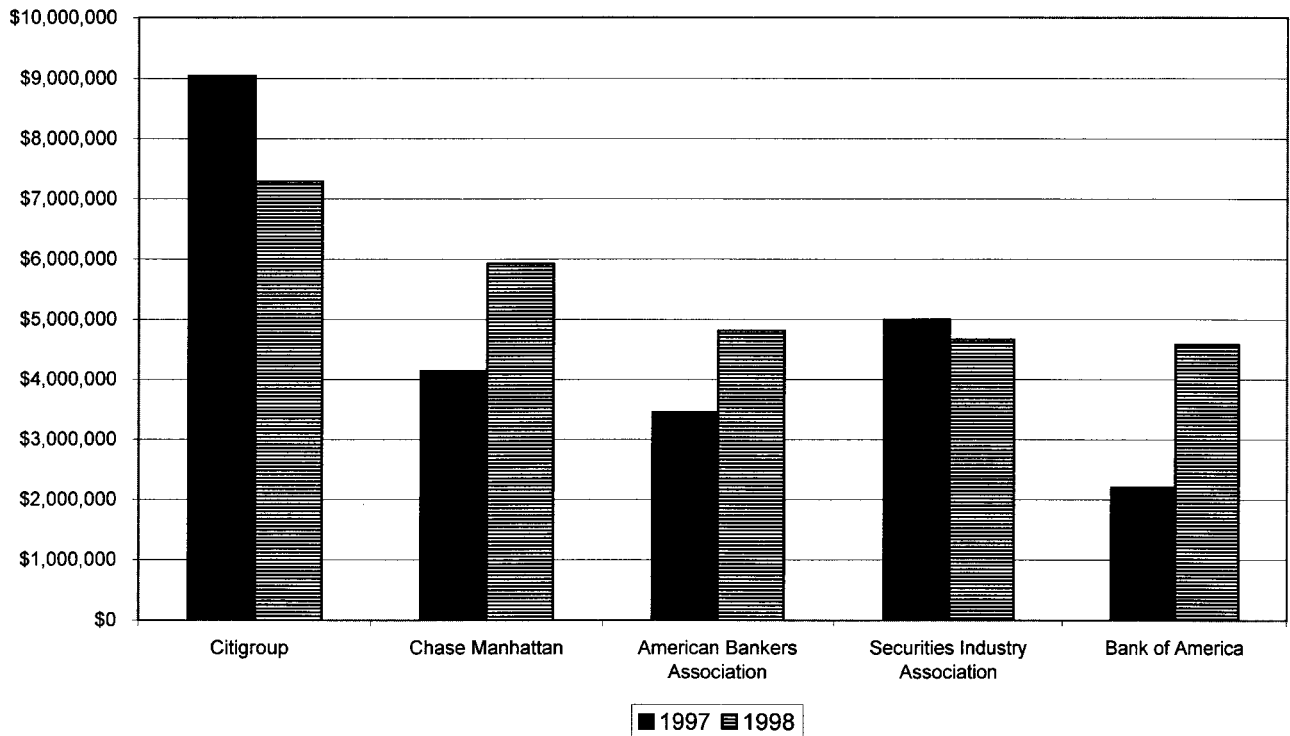
HOW TO USE THE LOBBYING TABLES

The following 16 tables list the amounts of money spent on lobbying by various corporations, advocacy organizations, trade associations, law firms, lobbying firms, and labor unions for the years 1997 and 1998. Lobbying expenditures are separate from donations to candidates, as listed in the PAC tables that precede this section. Lobbying expenditures include moneys spent on advocacy, research, entertainment, polling, public relations, advertising, and other activities. The following lobbying tables do not present firms and organizations in the same order that they are presented in the entry section of this encyclopedia.

**Top Banking, Security, and Investment Companies Lobbying
Expenditures 1997–1998**

<i>COMPANY/ASSOCIATION</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
CITIGROUP	\$7,290,000	\$9,040,000
CHASE MANHATTAN	5,920,000	4,140,000
AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION	4,808,000	3,449,000
SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION	4,660,000	5,000,000
BANK OF AMERICA	4,580,000	2,200,000
MERRILL LYNCH	3,800,000	2,880,000
INVESTMENT COMPANY INSTITUTE	3,380,000	3,720,000
BOND MARKET ASSOCIATION	2,591,000	2,392,000
UNIFORM STANDARDS COALITION	2,340,000	1,760,000
JP MORGAN	1,280,000	2,340,000
MORGAN STANLEY, DEAN WITTER	1,220,000	1,820,000
WELLS FARGO	1,200,000	680,000
BANK ONE	1,026,000	680,000
CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE	860,000	968,000
INDEPENDENT BANKERS ASSOCIATION	841,000	759,000
CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE	720,000	1,100,000
SECURITY TRADERS ASSOCIATION	720,000	180,000
PRUDENTIAL SECURITIES	640,000	600,000
FIRST UNION	580,000	440,000
FLEET FINANCIAL GROUP	560,000	500,000

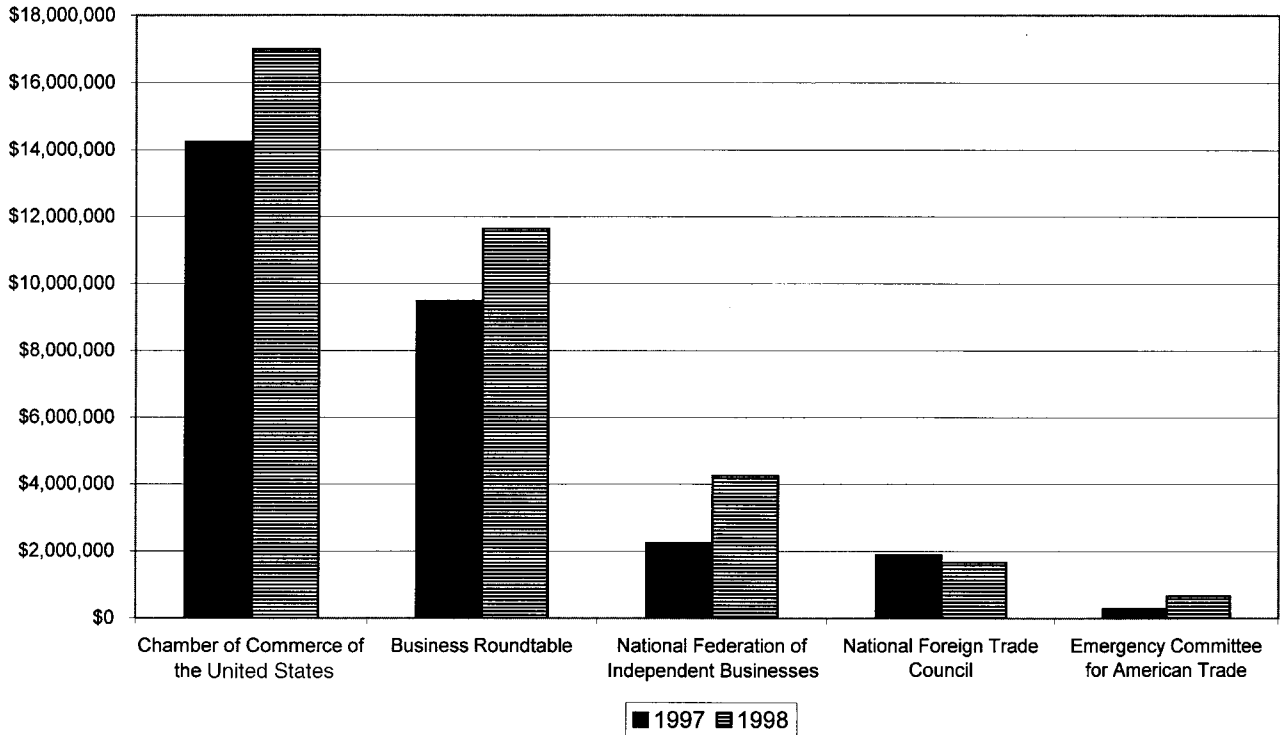
**Top 5 Banking, Security, and Investment Companies
Lobbying Expenditures
1997-1998**



Top Business Associations Lobbying Expenditures 1997-1998

<i>COMPANY/ASSOCIATION</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES	\$17,000,000	\$14,240,000
BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE	11,640,000	9,480,000
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESSES	4,249,000	2,240,000
NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL	1,660,000	1,880,000
EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR AMERICAN TRADE	660,000	276,000
HONG KONG TRADE DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL	600,000	840,000
SMALL BUSINESS SURVIVAL COMMITTEE	600,000	100,000
CIVIL JUSTICE REFORM GROUP	580,000	360,000
EUROPEAN-AMERICAN BUSINESS COUNCIL	503,000	480,000
LABOR POLICY ASSOCIATION	460,000	840,000

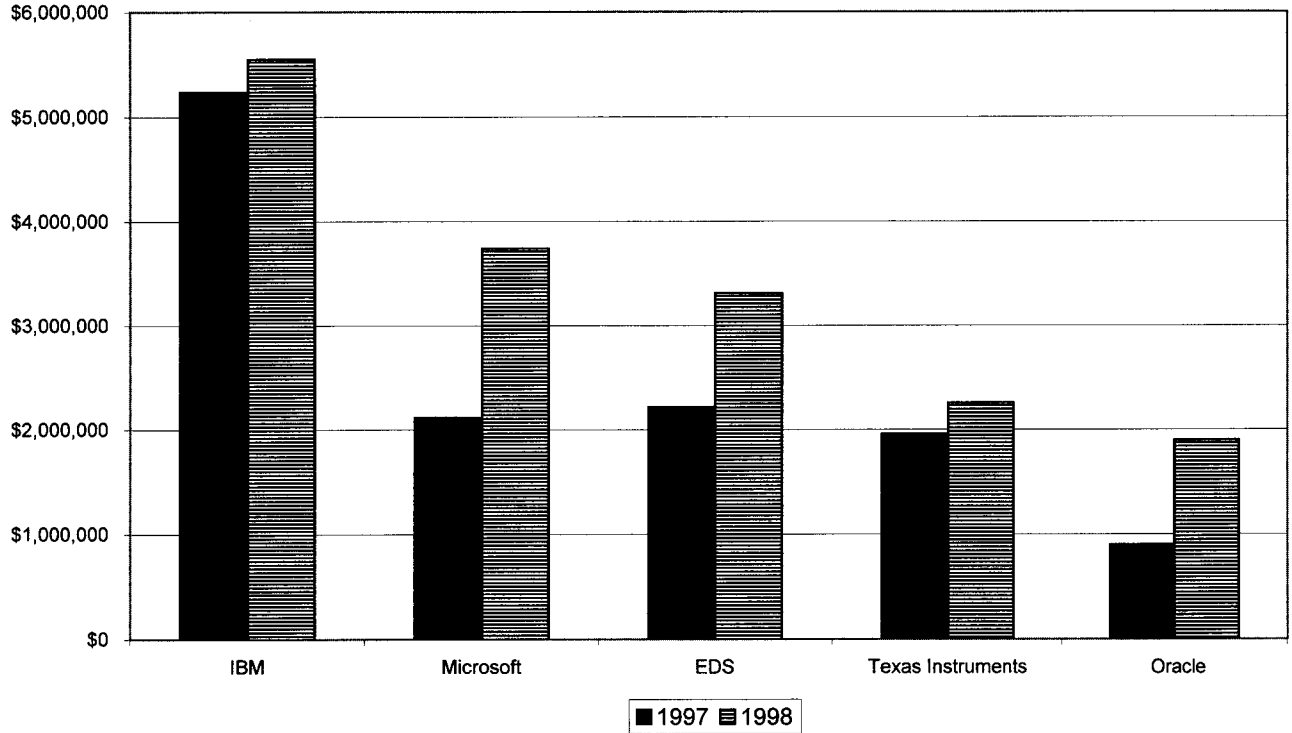
**Top 5 Business Associations
Lobbying Expenditures
1997-1998**



Top Computer Companies Lobbying Expenditures 1997-1998

COMPANY/ASSOCIATION	1998	1997
IBM	\$5,552,000	\$5,240,000
MICROSOFT	3,740,000	2,120,000
EDS	3,310,000	2,220,000
TEXAS INSTRUMENTS	2,260,000	1,960,000
ORACLE	1,900,000	900,000
COMPAQ COMPUTER	1,462,000	759,000
SUN MICROSYSTEMS	1,180,000	1,220,000
INTEL	1,100,000	600,000
BUSINESS SOFTWARE ALLIANCE	1,020,000	960,000
AMERICA ONLINE	1,020,000	784,000
COMPUTER SYSTEMS POLICY PROJECT	1,020,000	680,000

**Top 5 Computer Companies
Lobbying Expenditures
1997-1998**



Top Entertainment/Media Institutions Lobbying Expenditures 1997-1998

COMPANY/ASSOCIATION	1998	1997
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS	\$5,200,000	\$4,680,000
NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSOCIATION	4,800,000	3,360,000
TIME WARNER	3,000,000	3,000,000
WALT DISNEY	2,447,000	2,150,000
CBS	1,940,000	1,300,000
TELE-COMMUNICATIONS	1,200,000	1,460,000
BROADCAST MUSIC	1,040,000	800,000
VIACOM	1,000,000	320,000
MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	980,000	600,000
RECORDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	820,000	860,000

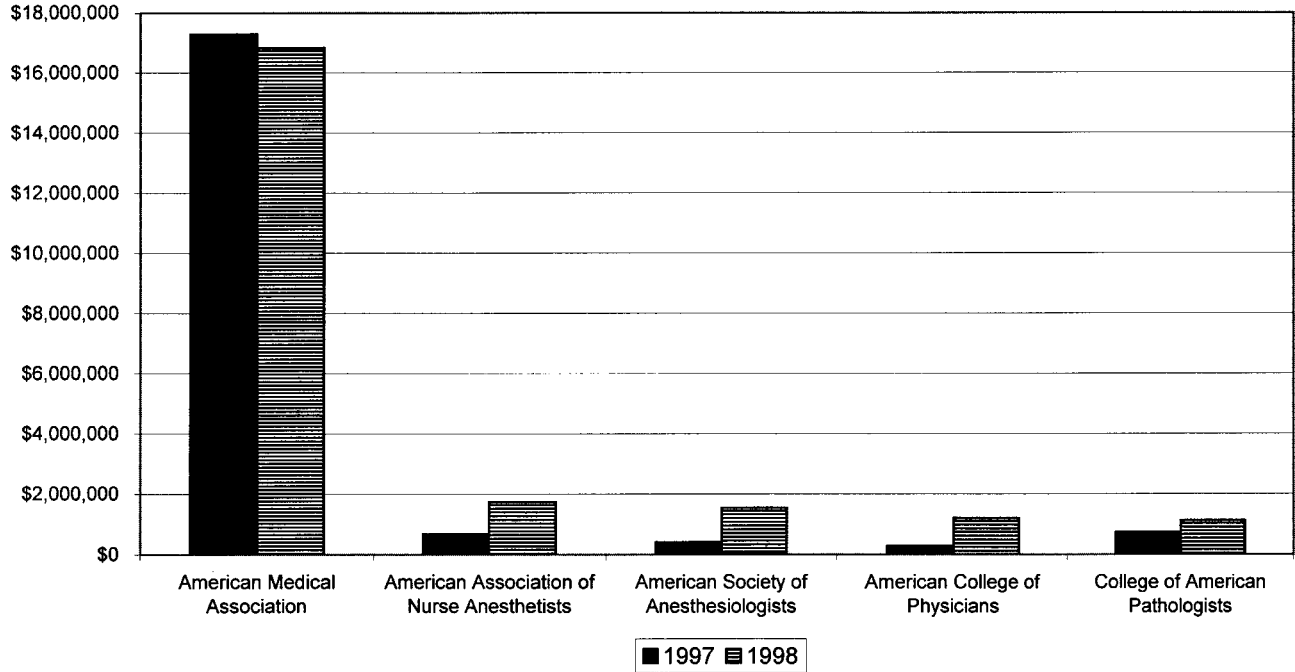
Top Government Agencies Lobbying Expenditures 1997–1998

<i>COMPANY/ASSOCIATION</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO	\$4,045,000	\$4,335,000
COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS	1,360,000	2,061,000
CITY & COUNTY OF DENVER, COLORADO	840,000	430,000
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIFORNIA	720,000	725,000
MIAMI-DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA	690,000	720,000
CITY OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS	500,000	405,000
CITY OF SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA	470,000	385,000
SAN DIEGO COUNTY, CALIFORNIA	460,000	400,000
ORANGE COUNTY, CALIFORNIA	459,000	470,000
METRO TRANSIT AUTHORITY OF HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS	420,000	480,000

Top Health Professional Associations Lobbying Expenditures 1997–1998

<i>COMPANY/ASSOCIATION</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION	\$16,820,000	\$17,280,000
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF NURSE ANESTHETISTS	1,735,000	670,000
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ANESTHESIOLOGISTS	1,537,015	400,000
AMERICAN COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS	1,200,000	280,000
COLLEGE OF AMERICAN PATHOLOGISTS	1,120,000	725,000
AMERICAN COLLEGE OF EMERGENCY PHYSICIANS	1,021,000	2,001,000
AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	960,000	820,000
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF FAMILY PHYSICIANS	937,000	951,000
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNAL MEDICINE	908,142	1,702,000
AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION	880,000	716,000

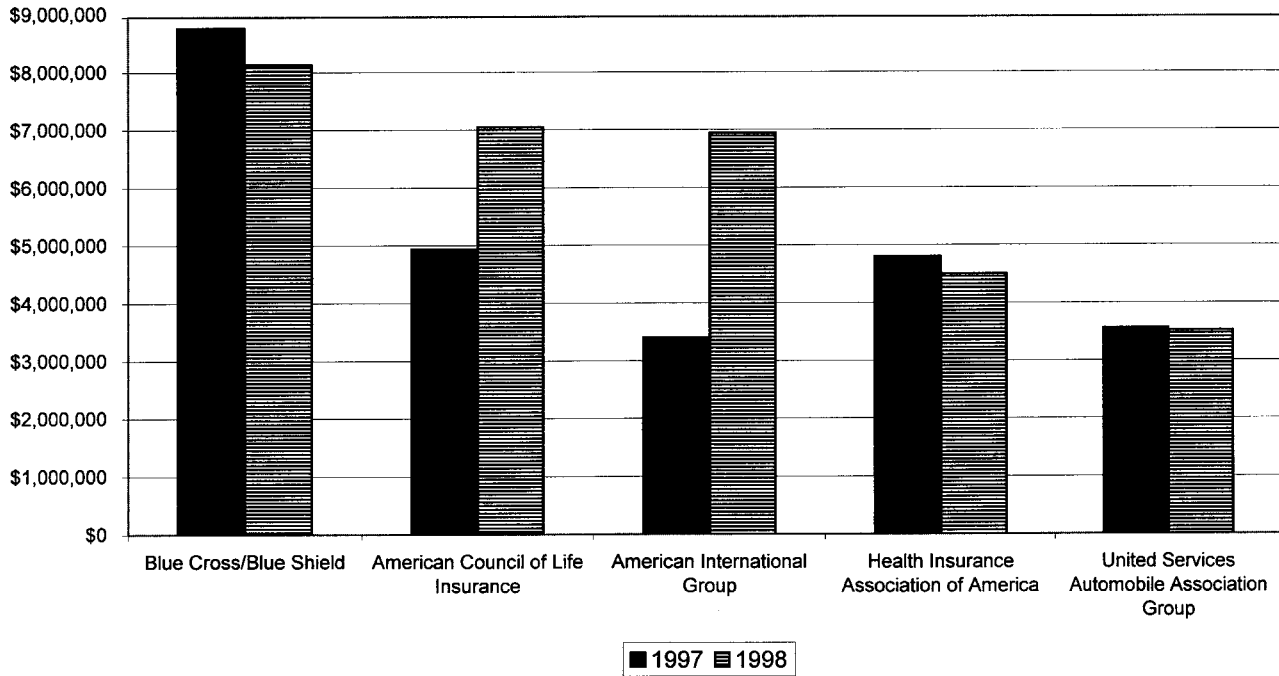
**Top 5 Professional Associations
Lobbying Expenditures
1997-1998**



Top Insurance Companies Lobbying Expenditures 1997-1998

COMPANY/ASSOCIATION	1998	1997
BLUE CROSS/BLUE SHIELD	\$8,132,000	\$8,762,000
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LIFE INSURANCE	7,050,000	4,935,000
AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL GROUP	6,940,000	3,400,000
HEALTH INSURANCE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	4,495,000	4,800,000
UNITED SERVICES AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION GROUP	3,520,000	3,560,000
PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE	3,200,000	2,877,000
AMERICAN INSURANCE ASSOCIATION	3,062,000	2,637,000
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT INSURERS	3,007,000	2,806,000
AFLAC	2,580,000	920,000
NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE	1,920,000	1,180,000

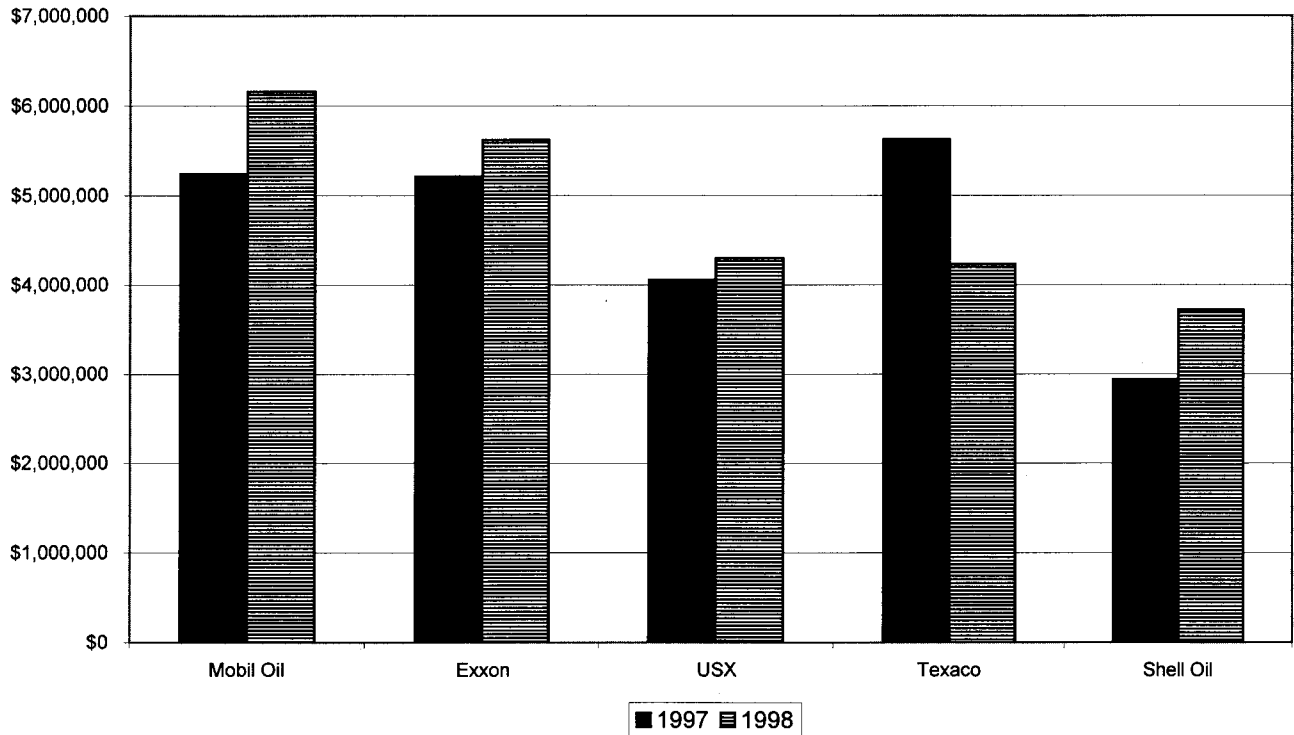
**Top 5 Insurance Companies
Lobbying Expenditures
1997-1998**



Top Oil and Gas Companies Lobbying Expenditures 1997-1998

COMPANY/ASSOCIATION	1998	1997
MOBIL OIL	\$6,160,000	\$5,240,000
EXXON	5,620,000	5,215,000
USX	4,300,000	4,060,000
TEXACO	4,229,000	5,629,000
SHELL OIL	3,720,000	2,940,800
ATLANTIC RICHFIELD	3,000,000	5,500,000
AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE	2,982,000	3,680,000
CHEVRON	2,970,000	3,999,000
AMOCO	1,760,000	3,380,000
BP AMERICA	1,712,000	1,834,000

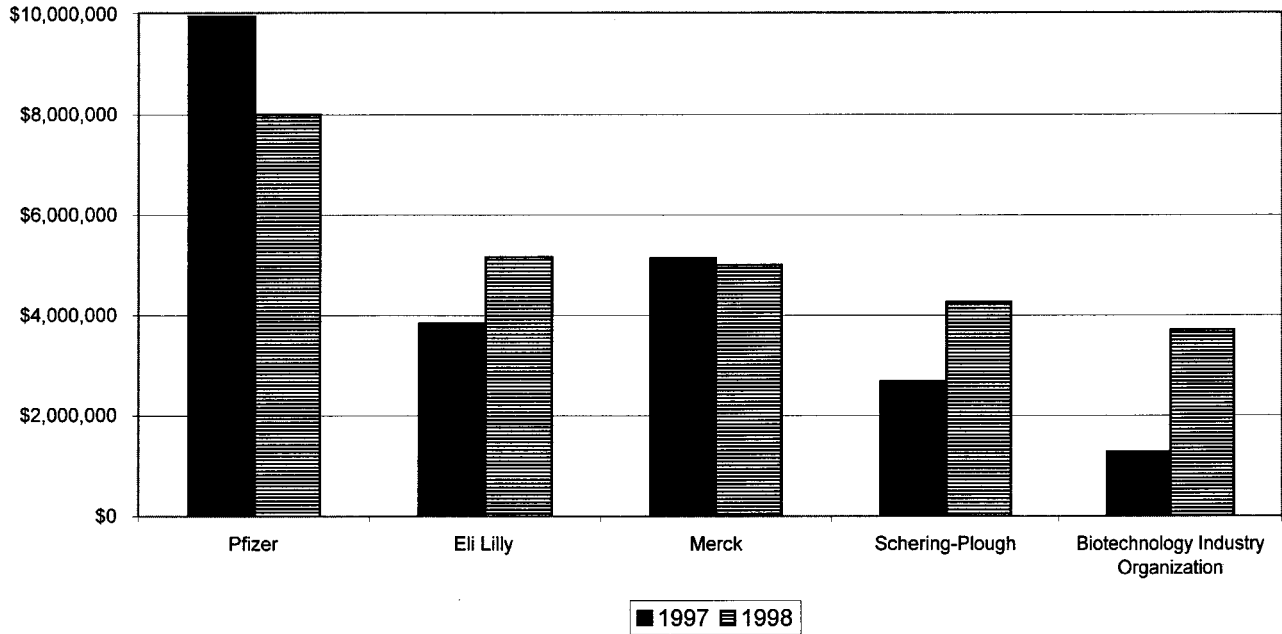
**Top 5 Oil and Gas Companies
Lobbying Expenditures
1997-1998**



Top Pharmaceutical/Health Product Companies Lobbying Expenditures 1997-1998

COMPANY/ASSOCIATION	1998	1997
PFIZER	\$8,000,000	\$10,000,000
ELI LILLY	5,160,000	3,836,000
MERCK	5,000,000	5,140,000
SCHERING-PLOUGH	4,268,000	2,683,000
BIOTECHNOLOGY INDUSTRY ORGANIZATION	3,704,000	1,277,000
GLAXO WELLCOME	3,120,000	3,774,000
PHARMACEUTICAL RESEARCH & MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA	3,120,000	6,320,000
BRISTOL-MYERS SQUIBB	2,821,000	3,780,000
SMITHKLINE BEECHAM	2,680,000	2,600,000
HEALTH INDUSTRY MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION	2,470,000	3,392,000

**Top 5 Pharmaceutical/Health Product Companies
Lobbying Expenditures
1997-1998**



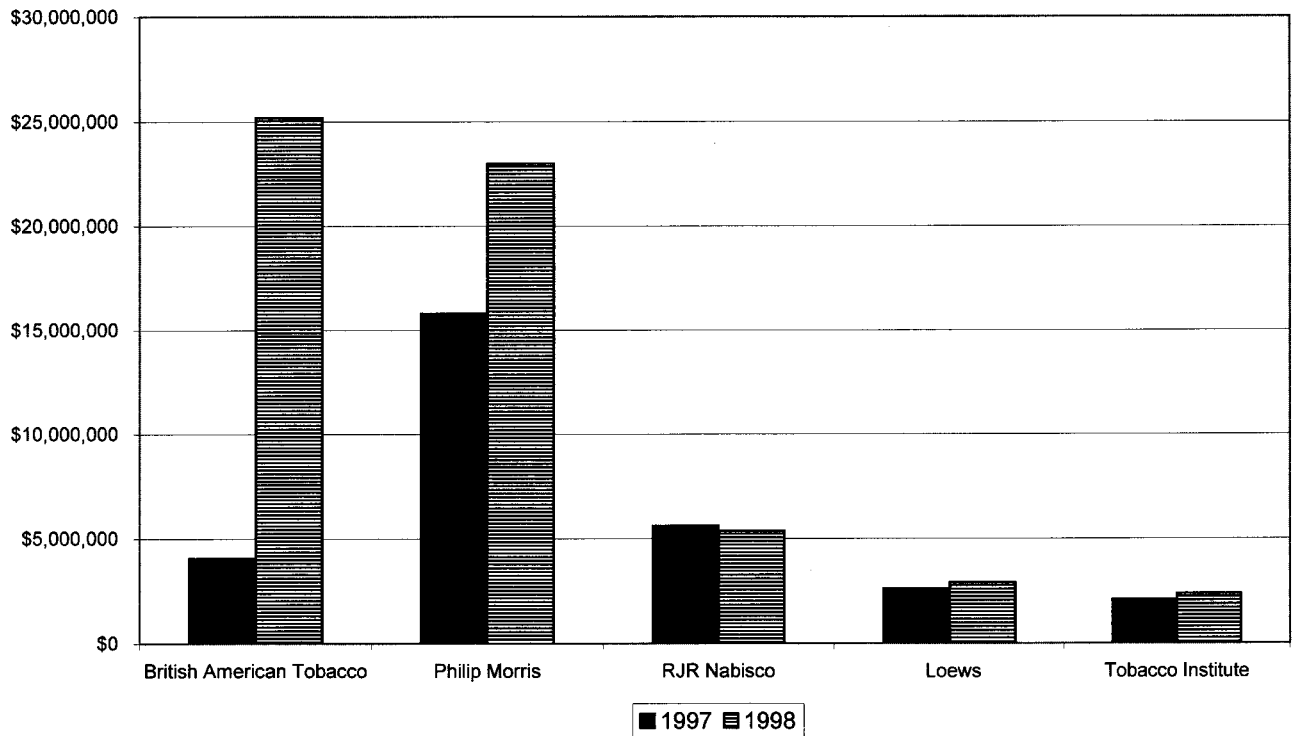
Top Single Issue/Identity Groups Lobbying Expenditures 1997-1998

COMPANY/ASSOCIATION	1998	1997
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE SOCIAL SECURITY	\$6,780,000	\$7,660,000
SENIORS COALITION	6,290,000	6,183,000
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED PERSONS	3,720,000	6,120,000
60 PLUS ASSOCIATION	3,000,000	2,500,000
CAMPAIGN FOR AMERICA	2,850,000	720,000
NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE	2,520,000	2,600,000
HUMANE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES	1,200,000	820,000
MULTINATIONAL TAX COALITION	840,000	0
TAXPAYERS AGAINST FRAUD	800,000	40,000
ENGLISH FIRST	780,000	780,000

Top Tobacco Companies Lobbying Expenditures 1997–1998

<i>COMPANY/ASSOCIATION</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
BRITISH AMERICAN TOBACCO	\$25,180,000	\$ 4,060,000
PHILIP MORRIS	23,000,000	15,800,000
RJR NABISCO	5,368,000	5,606,000
LOEWS	2,900,000	2,610,000
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	2,360,000	2,080,000
SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	2,320,000	1,834,000
UST	2,110,000	920,000
BROOKE GROUP	1,880,000	780,000
CIGAR ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	660,000	180,000
CONWOOD	560,000	200,000

**Top 5 Tobacco Companies
Lobbying Expenditures
1997–1998**



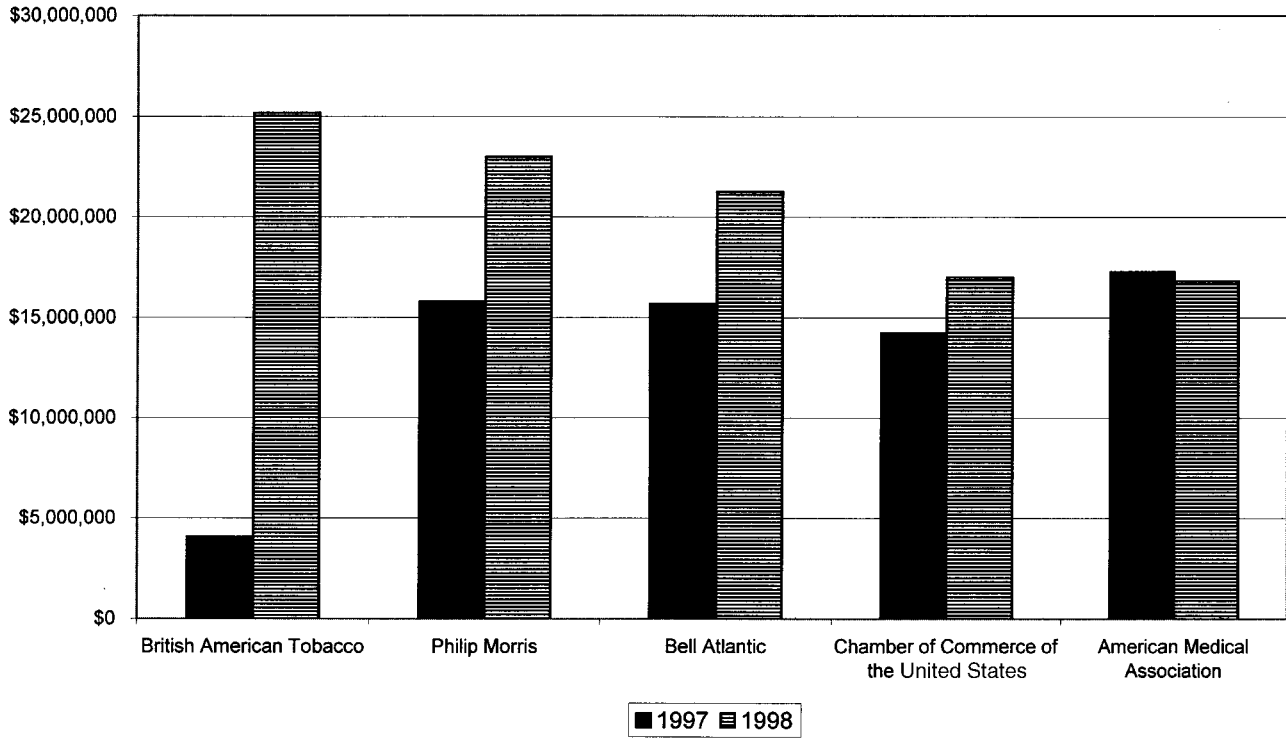
Top Corporations/Associations Lobbying Expenditures 1997–1998

<i>CORPORATION/ASSOCIATION</i>	<i>INDUSTRY</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
BRITISH AMERICAN TOBACCO	TOBACCO	\$25,190,000	\$ 4,060,000
PHILIP MORRIS	TOBACCO	23,000,000	15,800,000
BELL ATLANTIC	TELEPHONE/UTILITIES	21,260,000	15,673,000
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES	BUSINESS	17,000,000	14,240,000
AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION	HEALTH PROFESSIONALS	16,820,000	17,280,000
FORD MOTOR	TRANSPORTATION	13,807,000	7,343,000
BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE	BUSINESS	11,640,000	9,480,000
EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE	TELEPHONE/UTILITIES	11,020,000	10,020,000
AMERICAN HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION	HEALTH	10,520,000	7,880,000
BLUE CROSS/BLUE SHIELD	INSURANCE	9,172,000	8,762,000
CITIGROUP	BANKING/SECURITIES	8,710,000	9,040,000
BOEING	TRANSPORTATION	8,440,000	10,020,000
GENERAL MOTORS	TRANSPORTATION	8,415,000	10,600,000
PFIZER	PHARMACEUTICALS	8,000,000	10,000,000
AT&T	TELEPHONE/UTILITIES	7,740,000	7,800,000
SPRINT	TELEPHONE/UTILITIES	7,399,000	6,740,000
GENERAL ELECTRIC	MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURING	7,280,000	7,220,000
AMERITECH	TELEPHONE/UTILITIES	7,254,000	6,800,000
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LIFE SURANCE	INSURANCE	7,050,000	4,935,000
AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL GROUP	INSURANCE	6,940,000	3,400,000
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE SOCIAL SECURITY	SINGLE ISSUE	6,780,000	7,660,000
LOCKHEED MARTIN	DEFENSE	6,601,000	3,600,000
CHRISTIAN COALITION	IDEOLOGICAL	6,380,000	7,980,000
SENIORS COALITION	IDENTITY GROUP	6,290,000	6,183,000
DAIMLERCHRYSLER	TRANSPORTATION	6,280,000	4,340,000
MOBIL OIL	OIL AND GAS	6,160,000	5,240,000
NORTHROP GRUMMAN	DEFENSE	6,118,000	5,880,000
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS	REAL ESTATE	6,040,000	6,320,000
CHASE MANHATTAN	BANKING/SECURITIES	5,920,000	4,140,000
EXXON	OIL AND GAS	5,620,000	5,215,000
IBM	COMPUTERS	5,552,000	5,240,000
FANNIE MAE	BANKING/SECURITIES	5,550,000	4,960,000

Top Corporations/Associations Lobbying Expenditures 1997–1998 (Cont.)

<i>CORPORATION/ASSOCIATION</i>	<i>INDUSTRY</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
RJR NABISCO	TOBACCO	5,448,000	5,762,000
SBC COMMUNICATIONS	TELEPHONE/UTILITIES	5,280,000	6,220,000
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS	ENTERTAINMENT/MEDIA	5,200,000	4,680,000
AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION	BANKING/SECURITIES	5,196,000	4,148,000
ELI LILLY	PHARMACEUTICALS	5,160,000	3,836,000
MOTOROLA INC.	MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURING	5,153,000	5,660,000
MERCK	PHARMACEUTICALS	5,000,000	5,140,000
BELLSOUTH	TELEPHONE/UTILITIES	4,940,000	5,126,000
CHEMICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION	MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURING	4,849,000	5,020,000
NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSOCIATION	ENTERTAINMENT/MEDIA	4,800,000	3,360,000
SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION	BANKING/SECURITIES	4,660,000	5,000,000
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN LROADS	TRANSPORTATION	4,580,000	5,790,000
BANK OF AMERICA	BANKING/SECURITIES	4,580,000	2,200,000
CELLULAR TELECOM INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION	TELEPHONE/UTILITIES	4,570,000	1,549,000
AMERICAN FARM BUREAU ERATION	AGRICULTURE	4,560,000	3,000,000
HEALTH INSURANCE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	INSURANCE	4,495,000	4,800,000
USX	OIL AND GAS	4,400,000	4,060,000
AMR (AMERICAN AIRLINES)	TRANPORTATION	4,320,000	5,638,000
Note: Industry affiliation concerns main business of company. For example, Boeing is involved in defense but most of its business concerns commercial aircraft.			

**Top 5 Corporations/Associations
Lobbying Expenditures
1997-1998**



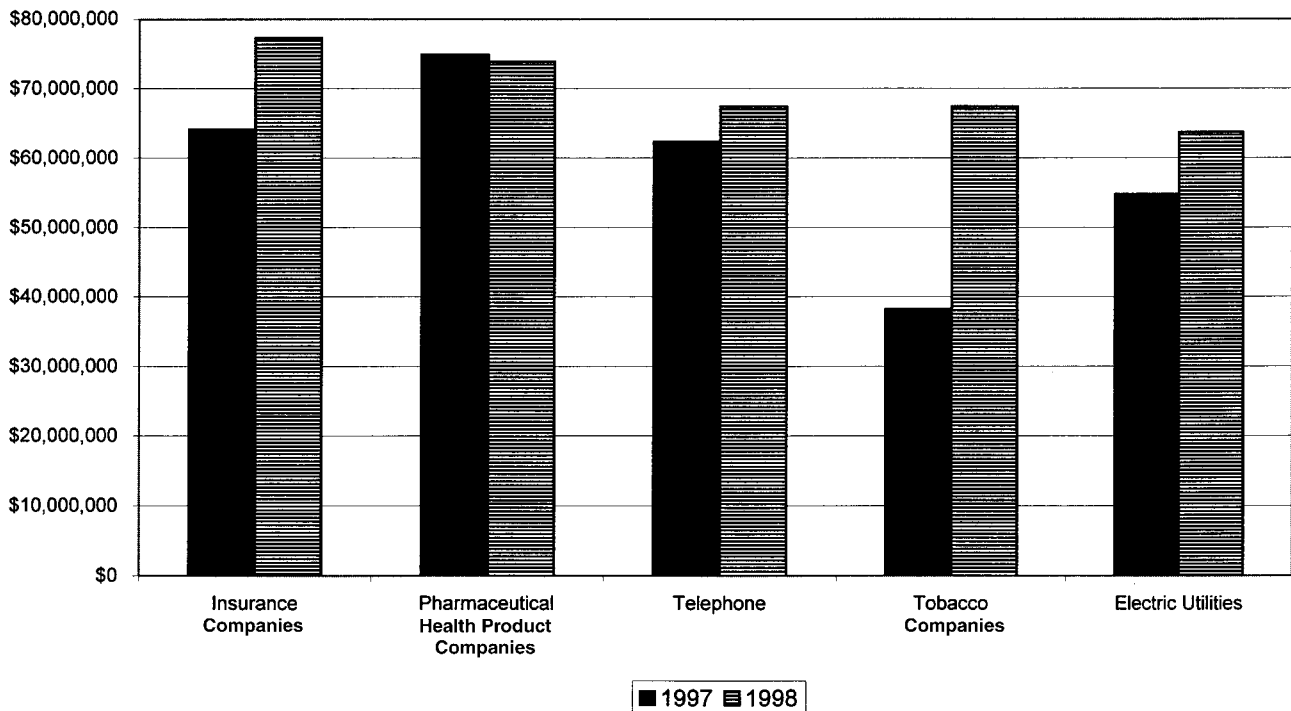
Top Industries—Lobbying Expenditures 1997–1998

<i>INDUSTRY</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
INSURANCE COMPANIES	\$77,206,908	\$64,098,955
PHARMACEUTICAL/HEALTH PRODUCT COMPANIES	73,799,855	74,832,930
TELEPHONE COMPANIES	67,943,819	62,345,284
TOBACCO COMPANIES	67,367,172	38,240,340
ELECTRIC UTILITIES	63,666,873	54,785,778
OIL AND GAS COMPANIES	57,696,393	62,328,028
HEALTH PROFESSIONALS	45,839,289	43,233,423
BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS	44,848,823	37,828,943
SINGLE ISSUE/IDENTITY GROUPS	39,744,183	37,434,551
COMPUTER COMPANIES	38,992,707	24,917,944
AIR TRANSPORT	38,659,484	33,853,401
AUTOMOTIVE	38,179,000	38,726,094
MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURING	35,848,576	37,932,955
GOVERNMENT AGENCIES	35,009,695	28,939,110
COMMERCIAL BANKS	32,995,164	29,823,287
ENTERTAINMENT/MEDIA INSTITUTIONS	29,685,424	27,687,454
EDUCATION	29,148,273	26,269,335
SECURITIES AND INVESTMENT	28,019,985	31,098,287
DEFENSE AEROSPACE	27,633,085	28,512,200
HOSPITALS/NURSING HOMES	26,348,997	23,228,170
REAL ESTATE	25,632,099	23,327,239
CHEMICAL AND RELATED MANUFACTURING	25,492,611	26,224,810
TELECOM SERVICES AND EQUIPMENT	25,284,839	18,426,976
FINANCE/CREDIT COMPANIES	20,669,850	10,424,222
AGRICULTURAL SERVICES/PRODUCTS	18,198,500	15,012,887
RAILROADS	16,550,950	17,958,527
HEALTH SERVICES	15,699,175	14,449,464
LAWYERS/LAW FIRMS	15,469,903	9,661,168
PRINTING AND PUBLISHING	13,102,867	8,917,462
CASINOS/GAMBLING	12,175,099	8,234,125
FORESTRY AND FOREST PRODUCTS	11,700,804	11,962,052
MISCELLANEOUS DEFENSE	11,478,417	11,058,353
FOOD PROCESSING AND SALES	11,044,518	9,431,655
HUMAN RIGHTS	10,772,841	9,555,021
ELECTRONICS MANUFACTURING AND SERVICES	10,602,773	8,781,160
DEFENSE ELECTRONICS	9,597,000	8,361,500

Top Industries—Lobbying Expenditures 1997–1998 (Cont.)

<i>INDUSTRY</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
RETAIL SALES	9,487,041	7,605,224
MINING	9,229,100	8,803,100
MISCELLANEOUS TRANSPORTATION	8,938,698	7,678,848
SEA TRANSPORT	8,895,011	9,959,248
TRANSPORTATION UNIONS	8,657,900	5,873,980
REPUBLICAN/CONSERVATIVE	8,004,000	9,364,000
BUILDING MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT	7,935,028	5,933,107
MISCELLANEOUS NONPROFIT INSTITUTIONS	7,547,735	6,760,679
BUSINESS SERVICES	7,541,124	6,010,899
BEER, WINE, AND LIQUOR	7,473,754	7,124,512
FOOD AND BEVERAGE	7,297,943	5,860,620
ACCOUNTING FIRMS/ASSOCIATIONS	6,676,297	7,645,000
CROP PRODUCTION AND BASIC PROCESSING	6,597,733	7,345,143
MISCELLANEOUS BUSINESS	6,122,250	4,788,076

**Top 5 Industries
Lobbying Expenditures
1997–1998**



Top Telephone Companies/Utilities Lobbying Expenditures 1997–1998

<i>COMPANY/ASSOCIATION</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
BELL ATLANTIC	\$21,260,000	\$14,300,000
EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE	11,020,000	10,020,000
AT&T	7,740,000	7,800,000
SPRINT	7,399,000	6,740,000
AMERITECH	7,254,000	6,800,000
SBC COMMUNICATIONS	5,280,000	6,220,000
BELLSOUTH	4,940,000	5,125,700
GTE	4,200,000	3,880,000
FLORIDA POWER & LIGHT	3,220,000	2,180,000
ENTERGY	3,060,000	3,940,000
US WEST	3,020,000	4,100,000
MCI WORLDCOM	2,924,000	3,268,000
SOUTHERN	2,600,000	2,200,000
DTE ENERGY	2,514,000	2,610,000
PG&E	2,260,000	978,000
PACIFICORP	1,737,000	625,000
PUGET SOUND ENERGY	1,590,000	1,519,000
TEXAS UTILITIES	1,500,000	1,470,000
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EDISON	1,320,000	1,180,000
US TELEPHONE ASSOCIATION	1,320,000	1,100,000

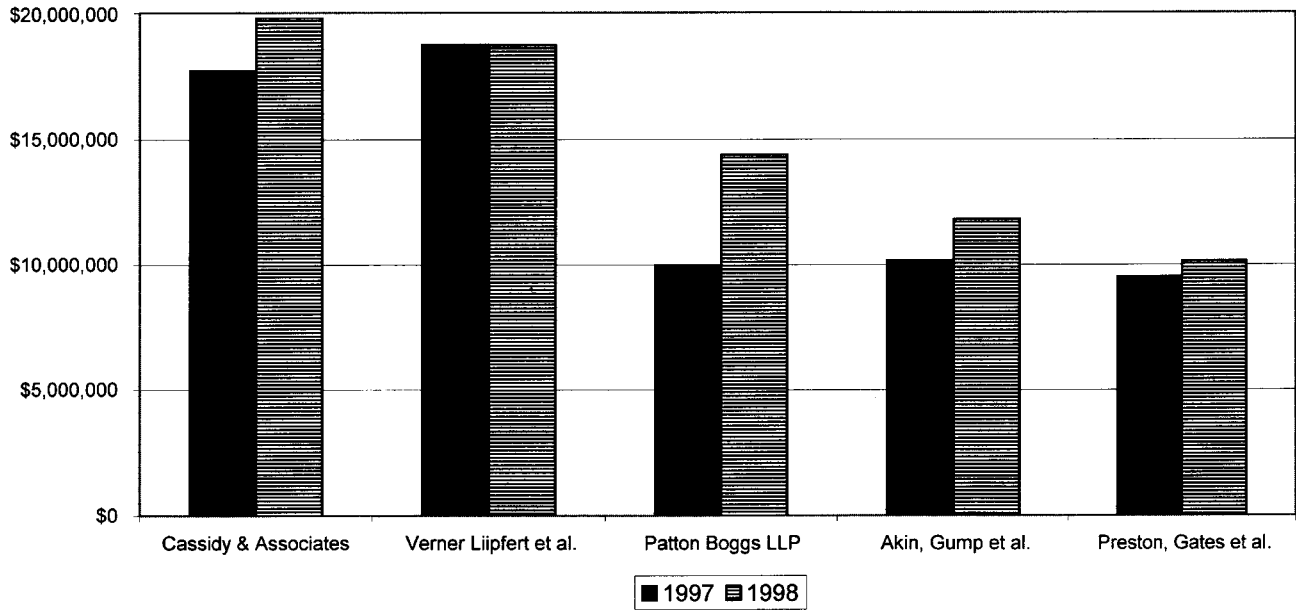
Top Transportation Companies Lobbying Expenditures 1997–1998

<i>COMPANY/ASSOCIATION</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
FORD MOTOR	\$13,080,000	\$6,880,000
BOEING	8,440,000	6,560,000
GENERAL MOTORS	7,360,000	9,300,000
DAIMLERCHRYSLER	6,280,000	4,340,000
AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	3,820,000	2,570,000
AMERICAN AIRLINES	3,800,000	5,560,000
FEDERAL EXPRESS	3,320,000	3,300,000
NORTHWEST AIRLINES	2,880,000	2,251,000
DELTA AIRLINES	2,240,000	1,340,000
AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION	2,200,000	9,916,000
UNITED AIRLINES	1,660,000	1,200,000
UNITED PARCEL SERVICE	1,300,000	880,000
TOYOTA MOTOR SALES USA	1,200,000	720,000
HONDA NORTH AMERICA	1,043,000	846,000
GOODYEAR TIRE & RUBBER	900,000	820,000
CONTINENTAL AIRLINES	900,000	660,000
AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL AUTO DEALERS ASSOCIATION	900,000	600,000
AIRCRAFT OWNERS & PILOTS ASSOCIATION	800,000	940,000
ALLIANCE FOR RAIL COMPETITION	460,000	100,000
NATIONAL AUTO DEALERS ASSOCIATION	400,000	407,000

Top Lobbying Firms 1997–1998

<i>LOBBYING FIRM</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1997</i>
CASSIDY & ASSOCIATES	\$19,890,000	\$17,754,000
VERNER, LIIPFERT ET AL.	18,775,000	18,798,000
PATTON BOGGS LLP	14,390,000	9,980,000
AKIN, GUMP ET AL.	11,800,000	10,165,000
PRESTON, GATES ET AL.	10,150,000	9,517,000
BARBOUR, GRIFFITH & ROGERS	7,410,000	5,200,000
WASHINGTON COUNSEL	7,251,000	6,377,000
WILLIAMS & JENSEN	7,060,000	6,340,000
BAKER, DONELSON ET AL.	6,820,000	3,848,000
HOGAN & HARTSON	6,546,000	6,439,000
PRICEWATERHOUSECOOPERS	6,500,000	2,440,000
VAN SCOYOC ASSOCIATES	6,480,000	5,170,000
TIMMONS	5,940,000	5,260,000
PODESTA.COM	5,360,000	3,590,000
ALCALDE & FAY	4,720,000	3,653,000
ARNOLD & PORTER	4,660,000	2,860,000
DUTKO GROUP	4,632,000	4,177,000
BLACK, KELLY ET AL.	4,625,000	5,181,000
CAPITOL ASSOCIATES	4,350,000	3,690,000
MAYER, BROWN & PLATT	4,260,000	3,400,000
BOLAND & MADIGAN	4,200,000	3,800,000
GRIFFIN, JOHNSON ET AL.	4,180,000	5,290,000
MCDERMOTT, WILL & EMERY	4,109,000	3,568,000
ARTER & HADDEN	4,100,000	4,106,000
WEXLER GROUP	4,080,000	2,900,000

**Top 5 Lobbying Firms
Lobbying Expenditures
1997-1998**



Top Clients of Top Lobbying Firms 1997–1998

<i>LOBBYING FIRM</i>	<i>CLIENT</i>	<i>1998 RECEIPTS</i>
CASSIDY & ASSOCIATES		
	BOSTON UNIVERSITY	\$ 760,000
	HUNTON & WILLIAMS	720,000
	LINCOLN ELECTRIC	600,000
	UNITED SPACE ALLIANCE	460,000
	GENERAL DYNAMICS	440,000
	MONTEFIORE MEDICAL CENTER	440,000
	RUSH-PRESBYTERIAN-ST LUKES MEDICAL CENTER	440,000
	MERHAV GROUP OF COMPANIES	420,000
	BOEING	400,000
	NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY	400,000
VERNER, LIIPFERT ET AL.		
	PHILIP MORRIS	3,620,000
	RJR NABISCO	1,910,000
	BROWN & WILLIAMSON TOBACCO	1,260,000
	STARWOOD HOTELS & RESORTS WORLDWIDE	1,000,000
	LORILLARD	660,000
	AMERICAN FINANCIAL SERVICES ASSOCIATION	645,000
	NORTHWEST AIRLINES	520,000
	PUERTO RICO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION	400,000
	PUERTO RICO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT	400,000
	SBC COMMUNICATIONS	340,000
PATTON BOGGS LLP		
	SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	960,000
	ASSOCIATION OF TRIAL LAWYERS OF AMERICA	700,000
	MARS	700,000
	PACIFIC LUMBER & SHIPPING	380,000
	CHARLES E. SMITH COMPANIES	360,000
	INTERNATIONAL SWAPS & DERIVATIVES DEALERS ASSOCIATION	340,000
	DFS GROUP	280,000
	I-69 MID-CONTINENT HIGHWAY COALITION	240,000
	SIERRA MILITARY HEALTH SERVICE	240,000
	CFFE LLC	220,000

Top Clients of Top Lobbying Firms 1997–1998 (Cont.)

<i>LOBBYING FIRM</i>	<i>CLIENT</i>	<i>1998 RECEIPTS</i>
AKIN, GUMP ET AL.		
	CITIZENS EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION	1,060,000
	MOBIL OIL	700,000
	MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	660,000
	MORTGAGE INSURANCE COMPANIES OF AMERICA	480,000
	AT&T	440,000
	METRO TRANSIT AUTHORITY OF HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS	420,000
	AMERICAN LEGION	400,000
	AMERICAN AIRLINES	320,000
	MILLER & CHEVALIER	320,000
	AMERICA ONLINE	300,000
PRESTON, GATES ET AL.		
	MISSISSIPPI BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS	1,400,000
	COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS	1,360,000
	PITNEY BOWES	800,000
	FUTURE OF PUERTO RICO	760,000
	MICROSOFT	600,000
	AMERICAN SEAFOODS	560,000
	AMERICAN CLASSIC VOYAGES	400,000
	NEPTUNE ORIENT LINES	400,000
	US MARITIME COALITION	400,000
	TATE & LYLE NORTH AMERICAN SUGARS	340,000

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CONTACT INFORMATION

Section 1: Banking, Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate

American Bankers Association
1120 Connecticut Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-663-5000
Fax: 202-828-4547
Website: www.aba.com

American Council of Life Insurance
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, #500-S
Washington, DC 20004
Phone: 202-624-4000
Fax: 202-624-2319
Website: www.acli.com

Independent Insurance Agents of America
127 South Peyton Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone: 703-683-4422
Fax: 703-683-7556
Website: www.iaaa.iix.com

Mortgage Bankers Association of America
1125 15th Street NW, #700
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-861-6500
Fax: 202-861-0734
Website: www.mbaa.org

National Association of Independent Insurers
2600 River Road
Des Plaines, IL 60018
Phone: 847-297-7800
Fax: 847-297-5064
Website: www.naii.org

National Association of Professional
Insurance Agents
400 North Washington Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone: 703-836-9340
Fax: 703-836-1279
Website: www.pianet.com

National Association of Realtors
430 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, IL 60611-4087
Phone: 312-329-8200
Fax: 312-329-8576
Website: www.realtor.com

Securities Industry Association
120 Broadway, 35th floor
New York, NY 10271
Phone: 212-608-1500
Fax: 212-608-1604
Website: www.sia.com

Section 2: Service, Trade, and Professional

American Bar Association
750 Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, IL 60611
Phone: 1-800-285-2221
Fax: 312-988-5528
Website: www.abanet.org

American Gaming Association
555 13th Street NW, #1010-E
Washington, DC 20004
Phone: 202-637-6500
Fax: 202-637-6507
Website: www.americangaming.org

American Hotel and Motel Association
1201 New York Avenue NW, #600
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-289-3100
Fax: 202-289-3199
Website: www.ahma.com

American Library Association
50 East Huron Street
Chicago, IL 60611
Phone: 1-800-545-2433
Fax: 312-440-0901
Website: www.ala.org

American Association of Advertising Agencies
405 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10174
Phone: 212-682-2500
Fax: 212-682-8391
Website: www.aaaa.org

Association of Trial Lawyers of America
1050 31st Street NW
Washington, DC 20007
Phone: 202-965-3500
Fax: 202-342-5484
Website: www.atlanet.org

Food Marketing Institute
800 Connecticut Avenue NW, #500
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-452-8444
Fax: 202-429-4519
Website: www.fmi.org

Fraternal Order of Police
1410 Donaldson Pike A-17
Nashville, TN 37217
Phone: 615-399-0900
Fax: 615-399-0400
Website: www.grandlodgefop.org

National Association of Convenience Stores
1605 King Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone: 703-684-3600
Fax: 703-836-4564
Website: www.nacsnet.org

National Association of Retired
Federal Employees
606 North Washington Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone: 703-838-7760
Fax: 703-838-7782
Website: www.narfe.org

National Association of Social Workers
750 1st Street NE, #700
Washington, DC 20002
Phone: 202-408-8600
Fax: 202-336-8310
Website: www.naswdc.org

National Automobile Dealers Association
8400 Westpark Drive
McLean, VA 22102-3591
Phone: 703-821-7000
Fax: 703-821-7075
Website: www.nadanet.com

National Beer Wholesalers Association
1100 South Washington Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone: 703-683-4300
Fax: 703-683-8965

National Federation of Independent Business
600 Maryland Avenue SW, #700
Washington, DC 20024
Phone: 202-554-9000
Fax: 202-554-9496
Website: www.nfib.org

National Funeral Directors Association
11121 West Oklahoma Avenue
Milwaukee, WI 53227
Phone: 414-541-2500
Fax: 414-541-1909
Website: www.nfda.org

National Restaurant Association
1200 17th Street NW, #800
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-331-5900
Fax: 202-331-2429
Website: www.restaurant.org

Petroleum Marketers Association of America
1901 Fort Myers Drive, #1200
Arlington, VA 22209
Phone: 703-351-8000
Fax: 703-351-9160
Website: www.pmaa.org

United States Chambers of Commerce
1615 H Street NW
Washington, DC 20062
Phone: 202-659-6000
Fax: 202-463-3190
Website: www.uschamber.com

Section 3: Media, Entertainment, and Information

Accuracy in Media
4455 Connecticut Avenue NW, #330
Washington, DC 20008
Phone: 202-364-4401
Fax: 202-364-4098
Website: www.aim.org

American Council on Education
One Dupont Circle NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-939-9300
Fax: 202-833-4760
Website: www.ace.nche.edu

Association of American Publishers
71 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10003
Phone: 212-225-0200
Fax: 212-225-7007
Website: www.publishers.org

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting
130 West 25th Street
New York, NY 10001
Phone: 212-633-6700
Fax: 212-727-7668
Website: www.fair.org

Magazine Publishers of America
919 Third Avenue, 22nd floor
New York, NY 10022
Phone: 212-872-3700
Fax: 212-888-4217
Website: www.magazine.org

Motion Picture Association of America
1600 I Street NW
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-293-1966
Fax: 202-293-7410
Website: www.mpa.org

National Association of Broadcasters
1771 N Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-429-5300
Fax: 202-429-5343
Website: www.nab.org

National Cable Television Association
1724 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-775-3550
Fax: 202-775-3695
Website: www.ncta.com

Newspaper Association of America
1921 Gallows Road, #600
Vienna, VA 22182
Phone: 703-902-1600
Website: www.naa.org

Recording Industry Association of America
1330 Connecticut Avenue NW, #300
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-775-0101
Fax: 202-775-7253
Website: www.riaa.com

Software and Information Industry Association
 1730 M Street NW, #700
 Washington, DC 20036
 Phone: 202-452-1600
 Fax: 202-223-8756
 Website: www.siiia.net

Section 4: Health and Medical

American Academy of Ophthalmology
 655 Beach Street
 San Francisco, CA 94109
 Phone: 415-561-8500
 Fax: 415-561-8533
 Website: www.eyenet.org

American Cancer Society
 1599 Clifton Road
 Atlanta, GA 30329
 Phone: 1-800-227-2345
 Website: www.cancer.org

American Chiropractic Association
 1701 Clarendon Boulevard
 Arlington, VA 22209
 Phone: 703-276-8800
 Fax: 703-243-2593
 Website: www.amerchiro.org

American College of Emergency
 Physicians
 P.O. Box 619911
 Dallas, TX 75261-9911
 Phone: 972-550-0911
 Fax: 972-580-2816
 Website: www.accp.org

American Dietetic Association
 216 West Jackson Boulevard
 Chicago, IL 60606
 Phone: 312-899-0040
 Fax: 312-899-1758
 Website: www.eatright.org

American Federation for AIDS Research
 120 Wall Street, 13th Floor
 New York, NY 10005
 Phone: 212-806-1600
 Fax: 212-806-1601
 Website: www.amfar.org

American Healthcare Association
 1201 L Street NW
 Washington, DC 20005
 Phone: 202-842-4444
 Fax: 202-842-3860

American Heart Association
 National Center
 7272 Greenville Avenue
 Dallas, TX 75231
 Phone: 1-800-242-8721
 Website: www.americanheart.org

American Hospital Association
 1 North Franklin Street
 Chicago, IL 60606
 Phone: 202-422-3000
 Fax: 312-422-4700
 Website: www.aha.org

American Medical Association
 515 North State Street
 Chicago, IL 60610
 Phone: 312-464-5000
 Fax: 312-464-4184
 Website: www.ama-assn.org

American Nurses Association
 600 Maryland Avenue SW, #100
 Washington, DC 20024
 Phone: 202-651-7000
 Fax: 202-651-7001
 Website: www.nursingworld.org

American Occupational Therapy
 Association
 4720 Montgomery Lane, P.O. Box 31220
 Rockville, MD 20824
 Phone: 301-652-2682
 Fax: 301-652-7711
 Website: www.aota.org

American Psychiatric Association
 1400 K Street NW, #300
 Washington, DC 20005
 Phone: 202-682-6000
 Fax: 202-682-6114
 Website: www.psych.org

American Society of Anesthesiologists
520 North Northwest Highway
Park Ridge, IL 60068
Phone: 708-825-5586
Fax: 708-825-1692
Website: www.asahq.org

Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association
225 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, IL 60690
Phone: 312-440-6000
Fax: 312-440-6609
Website: www.bluecares.com

Section 5: Agriculture

American Farm Bureau Federation
225 Touhy Avenue
Park Ridge, IL 60068
Phone: 312-399-5700
Fax: 312-399-5896
Website: www.fb.com

American Meat Institute
1700 North Moore Street, #1600
Arlington, VA 22209
Phone: 703-841-2400
Fax: 703-527-0938
Website: www.meatami.org

American Sugarbeet Growers
Association
1156 15th Street NW #1101
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-833-2398
Website: www.member.aol.com/sugar.html

International Dairy Foods Association
1250 H Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-296-4250
Fax: 202-331-7820
Website: www.idfa.org

National Association of Wheat Growers
415 2nd Street NE, #300
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-547-7800
Fax: 202-546-2638
Website: www.wheatworld.org

National Cattlemen's Beef Association
5420 South Quebec Street, P.O. Box 3469
Englewood, CO 80155
Phone: 303-694-0305
Fax: 303-694-2851
Website: www.cowtown.org

National Chicken Council (formerly National
Broiler Council)
1155 15th Street NW, #614
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-296-2622
Fax: 202-293-4005
Website: www.eatchicken.com

National Cotton Council of America
1918 North Parkway
Memphis, TN 38112
Phone: 901-274-9030
Fax: 901-725-0510
Website: www.cotton.org

National Council of Farmer Cooperatives
50 F Street NW, #900
Washington, DC 20001
Phone: 202-626-8700
Fax: 202-626-8722
Website: www.access.digex.net/~ncfc

National Farmers Organization
2505 Elwood Drive
Ames, IA 50010
Phone: 515-292-2000
Fax: 515-292-7106
Website: www.nfo.org

National Farmers Union
10065 East Harvard Avenue
Denver, CO 80231
Phone: 303-337-5500
Fax: 303-695-4518
Website: www.nfuic.com

National Grange
1616 H Street NW
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-628-3507
Fax: 202-347-1091
Website: www.nationalgrange.org

National Pork Producers Council
1776 NW 114th Street
Clive, IA 50322
Phone: 515-223-2600
Fax: 515-223-5265
Website: www.nppc.org

Organic Trade Association
50 Miles Street
P.O. Box 1078
Greenfield, MA 01302
Phone: 413-774-7511
Fax: 413-774-6432
Website: www.ota.com

United Egg Association
1 Massachusetts Avenue NW, #800
Washington, DC 20001
Phone: 202-789-2499
Fax: 202-682-0775
Website: www.unitedegg.org

Section 6: Environment

Environmental Defense Fund
257 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010
Phone: 1-800-684-3322
Website: www.edf.org

Friends of the Earth
1025 Vermont Avenue NW, #300
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-783-7400
Fax: 202-783-0444
Website: www.foe.org

Greenpeace
1436 U Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
Phone: 202-462-1177
Fax: 202-462-4507
Website: www.greenpeace.org

Izaak Walton League
707 Conservation Lane
Gathersburg, MD 20878
Phone: 301-548-0150
Fax: 301-548-1046
Website: www.iwla.org

League of Conservation Voters
1707 L Street NW, #550
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-785-8683
Fax: 202-835-0491
Website: www.lcv.org

National Audubon Society
700 Broadway
New York, NY 10003
Phone: 212-979-3000
Website: www.audubon.org

National Wildlife Federation
8925 Leesburg Pike
Vienna, VA 22184
Phone: 703-790-4000
Website: www.nwf.org

Rainforest Action Network
221 Pine Street, #500
San Francisco, CA 94104
Phone: 415-398-4404
Fax: 415-398-2732
Website: www.ran.org

Sierra Club
730 Bush Street
San Francisco, CA 94109
Phone: 415-981-8634
Fax: 415-776-0350
Website: www.sierraclub.org

Wise Use Movement
Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise
12500 NE Tenth Place
Bellevue, WA 98005
Phone: 425-455-5038
Fax: 425-451-3959
Website: www.cdfc.org

Section 7: Industry, Construction, and Transport

Aerospace Industries Association
1250 "I" Street NW, #1200
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-371-8400
Fax: 202-371-8470
Website: www.aia-aerospace.org

Air Transport Association
1301 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, #1100
Washington, DC 20004
Phone: 202-626-4000
Fax: 202-626-4081
Website: www.air-transport.org

American Forest and Paper Association
1111 19th Street NW, #800
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-463-2700
Fax: 202-463-2785
E-mail: INFO@afandpa.org
Website: www.afandpa.org

American Furniture Manufacturers Association
918 16th Street NW, #402
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-466-7362
Fax: 202-429-4915
Website: www.afmahp.org

American Textile Manufacturers Institute
1130 Connecticut Avenue NW, #1200
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-862-0500
Fax: 202-862-0570
Website: www.atmi.org

American Trucking Associations
430 1st Street SE
Washington, DC 20003
Phone: 202-544-6245
Fax: 202-675-6568
Website: www.truckline.com

Associated Builders and Contractors
1300 North 17th Street
8th Floor
Arlington, VA 22209
Phone: 703-812-2000
Fax: 703-812-8203
Website: www.abc.org

Business Round Table
1615 L Street NW, #1100
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-872-1260
Website: www.brtable.org

Chemical Manufacturers Association
1300 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, VA 22209
Phone: 703-741-5000
Fax: 703-741-6000
Website: www.cmahq.com

Distilled Spirits Council of the U.S.
1250 "I" Street, #400
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-628-3544
Fax: 202-682-8888
Website: www.discus.health.org

Edison Electric Institute
701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20004
Phone: 202-508-5000
Fax: 202-508-5794
Website: www.eei.org

National Association of Home Builders
1201 15th Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-822-0200
Fax: 202-822-0559
Website: www.nahb.com

National Association of Manufacturers
1331 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20004-1790
Phone: 202-637-3000
Fax: 202-637-3182
E-mail: manufacturing@nam.org
Website: www.nam.org

National Mining Association
1130 17th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-463-2625
Fax: 202-463-6152
Website: www.nma.org

Nuclear Energy Institute
1776 "I" Street, #400
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-739-8000
Fax: 202-785-4019
Website: www.nei.org

Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America
1100 15th Street NW, #900
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-835-3400
Fax: 202-835-3413
Website: www.phrma.org

Printing Industries of America
100 Daingerfield Road
Arlington, VA 22314
Phone: 703-519-8100
Fax: 703-548-3227
Website: www.printing.org

Semiconductor Industry Association
181 Metro Drive, #450
San Jose, CA 95110
Phone: 408-436-6600
Fax: 408-436-6646
Website: www.semichips.org

The Technology Network
101 University Avenue, #240
Palo Alto, CA 94301
Phone: 650-463-1510
Fax: 650-463-1501
Website: www.technetwork.org

Section 8: Labor

Air Line Pilots Association
535 Herndon Parkway
Herndon, VA 22070
Phone: 703-689-2270
Fax: 703-689-4370
Website: www.alpa.org

American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)
815 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-637-5000
Fax: 202-637-5058
Website: www.aflcio.org

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)
1625 "L" Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-429-1000
Fax: 202-429-1293
Website: www.afscme.org

American Federation of Teachers
555 New Jersey Avenue NW, #1000
Washington, DC 20001
Phone: 202-879-4400
Fax: 202-879-4556
Website: www.aft.org

American Postal Workers Union
1300 "L" Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-842-4200
Fax: 202-842-4297
Website: www.apwu.org

Communications Workers of America
501 3rd Street NW, #1102
Washington, DC 20001
Phone: 202-434-1320
Fax: 202-434-1318
Website: www.cwa-union.org

Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union
1219 28th Street NW
Washington, DC 20007
Phone: 202-393-4373
Fax: 202-333-0468
Website: www.hereunion.org

International Association of Fire Fighters
1750 New York Avenue NW, #300
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-737-8484
Fax: 202-737-8418
Website: www.iaff.org

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers
9000 Machinists Place
Upper Marlboro, MD 20772
Phone: 301-967-4500
Fax: 301-967-4586
Website: www.iamaw.org

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
1125 15th Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-833-7000
Fax: 202-728-6316
Website: www.ibew.org

International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20001
Phone: 202-624-6800
Fax: 202-624-2918
Website: www.teamster.org

International Union of Operating Engineers
1125 17th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-429-9100
Website: www.iuoe.org

Laborers' International Union of
North America
905 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-942-2246
Fax: 202-638-4398
Website: www.liuna.org

National Education Association
1201 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-822-7300
Fax: 202-822-7292
Website: www.nea.org

Seafarers International Union
of North America
5201 Auth Way
Camp Springs, MD 20746
Phone: 301-899-0675
Fax: 301-899-7355
Website: www.seafarers.org

Service Employees International Union
1313 L Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-898-3200
Fax: 202-898-3438
Website: www.seiu.org

Transport Workers Union of America
80 West End Avenue, 6th floor
New York, NY 10023
Phone: 212-873-6000
Fax: 212-724-5826
Website: www.twu.org

Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and
Textile Employees
1710 Broadway
New York, NY 10019
Phone: 212-265-7000
Fax: 212-265-3415
Website: www.uniteunion.org

United Automobile Workers
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, MI 48214
Phone: 313-926-5200
Fax: 313-824-5750
Website: www.uaw.org

United Food and Commercial Workers Union
1775 "K" Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-223-3111
Fax: 202-466-1462
Website: www.ufcw.org

United Steelworkers of America
5 Gateway Center
Pittsburgh, PA 15222
Phone: 412-562-2442
Fax: 412-562-2445
Website: www.uswa.org

United Transportation Union
14600 Detroit Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44107
Phone: 216-228-9400
Fax: 216-228-5755
Website: www.utu.org

Section 9: Civil and Human Rights

ACORN
21015 Main Street
Little Rock, AR 72204
Phone: 501-376-7151
Fax: 501-376-3952
Website: www.acorn.org

American Civil Liberties Union
125 Broad Street, 18th Floor
New York, NY 10004-2400
Phone: 212-549-2500
Website: www.aclu.org

Anti-Defamation League
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
Phone: 212-889-7970
Website: www.adl.org

Freedom House
1319 18th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-296-5101
Fax: 202-296-5078
Website: www.freedomhouse.org

Human Rights Watch
350 Fifth Avenue, 34th Floor
New York, NY 10118
Phone: 212-290-4700
Fax: 212-736-1300
Website: www.hrw.org

League of Women Voters of
the United States
1730 M Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-429-1965
Fax: 202-429-0854
Website: www.lwv.org

Legal Services Corporation
750 First Street NE, 10th Floor
Washington, DC 20002-4250
Phone: 202-336-8800
Website: www.ltsi.net/lsc.html

National Coalition for the Homeless
1012 14th Street NW, #600
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-737-6444
Fax: 202-737-6445
Website: www.nch.ari.net

National Lawyers Guild
126 University Place, 5th Floor
New York, NY 10003
Phone: 212-627-2656
Fax: 212-627-2404
Website: www.nlg.org

Section 10: Political, Religious, and Ideological

American Conservative Union
1007 Cameron Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone: 703-836-8602
Fax: 703-836-8606
Website: www.conservative.org

American Enterprise Institute
1150 Seventeenth Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: (202) 862-5800
Fax: (202) 862-7178
Website: www.aei.org

Americans for Democratic Action
8124 West Third, #102
Los Angeles, CA 90048
Phone: 323-651-4440
Website: www.411web.com

Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street NW, #200
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-785-0266
Fax: 202-785-0261
Website: www.townhall.com/atr

Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-797-6000
Fax: 202-797-6004
Website: www.brook.edu

Cato Institute
1000 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20001-5403
Phone: 202-842-0200
Fax: 202-842-3490
Website: www.cato.org

Center for Public Integrity
910 17th Street NW
7th Floor
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-466-1300
Website: www.publicintegrity.org

Center for Responsive Politics
1320 19th Street NW, #620
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-857-0044
Fax: 202-857-7809
Website: www.opensecrets.org

Christian Coalition
1801-L Sara Drive
Chesapeake, VA 23320
Phone: 757-424-2630
Fax: 757-424-9068
Website: www.cc.org

Citizens for a Sound Economy
1250 H Street NW, #700
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-783-3870
Fax: 202-783-4687
Website: www.cse.org

Economic Policy Institute
1660 L Street NW, #1200
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-775-8810
Website: www.epinet.org

Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue NE
Washington, DC 20002-4999
Phone: 202-546-4400
Fax: 202-546-8328
Website: www.heritage.org

Hudson Institute
Washington DC Office
1015 18th Street, #300
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-223-7770
Fax: 202-223-8537
Website: www.hudson.org

John Birch Society
P.O. Box 8040
Appleton, WI 54912
Phone: 920-749-3780
Fax: 920-749-5062
Website: www.jbs.org

National Council of the Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115
Phone: 212-870-2227
Fax: 212-870-2030
Website: www.nccusa.org

National Taxpayers Union
108 North Alfred Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone: 703-683-5700
Fax: 703-683-5722
Website: www.ntu.org

Public Citizen
1600 20th Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
Phone: 202- 588-1000
Website: www.citizen.org

United States Catholic Conference
3211 4th Street NE
Washington, DC 20017
Phone: 202-541-3000
Website: www.nccbuscc.org

U.S. Public Interest Research Group
218 D Street SE
Washington, DC 20003
Phone: 202-546-9707
Fax: 202-546-2461
Website: www.pirg.org

Section 11: Single Issue

Americans United for the Separation of
Church and State
518 C Street NE
Washington, DC 20002
Phone: 202-466-3234
Fax: 202-466-2587
Website: www.au.org

Citizens Flag Alliance
P.O. Box 7197
Indianapolis, IN 46207
Phone: 317-630-1384
Fax: 317-630-1385
Website: www.cfa-inc.org

Council for a Livable World
20 Park Plaza
Boston, MA 02116
Phone: 617-542-2282
Fax: 617-542-6695
Website: www.clw.org

Handgun Control
1225 I Street NW, #1100
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-898-0792
Fax: 202-371-9615
Website: www.handguncontrol.org

Mothers Against Drunk Driving
P.O. Box 541688
Dallas, TX 75354
Phone: 1-800-438-6233
Website: www.madd.org

National Abortion and Reproductive Rights
Action League
1156 15th Street NW, #700
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-973-3000
Website: www.naral.org

National Committee to Preserve Social Security
and Medicare
2000 K Street NW, 8th Floor
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-822-9459
Fax: 202-822-9619
Website: www.ncpssm.org

National Rifle Association
11250 Waples Mill Road
Fairfax, VA 22030
Phone: 703-267-1000
Fax: 703-352-6408
Website: www.nra.org

National Right to Life Committee
419 7th Street NW, #500
Washington, DC 20004
Phone: 202-626-8820
Website: www.nrlc.org

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals
501 Front Street
Norfolk, VA 23510
Phone: 757-622-7382
Fax: 757-622-0457
Website: www.peta-online.org

Planned Parenthood Federation of America
810 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10019
Phone: 212-541-7800
Fax: 212/245-1845
Website: www.plannedparenthood.org

Union of Concerned Scientists
Two Brattle Square
Cambridge, MA 02238
Phone: 617-547-5552
Fax: 617-864-9405
Website: www.ucsusa.org

U.S. English
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, #1100
Washington, DC 20006-4604
Phone: 202-833-0100
Fax: 202-833-0108
Website: www.us-english.org

U.S. Term Limits
10 G Street NE, #410
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-379-3000
Fax: 202-379-3010
Website: www.termlimits.org

Zero Population Growth
1400 Sixteenth Street NW, #320
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-332-2200
Fax: 202-332-2302
Website: www.zpg.org

Section 12: Identity Groups

American Association of Retired Persons
601 E Street NW
Washington, DC 20049
Phone: 1-800-424-3410
Website: www.aarp.org

American Indian Movement
P.O. Box 13521
Minneapolis, MN 55414
Phone: 612-721-3914
Fax: 612-721-7826
Website: www.aimovement.org

American Legion
700 North Pennsylvania Street
P.O. Box 1055
Indianapolis, IN 46206
Phone: 317-630-1200
Fax: 317-630-1223
Website: www.legion.org

Congress of Racial Equality
817 Broadway, 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10003
Phone: 212-598-4000
Fax: 212-598-4141
Website: www.coreonline.org

Emily's List
805 15th Street NW, #400
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-326-1400
Fax: 202-326-1415
Website: www.emilyslist.org

Human Rights Campaign
1101 14th Street NW, #1000
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-628-4160
Fax: 202-347-5323
Website: www.hrcusa.org

National Association of the Advancement of
Colored People
1025 Vermont Street NW, #1120
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-638-2269
Website: www.naacp.org

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force
2320 175th Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
Phone: 202-332-6438
Fax: 202-332-0207
Website: www.nglhf.org

National Organization of Women
1000 16th Street NW, #700
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-331-0066
Fax: 202-785-8576
Website: www.now.org

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

GLOSSARY

A

Accuracy in Media. Conservative media watchdog group.

Advertising Council. Public service association of the advertising industry.

Airline Pilots Association. International union representing airline pilots in the United States.

America's Community Bankers. Formerly the Community Bankers of America, a trade association representing savings and loan associations, mutual savings banks, cooperative banks, and other financial institutions that are not commercial banks or credit unions.

American Bankers Association. Interest group representing commercial banks and trust companies.

American Council of Life Insurance. Umbrella trade association for life insurance companies in the United States.

American Enterprise Institute. Conservative think tank.

American Farm Bureau Federation. Founded in 1920 with the support of land-grant colleges, the organization is the largest agricultural general interest group in the United States. Although the federation is a national organization, most of its membership is rooted in the Midwest and South.

American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations. Leading national federation of American labor unions.

American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. International union representing state, county, and municipal public service workers in the United States.

American Federation of Teachers. The second largest international teachers union in the United States.

American Financial Services Association. National trade association for the financial services industry.

American Gaming Association. Trade association for the gambling industry.

American Healthcare Association. Leading trade association for the nursing home industry.

American Institute of Certified Public Accountants. Professional association of accountants certified by the states and territories to practice accounting.

American Legion. Major organization of American veterans.

American Postal Workers Union. Largest postal workers union in the United States.

Americans for Democratic Action. Liberal advocacy and lobbying organization.

amicus curiae. "Friend of the court," referring to briefs presented by interest groups in support of a specific cause during a case on trial.

B

Blue Cross and Blue Shield. Nation's largest federation of nonprofit health insurers.

Brookings Institution. Centrist think tank.

C

Cato Institute. Libertarian think tank.

Center for Public Integrity. Progressive research and advocacy organization that investigates lobbyist and corporate influence over the federal government, among other issues.

Center for Responsive Politics. Progressive research organization that researches and publicizes campaign contributions.

Christian Coalition International. Lobbying and political action committee arm of the Christian Coalition.

Christian Coalition. Conservative and fundamentalist advocacy organization; recently, under pressure from government, the group was forced to form a separate lobbying arm, the Christian Coalition International.

Citizens Flag Alliance. Conservative interest group promoting a constitutional amendment to ban desecration of the American flag.

Citizens for a Sound Economy. Conservative think tank and advocacy organization that backs market solutions to public policy issues.

Commodity Credit Corporation. U.S.-government-owned corporation founded in 1933 by President Franklin Roosevelt that allowed farmers to use their farms as collateral to obtain gov-

ernment loans. The organization was incorporated in 1948.

Common Cause. Progressive lobbying and advocacy organization that emphasizes more open and accountable government policies.

Communications Act. 1934 legislation defining government role in regulating airwaves; superseded by Telecommunications Act of 1996.

Communications Workers of America. Largest international union representing workers in the American telecommunication industry

Congress of Racial Equality. Conservative civil rights organization.

Copyright Act. 1978 legislation protecting copyrights on written materials; passed in response to widespread use of photocopying machines.

Council for a Livable World. Organization dedicated to ridding the world of weapons of mass destruction and protecting the environment.

Credit Union National Association. Federal trade association that represents local credit unions.

D

Department of Health and Human Services. Federal agency in charge of health and welfare issues.

Dietary Reference Intakes. Proposed federal standard for the dietary content of foods, recommended by American Dietetic Association.

E

Economic Policy Institute. A pro-labor think tank that focuses on economic issues.

Emily's List. Organization established in 1985 to promote and fund the campaigns of Democratic, pro-choice women candidates for federal office.

Environmental Defense Fund. Interest group that monitors and promotes environmental protection.

Environmental Protection Agency. Federal agency seeking to safeguard the environment by monitoring industrial and consumer pollution and enforcing regulations.

F

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting. Progressive media watchdog group.

Federal Communications Commission. Federal agency that regulates private and public interstate, national, and international broadcasting, telephone, and communications.

Federal Reserve Board. Federal agency that regulates U.S. money supply and other financial affairs.

Federal Trade Commission. Federal agency that regulates trade and business.

Food and Drug Administration. Federal agency that oversees and regulates the commercial marketing of food and drug products.

G

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. International negotiations for promoting free trade. The series of negotiations, known as rounds, began in 1947 and culminated in the creation of the World Trade Organization in 1995.

Glass-Steagall Act. Federal law passed in 1932 to separate the banking, insurance, and securities industries.

H

Healthcare Financing Administration. Federal agency that regulates and oversees the health insurance industry.

Heritage Foundation. Conservative think tank.

Higher Education Act. 1965 legislation establishing federal grants, loans, and fellowships for higher education.

Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union. International union that represents workers employed in the hospitality industry in the United States and Canada.

Hudson Institute. Conservative think tank.

Human Rights Campaign. Largest gay and lesbian advocacy organization in America.

I

Independent Community Bankers of America. Association representing small and mid-sized community banks in the United States.

Independent Insurance Agents of America. Association representing insurance sales agents who sell all types of insurance offered by multiple insurance companies.

Individual Retirement Accounts. Tax-free individual pension savings plans created by the federal government.

International Association of Fire Fighters. International union representing firefighters in the United States.

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. International union representing workers in the machine tool, metals, aerospace, and spacecraft industries in the United States and Canada.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. International union representing workers employed in electrical, building trades, and communications industries.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Union representing workers employed in the trucking and distribution industries in the United States and Canada.

International Monetary Fund. Created in 1944 by Allied powers in the Bretton Woods Conference as a funding vehicle to assist indebted countries in meeting balance of payment problems. To receive

funding, the IMF requires debtor countries to meet strict spending and monetary requirements.

International Union of Operating Engineers. Union representing workers employed in maintenance, mechanics, and operation of heavy equipment—particularly in the construction industry.

Investment Company Act. Federal legislation passed in 1940 that provided protections for investors in mutual funds and closed-end investment companies.

Investment Company Institute. National trade association for mutual fund and closed-end investment companies.

Izaak Walton League. Interest group that promotes environmental and wilderness conservation.

J-L

John Birch Society. Conservative, anti-communist advocacy group.

Laborers' International Union of North America. Union representing workers employed in construction and a litany of other industries in the United States and Canada.

Land Grant Universities. Created by the Morrill Act of 1862 to teach agricultural and mechanical sciences. Land grant universities are primarily state-supported institutions.

League of Conservation Voters. Interest group promoting environmental protection.

M

McCarran-Ferguson Act. Federal law passed in 1947 that assigned the regulation of insurance to state governments.

Medicaid. State-administered, federally financed healthcare program for the poor.

Medicare. Federal healthcare program for the disabled and elderly.

Mortgage Bankers Association of America. Trade association representing the real estate finance industry.

N

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Oldest and largest civil rights organization in America.

National Association of Independent Insurers. Trade association representing independent property and casualty insurance companies.

National Association of Insurance Commissioners. Association of chief insurance regulatory officials.

National Association of Life Underwriters. Federation of state and local associations of life and health insurance sales professionals.

National Association of Professional Insurance Agents. Trade association representing independent insurance agents and their employees who specialize in auto, home, and business insurance.

National Association of Realtors. National trade association of professional realtors.

National Audubon Society. Organization that promotes the protection and expansion of wilderness and open-space habitats of birds.

National Council of Churches of Christ. Liberal advocacy group that represents mainstream Protestant churches.

National Education Association. Largest union in the United States, representing teachers and educators.

National Endowment for the Humanities. Federal agency that funds the humanities and arts.

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Main gay and lesbian interest group promoting pro-gay and lesbian legislation and candidates.

National Grange. Founded in 1867, the oldest farmers' educational and political organization in America.

National Labor Relations Act. 1935 law also known as the Wagner Act that dramatically expanded trade unions' legal rights to organize workers in America.

National Rifle Association. Organization dedicated to preventing gun control legislation and defending the Second Amendment to the Constitution.

National Right to Life Committee. Largest organization dedicated to outlawing abortions.

National Taxpayers Union. Conservative lobbying organization that pushes for lower taxes.

National Venture Capital Association. Trade organization of corporate financiers, venture capital groups, and individual venture capitalists who invest private capital in growth-oriented companies.

North American Free Trade Agreement. 1994 pact allowing for freer trade between Canada, Mexico, and the United States.

O-P

Office of the Controller of the Currency. A U.S. Treasury Department office responsible for regulating the banking industry.

Patients' Bill of Rights. Proposed federal and/or state laws guaranteeing specific rights to health insurance customers, most notably, the right to sue health maintenance organizations and health insurers for denial of services.

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals. Organization dedicated to stopping the use of animals for scientific and commercial experimentation, banning fur in clothing, and promoting vegetarianism.

Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Reproductive rights advocacy organization that runs birth control clinics.

Political Action Committee. Funding mechanisms established by interest groups and parties to raise money for candidates running for office.

Preferred Provider Organization. Private healthcare programs in which patients choose their own doctors.

Pro-Choice. Supporting the right of women to choose an abortion.

Pro-Life. Opposing the right of women to choose an abortion.

Public Citizen. Progressive, consumer-oriented advocacy organization.

R-S

Recommended Dietary Allowances. Federal standards for dietary content of foods.

Seafarers International Union of North America. Largest union of maritime workers in the United States and Canada.

Securities and Exchange Commission. Federal agency that regulates the securities industry.

Securities Industry Association. Trade association representing investment banks, broker-dealers, and mutual fund companies active in corporate and public finance.

Service Employees International Union. Union representing workers employed in diverse public and private sector industries in the United States and Canada.

State Postsecondary Review for Entities. State accreditation boards for higher education institutions.

T

Taft-Hartley Act. Law passed in 1947 curtailing the ability of unions to organize workers in the United States.

Technology Network. Trade association for software and computer industry.

Telecommunications Act. 1996 law superseding 1934 Communications Act that defines the federal role in regulating the communications industry in the era of digital electronics and the Internet.

Tilman Act. Federal campaign finance law passed in 1907.

Transport Workers Union of America. Union representing public bus, train, air transport, and associated workers in the United States.

Truth in Lending Act. Federal law passed in 1968 that requires lenders to provide simple and accurate information about loans for borrowers to facilitate comparison shopping.

U

U.S. Public Interest Research Group. Progressive, consumer-oriented advocacy organization.

Union of Concerned Scientists. Organization of science professionals dedicated to promoting environmentally friendly technologies.

Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees. International union representing workers primarily employed in the textile and garment production industries.

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America. Union representing workers primarily employed in the automobile industry in the United States.

United Food and Commercial Workers Union. Union representing workers primarily employed in the food processing and retail sales industries.

United States Catholic Conference. Generally liberal advocacy organization of the American Catholic church.

United Steelworkers of America. International union of workers employed in steel, aluminum, copper, tin, plastics, rubber, stone, and glass industries.

United Transportation Union. Union representing railroad, bus, and mass transit workers in the United States and Canada.

US English. Organization dedicated to making English the official language of the United States and to eliminating bilingualism in government and education.

US Term Limits. Organization dedicated to setting term limits for elected officials at the local, state, and federal levels.

W

World Bank. Created as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to provide financing for economic growth and development projects in less-developed countries.

World Intellectual Property Organization. Main international organization dealing with copyright and other intellectual property issues.

World Trade Organization. Created in Singapore in 1995 as an international supervisory body to oversee global trade by country participants in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiations.

Y-Z

Y2K. Term referring to computer problems that could result from technical difficulties associated with the turning of the year 2000.

Zero Population Growth. Organization dedicated to restraining population growth in the United States and abroad.



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INDEX

A

AARP. *See* American Association of Retired Persons
AARP Bulletin, **2:561**
AARP/VOTE, **2:562**
ABA Banking Journal, **1:10**
Abacha, Sani, **2:507, 609**
Abbott Laboratories, **2:653, 656**
ABC, **1:133; 2:372, 680**
ABC/Disney, **1:87-S8**
ABC Today, **1:315**
Abolitionist movement, **2:506-7**
Abortion
 American Civil Liberties Union, **2:434**
 American Conservative Union, **2:461-62**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:458, 467**
 Cato Institute, **2:458**
 Christian Coalition, **2:458, 481, 482**
 Global Gag Rule, **2:554**
 John Birch Society, **2:458, 495**
 National Abortion and Reproduction Action League, **2:526-28, 622, 623, 665, 667**
 National Organization for Women, **2:583-85**
 National Right to Life Committee, **2:536-38, 623, 665, 667**
 Pro-Choice and Pro-Life PACs, **2:665, 667**
 Supreme Court Rulings, **2:543**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:458, 503**
 Zero Population Growth, **2:554**
 See also Family planning; *Roe v. Wade*
Abraham, Spencer, **1:91, 348**
Abubakar, **2:609**
Mumia, Abu-Jamal, **1:87-88**
Accounting
 leading PACs, **2:652**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
 See also under Specific group
Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education, **1:202**
Accuracy in Media, **1:125-26, 133**
ACEPNews, **1:172**
ACLU. *See* American Civil Liberties Union
ACORN. *See* Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now
ACT-SO, **2:559, 579**

Action alerts
 American Meat Institute, **1:221**
 Center for Responsive Politics, **2:479**
 Christian Coalition, **2:481**
 Council for a Livable World, **2:518**
 Rainforest Action Network, **1:284**
 Securities Industry Institute, **1:60**
 U.S. Public Interest Research Group, **2:504**
Actiongram, **1:32**
Active Ballot Club, **2:413, 415**
Ad Tax Coalition, **1:136**
ADA. *See* Americans for Democratic Action
ADA Today, **2:466**
ADAction News & Notes, **2:466**
Adam Smith PAC, **2:622, 623**
Adams, Ansel, **1:288**
Addiction on the Streets: Homelessness and Substance Abuse in America, **2:451**
Adolph Coors Foundation, **2:457**
Advanta, **2:649**
Advertising
 Ad Tax Coalition, **1:136**
 Advertising Council, **1:78**
 alcohol, **1:120, 122, 323-24**
 American Association of Advertising Agents, **1:78-79**
 classified, **1:151**
 costs, **1:136**
 FCC regulations, **1:142-43**
 Freedom to Advertise Coalition, **1:136**
 off-label information dissemination, **1:342**
 prescription drugs, **1:136**
 tobacco, **1:120, 122, 136, 168, 185**
 Wal-Mart investigation, **2:415**
 See also Advertising campaigns
Advertising campaigns
 Americans for Tax Reform, **2:471**
 Anti-Defamation League, **2:436**
 anti-fur, **2:539**
 Christian Coalition, **2:481**
 Citizens Flag Alliance, **2:516**
 Common Cause, **2:485**
 lobbying organizations, **2:681**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:233**
 Sierra Club, **1:288**

- Advertising Council, **1:78**
 Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Healthcare Industry, **1:43**
 Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America. *See* Aerospace Industries Association
 Aerospace
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, **2:381-83, 622**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 Aerospace Industries Association, **1:296, 298-99**
 Affirmative action
 American Civil Liberties Union, **2:433, 434**
 American Conservative Union, **2:461**
 American Enterprise Institute, **2:464**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:468**
 Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, **2:428**
 backlash against, **2:558**
 Congress of Racial Equality, **2:570**
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, **2:579**
 National Lawyers Guild, **2:452**
 National Organization for Women, **2:584, 585**
 Afghanistan, treatment of women, **2:585**
 AFL-CIO. *See* American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
 AFL-CIO BLDG/Construction Trades Dept, **2:674**
 AFLAC, **2:646, 651, 689**
 Africa
 free-trade, **1:309, 310**
 Nigeria, **2:570, 609-10**
 Rainforest Action Groups in, **1:285**
 African American civil rights groups, **2:557, 569-71, 682**
 See also under Specific group
 Agency for Healthcare Policy Research, **1:184**
 Agenda 2020 Sustainable Forestry Request, **1:305**
 Agenda for the 90s, **2:657**
Agents of Influence, **2:604**
 Agnew, Spiro, **2:460**
 Agricultural Adjustment Act, **1:215**
 Agricultural Fair Practices Act, **1:234**
 Agricultural interest groups
 leading PACs, **2:627-29**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697, 698**
 lobbyists, **2:683**
 overview of, **1:209-14**
 See also under Specific group
 Agriculture Committee, **2:682**
 AIDS
 American Federation for AIDS Research, **1:163, 178-79**
 Human Rights Campaign, **2:575-76**
 National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, **2:582**
 Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act, **2:575-76**
AIM Report, **1:126**
 AIMNet, **1:125**
 Airbags, **1:51, 99, 100, 168**
 Air Canada, **1:300**
 Air Cargo Council, **1:301**
 Air pollution
 American Trucking Associations, **1:312**
 Environmental Defense Fund, **1:262**
 Izaak Walton League, **1:273, 274**
 National Association of Furniture Manufacturers, **1:308**
 Air pollution (*continued*)
 U.S. Public Interest Research Group, **2:505**
 See also Clean Air Act
 Air-traffic control, **1:301; 2:351**
 Air Transport Association, **1:296, 300-303; 2:679**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:700**
 Air transportation
 leading PACs, **2:669**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 See also under Specific group
 Airbus, **2:598**
 Aircraft Industries Association of America. *See* Aerospace Industries Association
 Aircraft Manufacturers' Association. *See* Aerospace Industries Association
 Aircraft Owners & Pilots Association, **2:668, 669**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:700**
 Aircraft safety, **1:301; 2:356-57, 383, 478**
 Airline carriers, **1:300-303**
 Airline Clearing House, **1:296, 300**
 Airline Inventory Redistribution Systems, **1:296, 300**
 Airline Pilots Association, **2:356-58, 622, 671, 673**
 Airline safety. *See* Aircraft safety
 Airline Scheduling Committees, **1:296, 300**
 Airlines Reporting Corporation, **1:301**
 Airport Improvement Program Act, **2:405-6**
 AK Steel, **2:663**
 Akai, **2:680**
 Akin, Gump, Strauss, Haver and Feld, **2:661, 679, 680, 701, 704**
ALA Bulletin, **1:76**
 Alabama Credit Union Association, **2:648**
 Alabama Farmers Federation, **2:627**
Aladdin, **2:589**
 Alaska Airlines, **1:300**
 Alaska Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, **1:279**
 Alaska Fish Cannery Workers Union, **2:399**
 Alaskan oil pipeline, **2:391**
 Albanian American, **2:660**
 Albanians, **2:442**
 Alcalde & Fay, **2:701**
 Alcatraz, **2:565**
 Alcoa, **1:318**
 Alcohol Beverage Labeling Act, **2:524**
 Alcohol industry
 advertising, **1:78, 120, 122, 143, 323-24**
 Blood Alcohol Concentration level, **1:112, 323; 2:525**
 blue laws, **2:377**
 Distilled Spirits Council of the United States, **1:295, 323-25**
 drinking age, **1:102-3, 104**
 ignition interlock devices, **2:525**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
 Prohibition, **1:63; 2:508**
 regulation of sale, **1:64, 102-3, 104**
 sobriety checkpoints, **2:524**
 taxes, **1:65, 89-90, 323; 2:506**
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:413**
 warning labels, **1:323; 2:524**
 Wine & Spirits Wholesalers of America, **2:630, 631**
 See also Beer industry; Mothers Against Drunk Driving
 Alfa Mutual Insurance, **2:677**
 Aliens. *See* Immigration legislation
 Allard, Wayne, **1:106-7**
 Allegheny Teledyne, **2:663**
 Alliance for America, **1:291**

- Alliance for Environmental Innovation, **1:263**
 Alliance for Progress, **2:606**
 Alliance for Rail Competition, **2:700**
 Alliant Techsystems, **2:636**
 Allied and Technical Workers, **2:416**
 Allied Chemical, **2:681**
 Allied Pilots Association, **2:673**
 Allied Signal, **1:298; 2:636**
 Allstate, **1:39**
 Aloha Airlines, **1:300**
 Alternative Minimum Tax, **1:295, 343**
 Aluminum, Brick, and Glass Workers international Union, **2:417**
 Aluminum Workers America, **2:416**
 Alzheimer's disease research, **1:94**
 Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, **2:416**
 Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, **2:407**
 Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, **2:407**
 Amalgamated Meat Cutters, **2:413**
 Amalgamated Transit, **2:671, 673**
 Amazon forest, **1:265**
 Amchitka Island, **1:269**
 America Financial Services Association, **2:649**
 America First Committee, **2:509**
 America Online, **2:686, 704**
 "America Reads," **1:131**
 America Works, **2:657**
 American Academy of Family Physicians, **2:688**
 American Academy of Ophthalmology, **1:162, 164-66; 2:653, 655**
 American Academy of Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology, **1:164**
 American Accounting Association, **1:23**
 American Agriculture Movement, **1:209, 218-19, 242**
 American Aids, **2:660**
 American Airlines, **1:300; 2:356, 404, 679, 704**
 leading PAC, **2:668, 669**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:695, 700**
 American Association of Advertising Agents, **1:78-79, 136**
 American Association of Hispanic CPAs, **1:21**
 American Association of Nurse Anesthetists, **2:653, 655, 688**
 American Association of Nursing Homes, **1:181**
American Association of Nursing Homes Journal, **1:181**
 American Association of Port Authorities, **1:313**
 American Association of Retired Persons, **1:9; 2:557-59 passim, 561-63**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:692**
 American Automobile Manufacturers Association, **2:700**
 American Bankers Association, **1:8-10; 2:684**
 attack on client base of credit unions, **1:24**
 campaign contributions, **1:6**
 fellowships, **1:7**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 646, 647**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:695**
 American Bar Association, **1:64, 67-69, 80; 2:425**
 American Bar Association Fund for Justice and Education, **1:68**
American Bar Association Journal, **1:69**
 American Bar Endowment, **1:68**
 American Bar Foundation, **1:68**
 American Birth Control Conference, **2:542**
 American Birth Control League, **2:542**
 American Board of Anesthesiology, **1:202**
 American Book Publishers Council, **1:130**
 American Cancer Society, **1:163, 167-68**
 American Chiropractic Association, **1:163, 169-71; 2:653, 655**
 American Civil Liberties Union, **2:423-27 passim, 433-34**
 American Civil Liberties Union Foundation, **2:434**
 American Classic Voyages, **2:704**
 American College of Emergency Physicians, **1:162, 172-74**
 leading PAC, **2:653, 655**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:688**
 American College of Physicians, **2:688**
 American Commercial Barge Line, **2:670**
 American Conservative Union, **2:455, 456, 458, 460-62**
 American Consulting Engineers Council, **2:633, 635**
 American Cotton Manufacturers Association, **1:309**
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:4, 15-17, 45**
 leading PAC, **2:646, 651**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:689, 694**
 American Council on Education, **1:123, 127-29**
 American Crystal Sugar, **2:627**
 American Dental Association, **1:162; 2:622, 653, 655**
 American Dietetic Association, **1:162-63, 175-77; 2:653, 655**
 American Educational Institute, **1:130**
 American Electric Power, **2:645**
 American Electronics Association, **1:22**
American Enterprise, The, **2:463**
 American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, **2:456-59 passim, 463-65, 472**
 American Entrepreneurs for Economic Growth, **1:55, 56**
 American Express, **1:18; 2:649**
 American Farm Bureau Federation, **1:209, 215-17; 2:695**
 American Federation for AIDS Research, **1:163, 178-79**
 American Federation of Government Employees, **2:363, 674**
 American Federation of Labor. *See* American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
 American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, **2:353-54, 359-62**
 leading PAC, **2:671, 675**
 opponents of, **1:63, 111, 113**
 opposition to NAFTA, **2:351**
 soft money donations, **2:676**
 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, **2:363-53**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 671, 674**
 soft money donations, **2:676**
 American Federation of Teachers, **1:97; 2:366-68, 674, 676**
 American Financial Group, **2:676**
 American Financial Services Association, **1:4, 6, 18-20; 2:703**
 American Financial Skylink, **1:10**
 American Forest and Paper Association, **1:295, 304-5; 2:629**
 American Forest Council, **1:304**
 American Furniture Manufacturers Association, **1:295, 307-8; 2:662, 664**
 American Gaming Association, **1:70-72, 73**
 American Healthcare Association, **1:163, 181-83; 2:653, 656**
 American Heart Association, **1:163, 184-85**
 American Heritage Act, **2:514**
 American Home Economics Association, **1:175**
 American Hospital Association, **1:163, 186-88**
 leading PAC, **2:653, 656**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:694**
 American Hotel and Motel Association, **1:73-74; 2:630, 632**
 American Hotel Foundation, **1:74**
 American Indian Movement, **2:556-59 passim, 564-66**
 American Industrial Bankers Association. *See* American Financial Services Association
 American Institute of Architects, **2:635**
 American Institute of Banking, **1:10**

- American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, **1:4, 6, 21-23; 2:646, 652**
- American Institute of Cooperation, **1:240**
- American Insurance Association, **2:689**
- American International Automobile Dealers Association, **1:100; 2:700**
- American International Group, **2:689, 694**
- American Iron & Steel Institute, **2:663**
- American-Israel Political Action Committee, **2:588, 600-602**
- American Journal of Insanity*, **1:199**
- American Journal of Nursing*, **1:193**
- American Journal of Psychiatry*, **1:199**
- American Land Title Association, **2:652**
- American Legion, **2:516-17, 557-59 passim, 567-68, 704**
- American Legion Auxiliary, **2:567**
- American Library Association, **1:64, 75-77**
- American Life Insurance Association, **1:15**
- American Meat Institute, **1:220-22; 2:627**
- American Meat Packers Association. *See* American Meat Institute
- American Medical Association, **1:162, 189-92; 2:682**
 acceptance of birth control, **2:542**
 and assisted suicide, **1:204**
 boycotts, **1:170**
 collaboration with AOTA, **1:196**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 653, 655**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:688, 694**
 physician unionization, **1:161, 188, 190, 206, 207**
- American Mining Congress, **1:335**
- American Movers Conference, **1:312**
- American National Cattlemen's Association. *See* National Cattlemen's Beef Association
- American National Livestock Association, **1:231**
- American Neurological Surgery, **2:655**
- American Newspaper Publishing Association, **1:150-51**
- American Nuclear Energy Council, **1:338**
- American Nurses Association, **1:162, 193-95; 2:653, 655**
- American Nurses Credentializing Center, **1:193**
- American Occupational Therapy Association, **1:162, 196-98; 2:653, 655, 688**
- American Opinion*, **2:495**
- American Opinion Books, **2:458, 494, 495**
- American Optometric Association, **1:162; 2:653**
- American Osteopathic Association, **1:202**
- American Outlook*, **2:492, 493**
- American Paper Institute, **1:304**
- American Petroleum Institute, **2:690**
- American Physical Therapy Association, **2:653, 655**
- American Podiatry Association, **2:653, 655**
- American Portland Cement Alliance, **2:633, 634**
- American Postal Workers Union, **2:369-71, 671, 674**
- American Psychiatric Association, **1:162, 199-201**
- American Psychological Association, **2:688**
- American Railway Union, **2:419**
- American Road & Transport Builders Association, **2:635**
- American Seafoods, **2:704**
- American Society for the Control of Cancer. *See* American Cancer Society
- American Society of Anesthesiologists, **1:162, 202-4; 2:653, 655, 688**
- American Society of Anesthetists. *See* American Society of Anesthesiologists
- American Society of Association Executives, **1:99**
- American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers, **1:65**
- American Society of Internal Medicine, **2:688**
- American Society of Magazine Editors, **1:136**
- American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, **2:653, 655**
- American Stores, **2:413**
- American Sugar Cane League, **2:627**
- American Sugarbeet Growers Association, **1:223-24; 2:627**
- American Supply Association, **2:633, 634**
- American Textile Foundation, **1:309**
- American Textile Manufacturers Institute, **1:295, 309-11; 2:662, 664**
- American Textile Manufacturers Institute Committee for Good Government, **1:311**
- American Trans Air, **1:300**
- American Trucking Association, **1:296, 312-14; 2:668, 670**
- American Veterinary Medical Association, **2:627, 628**
- American Victims of Abortion, **2:536**
- American Volunteers in International Development, **2:439**
- American West Airlines, **1:300**
- American Woman Suffrage Association, **2:444**
- American Wood Council, **1:304**
- American Yarn Spinners Association, **2:664**
- Americans Against Unfair Family Taxation, **1:90**
- Americans for Democratic Action, **2:455—58 passim, 466-68, 509, 657**
- Americans for Free International Trade, **2:668, 670**
- Americans for Good Government, **2:665, 666**
- Americans for Tax Reform, **1:64; 2:455, 456, 458, 469-71**
- Americans for Tax Reform Foundation, **2:471**
- Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, **2:513-15**
- Americans with Disabilities: Accessibility for Older Persons, **2:562**
- Americans with Disability Act, **2:576**
- America's Community Bankers, **1:12—14; 2:648**
- America's Road Team, **1:312**
- Americas Watch. *See* Human Rights Watch
- Ameritech, **2:623, 638, 639, 694, 699**
- AmFAR. *See* American Federation for AIDS Research
- Amman, Arthur J., **1:178, 179**
- Amnesty International, **2:424, 497**
- Amoco, **2:641, 643, 690**
- Amortization periods, **1:53**
- AMP, **2:639**
- AMR, **2:677, 695**
- Amtrak, **2:406, 419**
- Amtrak Reform and Accountability Act, **2:420**
- Amway, **2:456, 491, 676**
- Anderson, Craig B., **2:497**
- Andrews, Mark, **2:680**
- Anesthesiologists, American Society of Anesthesiologists, **1:162, 202-4; 2:653, 655**
- Anesthesiology*, **1:202**
- Angola, **2:594**
- Anheuser-Busch, **2:631, 677**
- Animal Liberation*, **2:540**
- Animal testing, **2:539, 540-41**
- Animal trapping, **2:281**
- Animal welfare
 People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, **2:539-41**
 United Egg Association, **1:254**
- Animal Welfare Act, **2:539**
- Annals of Emergency Medicine*, **1:172**
- Annual Financial Review*, **1:84**
- Annual Voting Record*, **2:466**

- Anti-Ballistic missile system, **2:519**
 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, **2:462, 491, 545, 612**
 Anticomunist organizations. *See* John Birch Society
 Anti-Defamation League, **2:423, 424, 427-28, 435-37**
 Anti-Defamation League Foundation, **2:435**
 Antidiscrimination groups
 Human Rights Campaign, **2:575-76**
 Human Rights Watch, **2:442**
 League of Women Voters of the United States, **2:445**
 National Association of Social Workers, **1:95**
 National Lawyers Guild, **2:452, 453**
 National Organization for Women, **2:585**
 See also Discriminatory practices
 Anti-Semitism. *See* Anti-Defamation League
 Anti-sodomy laws, **2:582**
 Antiwar activists, National Lawyers Guild's defense of, **2:452**
 Antiwar movements, **2:455, 509**
 "Antidumping" bill (nursing home), **1:182**
 Antidumping legislation (trade)
 American Textile Manufacturers Institute, **1:309**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:488**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:232**
 Semiconductor Industry Association, **1:347**
 United Steelworkers of America, **2:417**
 Anti-environmental movement, **1:257, 259**
 Antimonopolies, **1:247**
 Antipiracy. *See* Copyright
 Antitrust legislation, **1:63, 83, 154**
 A&P, **2:413**
 Apartheid, **2:497, 509, 511-12**
 Archer Daniels Midland, **1:8, 210, 223; 2:627, 677**
 Architecture, leading PACs, **2:635**
 Arent, Fox, Kinter, Plotkin and Kahn, **2:679**
 Arizona Farm Bureau PACs, **1:215**
 Arkansas Community Organizations for Reform Now, **2:424, 430**
 Arkansas Power and Light company, **2:430**
 Armacost, Michael, **2:472, 473**
 Armani, Giorgio, **2:539**
 Armenia, **2:617**
 Arney, Richard, **1:30; 2:490**
 leadership PAC, **2:622, 624**
 Arms control, **2:510-11**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:457, 467**
 Council for a Livable World, **2:518-20**
 League of Women Voters of the United States, **2:445**
 Union of Concerned Scientists, **2:545-46**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:503**
 See also Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty; Arms sales; Defense budget; Nuclear weapons
 Arms sales, **2:589**
 India, **2:612**
 Iran, **2:601, 612**
 Israel, **2:600**
 Soviet Union, **2:604**
 Taiwan, **2:591-92, 615**
 Army Air Corps. *See* U.S. Army Air Corps
 Army Corps of Engineers. *See* U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
 Army War College, **1:301**
 Arnold & Porter, **2:679, 680, 701**
 Arnold, Ron, **1:291, 292**
 Arrest Now, **1:442**
 Arter & Hadden, **2:701**
 Arthur Andersen, **2:646, 652**
 Aryan Nations, **2:477**
 ASCAP, **2:638, 639**
 Ashbrook, John, **2:460**
 Ashburton, Lord, **2:587**
 Asia, Human Rights Watch and, **2:442**
 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperative Forum, **2:615**
 Asian Development Bank, **2:615**
 Asian markets, **1:234, 254, 309, 346; 2:493**
 Ask Sybil Liberties, **2:434**
 Aspinal, Wayne, **1:275**
 Assault Weapons Ban, **2:521**
 Assisted suicide, **1:204**
 Associated Builders and Contractors, **1:296, 315-17; 2:633, 635**
 Associated California Loggers, **1:291**
 Associated Credit Bureaus, **2:649**
 Associated Equipment Distributors, **2:634**
 Associated General Contractors, **2:633, 635**
 Associated Milk Producers, **1:227; 2:627, 629**
 Association for Advanced Life Underwriting, **1:45**
 Association for Commercial Real Estate, **2:652**
 Association for the Advancement of Psychology, **2:655**
 Association of American Law Schools, **1:67**
 Association of American Publishers, **1:130-32**
 Association of American Railroads, **2:668, 670, 695**
 Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, **2:423-28 passim, 430-32**
 Association of Finishers of Textile Fabrics, **1:309**
 Association of Flight Attendants, **2:673**
 Association of Health Insurance Agents, **1:46**
 Association of Hospital Superintendents, **1:186**
 Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors. *See* Investment Company Institute
 Association of Newspaper Classified Advertising Managers, **1:150**
 Association of Progressive Rental Organizations, **2:632**
 Association of Publicly Traded Investment Funds. *See* Investment Company Institute
 Association of Stock Exchange Firms, **1:58**
 Association of Trial Lawyers of America, **1:62, 64, 80-82; 2:622, 661, 703**
 Astroturf lobbying, **1:147-48**
ATLA Law Reporter, **1:82**
 Atlantic Research, **2:636**
 Atlantic Richfield, **2:643, 676, 681, 690**
 ATM. *See* Automated teller machines
 Atomic Energy Act, **1:338**
 AT&T, **1:60; 2:372, 384, 604, 680, 704**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 623, 638, 639**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:694, 699**
 soft money donations, **2:676**
 AT&T Wireless Services, **2:640**
 Attica Prison uprising, **2:452**
 Audio Home Recording Act, **1:154**
 Audubon, John Jay, **1:278**
 Audubon Expedition Institute, **1:279**
Audubon Magazine, **1:278, 279**
 Audubon Society. *See* National Audubon Society
 Authors League, **1:130**
 Auto Choice Reform Act, **1:50**
 Automated teller machines, **1:28**
 Automobiles & automobile legislation
 electric, **2:546**
 excise taxes, **1:99, 100**
 Independent Insurance Agents of America, **1:31**
 leading PACs, **2:670**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**

Automobiles & automobile legislation (*continued*)
 National Association of Independent Insurers, **1:39**, 40, 41
 National Association of Professional Insurance Agents, **1:49**,
 51
 National Automobile Dealers Association, **1:66**, 99-101;
2:668, 670
 purchase of, **1:257**
 safety, **1:99**, 100, 168
 United Automobile Workers, **2:350**, 381, 410-12, 671, 672
See also under Specific group
 Autozone Inc., **2:670**
 Aviation taxes, **2:405-06**
 Aviation Trust Fund, **1:301**
 Avon, **2:539**
 Azerbaijan International Operating Company, **2:617**

B

B-52 Stealth Bomber program, **2:545**
 B-52s (musicians), **2:540**
 Babbit, Bruce, **1:232**, 259, 260
 Backyard Wildlife Habitat program, **1:283**
 Bair, Jeanette, **1:198**
 Baker, Donelson et al., **2:701**
 Bakker, Jim, **2:455**
 Balanced Budget Act, **1:198**; **2:484**
 Balanced Budget Amendment, **2:470**, 495, 499
 Baldwin, Roger, **2:433**
 Baldwin, Simeon Eben, **1:67**
 Baldwin, Tammy, **2:577**
 Ball, George, **2:597**
 Bank insurance fund, **1:27**
 Bank of America, **2:684**, 695
 Bank of the United States, **1:8**
 Bank One, **2:646**, 647, 684
 BankAmerica, **2:646**, 647
 Bankers Trust, **2:647**
 Banking system, duel, **1:13**
 BankPac, **1:10**
 Bankruptcy laws, **1:5**, 13, 25, 154
 Banks
 expansion into securities business, **1:58**
 Farm Credit system, **1:240**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:684**
 sale of insurance, **1:30**, 39, 45-46, 47, 49-50
 See also Financial interest groups
 See also under Specific bank or group
 Banks, Dennis, **2:564**, 565
 Barbers, Beauticians, and Allied Industries Association, **2:414**
 Barbour, Griffith & Rogers, **2:701**
 Baroody, William J., Sr., **2:463-64**
 Barr, Bob, **1:87**
 Barrick Goldstrike Mines, **2:644**
 Bartenders and Waiters Unions, **2:375**
 Bartenders Union Local 165, **2:376**
 Battle Memorial Institute, **2:645**
 Bayer, **2:653**, 656
 Bechtel Group, **2:645**
 Beck, Dave, **2:387**
 Becker, George, **2:418**
 "Beef, It's What's For Dinner," **1:233**
Beef Business Bulletin, **1:231**
 Beef industry. *See* Meat industry

Beer industry
 advertising, **1:323**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
 National Beer Wholesalers Association, **1:62-66** *passim*, 90,
 102-4; **2:630**, 631
 taxes, **1:89-90**, 91, 103, 104
 See also Alcohol industry
 Bell Atlantic, **1:60**
 leading PAC, **2:623**, 638, 639
 lobbying expenditures, **2:694**, 699
 soft money donations, **2:676**
Bell Curve, The, **2:463**
 Bellagio Resort Hotel and Casino, **2:376**
 Bellecourt, Clyde, **2:564**
 Bellecourt, Vernon, **2:564**
 Bellsouth, **2:638**, 639, 676, 695, 699
 Bellsouth Telecommunications, **2:638**, 639
 Benedict XV (Pope), **2:502**
 Beneficial Corporation, **1:18**
 Beneficial Management, **2:649**
 Berman, Jay, **1:154**, 156
 Bernadin, Joseph, **2:496**
 Berosini, Bobby, **2:539**
 Beryllium, **1:262**
Best Congress Money Can Buy, The, **2:479**
Best of Extra!, The, **1:133**
 Bethlehem Steel, **2:663**, 680
 Better Bonds proposal, **1:279**
 Beverage industry
 leading PACs, **2:631**
 Licensed Beverage Industries, **1:323**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
 soft drink taxes, **1:83**
 Biennial Wilderness conference, **1:288**
 Big Six, **1:127**, 128, 153
 Bill Emerson English Empowerment Act, **2:547**
 Bill Tally, **2:498**
 Binding Industries of America, **1:343**
 Bingaman, Jeff, **2:518**
 Biological Weapons Convention, **2:520**
 Biomaterials Access Assurance Act, **1:56**
 Biotechnology, **1:57**, 211
 Biotechnology Industry Organization, **2:691**
 Birch, Elizabeth, **2:575**
 Birch, John, **2:494**
Bird Lore, **1:278**
 Birds, protection of. *See* National Audubon Society
 Birth control. *See* Family planning
 Birth Control Clinic Research Bureau, **2:542**
 Birth Control Federation of America, **2:542**
 Bissonette, Pedro, **2:565**
 Black, Kelly et al., **2:701**
 Black, Manafort, Stone, and Kelly Public Affairs, **2:679**, 680
 Black Americans for Life, **2:536**
 Black America's, **2:658**
 Black Panther Party, **1:88**
 Blacklisting, **1:315-16**
 Blass, Bill, **2:539**
 Block grants, **2:365**, 367, 373, 397-89
 Blood Alcohol Concentration level. *See* Alcohol, Blood Alcohol
 Concentration level
 Bloomingdale's, **2:540**
 Blue Cross, **1:186**

- Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association, **1:161-62**, 205-8
 leading PAC, **2:646**, 651
 lobbying expenditures, **2:689**, 694
 soft money donations, **2:676**
- Blue Cross Association, **1:205-6**
- Blue Dog, **2:657**
- Blue Ribbon Coalition, **1:291**
- Blue Ridge Environmental Defense League, **1:308**
- Bluestone, Barry, **2:487**
- Blunt, Roy, **1:113**
- BMG, **1:153**
- Boeing, **1:298**; **2:668**, 669, 677, 694, 700, 703
- Boer War, **2:532**
- Boggs, Tommy, **2:679**
- Bohlen, James, **1:269**
- Boilermakers, **2:671**, 672
- Boise Cascade Corp., **1:304**; **2:629**
- Boland & Madigan, **2:701**
- Bond, Julian, **2:578**
- Bond Market Association, **2:650**, 684
- Bonior, David, **1:97**; **2:487**
- Bonnisky, Mark, **2:521**
- Books, electronic, **1:131**
- Border Liaison Mechanism, **2:607**
- Bork, Robert, **2:433**, 464
- Bosnia, **2:438**, 442, 476, 598, 612
- Boston Society for Encouraging Trade and Commerce, **1:294**
- Boston University, **2:703**
- Bourbon Institute, **1:323**
- Bower, Charles, **2:553**
- Bowles, Erskine, **1:107**
- Boxer, Barbara, **2:577**
- Boy Scouts, **2:559**, 568
- Boycotts, **2:540**, 595, 598
- Boyd Gaming, **2:632**
- BP America, **2:643**, 690
- Brady, James, **2:521**
- Brady, Sarah, **2:521**
- Brady Bill, **2:521**, 533
- Brand Chairman's Committee, **1:115**
- Braun Holocaust Institute Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers, **2:435**, 436
- Brazil, **1:285**; **2:417**
- Breen, Joseph, **1:138**
- Brennan, Donald, **2:492**
- Bricklayers, **2:674**
- BriefBank Index*, **2:453**
- Brinker International, **2:631**
- Bristol-Myers Squibb, **2:653**, 656, 676, 691
- British American Tobacco, **2:693**, 694
- Broadcast Music, **2:687**
- Broadcast Music Incorporated, **1:65**
- Broadcasting industry
 overview of, **1:120-23**
See also under Specific group
- Broiler industry, National Chicken Council, **1:234-36**; **2:628**
- Broken Lives: Denial of Education to Homeless Children*, **2:451**
- "Broker-dealer lite," **1:60**
- Broker-dealers, **1:58-61**
- Brooke Group, **2:693**
- Brookings, Robert S., **2:472-73**
- Brookings Institution, **2:454-58** *passim*, 472-74
- Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, **2:472**
- Brookings Policy Brief Series*, **2:472**, 473
- Brookings Policymaker series, **2:472**
- Brookings Quarterly Newsletter*, **2:472**
- Brookings Review*, **2:472**
- Broomfield, William, **2:432**
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, **1:419**; **2:673**
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, **2:419**
- Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, **2:419**
- Brower, David, **1:265**, 266, 275, 284, 288
- Brown, Lewis H., **2:463**
- Brown & Root, **2:633**, 635
- Brown & Williamson Tobacco, **2:627**, 629, 676, 703
- Brown-Foreman, **2:630**, 631
- Brown v. Board of Education*, **2:433**, 435-36, 578, 682
- Brownfields Redevelopment, **1:40**
- Browning-Ferris Industries, **2:645**
- Bryan, William Jennings, **1:114**; **2:422**, 507-8
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, **2:438**
- Buchanan, Patrick, **2:477**
- Buckely, William R., **2:460**
- Buckley v. Valeo*, **2:621**, 625
- Build PAC of the National Association of Home Builders, **1:329**, 331; **2:633**, 635
- Building codes, **1:329**
- Building equipment/materials
 leading PACs, **2:634**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
- Building industry. *See* Construction industry
- Building trade union PACs, **2:674**
- Bulcao, Doug, **1:310**
- Bureau of Indian Affairs, **2:565**
- Burger King, **1:111**, 284
- Burlington Industries, **2:662**, 664
- Burlington Northern Railroad, **2:668**, 670
- Burnside, Ambrose, **2:532**
- Burson-Marsteller, **2:661**, 679, 680
- Bush, David, **1:315**
- Bush, George, **1:147**, 257, 292; **2:511**
- Business
 leading PACs, **2:623**, 630-31, 633
 lobbying expenditures, **2:685**, 697, 698
- Business Industry, **2:630**, 633
- Business Roundtable, **1:65**, 318-20; **2:685**, 694
- Business services, lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
- Business Software Alliance, **2:686**
- Butcher-Forde, **2:529**
- Butcher Workmen of North America, **2:413-14**
- Buttenwieser & Associates, **2:676**
- Butterball, **2:413**
- Buyers Up, **2:501**
- "Buying of Congress," **2:478**
- "Buying of the President," **2:478**
- Byline*, **2:475**
- Byrd, James Jr., **2:558**, 570, 579
- Byrne, Ethel, **2:542**
- Byrne Foundation, **2:439**

C

- Cable Act, **1:144**
- Cable Communications Policy Act, **1:147**
- Cable News Network, **2:680**
- Cable television, **1:121**, 139, 143

- Cable television (*continued*)
 National Cable Television Association, **1:122,146-49; 2:638, 639, 687, 695**
- Cable Television Consumer Protection and Competition Act, **1:139, 147**
- Cabotage laws, **2:400**
- Calculated Compassion: How the Ex-gay Movement Serves the Right's Attack on Democracy*, **2:581**
- Caliber System, **2:668, 670**
- Califano, Joseph, **2:678**
- California
 airborne lead standards, **1:262**
 Charter Public Schools Legislation, **1:348**
 Long Beach, **1:285**
 Los Angeles County, **2:688**
 Orange County, **2:688**
 proposition 13, **2:510, 529**
 San Diego County, **2:688**
 Sierra Club, **1:287-88**
 vehicle emissions regulations, **1:101**
- California 2000, **2:658**
- California Desert Coalition, **1:292**
- California Grocers Association, **1:83**
- California Healthcare Association, **2:656**
- California League of Conservation Voters, **2:667**
- California Protection Act, **1:292**
- Calvin Klein, **2:539**
- Cammermeyer, Margarethe, **2:577**
- "Campaign America," **2:622**
- Campaign contributions
 agriculture, **1:212**
 bundling, **2:572**
 illegal, **2:388, 586, 587**
 leading soft money donors, **2:676-77**
See also Political action committees
- Campaign finance laws
 Federal Election Campaign Act, **2:621**
 Tilman Act, **2:422**
- Campaign finance reform, **2:625**
 American Conservative Union, **2:461**
 American Meat Institute, **1:221**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:467**
 Center for Public Integrity, **2:477**
 Center for Responsive Politics, **2:479-80**
 Christian Coalition, **2:482**
 Common Cause, **2:486**
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, **2:383**
 International Union of Operating Engineers, **2:391**
 Laborers International Union of North America, **2:394**
 League of Women Voters of the United States, **2:445**
 Public Citizen, **2:501**
 U.S. Public Interest Research Group, **2:505**
- Campaign for America, **2:692**
- Campaign for Human Development, **2:502**
- Campaign for U.N. Reform, **2:667**
- Campaign for Working Families, **2:658**
- Campbell, Carroll A., **1:17**
- Campbell, Joan Brown, **2:497**
- Campbell, Naomi, **2:539**
- Canada
 bilingualism in, **2:548**
 clear-cutting protests, **1:270**
 healthcare system, **1:159**
- Canadian Airlines International, **1:300**
- Canadian Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink, and Distillery Workers, **2:414**
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, **2:372**
- Canadian Printing Industries Association, **1:343**
- Cancer, American Cancer Society, **1:163, 167-68**
- Cannon, Christopher, **1:104**
- Canosa, Jorge Mas, **2:594, 595**
- Capital Cities, **1:133**
- Capital Eye*, **2:479**
- Capital Gains and Losses: A State by State Review of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and HIV/AIDS-related Legislation in 1998*, **2:581**
- Capital Gains Coalition, **1:56**
- Capital gains tax
 Grange, **1:248**
 National Association of Realtors, **1:53**
 National Venture Capital Association, **1:56**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:295, 343**
 Securities Industry Association, **1:58**
- Capital Ideas*, **2:498**
- Capitol Associates, **2:701**
- Capper-Volstead Act, **1:240, 254**
- Capper-Volstead Cooperative, **1:254**
- Caps, agricultural, **1:245**
- Carbon dioxide emissions. *See* Emissions, regulation of
- Card-recognition agreements, **2:377**
- Career College Association, **1:127**
- Carey, Ron, **2:387-88**
- Cargill, **1:210; 2:627**
- Cargo services, **1:301**
- Cargo Theft Deterrent Act, **1:313**
- Caribbean, **1:309, 310**
- Carlisle, Belinda, **2:540**
- Carnegie, Andrew, **1:75**
- Carnegie Corporation, **2:480, 488**
- Carolina Biological Supply Company, **2:539**
- Carolina Power & Light, **2:641, 645**
- Carpenters & Joiners, **2:671, 674**
- Carpenters Union, **2:622**
- Carson, Rachel, **1:256, 279**
- Carter, Jimmy
 agricultural policies, **1:218**
 Americans for Democratic Action and, **2:467**
 Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now and, **2:431**
 LWV's presidential debate, **2:445**
 Small Business Administration Loan, **1:100**
- Carthage Foundation, **2:439**
- Case Against the Death Penalty, The*, **2:434**
- Casinos. *See* Gaming industry
- Cassidy & Associates, **2:701, 703**
- Castro, Fidel, **2:594, 595**
- CAT, **2:658**
- Catering Industry Employee*, **2:375**
- Caterpillar, **2:633, 634**
- Catholic News Service, **2:502**
- Cato Handbook for Congress*, **2:475, 476**
- Cato Institute, **2:455, 456, 458, 475-76**
- Cato Journal*, **2:475**
- Cato Policy Report*, **2:475**
- Cato's Letters*, **2:475**
- Catt, Carrie Chapman, **2:444**
- Cattle ranchers, **1:231-33**

- CauseNet, **2:485**
 CBS, **2:680, 687**
 Cellular phones, and 911 emergency system, **2:379**
 Cellular Telecom Industry Association, **2:640, 695**
 Censorship
 Internet, **1:122, 131**
 V-chip, **1:141**
 Censorship opponents
 American Civil Liberties Union, **2:434**
 American Library Association, **1:76**
 Association of American Publishers, **1:131**
 Cato Institute, **2:476**
 Magazine Publishers of America, **1:135**
 media industry, **1:120**
 Motion Picture Association of America, **1:138-39, 140**
 Recording Industry Association of America and, **1:153, 154**
 Centers for Disease Control, **1:186**
 Center for Entrepreneurial Leadership, **1:57**
 Center for Financial Studies, **1:14**
 Center for Global Food Issues, **2:492**
 Center for Policy Analysis, **1:128**
 Center for Public Integrity, **2:458, 477-78**
 Center for Public Policy Education, **2:473-74**
 Center for Religious Freedom, **2:439**
 Center for Responsive Politics, **2:458, 459, 479-80**
 Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, **1:291, 292-93**
 Center for the Study of Market Processes, **2:483**
 Center for Workforce Success, **1:333**
 Center to Prevent Handgun Violence, **2:521**
 CFFE LLC, **2:703**
 Chafee, John, **2:517**
 Chamber of Commerce. *See* U.S. Chamber of Commerce
 Champion International, **1:304; 2:627, 629**
 Chapman, Frank, **1:278**
 Charitable Choice, **2:514**
 Charles E. Smith Companies, **2:703**
 Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, **2:457**
Chartbook on Entitlements, **2:498**
 Charter Public Schools Legislation, **1:348**
 Charter schools, **2:397**
 Chase Manhattan, **2:647, 684, 694**
 Chechnya, **2:611**
 Checkoffs, marketing, **1:209, 249, 253**
 Chemical industry
 agricultural dependence on, **1:252**
 fertilizer, **1:238**
 leading PACs, **2:663**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 Chemical Manufacturers Association, **1:295, 321-22**
 leading PAC, **2:662, 663**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:695**
 Chemical pollution, **1:257**
 Chemical Weapons Convention, **2:519**
 Chemical Weapons Treaty, **2:462, 518**
 Chemicals, high production volume, **1:304**
 Chevron, **2:641, 643, 690**
 Chevy Chase Savings Bank, **2:648**
 Chiang Kaishek, **2:614**
 Chicago Board of Options Exchange, **2:650**
 Chicago Board of Trade, **2:646, 650, 684**
 Chicago Mercantile Exchange, **2:646, 650, 684**
 Child care, **2:365**
 Child Care Access Act, **2:405**
 Child Custody Protection Act, **2:527, 538**
 Child labor laws
 exemption from, **1:150**
 League of Women Voters of the United States, **2:445**
 violation of, **1:100**
 Child safety seats, **1:100**
 Childbirth, denial of epidurals, **1:203**
 Children of the Dream, **2:436**
 Children's Gun Violence Prevention Act, **2:397**
 Children's Miracle Network, **1:19**
 Children's Television Act, **1:143**
 Children's welfare
 Anti-Defamation League, **2:436**
 Human Rights Watch, **2:441**
 League of Women Voters, **2:445**
 Legal Services Corporation, **2:448**
 National Coalition for the Homeless, **2:450**
 Chile, **2:490-91**
 China, **2:591-93**
 contributions scandal, **2:586, 587**
 importer/exporter of cotton, **1:237**
 "most favored nation," **1:295, 333; 2:592**
 trade relations, **1:59, 347; 2:462, 484, 488**
 transshipping, **1:310**
 and World Trade Organization, **1:319; 2:473, 488**
 See also Taiwan
 Chiropractic interest groups, American Chiropractic Association, **1:163, 169-71; 2:653, 655**
 CH2M Hill, **2:633, 635**
 Choate, Pat, **2:604**
 Christian Coalition, **2:481-82**
 annual budget, **2:457**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:694**
 membership, **2:456**
 revocation of tax exempt status, **2:458, 481, 482, 514**
 scorecards, **2:458**
 support of GOP, **1:63; 2:105**
 voter education pamphlets, **2:514**
 Christian Coalition International, **2:482**
 Christian Coalition of America, **2:482**
 Christian Identity Movement, **2:477**
 Christian movement
 Christian Identity Movement, **2:477**
 Freedom House, **2:439**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:496-97**
 schools, **2:455-56**
 See also Christian Coalition
 "Christian Right," **2:457**
 Christian Rural Overseas Program, **2:496**
 Christian Voice, **2:456**
 Chrysler, **2:411**
 CHUBB, **2:651**
 Church, Frank, **2:479**
 Church World Service, **2:496**
 Cigar Association of America, **2:693**
 Cigarette Labeling Act, **1:78**
 Cigarettes. *See* Tobacco
 CIGNA, **2:651**
 Cisneros, Henry, **2:431, 432**
 Citicorp, **2:646, 647**
 Citigroup, **2:651, 676, 684, 694**
 Citizen Action, **2:455, 457**
Citizen Agenda, **2:504**
 Citizen groups
 definition of, **2:456**

- Citizen groups (*continued*)
 overview of, **2:555-59**
- Citizens Educational Foundation, **2:704**
- Citizens Flag Alliance, Inc., **2:516-17, 568**
- Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:455-59** *passim*, 483-84
- Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation, **2:484**
- Citizens for Congressional Reform, **2:550**
- Citizens Organized, **2:666**
- Civil Aeronautics Act, **1:301**
- Civil Aeronautics Authority, **1:301**
- Civil Aeronautics Board, **1:301**
- Civil disobedience, **1:258, 270, 284**
- Civil Justice Digest*, **1:82**
- Civil Justice Foundation, **1:82**
- Civil Justice Reform Group, **2:685**
- Civil Reserve Air Fleet, **1:296, 300, 301**
- Civil Rights Act, **2:436, 467, 509, 578**
- Civil rights groups
 overview of, **2:422-28**
See also under Specific group
- Civil Service Employees Association of New York State, **2:363**
- Civil Service Retirement System, **1:92**
- Civil War, **1:65, 89; 2:506**
- Clark, Dick, **2:536-37**
- Clark, Mark, **2:513**
- Class-action litigation
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:17**
 American Financial Services Association, **1:18**
 American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, **1:22**
 America's Community Bankers, **1:13**
 Association of Trial Lawyers of America, **1:81**
 Chemical Manufacturers Association, **1:321, 322**
 National Association of Manufacturers, **1:333**
 National Venture Capital Association, **1:56**
 Securities Industry Association, **1:59**
 Technology Network, **1:348**
See also Liability law reform
- Claybrook, Joan, **2:500**
- Clayton Anti-Trust Act, **1:294**
- Clean Air Act, **1:100, 257**
 American Forest and Paper Association, **1:304**
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:483**
 National Mining Association, **1:335, 336**
 and right-to-know, **1:322**
 Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, **1:289**
 U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruling on, **1:313**
See also Air pollution
- Clean Water Act, **1:257**
 National Wildlife Federation, **1:282**
 Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, **1:289**
 violation of, **1:282**
- Clean Water Action plan, **1:279**
- Cleveland, Grover, **2:507**
- Cleveland-Cliffs Iron, **2:644**
- Client privacy. *See* Customer privacy
- Clifford, Clark, **2:678, 679**
- Climate. *See* Global warming
- Clinch River, Tennessee, **2:501**
- Clinical trials Community-Based Clinical Trials, **1:178**
- Clinton, Bill
 impeachment, **2:458, 468, 482, 495, 584**
 Lincoln bedroom scandal, **2:477**
 as speaker/guest, **1:60, 349; 2:576**
- Clinton, Hillary, **2:601**
- Cloning, **1:211, 342; 2:503**
- Close to Home*, **1:267**
- Clot-busting drugs, **1:184**
- Clothing, toxic materials on, **1:262**
- CMS Energy, **2:641, 645**
- CN Tower, **2:391**
- CNA Financial, **2:651**
- Coalition—Americans Working for Real Change, The, **1:63, 106, 111**
- Coalition building
 Council for a Livable World, **2:518**
 environmental groups and, **1:260**
 "Coalition to Fix Medicare Now," **1:181-82**
- CoalPAC, **1:335, 336**
- Coast Seaman's Union, **2:399**
- Coastal, **2:643**
- Coca-Cola, **2:630, 631**
- Coca-Cola Enterprises, **2:630, 631**
- Cockfighting, **2:540**
- Cohen, Jeff, **1:133**
- Cold War, **1:298; 2:476, 511, 587, 611**
- Collective bargaining, **2:351**
 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, **2:365**
 American Nurses Association, **1:193, 194**
 International Association of Fire Fighters, **2:378, 379**
 National Farmers Organization, **1:242, 243**
 public safety officers, **1:87**
 United Automobile Workers, **2:410**
- College of American Pathologists, **2:653, 655, 688**
- Collier Trophy, **1:301**
- Colorado, City & County of Denver, **2:688**
- Colorado Association of Home Builders PAC, **1:329**
- Colorado River, **1:288**
- Columbia/HCA Healthcare, **2:656**
- Columbia/HCA Healthcare-Texas, **2:656**
- Columbia University School of Journalism, **1:60**
- Combust, Larry, **1:100**
- Combined Federal campaign, **2:451**
- COMCAST, **2:639**
- Commercial banks
 leading PACs, **2:647**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
- Committee for Quality Orthopedic Health Care, **2:655**
- Committee of One Million, **2:614**
- Committee on National Defense and Industrial Mobilization, **1:332**
- Committee to Aid Southern Lawyers, **2:452**
- Commodity agricultural groups, **1:209, 212, 215**
 American Sugarbeet Growers Association, **1:223-24; 2:627**
 defined, **1:253**
 National Cotton Council, **1:209, 237-39; 2:627**
 National Pork Producers Council, **1:249-51; 2:628**
- Commodity Credit Corporation, **1:211, 213**
- Commodity prices, **1:218**
- Common Cause, **2:456-59** *passim*, 485-86
- Common Cause*, **2:485**
- Common Foreign and Security Policy, **2:597-98**
- Common Ground Award, **2:496**
- Commonwealth Edison, **2:645**
- Communication Alerts*, **1:221**
- Communication Workers of America, **2:671**
- Communications Act, **1:121, 142**

- Communications industry. *See* Telecommunications industry
 Communications Workers of America, **2:372–74**, 676
 Communist, **2:494**, 495
 Community bank interest groups, Independent Community Bankers of America, **1:27–29**
 Community Banking Network, **1:28**, 29
 Community-Based Clinical Trials, **1:178**
 Community Nursing Organizations, **1:194**
 Community Reinvestment Act, **1:8**, 40
 Community reinvestment requirements, **1:5**, 8, 27
 Compaq Computer, **2:686**
 Compensation bills, **1:282**
Competition: Dealing with Japan, The, **2:493**
 Competitiveness Center, **2:492**
Compleat Angler, The, **1:272**
 Comprehensive School Reform Demonstration, **2:367**
 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, **2:462**, 503, 519
 Computer industry, **1:295**, 346–47
 computer manufacturing PACs, **2:639**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:686**, 697
 Software and Information Industry Association, **1:157–58**
 Technology Network, **1:295**, 348–49
 See also Encryption; Technology
 Computer Sciences, **2:639**
 Computer Systems Policy Project, **2:686**
 COMSAT, **2:640**
 Comstock laws, **2:542**, 543
 ConAgra, **2:413**, 627
 Concealed Carry Law for Law Enforcement Officers, **1:87**
 Concerned Citizens Action Network, **2:545**
 Conference of State Banking Supervision, **1:43**
 Conference on the Commission on the Status of Women, **2:583**
 Congress of Industrial Organizations. *See* American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
 Congress of Racial Equality, **2:556–59** *passim*, **2:569–71**
 Congress Watch, **2:500**
 Connecticut, birth control laws, **2:543**
 Connecticut Bar Association, **1:67**
 Connerly, Ward, **2:569–70**
 Conrail, **2:419**
Conservation Issues Forum, The, **1:274**
Conservation Newsletter, **1:273**
 Conservation programs, **1:273**, 281
 Conservation Reserve, **1:210**, 211, 212, 279
 Conservative PACs, **2:658**
 Conservative Political Action Conference, **2:460**
 Conservative Victory Fund, **2:460**, 658
 Conspiracy theories
 Accuracy in Media, **1:125**
 Communist, **2:494**, 495
 Construction industry
 leading PACs, **2:633–34**, 635
 overview of, **1:294–96**
 See also under Specific group
 Construction Legal Rights Foundation, **1:315**
 Construction Users Anti-Inflation Roundtable, **1:318**
 Consumer education
 Association of Retired Persons, **2:562**
 food handling, **1:84**
 National Chicken Council, **1:234**
 Consumer Nutrition Hotline, **1:175**
 Consumer packaging legislation, **1:83–84**
 Consumer Price Index, seniors only, **2:530**
 Consumer Product Safety Commission, **1:308**
 Consumer protection, **1:5**, 37
 Consumer rights, **2:500–501**
 Consumer safety, **2:458**
 Consumer Product Safety Commission, **1:308**
 Public Citizen, **2:500–501**
 U.S. Public Interest Research Group, **2:505**
 Containerboard and Kraft Paper, **1:304**
 Continental Airlines, **1:300**; **2:356**, 668, 669, 700
 Contingency fees, **1:81**
 Contraception. *See* Family planning
 "Contract With America," **1:258**; **2:482**, 550
 Contractors. *See* Construction industry
 Contractors for Free Enterprise, **1:315**
 Contractors Referral Service, **1:315**
 Control Data, **2:512**
 Convenience stores
 National Association of Convenience Stores, **1:64**, 65, 83, 89–91; **2:630**, 632
 See also Grocery store industry
 Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, **2:585**
 Conwood, **2:693**
 Cooperative Extension Service, **1:213**, 215–16, 247, 252
 Cooperatives
 Grange, **1:247**
 National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, **1:240–41**
 National Farmers Union, **1:244–46**
 Coors, **1:114**
 Coors, Joseph, **2:491**
 Copyright, **1:65**, 120, 121
 Association of American Publishers, **1:130–31**
 "fair use," **1:130**
 "First Sale Doctrine," **1:153**
 Magazine Publishers of America, **1:135**, 136
 Motion Picture Association of America, **1:138**, 140
 National Association of Broadcasters, **1:153**
 National Cable Television Association, **1:147**
 National Funeral Directors Association's Group Music License, **1:110**
 Newspaper Association of America, **1:150**, 151
 Printing Industries of America, **1:343**, 344
 Recording Industry Association of America, **1:153–54**, 155
 Software and Information Industry Association, **1:157–58**
 See also Intellectual property; Internet, copyright issues
 Copyright Act, **1:130–31**
 Copyright Act, Record Rental Amendment, **1:153**
 Copyright Damages Improvement Act, **1:65**, 113
 Copyright Music (AHMA committee), **1:73**
 Copyright Protection Fund, **1:158**
 Corn sweetener industry, **1:223**
 Corning, **2:662**, 664
 Corporate bookkeeping, **1:319**
 Corporate taxation, **1:15**; **2:501**
 Corporate welfare, **2:486**
 Corporation for American Banking, **1:10**
 Corporations, lobbying expenditures, **2:694–96**
 Correction officers, **2:365**
 Corrigan, Wilfred, **1:346**
 Cosmetic companies, animal testing, **2:539**
 "Cost of Government Day," **2:469**
 Cost of living adjustments, **1:93–94**
 Cote, Paul, **1:269**
 Cotton Foundation, **1:237**

- Cotton industry
 American Cotton Manufacturers Association, **1:309**
 Cotton Textile Institute, **1:309**
 National Cotton Council, **1:209, 237-39; 2:627**
 Cotton Textile Institute, **1:309**
 Coughlin, Charles E., **1:244**
 Council for a Livable World, **2:518-20**
 Council of Insurance Agents & Brokers, **2:651**
 Council on Postsecondary Education, **1:197**
Counterspin, **1:134**
 Countrywide Credit Industries, **2:652**
 Covington and Burling, **2:679, 680**
 Cox, Archibald, **2:467, 485**
CPA Client Bulletin, **1:23**
 Crane, Edward H., **2:475, 476**
 Creating Change conference, **2:581**
 "Creating the Future," **1:175-76**
 Credentialization, of occupational therapists, **1:198**
 Credit card disclosures, opposition to, **1:8, 19**
 Credit companies
 leading PACs, **2:649**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 Credit history, **1:41**
 Credit reports, **1:43**
 Credit Suisse First Boston, **2:650**
 Credit Union Legislative Action Council, **1:26**
 Credit Union Membership Access Act, **1:24, 25**
 Credit Union National Association, **1:24-26; 2:646, 648**
 Credit unions
 attack on client base of, **1:13, 24**
 expansion, **1:10, 27**
 leading PACs, **2:648**
 National Credit Union Administration, **1:22**
 See also under Specific credit union
- Crime
 highway, **1:312, 313**
 juvenile crime bills, **1:96**
 Violent and Repeat Juvenile Offender Act, **1:97**
 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, **2:521**
Crisis Magazine, **2:579**
Critical Mass Bulletin, **2:500**
 Critical Mass Energy Project, **2:500**
 Crop insurance, **1:27, 31**
 Crop production/processing, lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
 Cross-border trucking, **1:313**
 Crowley Maritime, **2:670**
CSE Sentinel, **2:483**
 CSX Transportation, **2:668, 670, 676**
 Cuba, **1:229; 2:503**
 Cuba Democracy Project, **2:439**
 Cuban American National Foundation, **2:594**
 Cuban Exiles, **2:594-96**
 Cuban Exodus Relief Fund, **2:594**
Cuban Human Rights Monitor, **2:595**
 Cuban Humanitarian Trade Act, **2:595**
 Cuban Independence Day, **2:594**
 Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, **2:595**
 Cuban Missile Crisis, **2:611**
 Cubic, **2:636**
 Culinary Workers Union Local 226, **2:376**
 CUNA Mutual Group, **1:25**
 Curtiss, Glen, **1:298**
 Customer privacy, **1:5**
 American Civil Liberties Union, **2:434**
 Customer privacy (*continued*)
 America's Community Bankers, **1:13**
 Independent Community Bankers of America, **1:29**
 National Association of Life Underwriters, **1:47**
 Securities Industry Association, **1:59-60**
 See also Electronic data; Patient privacy
 "Cut Out Dissection," **2:540**
 Cutler-Hammer, **2:384**
 Cuyahoga River, **1:257**
 Cyprus, **2:616**
 Cyprus Amax Minerals, **2:641, 644**
-
- D**
-
- Daimler Chrysler, **2:410, 668, 670, 694, 700**
 Dairy industry, **1:240, 242**
 Dairy compacts, **1:226, 248**
 Dairy farmers, **1:226**
 International Dairy Foods Association, **1:226-28; 2:629**
 leading PACs, **2:629**
 Mid-American Dairymen, **1:227; 2:627, 629**
 National Dairy Food Association, **1:210**
 Dairymen's Co-op Creamery Association, **2:629**
 DALENPAC, **2:658**
 D'Amato, Alphonse, **2:577**
Danger on the Right, **2:427, 436**
 Darden Restaurants, **2:631**
 Darling, Jay, **1:272, 281**
 Darrow, Clarence, **2:433**
 Daschle, Tom, **1:63, 93, 349**
 David H. Koch Charitable Foundation, **2:457**
 Davidson, James D., **2:498**
 Davis, Nathan Smith, **1:189**
 Davis-Bacon Bill, **2:390**
 Daytime Broadcasters Association, **1:142**
 Dayton Hudson, **2:632**
D.C. Environmental Agenda 99, **1:267**
 DDT. *See* Pesticides
 Dealers Election Action Committee of the National Automobile Association, **1:99**
 Dean Witter Reynolds Financial Group, **1:35**
Dearborn Independent, **2:424**
 Death tax. *See* Estate tax
 Deaver, Michael, **2:678**
 Debs, Eugene, **2:419**
 Debs, Horace, **2:561**
 Deere & Company, **2:410**
 Defense budget
 American Conservative Union, **2:461**
 American Enterprise Institute, **2:464**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:468**
 Brookings Institution, **2:473**
 Common Cause, **2:486**
 Council for a Livable World, **2:518-20**
 Heritage Foundation, **2:457, 491**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 reduction of, **2:588**
 Union of Concerned Scientists, **2:545-46**
 See also Arms control; Arms sales
 Defense Credit Union Council, **1:25**
 Defense PACs, **2:636-37**
 Defense Research Institute, **2:80**
 Deforestation. *See* Logging
 Del Webb, **2:652**

- Deloitte & Touche, **2:646, 652**
 Delta Air Lines, **1:300; 2:356, 668, 669, 700**
 Democratic/Liberal PACs, **2:623, 657**
 Democratic Study Group Campaign Fund, **2:657**
 Demonstrations
 environmental groups, **1:260, 270**
 logger, **1:291**
 property owners, **1:291**
 DeMuth, Christopher C., **2:464**
 Dentists, American Dental Association, **2:653, 655**
 Denton, James S., **2:438**
 Deposit insurance, **1:27**
 Desegregation, **2:579**
 Desert Caucus, **2:665, 666**
 DeSilver, Albert, **2:433**
 Developing countries, environmental issues, **1:267**
 Dewey, Melvil, **1:75**
 DPS Group, **2:703**
 DHL Airways, **1:300**
 Diabetes, National Diabetes Month, **1:166**
 Diablo Canyon, **1:288**
Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, **1:199**
 Diaz, Porfirio, **2:606**
 Dickstein, Shapiro & Morin, **2:661**
 Diesel standards, **1:313**
 Dietary Reference Intakes, **1:177**
 Digital Millennium Copyright Act, **1:344**
 Digital Performance Right in Sound Recordings Act, **1:154**
 Digital recording devices, **1:154**
 Digital revolution, **1:121, 148**
 National Association of Broadcasters, **1:143-44**
 Recording Industry Association of America, **1:155**
 Dilg, Will, **1:272**
 Dingell-Norwood bill. *See* Patient's Bill of Rights
 Dinkins, David, **2:570**
 Dinosaur National Monument, **2:288**
 Direct action organizations
 Greenpeace, **2:270**
 Rainforest Action Network, **2:284-86**
 Direct credit lending, **1:18**
 Direct-mail campaigns, **2:270, 457**
 Direct Marketing Association, **2:630, 632**
Directory of National, State, and Local Homeless and Housing Advocacy Organizations, **2:451**
 Dirty Dozen, **1:276, 277**
 Disability income insurance, **1:15-16**
 Discriminatory practices
 National Funeral Directors Association, **1:108**
 Petroleum Market Association of America, **1:115**
 Disney. *See* Walt Disney
 Distilled Spirits Council of the United States, **1:295, 323-25**
 Distilled Spirits Institute, **1:323**
 Distillery, Wine, and Allied Workers, **2:414**
 Dodd, Christopher, **2:595**
 Dole, Bob, **2:469**
 Dole, Elizabeth, **1:103**
Dollars and Sense, **2:498**
 Domestic Violence Offender Gun Ban. *See* Lautenberg Law
 Domestic violence victims, legal assistance for, **2:448**
 Donahue, Thomas, **2:361, 401**
Don't Make a Wave committee, **1:269**
 Douglass, John, **1:298, 299**
 Dow Chemical, **2:512, 662, 663**
 Dow Jones, **2:680**
 Dr. Seuss Foundation, **2:443**
 Draft resisters, legal assistance to, **2:452**
 Drake University, **1:43**
 Dreier, David, **1:30**
 Driver's License law. *See* Graduated Driver's License law
 DRS Technologies, **2:636**
 Drug legislation, **2:476**
 Drug trafficking
 Cuba, **2:595**
 Mexico, **2:607-8**
 Drugs. *See* Pharmaceutical industry; Prescription drugs
 Drummond, **2:644**
 DSM, **1:199**
 D'Souza, Dinesh, **2:463**
 DTE Energy, **2:641, 645, 699**
 Du Bois, W.E.B., **2:578**
 Du Pont, Lammot, **1:321**
 Dual banking system, **1:13**
 Dubinsky, David, **2:407**
 Dulles, John Foster, **2:614**
 DuPont, **2:662, 663, 679**
 Dutko Group, **2:701**
 Dwight D. Eisenhower Professional Development Program (Title II), **1:96**
-
- E**
-
- E. Coli, **1:177, 221, 235**
 E-mail
 American Conservative Union, **2:460**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:468**
 Center for Responsive Politics, **2:479**
 Christian Coalition, **2:481**
 Common Cause, **2:485**
 environmental interest groups, **1:259, 260**
 Greenpeace, **1:270**
 League of Conservation Voters, **1:275-76**
 National Audubon Society, **1:279**
 National Wildlife Federation, **1:283**
 Public Citizen, **2:500**
 service interest groups, **1:65**
 U.S. Public Interest Research Group, **2:504**
 wise use movement, **1:292**
 Eagle Forum, **2:623, 658**
 Early Detection and Control of Breast Cancer, **2:562**
 Earth Day, **1:240, 256, 257**
 Earthlist, **1:276, 277**
 Earthshare, **2:504**
 East Asia Strategic Initiative, **2:615**
 Eastman, Crystal, **2:433**
 Eastman Kodak, **2:512**
 Economic assistance
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:457**
 Heritage Foundation, **2:457**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 See also Foreign aid
 Economic-based interest groups
 overview of, **1:422-28**
 See also under Specific group
 Economic development
 European Union, **2:598, 599**
 Friends of the Earth's position on, **1:265, 266**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:455, 457, 487-89**

- Economic sanctions
 foreign governments, **2:588**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
- Ecuador, **1:285**
- Edey, Marion, **1:266, 275**
- Edison Electric Institute, **1:295, 296, 326-28, 338**
 leading PAC, **2:641,645**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:694, 699**
- EDS, **2:638, 639, 686**
- Education
 adult, **2:373**
 environmental groups and, **1:260, 270-71**
 funding cuts, **1:121-22**
 funding for, **1:131**
 higher. *See* Higher education
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 prisoner, **2:453**
 public. *See* Schools
 vocational, **2:332, 373**
- Education and Research Foundation, **1:43**
- Education Excellence Center, **2:492**
- Education Savings Account and School Excellence Act, **2:514**
- Educational Institute, **1:74**
- Educational Rights project, **2:450**
- Educational vouchers. *See* School vouchers
- "Effective Government Committee," **2:622**
- Egg industry, United Egg Association, **1:254—55; 2:628**
- EggPAC, **1:255**
- Eighteenth Amendment, **2:508**
- Eisenhower, Dwight, **2:455, 494**
- Eizenstat, Stuart, **2:678**
- El Paso Energy, **2:641, 643**
- Eldercare, **1:189**
- Elderly
 assistance for, **2:448, 502, 503**
See also American Association of Retired Persons
- Election laws, **1:64**
- Electric industry
 leading PACs, **2:645**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
See also Electric industry deregulation
See also under Specific group
- Electric industry deregulation, **1:295-96, 326-27**
 Chemical Manufacturers Association, **1:321-22**
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:484**
 National Grange, **1:248**
 and nuclear energy deregulation, **1:338**
- Electronic commerce, **1:157-58**
- Electronic/computer manufacturing PACs, **2:639**
- Electronic data, privacy concerns, **1:29, 151, 188, 200-201, 206-7**
- Electronic Machine Furniture Workers, **2:672**
- Electronic media
 books, **1:131**
 magazines, **1:136**
 National Association of Broadcasters, **1:142**
 Newspaper Association of America, **1:150, 151**
 real estate listings, **1:53**
- Electronic reservation systems (airline), **1:301**
- Electronics industry
 leading PACs, **2:638**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act, **1:96; 2:367, 398, 514**
- Eli Lilly, **2:653, 656, 691, 695**
- Emancipation Proclamation, **2:506**
- Embassies, **2:588**
- Emergency Committee for American Trade, **2:685**
- Emergency Council on Education, **1:127**
- Emergency medicine. *See* American College of Emergency Physicians
- Emergency Medicine Foundation, **1:172**
- Emergency Planning and Community Right-to-Know Act, **1:295**
- Emergency system, **911, 2:379**
- Emerging Japanese Superstate, The*, **2:492**
- Emerson Electric, **2:664**
- Emery Worldwide Airlines, **1:300; 2:370**
- Emily's List, **2:556-59 passim, 572-74, 623, 659**
- Emissions, regulation of, **1:101, 256, 259, 312, 319, 336**
- Emory University, **1:57**
- Employee Retirement Income Security Act, **1:84**
- Employee wages. *See* Minimum wage legislation
- Empowerment Directory, 1997*, **2:451**
- Encouraging Environmental Excellence program, **1:311**
- Encryption
 National Venture Capital Association, **1:57**
 Securities Industry Association, **1:60**
 Software and Information Industry Association, **1:157**
 TechNet, **1:349**
- End of Racism, The*, **2:463**
- Endangered Species Act
 AF&PA opposition to, **1:305**
 Environmental Defense Fund, **1:263**
 establishment of, **1:257**
 National Audubon Society, **1:278, 279**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:231**
 supporters of reauthorization of, **1:248, 279**
 U.S. Public Interest Research Group, **2:505**
- Endangered Species List, **1:260, 262, 292**
- Energy/resource PACs, **2:641-42**
- Engineering industry
 International Union of Operating Engineers, **2:390-92**
 leading PACs, **2:635**
- Engineers' Political Education Committee, **2:392**
- English as a Second Language, **2:547**
- English First, **2:692**
- "English for Children," **2:547**
- English Language, **2:667**
- English Language Fluency Act, **2:547**
- Enhanced Proliferation Control Initiative, **2:612**
- Enron, **2:641,643, 676**
- Entergy, **2:699**
- Entergy Operations, **2:645**
- Enterprise Leasing, **2:670**
- Entertainment industry
 lobbying expenditures, **2:687, 697**
 overview of, **1:65, 120-23**
See also under Specific group
- EnviroAction*, **1:283**
- Environmental Defense Fund, **1:259, 260, 262-64**
- Environmental interest groups
 leading PACs, **2:667**
 overview of, **1:256-60**
See also under Specific group
- Environmental issues & legislation
 American Forest & Paper Association, **1:304, 305**
 American Textile Manufacturers Institute, **1:310-11**
 automobile industry, **1:99, 100**
 Business Roundtable, **1:318, 319**

Environmental issues & legislation *(continued)*

Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:483-84**
 construction industry, **1:296**
 credit plans, **1:333**
 current issues, **1:259**
 Distilled Spirits Council of the United States, **1:324**
 eco-friendly homebuilding, **1:296, 329, 330**
 Environmental Defense Fund, **1:263**
 exemptions from, **1:308**
 OOP's banning/questioning of, **1:63**
 Grange, **1:248**
 Hudson Institute, **2:493**
 International Union of Operating Engineers, **2:391**
 League of Women Voters, **2:445**
 market-based solutions, **2:473**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:231, 232, 233**
 National Chamber Litigation Center, **2:118**
 National Chicken Council, **1:234**
 National Cotton Council, **1:238**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 National Mining Association, **1:335-36**
 National Pork Producers Council, **1:249**
 real estate developers, **1:5**
 Union of Concerned Scientist, **2:545-46**
 United Egg Association, **1:254**
 U.S. Public Interest Research Group, **2:505**

Environmental Policy Institute, **1:265, 266**

Environmental Protection Agency
 American Forest & Paper Association, **1:304**
 American Meat Association, **1:221**
 American Trucking Associations, **1:312-13**
 Associated Builders and Contractors, **1:315**
 Chemical Manufacturers Association, **1:321**
 construction industry's interest in, **1:296**
 establishment of, **1:257**
 failure to enforce Great Lakes regulations, **1:282**
 Laborers International Union of North America, **2:395**
 litigation, **1:260, 293**
 manufacturing industry's interest in, **1:295**
 National Association of Furniture Manufacturers, **1:308**
 National Mining Association, **1:335-36**
 praise of American Textile Manufacturers Institute, **1:311**
 Superfund, **1:40, 304, 391, 505**
 target of environmental groups, **1:256**
 United Egg Association, **1:254**

"Environmental scorecard," **1:275, 276-77**
EPLJournal, **2:487**

Epidurals, denial of, **1:203**

Equal Rights Amendment, **2:445, 485**
 John Birch Society's opposition to, **2:495**
 National Organization for Women and, **2:583**

Equal Time and Fairness Doctrine, **1:133**
 Equal Time Provision, **1:143**
 Equality Begins at Home, **2:581**
 Equipment Leasing Association of America, **2:632**
 Equitable, **1:17**
 Ergonomics regulations, **1:104, 113**
 Ehrlich, Paul, **1:256; 2:553, 554**
 Ernst & Young, **1:57; 2:646, 652, 677**
 ESL, **2:547**
Esquire, **1:136**
 Estate Tax Rate Reduction Act (HR-8), **1:304**

Estate taxes
 America Trucking Association, **1:296**

Estate taxes *(continued)*

Grange, **1:248**
 Heritage foundation, **2:490**
 National Association of Convenience Stores, **1:90**
 National Association of Wheat Growers, **1:229**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:231**
 Newspaper Association of America, **1:151**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:295, 343**

Estee Lauder, **2:539**

Estefan, Gloria, **2:595**

Ethics
 agricultural, **1:211**
 legal, **1:68**
 medical, **1:191**
 outdoor, **1:272, 274**
 political, **2:477-78**

Eurasia Foundation, **2:439**

European-American Business Council, **2:685**
 European Coal and Steel Community, **2:597**
 European Defense Community, **2:597**
 European Economic Community, **1:229**
 European Union, **1:43, 59, 270, 299; 2:597-99**

Euthanasia. *See* Assisted suicide

Evergreen International Airlines, **1:300**

Everybody's Money, **1:25**

Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, **1:57**

Ex-Gay movement, **2:576-77, 582**

Excise taxes
 automobile, **1:99, 100**
 beer, **1:104**
 distilled spirits, **1:323**
 Federal Excise Tax, **1:323**
 first, **2:506**
 hunting & fishing equipment, **1:272, 282**
 meat, fish, poultry, **2:540**

Executions, **2:442**

Experimental Negotiating Agreement, **2:417**

Explosion of Hate, **2:436**

Export Administration Act, need for, **1:299**

Exports. *See* International trade

Extra!, **1:134**

Extra Update!, **1:134**

Exxon, **1:114; 2:512**
 leading PAC, **2:641, 643**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:690, 694**

Eye care, **1:162, 164-66**

F

Factory farming, **1:211**

Facts About Store Development, **1:84**

Fahrenkopf, Frank J., Jr., **1:70**

Fair Housing Act, **1:329**

Fair Housing Rights Act, **2:578**

Fair Labor Standards Act, **1:97, 100; 2:365, 379, 394**

Fair Minimum Wage Act, **1:97**

Fair Reader: Press and Politics, **1:133**

Fair Share program, **2:579**

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, **1:123, 133-34**

Fairness Doctrine, **1:143**

Fallon, George, **1:275**

False Claims Act, **1:182, 187**

False Disparagement of Perishable Food Products Act, **1:233**

Falwell, Jerry, **2:455**

- Family and medical leave, **2:682**
 Family and Medical Leave Act, **1:113, 402; 2:352, 503**
 Family planning
 birth control laws, **2:542, 543**
 contraception, **2:527, 542**
 Planned Parenthood Federation of America, **2:542-44**
 voluntary, **2:554**
 See also Abortion; Population
 Family Planning and Choice Act, **2:527**
 Family Planning International Assistance, **2:543**
 Fannie Mae. *See* Federal National Mortgage Association
 Paris, Jack, **1:107**
 Farm Bill
 American Agriculture Movement, **1:218**
 American Farm Bureau Federation, **1:216**
 American Sugarbeet Growers Association, **1:223, 1:224**
 National Cotton Council, **1:239**
 National Farmers Union, **1:245**
 overview of, **1:210, 211-12, 214**
 Farm Bloc, **1:244**
 Farm Bureau. *See* American Farm Bureau Federation
 Farm commodity marketing programs, **1:245**
 Farm cooperatives. *See* Cooperatives
 Farm Credit Council, **2:627**
 Farm Credit system, **1:28, 240**
 Farm safety net, **1:245**
 Farm Security Administration, **1:215, 244**
 Farmer, James, **2:569**
 Farmers' Alliance, **1:244**
 Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America. *See*
 National Farmers Union
 Farmers Holiday Movement, **1:244**
 Farmland legislation. *See* Property rights
 Farrakhan, Louis, **2:436, 579-80**
 Fast-food industry. *See* Food industry
 Fatal Accident Reporting System Statistics, **2:524**
 Faulkner, Daniel, **1:87**
 Faux, Jeff, **2:487, 488**
 Faxes, **1:65, 270, 292; 2:468**
 Fazio, Vic, **1:103**
 FBI. *See* Federal Bureau of Investigation
 FCC. *See* Federal Communications Commission
 FEC. *See* Federal Election Commission
 Federal Aviation Act, **1:300, 301**
 Federal Aviation Administration, **1:301; 2:356-57**
 Airport Improvement Program Act, **2:405-6**
 Federal Bureau of Investigation, **1:154**
 Federal Communications Commission, **1:133, 152, 153**
 advertising-time regulations, **1:142-43**
 cable television, **1:146-47, 148**
 establishment of, **1:121, 123, 142**
 Financial Interest and Syndication Rule, **1:139, 140**
 Internet access fees, **1:53**
 media, information, & entertainment interest groups and, **1:120**
 National Association of Broadcasters, **1:123, 142-43**
 Prime-Time Access rule, **1:139, 140**
 Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, **1:10, 40, 47**
 America's Community Bankers liaison with, **1:14**
 Federal Election Campaign Act, **2:621**
 Federal Election Commission, **2:479, 559, 621**
 lawsuit against Christian Coalition, **2:481**
 Federal Emergency Management Agency, **1:282**
 Federal employees. *See* National Association of Retired Federal
 Employees
 Federal Exchange Stabilization Fund, **2:607**
 Federal Excise Tax, **1:323**
 Federal Express, **1:55, 300**
 leading PACs, **2:622, 668, 669**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:700**
 soft money donations, **2:676**
 Federal Home Loan Bank System, **1:14, 38**
 Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (Freddie Mac), **1:36,**
 38, 330; 2:676
 Federal Housing Authority, **1:53-54**
 Federal Judiciary Retirement System, **1:92**
 Federal Labor Relations Authority, **1:87**
 Federal Meat Inspection Act, **1:220**
 Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae), **1:36, 38,**
 330; 2:677, 694
 Federal Radio Commission, **1:142**
 Federal Reserve, **1:5**
 American Banker's Association and, **1:10**
 Credit Union National Association and, **1:25**
 Independent Community Bankers of America and, **1:28**
 Mortgage Bankers Association of America and, **1:38**
 National Association of Realtors and, **1:53**
 Securities Industry Association and, **1:60**
 See also Thrift Institutions Advisory Council
 Federal Reserve Board, **1:8, 43**
 Federal thrift charter. *See* Thrift charter
 Federal Trade Commission
 on advertising, **1:136, 323**
 establishment of, **1:63**
 media, information, & entertainment interest groups and,
 1:120, 123
 National Association of Furniture Manufacturers and, **1:308**
 Wal-Mart investigation, **2:415**
 Federal Trade Commission Act, **1:78**
 "Federalist No. 10," **2:422, 424**
 Federation of American Health Systems, **2:656**
 Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United
 States and Canada, **2:359**
 Feingold, Russell, **2:577, 610, 625**
 Feldman, Sandra, **2:367**
 Feminism groups. *See* Women's rights
 Fidelity Ventures, **1:55**
Field and Stream, **1:278**
 Fifth Horseman, **2:657**
 Fight BAC™, **1:84**
Fighting Police Abuse: A Community Action Manual, **2:434**
 Filenes, Albert E., **1:117**
 Fillmore, Millard, **2:507**
 Film, Air and Package Carriers Conference, **1:312**
 Film industry
 copyright issues, **1:121**
 leading PACs, **2:639**
 See also under Specific group
 Financial Accounting Standards Board, **1:22, 56-57, 349**
 Independent Community Bankers of America and, **1:28**
 Financial Interest and Syndication Rule, **1:139, 140**
 Financial interest groups
 leading PACs, **2:646, 649**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 overview of, **1:3-7**
 See also under Specific group
 Financial service restructuring, **1:4-5**
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:15**
 Independent Insurance Agents of America, **1:30**

- Financial service restructuring (*continued*)
 National Association of Independent Insurers, **1:39**
 National Association of Insurance Commissioners, **1:42-43**
 National Association of Life Underwriters, **1:46**
 National Association of Professional Insurance Agents, **1:49**
 National Association of Realtors, **1:52**
 Security Industry Association, **1:58-59**
- Findley, Paul, **2:601**
- Fineran, Lawrence, **1:333**
- Fink, Matthew P., **1:34**
- Fink, Richard H., **2:483**
- Fire fighters, International Association of Fire Fighters, **1:378-80; 2:671, 674**
- FIRE PAC, **1:380**
- Firearms. *See* Gun control
- First Amendment, **1:138-39; 2:514**
- First Freedom, The*, **2:427, 439**
- "First Sale Doctrine," **1:153**
- First Union, **2:647, 684**
- Fiscal policy
 Business Roundtable, **1:319**
 National Association of Manufacturers, **1:332**
- Fishermen & fishing
 Environmental Defense Fund on, **1:262**
 environmental interest groups on, **1:259**
 excise taxes, **1:282**
 Fishermen's Union of America, **2:399**
 Greenpeace on, **1:269**
 Izaak Walton League, **1:258; 272-74**
 PETA on, **2:540**
- 501(c)(3) & 501(c)(4) status, defined, **2:458, 557**
- Flag protection, **2:516-17, 568**
- Flag Protection Act, **2:516**
- Flat tax
 American Conservative Union, **2:461**
 Americans for Tax Reform, **2:470**
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:484**
 Heritage Foundation, **2:490**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:295, 343-44**
 United Automobile Workers, **2:412**
- Fleet Financial Group, **2:647, 684**
- Fleishman-Hillard, **2:661**
- Flore, Edward, **2:375**
- Florence and John Schumann Foundation, **2:457, 478, 480**
- Florida, Miami-Dade County, **2:688**
- Florida Power & Light, **2:641, 645, 699**
- Flowers Industries, **2:627**
- Fluor, **2:633, 635**
- FMC, **2:662, 663**
- Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, **1:84**
- Food-aid programs, **1:211, 229, 232**
- Food and Drug Administration
 American Federation for Aids Research, **1:178-79**
 American Heart Association, **1:185**
 American Meat Institute, **1:221**
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:484**
 establishment of, **1:175**
 Magazine Publishers of America, **1:136**
 media, information, & entertainment interest groups and, **1:123**
 Petroleum Marketers Association of America, **1:115**
 Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, **1:341-42**
 RU-486, **2:527, 528, 544, 554**
 tobacco sales regulation, **1:91, 185**
- Food and Drug Administration Modernization Act, **1:341-42**
- Food industry
 leading PACs, **2:631**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
See also Food and Drug Administration; Food labeling;
 Food safety
See also under Specific group
- Food Information Service, **1:84**
- Food labeling, **1:163, 177, 220**
- Food Marketing Industry Speaks, The*, **1:84**
- Food Marketing Institute, **1:64, 83-85, 177; 2:627**
- Food Marketing Institute Foundation, **1:64, 83, 84**
- Food safety, **1:211**
 American Meat Institute, **1:220, 221**
 Center for Public Integrity, **2:478**
 Food Marketing Institute, **1:83, 1:84**
 Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points, **1:221**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:231, 1:233**
 National Pork Producers Council, **1:249-50**
 United Egg Association, **1:254**
- Food Stamps, **1:210, 211, 212; 2:497**
- Food store interest groups. *See* Grocery store industry
- Food subsidy programs. *See* Food-aid programs; Food stamps
- Forbes, Steve, **2:438**
- Ford, **2:410, 411**
 disinvestment from South Africa, **2:512**
- Ford, Gerald, **2:445, 464**
- Ford, Henry, **2:424, 435**
- Ford, Tom, **2:540**
- Ford Foundation, **1:262, 263; 2:439, 443, 478**
- Ford Motor, **2:668, 670, 694**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:700**
- Foreign Agents Registration Act, **2:587**
- Foreign aid, **2:588**
 Israel, **2:600**
 Mexico, **2:607**
 Nigeria, **2:610**
 Russia, **2:612, 613**
 Turkey, **2:616, 617, 618**
- Foreign governments, **2:586-90**
- Foreign imports. *See* International trade
- Foreign policy
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:457, 467**
 Anti-Defamation League, **2:428**
 Cato Institute, **2:476**
 NAACP, **2:579**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:503**
- Foreign Sales Corporation benefit, **1:157**
- Foreign Service Retirement System, **1:92**
- Foreign trade. *See* International trade
- Forest Industries PAC, **1:305**
- Forest Resources, **1:304**
- Forestry and paper
 forest preservation, **1:269, 281**
 leading PACs, **2:629**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
See also Land management & development; Logging
- Fort Howard Corporation, **1:304**
- Fort Pitt Lodge No. 1, **1:86**
- Forum 500, **1:17**
- Foster, Vincent, **1:125**
- Foster Farms, **2:413**
- Foundation for Human Rights in Cuba, **2:595**
- Fowler, Mark, **1:133**

Foxman, Abraham H., **2:435, 436-37**
 Frances Boyers Award, **2:463**
 Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobson, **2:679**
 Frank, Leo, **2:424, 435**
 Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, **2:529**
 Fraternal Order of Police, **1:62, 64, 86-88**
Fraternal Order of Police v. United States, **1:87**
 Freddie Mac. *See* Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation
 Free Cuba, **2:596**
 Free-market solutions, **1:259, 262, 263**
 Free markets
 American Enterprise Institute, **2:463**
 American Textile Manufacturers Institute, **1:309**
 Brookings Institution, **2:473**
 Cato Institute, **2:475, 476**
 Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, **1:291, 292-93**
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:457, 483, 484**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:488**
 Freedom House, **2:428, 439**
 Heritage Foundation, **2:490**
 National Chicken Council, **1:234**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:343**
 Public Citizen, **2:501**
 Semiconductor Industry Association, **1:346-47**
 United Egg Association, **1:254**
 See also Global Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; International trade; North American Free Trade Agreement
 Free Nigeria Movement, **2:610**
 "Free of E. Coli" label, **1:177**
 Free Silver movement, **2:507-8**
 Free Soil Party, **2:506**
 Free trade. *See* Free markets
 Free Trade in the Americas, **1:282**
 Freedom Forum, **2:439**
 Freedom House, **2:422-28 passim, 438-40**
Freedom in the World, **2:427, 438, 439**
Freedom Monitor, **2:427, 439**
 Freedom of Access to Clinical Entrances Act, **2:544**
 Freedom of information, **2:485**
 Freedom of Information Act, **1:151**
 Freedom of speech & press, **1:130, 133, 139, 151; 2:433**
Freedom Review, **2:439**
 Freedom to Advertise Coalition, **1:136**
 Freedom to farm legislation, **1:249**
Freedom to Read, The, **1:76**
 Freedom to Read Foundation, **1:76**
 Freeman, **1:245**
 Freemasons, **1:247**
 Freeport-McMoran Copper & Gold, **2:644**
 Friedan, Betty, **2:583, 584**
Friedman and Hayek on Freedom, **2:475**
 Friends of Higher Education, **2:667**
 Friends of the Earth, **1:258, 262, 265-68, 275, 288**
Friends of the Earth Newsmagazine, **1:267**
 "Friends of the Taxpayer," **2:469**
 Friendship Food Ships, **2:496**
 Friendship Food Trains, **2:496**
 Frito-Lay, **2:413**
 FTC. *See* Federal Trade Commission
 Fugitive Slave Law, **2:506**
 Fujii, **2:680**
 Fujitsu, **2:604**
 Fulbright & Jaworski, **2:661**

Fund for America's Libraries, **1:77**
 Funeral organizations
 Funeral Service Credit Union, **1:110**
 National Funeral Directors Association. *See* National Funeral Directors Association
 Funeral Service Credit Union, **1:110**
 Furniture industry, American Furniture Manufacturers Association, **1:295, 307-8; 2:662, 664**
 Furniture Political Action Committee, **1:308**
 Future of Puerto Rico, **2:704**

G

Gaboury, Jennifer, **2:441**
 Gag Rule, **2:554**
 Galbraith, John Kenneth, **2:466**
 Gallagher, Ann, **1:176**
 Gallo, **2:413**
 Gallo Winery, **2:677**
 Gambling. *See* Gaming industry
 Gaming industry
 American Gaming Association, **1:70-72, 73**
 Christian Coalition on, **2:482**
 copyright issues, **1:121**
 image of, **1:123**
 leading PACs, **2:632**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 minimum wage issues, **1:121**
 tax proposal, **1:70**
 unions, **2:376**
 Gandhi, Indira, **2:569**
 Gannett, **1:150**
 Garczynski, Gary, **1:331**
 Gardner, John, **2:485**
 Gasoline
 consumption of, **1:257**
 convenience store sales, **1:89**
 lead free, **1:262**
 See also Petroleum industry
 Gateway to Education Materials, **2:396**
 Gay and lesbian rights
 American Civil Liberties Union, **2:434**
 Cato Institute, **2:476**
 Christian Coalition, **2:481, 482**
 Common Cause, **2:486**
 Human Rights Campaign, **2:556-59 passim, 575-77**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, **2:556-59 passim, 581-82**
 National Lawyers Guild, **2:453**
 National Organization for Women, **2:585**
 GE Capital Corporation, **1:18**
 GEICO, **1:39**
 Gencorp, **2:636**
 Genentech, **1:55**
 General Accounting Office, **1:182**
 General Atomics, **2:641, 645**
 General Aviation Manufacturers Association, **2:669**
 General Dynamics, **1:298; 2:636, 703**
 General Electric, **1:8, 298, 318; 2:384, 390**
 disinvestment from South Africa, **2:512**
 leading PAC, **2:662, 664**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:694**
 General Instrument, **2:640**

- General Motors, **2:410, 411, 546, 679**
 leading PAC, **2:668, 670**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:694, 700**
- General Motors Acceptance Corporation, **1:18**
- General Public Utilities, **2:645**
- Genesis Health Ventures, **2:656**
- Genetic engineering
 agricultural, **1:211, 238, 270**
 environmental concerns, **1:256, 259**
 Greenpeace's position on, **1:270**
- Genetic testing, **1:16**
- Genocide, **2:438, 442**
- Georgia-Pacific Corp., **1:304; 2:629**
- Gephardt, Richard A., **1:103; 2:622**
- German-American Bund, **2:435**
- Germany, labor union, **2:350**
- "Get Caught Reading" Month, **1:131**
- G.I. Bill, **1:127; 2:567**
- G.I. Bill of Health, **2:567, 568**
- Giant, **2:413**
- Gibbons, James, **2:502**
- Gideon v. Wainwright*, **2:433, 447**
- Gillette, **2:539**
- Gingrich, Newt, **1:27, 30; 2:470, 622, 625**
- Ginnie Mae. *See* Government National Mortgage Association
- Gitlow v. New York*, **2:433**
- Glass-Steagall Act, **1:4-5, 1:8, 1:59**
- Glasser, Ira, **2:433**
- Glaucoma Awareness Month, **1:166**
- Glaxo Wellcome, **2:653, 656, 691**
- Glenn, John, **2:517**
- Glickman, Daniel, **1:218**
- Global Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
 American Sugarbeet Growers Association, **1:223-24**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:488**
 Heritage Foundation, **2:490**
 manufacturing groups and, **1:295**
 National Association of Manufacturers, **1:332**
 Public Citizen, **2:501**
- Global Gag Rule, **2:554**
- Global Trade Watch, **2:500-501**
- Global warming, **1:256, 319**
 Greenpeace's interest in, **1:269**
 Izaak Walton League's interest in, **1:273**
- Global Warming Treaty. *See* Kyoto Global Climate Change Treaty
- "Go Ask Alice," **1:77**
- Gold Kist, **2:628**
- Golden Gate Bridge, **1:291**
- Goldman, Emma, **2:508**
- Goldman, Sachs & Company, **1:61; 2:650, 676**
- Goldwater, Barry, **2:492, 509**
- Gompers, Samuel, **2:351, 359, 393**
- Good Neighbor Policy, **2:606**
- Goodyear Tire & Rubber, **2:668, 670**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:700**
- GOP. *See* Republican Party
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, **2:611**
- Gore, Albert, **1:258, 277, 315, 330, 349; 2:576**
- Gottlieb, Alan, **1:291, 292**
- Gould, **2:384**
- Government Affairs Update and Regulatory Update, **1:315**
- Government agencies, lobbying expenditures, **2:688, 697**
- Government agency retirement programs, **1:92-94**
- Government National Mortgage Association (Ginnie Mae), **1:36, 38**
- Governmental Affairs Conference, **1:220-21**
- Governmental Affairs Office, **1:68**
- Grace Foundation, Inc., **2:439**
- Graduated Driver's License law, **1:31, 39**
- Graduated income taxes, **1:245**
- Grain bank, **1:242**
- Grange, **1:209, 215, 240, 247-48**
- Graphic Arts Employers of America, **1:343**
- Graphic arts industry
 Graphic Arts Employers of America, **1:343**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:295, 343-45**
- Graphic Arts Marketing Information Service, **1:343**
- Graphic Arts Technical Foundation, **1:343**
- Graphic Communications Association, **1:343**
- Grassroots Action Information Network, **1:119**
- Grazing rights, **1:231, 232, 233, 259**
 Izaak Walton League, **1:273**
 National Wildlife Federation, **1:281, 282**
 wise use movement's in, **1:291, 293**
- Great Lakes, **1:282**
- Great Washington Board of Trade, **2:633**
- Greece, Turkish invasion of Cyprus, **2:616**
- Green, Gene, **1:100**
- Green Mountain Energy, **2:546**
- Greenbert, Traurig et al., **2:661**
- Greenpeace, **1:63, 258, 260, 262, 269-71**
Greenpeace, **1:269**
- Greenspan, Alan, **1:29**
- Grenada, **2:567**
- Gresham, Isaac, **1:244**
- Griffin, Johnson et al., **2:701**
- Grinnell, George Bird, **1:278**
- Grocery store industry
 Food Marketing Institute, **1:83-85**
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:413-15**
See also Convenience stores
- Group Music License, **1:110**
- Group of Ten, **1:257**
- Growth hormones, agricultural, **1:211**
- Gruenebaum, Jane, **2:444**
- GTE, **2:372, 384, 638, 639, 699**
- Guatemala, **2:441**
- Guenther, Kenneth A., **1:28**
- Gulf Coast Retailers, **1:83**
- Gulf War
 American Legion, **2:567**
 Cato Institute, **2:476**
 Common Cause, **2:486**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 Turkey and, **2:617**
- Gulfstream, **1:298**
- Gun control
 Brady Bill, **2:521, 533**
 Cato Institute, **2:458**
 Children's Gun Violence Prevention Act, **1:397**
 Christian Coalition, **2:458**
 Concealed Carry Law for Law Enforcement Officers, **1:87**
 Congress of Racial Equality, **2:570**
 excise taxes, **1:281**
 Fraternal Order of Police, **1:86-87**
 Handgun Control, Inc., **2:521-23**

Gun control (*continued*)
 Lautenberg Law, **1:86-87**
 leading PACs, **2:667**
 League of Women Voters of the United States, **2:445**
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, **2:579**
 National Council of Churches, **2:458**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:503**
 U.S. Catholic Conference, **2:458**
See also National Rifle Association
 Gun Control Act, **2:533**
 Gun Owners of America, **2:667**

H

Hague v. CIO, **2:433**
 Haig, Alexander, **2:591**
 Halliburton, **2:641, 643**
 Hallmark Cards, **2:640**
 Hamilton, Alexander, **1:3, 8**
 Hamilton, Lee, **2:597**
 Hancock, John, **1:15**
 Handgun Control, Inc., **2:521-23**
 leading PAC, **2:623, 665, 667**
 Handgun Control Voter Education Fund, **2:522**
 Hanley, Edward T., **2:376**
 Hanson, Justine, **2:441**
 Harbor Maintenance Tax, **2:399**
 "Harbor Services Fund," **2:399**
 Harding, Warren, **2:508**
 Harrah's Entertainment, **2:630, 632**
 Harrington, Michael, **2:467**
 Harris, **2:636**
 "Harry and Louise" advertisements, **2:681**
 Hatano, Darryl, **1:347**
 Hatch Human Life Federalism Amendment, **2:543**
 Hate Crimes: ADL Blueprint for Action, **2:436**
Hate Crimes Laws, 1999, **2:436**
 Hate crimes legislation
 Anti-Defamation League, **2:427-28, 436, 437**
 Human Rights Campaign, **2:575**
 NAACP, **2:579**
 National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, **2:582**
 National Lawyers Guild, **2:453**
 Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Acts, **2:576**
 Hate Crimes Statistics, **2:576**
 Hawaiian Airlines, **1:300**
 Hayakawa, S.I., **2:547**
 Hayek, Friedrich A., **2:475**
 Hayes, Randall, **1:284**
 Hays, Will, **1:138**
 Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points, **1:221**
 HB Zachry, **2:635**
 HBO, **1:147**
 Head Start, **1:96**
 Healthcare interest groups
 overview of, **1:159-63**
See also under Specific group
 Health Industry Manufacturers Association, **2:691**
 Health insurance, **2:682**
 American College of Emergency Physicians, **1:172-73**
 lack of universal, **2:350**
 National Association of Retired Federal Employees, **1:93**
 Health insurance (*continued*)
 payment for contraception, **2:527-28**
See also Health maintenance organizations; Healthcare reform; Managed care; Medicaid; Medicare; Patient's Bill of Rights
See also under Specific group
 Health Insurance Association of America, **1:161; 2:681, 689, 695**
Health Letter, **2:500**
 Health maintenance organizations, **1:159, 161, 186**
 American Occupational Therapy Association, **1:198**
 American Psychiatric Association, **1:200**
 American Society of Anesthesiologists, **1:203-4**
 Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association and, **1:205, 206**
 guidelines & restrictions, **1:206**
 National Association of Retired Federal Employees, **1:93**
See also Managed care
 Health products & services
 leading PACs, **2:653-54, 656**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 Health professionals
 leading PACs, **2:655**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:688, 697**
 Health Research Group, **2:500**
 Healthcare Financing Administration, **1:43, 161, 171, 203**
 Healthcare reform
 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, **2:365**
 American Legion, **2:567, 568**
 American Nurses Association, **1:162, 193-95**
 American Postal Workers Union, **2:371**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:466, 467**
 Americans for Tax Reform, **2:458**
 Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, **2:430**
 Business Roundtable, **1:319**
 Cato Institute, **2:475**
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:483**
 employee benefits, **1:65**
 Independent Insurance Agents of America, **1:30, 31**
 insurance interest groups, **1:5**
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, **2:381, 382-83**
 labor union support of, **2:352**
 League of Women Voters of the United States, **2:445**
 National Association of Insurance Commissioners, **1:43**
 National Association of Life Underwriters, **1:45, 46**
 National Association of Retired Federal Employees, **1:93**
 National Coalition for the Homeless, **2:451**
 National Federation of Independent Business, **1:106**
 National Restaurant Association, **1:112-13**
 National Taxpayers Union, **2:458**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:343**
 Public Citizen, **2:500**
 Service Employees International Union, **2:401-3**
 Transport Workers Union of America, **2:405**
 Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees, **2:408**
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:413, 415**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:503**
 U.S. Chamber of Commerce, **1:119**
See also Health insurance; Health maintenance organizations; Long-term care; Managed care; Medicaid; Medicare; Patient's Bill of Rights
 Healthcare Worker Protection Act, **1:194**

- Healthcare workers
 Service Employees International Union, **2:401-3**
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:413**
- Hearst, **1:130, 135**
- Heart disease prevention. *See* American Heart Association
- Heinz, **2:413**
- Helms, Jesse, **2:481**
- Helms-Burton Act, **2:595, 598**
- Helping Disadvantaged Children Meet High Standards (Title I), **1:96, 2:367**
- Helsinki Watch. *See* Human Rights Watch
- Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, **2:457**
- Henry J. Kaiser Institute, **2:488**
- Heritage Foundation, **2:353, 455-59 passim, 490-91**
- Herman, Alexis, **2:487**
- Herman Kahn Center, **2:492**
- Herrera, Carolina, **2:539**
- Herrnstein, Richard, **2:463**
- Hershey Foods, **2:413**
- Hetch Hetchy Valley, **1:287**
- Hewlett-Packard Company, **1:55; 2:639**
- HF Ahmansion, **2:648**
- Hidden Child Foundation, **2:435**
- Higgins, Fred, **1:91**
- High Performance Work Organization, **2:381**
- Higher education
 American Council on Education, **1:123, 127-29**
 Council on Postsecondary Education, **1:197**
 funding cuts for, **1:121-22, 127**
- Higher Education Act, **1:127-28**
- Higher Education and National Affairs*, **1:128**
- Higher Education Facilities Act, **2:514**
- Highway safety legislation
 American Trucking Associations, **1:312, 313**
 Mothers Against Drunk Driving, **2:524-25**
 National Automobile Dealers Association, **1:99**
- Highway Traffic Safety Administration, **1:313**
- Highway Watch, **1:312**
- Highways. *See* Road systems
- Hill, Anita, **2:584**
- Hill & Knowlton, **2:661, 679**
- Hill, Rick, **1:50**
- Hillhaven, **2:413**
- Hillman, Sidney, **2:407**
- Hisgen, Thomas L., **1:114**
- Hispanic Outreach program of the NRLC, **2:536**
- Hitachi, **2:680**
- HIV. *See* AIDS
- HMO. *See* Health maintenance organizations
- Hodgson v. Minnesota*, **2:537**
- Hoechst Celanese, **2:662, 664**
- Hoffa, James P., **2:388, 389**
- Hoffa, James R. (Jimmy), **2:387**
- Hogan & Hartson, **2:661, 679, 701**
- Holiday Inns, **2:632**
- Holland & Knight, **2:661**
- Holley, Rick R., **1:305**
- Hollywood Production Code, **1:138**
- Holmer, Alan, **1:341, 342**
- HOLNAM, **2:634**
- Holocaust awareness programs, **2:436**
- Holocaust victim claims, **1:43**
- Home Box Office, **1:147**
- Home Builders Association of Central Arizona, **1:329**
- Home Builders Association of Louisville PAC, **1:329**
- Home Builders Institute, **1:329**
- Home Depot, RAN's campaign against, **1:286**
- Home equity loans, **1:18, 19**
- Home mortgages, **1:36-38**
- Homebuilding, eco-friendly, **1:296, 329, 330**
- Homebuyers assistance, **2:428, 430, 431-32**
- Homelessness. *See* National Coalition for the Homeless
- Homosexuality. *See* Gay and lesbian rights
- Honda North America, lobbying expenditures, **2:700**
- Honeywell, **1:298; 2:639**
- Hong Kong, transshipping, **1:310**
- Hong Kong Trade Development Council, **2:685**
- Hope, Clifford, **1:229**
- Hormel, **2:413**
- Horovitz, Samuel, **1:80, 81**
- Hospital & Health Care Employees 1199, **2:675**
- Hospital corporations, private, **1:159**
- Hospital Service Plan Commission, **1:186**
- Hospitalists, **1:207**
- Hospitals
 American Hospital Association. *See* American Hospital Association
 leading PACs, **2:656**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 spot investigations, **1:187**
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees National Alliance, **2:375**
- Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union, **2:375-77, 675**
- Hotel industry. *See* Lodging industry
- Hour laws, **1:73**
- House Agriculture Committee, **1:212**
- House Appropriation Committee, **2:448**
- House of Representatives Resources Committee, **1:273**
- House Resolution No. 10, **1:49**
- House Resources Committee, **1:281**
- House Un-American Activities Committee, **1:139**
- House Ways and Means Committee, **2:623**
- Household Finance, **1:18**
- Household International, **2:649**
- Housing and Urban Development. *See* U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Housing and Urban Development
 Housing finance bills, **1:305**
- Housing industry. *See* Construction industry
- Houston Industries, **2:641, 645**
- Hove, Skip, **1:29**
- "How to Drive" press conference, **1:312**
- Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, **2:667**
- HRCNews*, **2:575**
- HRC Quarterly*, **2:575**
- Hubbell Lighting Co., **1:114**
- HUD. *See* U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Hudson Institute, **2:492-93**
- Hughes Electronics, **1:298; 2:638, 640**
- Hughes Space and Communications, **1:298**
- Human Life Amendment, **2:536**
- Human rights
 American Textile Manufacturers Institute, **1:310**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:457**
 Amnesty International, **2:424**
 Cuban Exodus Relief Fund, **2:595**
 Freedom House, **2:424-28 passim, 438-40**
 Human Rights Watch, **2:424-27 passim, 441-43**

Human rights (*continued*)
 leading PACs, **2:622**, 660
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 National Lawyers Guild, **2:423-26** *passim*, 452-53
 Nigeria and, **2:609-10**
 overview of, **2:422-28**
 Turkey and, **2:617**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:503**
 Human Rights Campaign, **2:556-59** *passim*, 575-77
 leading PAC, **2:622**, 623, 660
 Human Rights Watch, **2:424-27** *passim*, 441-43
 Human Rights Watch California, **2:441**
 Humane Society of the United States, **2:692**
 Humphrey, Hubert, **2:466**, 510
 Hunting equipment, excise taxes, **1:272**, 282
 Hunting interest groups. *See* Izaak Walton League
 Huntington, Samuel, **2:438**
 Hunton & Williams, **2:703**
 Hussein, Saddam, **2:617**
 Hyde, Henry, **1:90**
 Hyde Amendment, **1:65**, 90; **2:526**, 536, 554
 Hydropower projects, **1:327**
 Hynde, Chrissie, **2:540**

 I

I-69 Mid-Continent Highway Coalition, **2:703**
 IBM, **2:686**, 694
ICBA Compliance Deskbook and Compliance Bulletin, The, **1:29**
 ICF Kaiser International, **2:633**, 635
 Idahoans for the Outdoors, **2:667**
 Identity groups
 leading PACs, **2:622**, 623, 660
 lobbying expenditures, **2:692**, 697
 overview of, **2:555-59**
 Ideological interest groups, overview of, **2:454-59**
 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act,
2:607
 Illinois, City of Chicago, **2:688**
 Illinois Dissection Alternative Act, **2:540**
 Immigration and Naturalization Service, **1:313**
 Immigration and Refugee Program, **2:496**
 Immigration legislation
 American Civil Liberties Union, **2:433**
 Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now,
2:428
 Cato Institute, **2:475**
 Communications Workers of America, **2:374**
 foreign governments and, **2:588**
 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility
 Act, **2:607**
 Immigration and Naturalization Service, **1:313**
 Immigration and Refugee Program, **2:496**
 Immigration Reform and Control Act, **2:607**
 legal assistance, **2:448**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:496**
 National Lawyers Guild, **2:452**, 453
 Semiconductor Industry Association, **1:347**
 Technology Network, **1:348**
 United Automobile Workers, **2:412**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:503**
Immigration Newsletter, **2:453**

Immigration policy
 Mexico, **2:607**
 Taiwan, **2:615**
 Immigration Reform and Control Act, **2:607**
 Imports. *See* International trade
 In-office surgery, **1:204**
*Income Inflation: The Myth of Affluence Among Gay, Lesbian,
 and Bisexual Americans*, **2:581**
 Income maintenance programs, **1:95**
 Independence Standards Board, **1:22**
Independent Agent, **1:32**
*Independent Banker: The National Voice of America's Independ-
 ent Bankers*, **1:29**
 Independent Bankers Association of America. *See* Independent
 Community Bankers of America
 Independent Community Bankers of America, **1:27-29**
 leading PAC, **2:646**, 647
 lobbying expenditures, **2:684**
 Independent Counsel law, **2:468**, 485, 501
 Independent Electrical Contractors, **2:635**
 Independent Insurance Agents of America, **1:30-32**, 39, 47
 leading PAC, **2:646**, 651
 Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, **2:435**
 Independent Petroleum Marketers Association. *See* Petroleum
 Marketers Association
 Independent Statistical Service, **1:41**
 India, bilingualism in, **2:548**
 Indianapolis, Hudson Institute and, **2:493**
 Indigenous populations, protection of, **1:267**, 285
 Indigo Girls, **2:540**
 Individual Retirement Accounts, **1:32**, 34, 58
 Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, **2:397**
 Industrial Professional Technical Workers International Union,
2:399
 Industrial union PACs, **2:672**
 Industry, lobbying expenditures, **2:697-98**
 Industry Audit Program, **1:296**, 300
 Industry Services Department, **1:296**, 300
 Information industry
 overview of, **1:120-23**
See also under Specific group
 Information Industry Association, **1:157**, 158
 Information Reporting Program Advisory Committee, **1:25**
 Information Resource Center, **1:151**
 Inheritance taxes. *See* Estate taxes
 Innis, Roy, **2:569**, 570
 Insecticides. *See* Pesticides
 Inspection laws, meat
 American Meat Institute, **1:220**, 221
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:231**
 Institute for Government Research, **2:472**
 Institute of American Meat Packers. *See* American Meat Institute
 Institute of Economics, **2:472**
 Institute of Scrap Recycling Industries, **2:662**, 664
 Institution of Life Insurance, **1:15**
 Insurance Broadcast System, **1:51**
 Insurance industry
 leading PACs, **2:646**, 651
 lobbying expenditures, **2:689**, 697
 overview of, **1:3-7**
See also Health insurance
See also under Specific group
 Insurance Industry's Citizen Action Network, **1:16**

- Insurance Regulatory Information Network, **1:43**
 Insurance Workers International Union, **2:414**
 Insurance Youth Golf Classic, **1:32**
 InsurBanc, **1:32**
 Intel, **1:55**; **2:639**, **686**
 Intellectual Freedom Roundtable, **1:76**
 Intellectual property
 Association of American Publishers, **1:130**
 Magazine Publishers of America, **1:136**
 Motion Picture Association of America, **1:139**
 Motion Picture Export Association, **1:139**
 National Association of Manufacturers, **1:332**
 National Venture Capital Association, **1:57**
 World Intellectual Property Organization, **1:122**, **131**, **139**,
 151, **154**, **157**
 See also Copyright
 Interest groups
 categorization of, **2:456-57**
 single, **2:506-12**
 worst public, **2:530**
 Interest on Lawyer Trust Accounts, **2:449**
 Interest rates, disclosure of, **1:18**, **19**
 Interest tax deductions, **1:330**
 Interfaith relations, Anti-Defamation League interest in, **2:436**
 Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, **2:524**
 Internal Revenue Service
 Independent Community Bankers of America and, **1:28**
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and, **2:385-86**
 reform of, **1:21**
 Sierra Club and, **2:288**
 See also Information Reporting Program Advisory Committee; Tax codes
 International Accounting Standards Committee, **1:23**
 International Association of Fire Fighters, **2:378-80**, **671**, **674**
 International Association of Fire Fighters Interested in Registration and Education, **2:380**
 International Association of Insurance Supervisors, **1:44**
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, **2:381-83**, **622**
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, **2:372**, **384-86**
 leading PAC, **2:622**, **671**, **672**
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters, **2:387-89**, **623-24**
 leading PAC, **2:622**, **671**, **673**
 International Builders' Show, **1:329**
 International Building Code, **1:305**
 International Chemical Workers Union, **2:414**
 International Circulation Managers Association, **1:150**
 International Climate Network, **2:546**
 International Compressed Air and Foundation Workers, **2:393**
 International Conference on Population, **2:542**
 International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, **2:477**
 International Council of Cruise Lines, **2:668**, **670**
 International Council of Shopping Centers, **2:630**, **632**
 International Criminal Court, **2:442**
 International Dairy Foods Association, **1:226-28**; **2:629**
 International Federation of Accountants, **1:23**
 International Harvester, **2:410**
 International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union of America. *See* Laborers' International Union of North America
 International Holocaust Commission, **1:43**
 International Ice Cream Association, **1:226**
 International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, **2:407**
 International Longshoremen's Association, **2:671**, **673**
 International Monetary Fund
 China and, **2:592**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:488**
 Friends of the Earth, **1:267**
 National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, **1:240**
 Russia and, **2:612**
 Semiconductor Industry Association, **1:347**
 United Egg Association, **1:254**
 International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility, **2:546**
 International Newspapers Advertising and Marketing Executives, **1:150**
 International Paper Co., **1:304**; **2:627**, **629**
 International Planned Parenthood Committee, **2:542**
 International Religious Freedom Act, **2:439**
 International Seaman's Union of North America, **2:399**
 International Supermarket Industry Convention, **1:84**
 International Swaps & Derivatives Dealers Association, **2:703**
 International Thermographers Association, **1:343**
 International trade
 American Agriculture Movement, **1:218**
 American Conservative Union, **2:462**
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:16**
 American Forest and Paper Association, **1:304**, **1:305**
 American Meat Institute, **1:220**, **1:221**
 American Sugarbeet Growers Association, **1:223**
 American Textile Manufacturers Institute, **1:309-10**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:457**
 Business Roundtable, **1:318**, **319**
 Cato Institute, **2:457**, **476**
 China as "Most Favored Nation," **1:295**, **333**; **2:592**
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:484**
 European Union, **2:598**
 foreign governments, **2:587-88**
 International Dairy Foods Association, **1:226-27**
 Japan, **2:603-4**
 manufacturing industry, **1:295**
 Mexico, **2:606-7**
 National Association of Manufacturers, **1:332**
 National Association of Wheat Growers, **1:229**
 National Chicken Council, **1:234**, **235**
 National Cotton Council, **1:237**, **238**
 National Venture Capital Association, **1:57**
 National Wildlife Federation, **1:282**
 Securities Industry Association, **1:59**
 Semiconductor Industry Association, **1:346-47**
 of sophisticated technology, **1:299**
 Taiwan, **2:615**
 United Egg Association, **1:254**
 United Steelworkers of America, **2:417-18**
 U.S. Catholic Conference, **2:457**
 U.S. Chamber of Commerce, **1:119**
 Webb-Pomerence Export Trade Act, **1:138**
 See also Free markets; Trade agreements; World Trade Organization
 International Trade Commission, **1:308**
 International Typographers Union, **2:372**
 International Union of Life Insurance Agents, **2:414**
 International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, **2:416**
 International Union of Operating Engineers, **2:390-92**
 International Union of Pavers, **2:393**

International Union of Petroleum and Industrial Workers, **2:399**
 International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

See International Union of Operating Engineers

International Whaling Commission, **1:269**

International Wildlife, **1:283**

Internet

- access fees, **1:53**
- alcohol sales, **1:104**
- censorship, **1:122**, **131**
- civil, economic, and human rights interest groups' use of, **2:427**
- commerce, **1:5**
- commercialization of, **1:133**
- copyright issues, **1:120**, **122**, **130**, **136**, **155**, **344**
- Digital Performance Right in Sound Recordings Act, **1:154**
- disaster information, **1:322**
- gambling, **1:70**, **71-72**
- identity groups' use of, **2:559**
- insurance marketing, **1:43**
- rural access, **1:248**
- in schools, **2:397**
- service interest groups' use of, **1:65**
- service providers, **1:148**, **157**
- taxes, **1:157**; **2:470**

See also E-mail; World Wide Web

Internet Tax Freedom Act moratorium, **1:54**, **59**

Interstate Carriers Conference, **1:312**

Interstate Class Action Jurisdiction Act, **1:333**

Interstate Commerce Act, **1:63**, **247**, **294**

Interstate Commerce Commission, **1:312**

Interstate Theft Union, **1:313**

InVest, **1:32**

Investigative reporting, **1:221**; **2:477-78**

Investment Bankers Association of America, **1:58**

Investment Company Act, **1:33**

Investment Company Institute, **1:6**, **33-35**

leading PAC, **2:646**, **650**

lobbying expenditures, **2:684**

Investment firms

leading PACs, **2:650**

lobbying expenditures, **2:684**

Investor margin requirements, **1:60**

Iran-Contra, **2:594**

Iran-Libya Sanctions Act, **2:598**

Iran Nonproliferation Act, **2:601**

Iraq, **2:491**

National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**

trade embargo, **1:229**

Ireland, Patricia, **2:584**, **585**, **679**

Irish-Americans for a Democratic Victory, **2:657**

Ironworkers, **2:671**, **674**

Irradiation, food, **1:177**, **220**

IRS. *See* Internal Revenue Service

Irvine, Reed J., **1:125**

Islam, portrayal of, **2:589**

Israel, **2:588**, **600-602**

ADL's U.S. foreign policy, **2:435**

American support for, **2:436**

pro-Israel PACs, **2:666**

Issues 98: The Candidate's Briefing Book, **2:490**

IT Group, **2:645**

IT&T, **2:384**

IT&T Industries, Defense and Electronics, **1:298**

Izaak Walton League, **1:258**, **272-74**

Izaak Walton League Monthly, **1:272**

J

Jackson, Andrew, **2:506**

Jackson, Jesse, **1:60**; **2:431**, **576**

Jackson-Vanik amendment, **2:592**

Jacobs, Karen, **1:197**

Jacobs Engineering Group, **2:633**, **635**

Japan, **2:588**, **603-05**

AF&PA's interest in, **1:305**

antidumping, **1:347**; **2:603**

Hudson Institute's interest in, **2:493**

Pearl Harbor, **2:509**

steel imports from, **2:417**

trade with, **1:43**; **2:603-04**

Japanese Challenge, The, **2:493**

Jarvis, Howard, **2:510**

JBS Bulletin, **2:494**, **495**

JC Penny, **2:630**, **632**

Jefferson, Thomas, **1:3**

Jefferson Award, **2:483**

Jefferson Group, **2:661**

Jepsen, Roger, **2:536**

Jewell, Jesse, **1:234**

Jim Beam, **2:413**

JM Family Enterprises, **2:670**

John Birch Society, **2:455-58** *passim*, **494-95**

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, **2:457**, **478**

John Hancock, **2:413**

John M. Olin Foundation, **2:456**, **457**, **464**, **476**, **491**, **493**, **499**

Johnson, Gregory, **2:516**

Johnson & Johnson, **2:653**, **656**

Johnson, Lyndon, **2:509-10**, **514**, **564**

Johnson, Robert Underwood, **1:287**

Johnson Controls, **2:512**

Johnston, Eric, **1:139**

Joint Action Committee for Political Affairs, **2:666**

Joint Commission on Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations, **1:187**

Joint Forum on Financial Conglomerates, **1:44**

Jones, Day, Revis and Pogue, **2:679**

Joseph E Seagram & Sons, **2:630**, **631**, **676**

Journal of the American Dietetic Association, **1:175**

Journal of the American Medical Association, **1:189**

Journalists, investigative reporting, **2:477-78**

Joyce Foundation, **2:457**

J.P. Morgan, **1:35**; **2:646**, **647**, **684**

Jungle, The, **1:175**

Jury system, **1:80**

Just in Time, **1:333**

Juvenile crime bills, **1:96**, **97**

JVC, **2:680**

JW Childs Associates, **2:677**

K

K Street Project, **2:469**

Kahn, Herman, **2:492**

Kaiser Permanente, **2:413**

Kamali, Norma, **2:539**

Kaman, **2:636**

Kamber Group, The, **2:679**

Kansas City Federal Reserve Board, **1:28**
 Karatnycky, Adrian, **2:438**
 Katz, Marc, **1:90**
 Kehoe, Christine, **2:577**
 Keller, Helen, **2:508**
 Kelley, Oliver Hudson, **1:247**
 Kemp-Roth tax bill, **2:510**
 Kennecott, **2:644**
 Kennedy, Edward, **1:97, 112-13; 2:487**
 Americans for Democratic Action support for, **2:467**
 on flag burning, **2:517**
 leadership PAC, **2:622**
 Kennedy, James, **2:481**
 Kennedy, John F., **2:466, 514, 533**
 Kennedy, Robert, **2:510**
 Kennedy Space Center Support Comm., **2:667**
 Kentucky Fried Chicken, **1:111**
 Kerrey, Robert, **2:517**
 "Key Vote" program, **2:483**
 Keycorp, **2:647**
 Khrushchev, Nikita, **2:494**
 KIDSPAC, **2:660**
 Kildee, Dale, **1:87**
 King & Spalding, **2:661**
 Kings Canyon National Park, **1:287**
 Kirkland, Lane, **1:63; 2:353, 361**
 Kirkpatrick, Jeane J., **2:438**
 Kissinger, Henry, **2:492, 597**
 Kissinger Associates, **2:591**
 KIWI International Air Lines, **1:300**
 Klatsky, Bruce, **2:441**
 KLM-Royal Dutch Airlines, **1:300**
 Kmart, **1:83**
 Knight-Ridder, **1:150**
 Knights of Columbus, **2:516**
 Knights of Labor, **2:359**
 Knopf, Alfred, **1:288**
 "Know-Nothing" Party, **2:507**
 Koch, Charles, **2:475, 2:483**
 Koch, David, **2:483**
 Koch family, **2:456**
 Koch Industries, **2:484, 641, 643**
 Koonan, Karen Jo, **2:452**
 Korean War, **2:567, 591**
 Kosovo, **1:299; 2:593, 612**
 Brookings Institution, **2:473**
 Cato Institute, **2:476**
 European Union and, **2:598**
 John Birch Society, **2:495**
 KPMG LLP, **2:646, 652**
 Kraft, **2:413**
 Kraft Foods, **2:681**
 Krese, Jennifer, **1:333**
 Kroger, **1:83; 2:413**
 Ku Klux Klan, **2:423, 434, 435**
 Kuhn, Thomas, **1:327**
 Kunstler, William, **2:565**
 Kuomintang, **2:614**
 Kurdish Worker's Party, **2:617**
 Kuttner, Robert, **2:487**
 Kyoto Protocol and Global Climate Change Treaty
 American Conservative Union, **2:462**
 American for Tax Reform, **2:470**

Kyoto Protocol and Global Climate Change Treaty (*continued*)
 Business Roundtable, **1:319**
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:484**
 National Council o Farmer Cooperatives, **1:240**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 National Mining Association, **1:335**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:503**

L

La Croix, Christian, **2:539**
 La Follette, Robert, **1:244**
 Labatt's, **2:413**
 Label Printing Industries of America, **1:343**
 Labeling practices, textile, **1:310**
 Labor Law Study Committee, **1:318**
 Labor laws & rights
 AFL-CIO, **2:359-62**
 Air Transport Association, **1:302**
 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal
 Employees, **2:363-65**
 Business Roundtable, **1:319**
 Communications Workers of America, **2:372—74**
 compensation lawsuits, **1:62**
 Farm Bureau, **1:215**
 Fraternal Order of Police, **1:87**
 Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International
 Union, **2:376-77**
 International Association of Fire Fighters, **2:379-80**
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace
 Workers, **2:381**
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, **2:385**
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters, **2:389**
 International Union of Operating Engineers, **2:390, 391**
 Laborers International Union of North America, **2:394-95**
 National Association of Home Builders, **1:330**
 National Association of Manufacturers, **1:333**
 National Lawyers Guild, **2:452-53**
 Seafarers International Union of North America, **2:399-400**
 Service Employees International Union, **2:402**
 Transport Workers Union of America, **2:404—5**
 Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees,
 2:408-9
 United Automobile Workers, **2:412**
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:413, 415**
 violation of child, **1:100**
 See also Labor unions; Minimum wage legislation; Worker
 safety
 Labor Policy Association, **2:685**
 Labor practices, illegal
 American Textile Manufacturers Institute's denouncement of,
 1:310
 Food Marketing Institute affiliates and, **1:85**
 Labor unions
 leading PACs, **2:622, 671-75**
 overview of, **2:350-54**
 See also Labor laws & rights; Specific union
 Laboratory animals, humane treatment of, **1:185**
 Laborers, **2:674**
 Laborers International Union of North America, **2:393-95, 622**
 Laborers' Political League, **2:394, 395, 671, 674**
 LaHaye, Beverly, **2:481**
 "Land and hold short" operations, **2:357**

- Land grant universities, **1**:213, 215
- Land management & development
 American Forest and Paper Association, **1**:305
 Izaak Walton League, **1**:272
 Nationwide Permit program, **1**:282
 Sierra Club, **1**:287, 289
 Yosemite National Park, **1**:291
See also Property rights
- Land O'Lakes, **2**:629
- Land-mine abolition, **2**:589
 Council for a Livable World, **2**:520
 Human Rights Watch, **2**:442
 United States Catholic Conference, **2**:503
- lang, k.d., **2**:540
- Laramie Treaty, **2**:565
- Las Vegas, hotel industry, **2**:376
- Laser surgery, eye, **1**:165
- Latin America, Human Rights Watch and, **2**:442
- Lautenberg Law, **1**:86-87
- Law schools, **1**:67-68
- LAW*briefs, **2**:575
- Lawson, Richard L., **1**:335, 336
- Lawyers & law firms
 leading PACs, **2**:661
 lobbying expenditures, **2**:697
- Le Conte, Joseph, **1**:287
- Lead, **1**:262
- Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, **2**:578
- Leadership PACs, **2**:622
- League Leader*, **1**:273
- League of Conservation Voters, **1**:259, 266, 275-77; **2**:667
- League of Conservation Voters Action Fund, **1**:277
- League of Women Voters, **2**:423, 424, 428, 444-46
- League of Women Voters Education Fund, **2**:444-45, 446
- League of Women Voters of the United States. *See* League of Women Voters
- Leave Us Alone Coalition, **2**:469
- Lebanon, **2**:567
- Lee, Percy Maxim, **2**:444
- Lee Apparel, **2**:413
- Legal Alert*, **1**:60
- Legal ethics, **1**:68
- Legal interest groups. *See* American Bar Association; Association of Trial Lawyers of America; Legal Services Corporation
- Legal Rights Center, **2**:565
- Legal Services Corporation, **2**:423-28 *passim*, 447-49
- Legion of Decency, **1**:138
- Legislative Alerts*, **1**:60
- Lehman Brothers, **2**:650
- Lent, Norman, **2**:678
- Lent & Scrivner, **2**:661
- Leon and Marilyn Klinghoffer Memorial Foundation of the Anti-Defamation League, **2**:435
- Lesbian and Gay Families project, **2**:582
- Letter-writing campaigns
 American Postal Workers Union, **2**:371
 Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, **2**:513
 Greenpeace, **1**:270
 National Audubon Society, **2**:279
 National Wildlife Federation, **1**:282
 Public Citizen, **2**:500
 Rainforest Action Network, **1**:285
- Letter-writing campaigns (*continued*)
 wise use movement, **1**:292
- Levi Strauss, **2**:413
- Levin, Carl, **2**:518
- Levitt, Arthur, **1**:60
- Lewis, Charles, **2**:477
- Lewis, John L., **2**:359, 416
- Liability law reform
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2**:484
 Public Citizen, **2**:501
See also Class action litigation
- Liberal interest groups, **2**:456
- Liberal PACs, **2**:657
- Libertarianism, **2**:475
- Liberty Mutual Insurance, **2**:651
- Liberty Party, **2**:506
- Librarians
 American Library Association, **1**:64, 75-77
 Association of American Publishers and, **1**:130, 131
Library Journal, **1**:75
- Licensed Beverage Industries, **1**:323
- Lieberman, Joseph, **1**:50, 91
- Life and Health Insurance Foundation for Education, **1**:47
- Life Association News*, **1**:47
- Life-line rates, **1**:9
- Life Underwriters Political Involvement Committee, **1**:46
- Life Underwriting Training Council, **1**:47
- Lightner, Candy, **2**:525
- Lilly Endowment, Inc., **2**:439
- Limbaugh, Rush, **1**:133
- Limited, **2**:630, 632
- Limited Test Ban Treaty, **2**:519
- Lincoln, Abraham, **2**:506, 507
- Lincoln bedroom scandal, **2**:477
- Lincoln Electric, **2**:703
- Lindbergh, Charles, **2**:509
- Line Item Veto Act, **2**:501
- Literacy promotion & programs, **1**:65, 131, 151
- Litton Industries, **1**:298; **2**:636
- Livestock industry
 leading PACs, **2**:628
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1**:231-33
 National Chicken Council, **1**:234-36; **2**:628
 National Farmers Organization, **1**:242
 National Pork Producers Council, **1**:249-51; **2**:628
- Livingston, Sigmound, **2**:424, 435
- Lloyd, Henry Demarest, **2**:507-8
- Loans, farm, **1**:211, 212
- Lobbyists & lobbying
 activities, **2**:680-81
 astroturf, **1**:147-48
 background & recruitment, **2**:678-79
 direct/indirect defined, **2**:680-81
 effective, **1**:6-7
 impacts of, **2**:681-83
 "insider"/"outsider" defined, **1**:93
 leading PACs, **2**:661
 lobbying expenditures, **2**:701-2
 methods, **1**:65; **2**:680
 organization categories, **2**:679-80
 top clients, **2**:703-4
- Lobel, Kerry, **2**:581
- Lockheed Martin, **1**:298; **2**:622, 636, 694

- Lodging industry
 American Hotel and Motel Association, **1:73-74**; **2:630**, 632
 copyright issues, **1:121**
 Hotel and Restaurant Employees National Alliance, **2:375**
 Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union, **2:375-77**, 675
 minimum wage issues, **1:121**
- Loeb, James, Jr., **2:466**
- Loews, **2:693**
- Logging legislation, **1:259**
 Greenpeace, **1:269**, 270
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, **2:383**
 Izaak Walton League, **1:273**
 logger protests, **1:291**
 old-growth, **1:260**, 285-86
 spotted owl, **1:260**, 292
- London, Herbert, **2:493**
- Long, Russell B., **2:680**
- Long-term care, **1:181-82**
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:15**, 16, 17
- Loral Spacecom, **2:638**, 640, 676
- Lord, Bette Bao, **2:438**
- L'Oreal, **2:539**
- Lorillard, **2:703**
- Los Angeles County, California, **2:688**
- Lott, Trent, **1:97**, 101, 349; **2:383**, 394, 582
 leadership PAC, **2:622**
- Lowenstein, Allard K., **2:509**
- LTV Steel, **2:662**, 663
- Lucent Technologies, **2:638**, 640
- Ludwig, Gene, **1:29**
- Lugar, Richard, **2:519**
- Lutheran World Relief, **2:496**
- LWH Family Foundation, Inc., **2:439**
- Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, **2:439**, 457, 464
-
- M**
-
- Maastricht Treaty, **2:597**
- Mac Arthur, Douglas, **2:603**
- Macau, transshipping, **1:310**
- Machinists and Aerospace Workers, **2:671**, 672
- Machinists Nonpartisan Political League, **2:383**
- Macy's, **2:540**
- Mad cow disease, **1:221**, 233; **2:598**
- MADD. *See* Mothers Against Drunk Driving
- Made in the USA Foundation, **2:418**
- Madison, James, **2:422**, 454, 678
- Magazine Publishers of America, **1:135-37**
 RIAA liaison with, **1:153-54**
- Mail Handlers Union, **2:393**
- Mailers Council, **1:136**
- Maintenance of Way Employees, **2:673**
- Makah tribe, **1:270-71**
- Makinson, Larry, **2:479**
- Malcolm, Ellen, **2:572**
- Malpractice, **1:82**
- Managed care, **1:160-63**
 American Academy of Ophthalmology, **1:165-66**
 American College of Emergency Physicians, **1:172-73**
 American Medical Association, **1:189-91**
 American Nurses Association, **1:193**
 American Occupational Therapy Association, **1:198**
- Managed care (*continued*)
 Service Employees International Union, **2:402**
- Manatt, Phelps, et al., **2:661**
- Mandela, Nelson, **2:512**
- Manor Healthcare Corp., **2:656**
- Mantech International, **2:636**
- Manufactured Housing Institute, **2:633**, 635
- Manufacturing Chemists Association. *See* Chemical Manufacturers Association
- Manufacturing industry
 leading PACs, **2:662**, 664
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 overview of, **1:294-95**
See also under Specific group
- Manufacturing Institute, **1:333**
- Mao Zedong, **2:591**
- Maquiladoras, **2:441**, 442
- Marathon Oil, **2:643**
- March Group, **1:318**
- March to Fight the Right, **2:585**
- Marconi North America, **2:636**
- Marcus, Ben, **1:80**
- Marine Engineers District 2 Maritime Officers, **2:671**, 673
- Marine Engineers District 1/Pacific Coast District, **2:673**
- Marine Fireman's Union, **2:399**
- Maritime Security Program, **2:400**
- Marketing checkoffs. *See* Checkoffs, marketing
- Marriage penalty tax, **2:405**
- Marriage rights, same-gender, **2:582**
- Marriot International, **2:632**
- MARS, **2:703**
- Marshall, Paul, **2:439**
- Marshall, Ray, **2:487**
- Marshall Plan, **2:438**, 466, 472, 587, 597
- Martin, Cathie Jo, **2:682**
- Martinez, Matthew, **1:100**
- Massachusetts Audubon Society, **1:278**
- Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance, **2:651**
- Master Printers of America, **1:343**
- May Department Stores, **2:630**, 632
- Mayer, Brown & Platt, **2:701**
- MBNA America Bank, **2:646**, 649
- MCA, **1:153**
- McBride, Ann, **2:485**
- McCaffrey, Barry, **1:179**
- McCain, John, **1:50**, 168; **2:517**, 625
- McCain-Feingold finance reform, **2:394**, 538, 625
- McCarran-Ferguson Act, **1:15**, 30, 42, 45, 49
- McCarthy, Eugene, **2:509-10**
- McCarthy, Frank, **1:100**
- McCarthy, Joseph, **2:444**
- McCarthyism
 American Federation of Teachers, **2:366**
 American Library Association, **1:76**
 Motion Picture Association of America, **1:139**
 National Lawyers Guild, **2:452**
- McClure-Volkmer Act, **2:533**
- McConnell, Mitch, **1:50**
- McCullum v. Board of Education*, **2:435**
- McDermott, Will & Emery, **2:661**, 701
- McDonald, Charles, **1:167**
- McDonald, Eugene, **1:142**
- McDonald, Larry, **2:495**
- McDonald, Steve, **2:431**

- McDonald's, **1:263; 2:630, 631**
 McDonnell Douglas, **2:636**
 MCI Telecommunications, **2:638, 639**
 MCI Worldcom, **2:676, 699**
 McKay, John, **2:447, 2:448**
 McKinley, William, **2:422, 508**
 McKinney, Cynthia, **2:576**
 McKinney Act. *See* Stewart B. McKinney Homelessness Assistance Act
 McMahon, Douglas, **2:404**
 Mead, **1:304; 2:629**
 Means, Russell, **2:565**
 Meany, George, **2:411**
 Meat industry
 American Meat Institute, **1:220-22; 2:627**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:231-33; 2:627, 628**
 National Pork Producers Council, **1:249-51; 2:628**
 See also Poultry industry
Media Beat, **1:134**
 Media Coalition, **1:136**
 Media industry
 cross-ownership of, **1:151**
 and environmental issues, **1:257**
 Fraternal Order of Police and, **1:87-88**
 interest groups' use of, **1:32, 92, 94, 134; 2:459, 518**
 investigative reporting, **1:221; 2:477-78**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:687, 697**
 lobbying groups' use of, **2:681**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association and, **1:233**
 overview of, **1:120-23**
 perceived bias in, **1:125, 126, 133-34**
 See also under Specific group
Media Monitor, The, **1:126**
 Medicaid
 American Dietetic Association, **1:176-77**
 anesthesia, **1:203**
 Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association, **1:162**
 history of, **1:159, 160, 189**
 labor union support of, **2:352**
 long-term care, **1:182**
 zero funding for abortions, **2:526, 536, 554**
 Medical ethics, **1:191**
 Medical interest groups, **1:162**
 See also under Specific group
 Medical malpractice, **1:82**
 Medical nutrition, **1:176**
 Medical records, privacy issues, **1:188, 200-201, 206-7; 2:405**
 Medicare
 American Academy of Ophthalmology, **1:165**
 American Association of Retired Persons, **2:561**
 American Chiropractic Association, **1:170-71**
 American Conservative Union, **2:458**
 American Dietetic Association, **1:176-77**
 American Healthcare Association, **1:181-82**
 American Hospital Association, **1:186-87**
 American Medical Association, **1:191**
 American Nurses Association, **1:194**
 American Occupational Therapy Association, **1:198**
 Americans for Tax Reform, **2:458**
 anesthesia, **1:203**
 Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association, **1:162, 207**
 Brookings Institution, **2:473**
 "Coalition to Fix Medicare Now," **1:181-82**
 Communications Workers of America, **2:372, 373**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:488**
 fraud, **1:187, 201**
 Grange, **1:248**
 Healthcare Financing Administration, **1:43**
 Heritage Foundation, **2:491**
 history of, **1:159, 160, 186, 189**
 International Union of Operating Engineers, **2:390, 391**
 labor unions and, **2:352**
 Laborers International Union of North America, **2:395**
 National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare, **2:529-31, 665, 667**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 National Tax Payers Union, **2:499**
 National Taxpayers Union, **2:458**
 Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, **1:341**
 Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees, **2:407, 408**
 United Automobile Workers, **2:412**
 Medicare Act, **2:509**
 "Medicare Beneficiaries Freedom to Contract Act," **2:373**
 Medicare Medical Nutrition Therapy Act, **1:176**
 Medigap, **1:207**
 Meiji Restoration, **2:603**
 Mental health
 American Occupational Therapy Association, **1:197**
 American Psychiatric Association, **1:162, 199**
 American Restaurant Association, **1:112**
 National Association of Social Workers, **1:95**
 Mercantile Bancorp, **2:647**
 Merchant banking, **1:8, 10, 12**
 Merck, **2:512, 623, 653, 656, 691, 695**
 Mercury, **1:262**
 Mergers
 airline, **1:302**
 book publishing, **1:130**
 media, entertainment, & information, **1:121, 133**
 Merhav Group of Companies, **2:703**
 Merrill Lynch, **2:650, 684**
 Merrill Lynch Asset Management, **1:35**
 MetLife Insurance Corporation, **1:182**
 Metro Transit Authority of Harris County, Texas, **2:688, 704**
 Metropolitan Life, **2:413**
 Metropolitan Life Insurance, **2:651**
 Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund, **2:588, 606**
 Mexican American Trucking Associations, **1:313**
 Mexican Manufacturing Week, **1:333**
 Mexican Revolution, **2:606**
 Mexico, **2:606-08**
 American Forest and Paper Association's interest in, **1:305**
 automobile industry, **2:412**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association's interest in, **1:232**
 See also North American Free Trade Agreement
 Meyer, Frank, **2:460**
 Mfume, Kweisi, **2:578, 579**
 MGM Grand, **2:632**
 Miami Beach Hotel Association, **2:375**
 Miami-Dade County, Florida, **2:688**
 Mica, Daniel A., **1:25**
 Michel, Robert H., **2:678**
 Michigan Credit Union League, **2:648**
 Microsoft, **1:55, 157; 2:704**
 leading PAC, **2:638, 639**

- Microsoft (*continued*)
 lobbying expenditures, **2:686**
 soft money donations, **2:676**
- Mid-American Dairymen, **1:227; 2:627, 629**
- Middle East
 Brookings Institution, **2:473**
 Cato Institute, **2:476**
 peace process, **2:600-601**
- Midwest Express Airlines, **1:300**
- MIGIZI, **2:565**
- Migrant workers, **2:447**
- Mikulski, Barbara, **2:572**
- Military spending. *See* Defense budget
- Milk Industry Foundation, **1:226**
- Milk products. *See* Dairy industry
- Millennium March, **2:559, 577**
- Miller & Chevalier, **2:704**
- Miller, Ellen, **2:479**
- Miller, James, III, **2:483**
- Miller Brewing, **2:681**
- Million-Man March, **2:436**
- Mills, C. Wright, **2:466**
- Mindel, Fania, **2:542**
- MinePAC, **1:335**
- Minimum-wage legislation
 American Conservative Union, **2:461**
 American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, **2:361**
 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, **2:365**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:466, 467**
 exemption from, **1:120, 150**
 Fair Minimum Wage Act, **1:97**
 Farm Bureau, **1:215**
 Food Marketing Institute, **1:84, 85**
 Heritage Foundation, **2:353**
 Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union, **2:377**
 media, information, and entertainment interest groups and, **1:121**
 National Association of Convenience Stores, **1:91**
 National Association of Social Workers, **1:96, 97**
 National Farmers Union, **1:245**
 National Federation of Independent Business, **1:106**
 National Restaurant Association, **1:111—12**
 small-business interest groups and, **1:65**
 Transport Workers Union of America, **2:405**
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:413, 415**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:503**
- Mining industry
 leading PACs, **2:644**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
 National Mining Association, **1:295, 335-36; 2:641, 644**
 National Wildlife Federation, **1:281, 282**
 Office of Surface Mining, **1:336**
 United Mine Workers of America, **1:335; 2:416, 671, 672**
 Western States Public Lands Coalition, **1:291**
 wise use movement, **1:293**
- Minneapolis Patrol, **2:565**
- Mirage Resorts, **2:630, 632**
- Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, **2:704**
- Mississippi River national preserve, **1:272**
- Missouri Farm Bureau PACs, **1:215**
- Mitchell, George, **2:564, 678**
- Mitsubishi Corporation, **1:285, 286**
- Mobil, **1:114; 2:539, 641, 643, 690, 694, 704**
- ModernMaturity*, **2:561**
- Modern Red School House program, **2:493**
- Mogen David, **2:413**
- Molson, **2:413**
- "Monday Morning PAC," **2:622**
- Monnet, Jean, **2:597**
- Monsanto, **1:210**
- Montefiore Medical Center, **2:703**
- Montgomery Watson Americas, **2:645**
- Moore, W. Henson, **1:305**
- MOPAC, **2:666**
- Moral Majority, **2:456**
- Morgan Stanley, **1:61**
- Morgan Stanley, Dean Witter, **2:650, 684**
- Morisson's Hospitality Group, **1:111**
- Morna, Lewis and Bockius, and Fried, **2:679**
- Morrill Act, **1:213**
- Morrison-Knudsen, **2:635**
- Mortgage Bankers Association of America, **1:6, 36-38; 2:646, 652**
- Mortgage Banking: The Magazine of Real Estate Finance*, **1:38**
- Mortgage bills, American Forest and Paper Association, **1:305**
- Mortgage Insurance Companies of America, **2:704**
- Mortgages
 buyers of, **1:36**
 class action suits, **1:13, 18**
 interest deductions, **1:37**
 interest payments, **1:12**
 National Association of Home Builders, **1:329, 330**
- Mortuary Employees Union, **2:399**
- Mosley-Braun, Carol, **2:577**
- Mothers Against Drunk Driving, **2:524-25**
- Motion Picture Association of America, **1:122, 138-41; 2:704**
 leading PAC, **2:639**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:687**
- Motion Picture Export Association, **1:138, 139**
- Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, **1:138**
- Motor Carrier Act, **1:312**
- Motor Voter Bill. *See* National Voter Registration Act
- Motorola, **2:640, 695**
- Movie ratings system, **1:139, 140**
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, **1:50; 112**
- MTV, **2:595**
- Muir, John, **1:287**
- Mujica, Mauro, **2:548**
- Multinational Tax Coalition, **2:692**
- Munitions Carriers Conference, **1:312**
- Murray, Charles, **2:463**
- Murray, Patty, **2:577**
- Murray, Pauli, **2:583**
- Music industry
 copyright issues, **1:65, 121. See also** Copyright
 leading PACs, **2:639**
 Parents Music Resource Center, **1:154**
 Recording Industry Association of America, **1:153—55; 2:687**
 U.S. Hispanic, **1:154**
 warning labels, **1:154**
- Mutual Defense Treaty, **2:603, 614**
- Mutual fund interest groups
 Investment Company Institute, **1:33—35**
 Securities Industry Association, **1:58-61**
- Mutual of Omaha, **2:651**

Mutual Security Treaty, **2:605**
 Myanmar, **1:285, 286**

N

- NAACP. *See* National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
 Nabisco. *See* RJR Nabisco
 Nader, Ralph, **1:266; 2:500, 504**
 NAFTA. *See* North American Free Trade Agreement
 Nagle, Delbert, **1:86**
NAIC Reporter, **1:41**
 Nambikwara people, **1:285**
 NARAL. *See* National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League
 NARFENET, **1:93**
Nation at Risk, A, **2:396**
 National, **2:665, 666**
 National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, **2:526-28**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 623, 665, 667**
 National Action Committee, **2:666**
 National Air Traffic Controllers Association, **2:671, 673**
 National American Woman Suffrage Association, **2:444**
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, **2:556-59 passim, 2:578-80, 682**
 Legal Defense Fund, **2:427**
 National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, **2:526**
 National Association for the Support of Long-Term Care, **1:182**
 National Association of Audubon Societies, **1:278**
 National Association of Black Accountants, **1:21**
 National Association of Blue Shield Plans, **1:206**
 National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians, **1:372**
 National Association of Broadcasters, **1:120-21, 142-45; 2:680**
 Ad Tax Coalition member, **1:136**
 competition with NCTA, **1:146**
 exempt from paying royalties, **1:153**
 influence over FCC, **1:123**
 leading PAC, **2:638, 639**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:687, 695**
 National Association of Chain Drug Stores, **2:630, 632**
 National Association of Claimant's Compensation Attorneys, **1:80**
 National Association of Convenience Stores, **1:64, 65, 83, 89-91**
 leading PAC, **2:630, 632**
 National Association of Counties, **2:679**
 National Association of Evangelicals, **2:497**
 National Association of Federal Credit Unions, **2:648**
 National Association of Food Chains, **1:83**
 National Association of Furniture Manufacturers, **1:308**
 National Association of Home Builders, **1:296, 329-31; 2:622, 633, 635**
 National Association of Home Builders National Research Center, Inc., **1:329**
 National Association of Home Manufacturers, **1:330**
 National Association of Independent Insurers, **1:6, 39-41**
 leading PAC, **2:651**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:689**
 National Association of Insurance Agents. *See* Independent Insurance Agents of America
 National Association of Insurance Commissioners, **1:6, 15, 31, 41, 42-44, 47**
 National Association of Investment Companies. *See* Investment Company Institute
 National Association of Letter Carriers, **2:674**
 National Association of Life Underwriters, **1:6, 45-47; 2:646, 651**
 National Association of Local Fire Insurance Agents. *See* Independent Insurance Agents of America
 "National Association of Magazine Publishers." *See* Magazine Publishers of America
 National Association of Manufacturers, **1:106, 111, 294, 295, 332-33**
 opposition to labor unions, **2:353**
 U.S. Chamber of Commerce's liaison with, **1:119**
 National Association of Mortgage Brokers, **2:652**
 National Association of Mutual Insurance Agents. *See* National Association of Professional Insurance Agents
 National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, **1:12**
 "National Association of Periodical Publishers." *See* Magazine Publishers of America
 National Association of Post Office and General Service Maintenance Employees, **2:369**
 National Association of Postmasters, **2:674**
 National Association of Professional Insurance Agents, **1:49-51; 2:651**
 National Association of Psychiatric Health Systems, **2:656**
 National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters. *See* National Association of Broadcasters
 National Association of Real Estate Boards. *See* National Association of Realtors
 National Association of Real Estate Exchanges. *See* National Association of Realtors
 National Association of Realtors, **1:6, 52-54**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 646, 652**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:694**
 National Association of Reits, **2:652**
 National Association of Retail Druggists, **2:655**
 National Association of Retired Federal Employees, **1:63, 64, 66, 92-94, 98**
 leading PAC, **2:671, 674**
 National Association of Small Business Investment Companies, **2:633**
 National Association of Social Workers, **1:62-65 passim, 95-98**
 National Association of Special Delivery Messengers, **2:369**
 National Association of State Boards of Accountancy, **1:22**
 National Association of Temporary Services, **2:632**
 National Association of Wheat Growers, **1:229-30**
 National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors, **1:106, 111**
 National Association of Wool Manufacturers, **1:309**
 National Audubon Society, **1:258, 278-80**
 coalition building, **1:260**
 plumage restrictions, **1:272**
 National Automobile Dealers Association, **1:66, 99-101; 2:670**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 668**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:700**
 National Automobile Dealership Insurance Trust, **1:99**
 National Automobile Dealership Retirement Trust, **1:99**
 National Automobile Transporters Association, **1:312**
 National Ballistic Missile Defense, **2:518**
 National Bank Act, **1:50**
 National Beer Wholesalers Association, **1:62-66 passim, 1:90, 102-4; 2:630, 631**
 National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, **2:532**
 National Board of Trial Advocacy, **1:82**
 National Broiler Council. *See* National Chicken Council
 National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, **2:384**
 National Cable Television Association, **1:122, 146-49**

- National Cable Television Association (*continued*)
 leading PAC, **2:638**, 639
 lobbying expenditures, **2:687**, 695
 National Catholic War Council, **2:502**
 National Catholic Welfare Council, **2:502-3**
 National Catholic Welfare Program, **2:496**
 National Cattle and Horse Growers Association, **1:231**
National Cattlemen, **1:231**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:231-33**; **2:627**, 628
 National Center for Construction Education and Research, **1:315**
 National Center for Nutrition and Dietetics, **1:175**
 National Chamber Foundation, **1:118**
 National Chamber Litigation Center, **1:118**
 National Cheese Institute, **1:226**
 National Chicken Council, **1:234-36**; **2:628**
 National City, **2:647**
 National Civil Aviation Review Commission, **2:356-57**
 National Coal Association, **1:335**
 National Coalition for the Homeless, **2:423-28** *passim*,
 450-51, 455
 National Coming Out Day, **2:576**
 National Coming Out Project, **2:575**
 National Committee for an Effective Congress, **2:657**
 National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, **2:456**
 National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare,
2:529-31
 leading PAC, **2:622**, 623, 665, 667
 lobbying expenditures, **2:692**, 694
 National Community Action Foundation, **2:660**
 National Community Television Association. *See* National Cable
 Television Association
 National Conference of State Legislatures, **1:42**
 National Consumer Finance Association. *See* American Financial
 Services Association National Convention of Insurance
 Commissioners. *See* National Association of Insurance
 Commissioners
 National Cooperative Council, **1:240**
 National Cotton Council, **1:209**, 237-39; **2:627**
 National Council of Automobile Workers Unions, **2:410**
 National Council of Catholic Bishops, **2:502**
 National Council of Churches, **2:456**, 458
 National Council of Community Bankers, **1:12**
 National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, **1:240-41**
 National Council of Savings Institutions, **1:12**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:496-97**
 National Credit Union Administration, **1:10**, 22, 24, 25
 National Credit Union Share Insurance Fund, **1:24**
 National Dairy Food Association, **1:210**
 National defense. *See* Defense budget
 National Diabetes Month, **1:166**
 National Education Association, **2:396-98**, 674
 National Electric Light Association, **1:326**
 National Electrical Contractors Association, **2:633**, 635
 National Endowment for Democracy, **2:439**
 National Endowment of the Arts, **2:462**, 481, 482
 funding cuts, **1:122**, 128
 National Endowment for the Humanities, funding cuts, **1:122**,
 128
 National Farmers Organization, **1:209**, 242-43
 National Farmers Organization PAC, **1:243**
 National Farmers Union, **1:209**, 213, 215, 240, 242, 244-46,
 248, 276
 National Farmers Union Insurance Company, **1:244**
 National Federation of Beet Growers, **1:223**
 National Federation of Business & Professional Women's
 Clubs, **2:633**
 National Federation of Community Development Credit
 Unions, **1:25**
 National Federation of Independent Business, **1:62-66** *passim*,
 105-7, 111, 113
 leading PAC, **2:630**, 633
 lobbying expenditures, **2:685**
 opposition to labor unions, **2:353**
 PMAA compared with, **1:114-15**
 support of GOP, **1:102**
 National Federation of Independent Business Free Enterprise
 PAC, **1:108**
 National Federation of Independent Business/Save America's Free
 Enterprise Trust, **1:105**, 106, 107
 National Federation of Motor Vehicle Employees, **2:369**
 National Federation of Telephone Workers, **2:372**
 National Federation of Textiles, **1:309**
 National Flag Conference, **2:568**
 National Flood Insurance program, **1:282**
 National Football League, **2:680**
 National Foreign Trade Council, **2:685**
 National Forest Products Association, **1:304**
 National Forum Foundation, **2:438**
 National Franchise Association, **2:630**, 633
 National Funeral Directors Association, **1:63**, 64, 65, 108-10
 leading PAC, **2:630**, 632
 National Gambling Impact Study Commission, **1:70-71**
 National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, **2:556-59** *passim*, 581-82
 National Governors Association, **1:42**, 49; **2:679**
 National Grange. *See* Grange
 National Green Building Conference, **1:296**, 329
 National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, **1:51**
 National Highway Transportation Safety Administration, **2:524**
 National Home Equity Mortgage Association, **1:19**; **2:652**
 National Homeless Civil Rights Organizing project, **2:450**
 National Homeless Person's Memorial Day, **2:450**
 National Ice Cream Manufacturers, **1:226**
 National Immigration Project, **2:428**, 453
 National Independent Meat Packers Association, **1:220**
 National Industrial Council, **1:332**
 National Institutes of Health, **1:184**, 186, 195
 National Institutes of Health AIDS/HIV research, **1:179**
 National Korean-American Grocers Foundation, **1:83**
 National Labor Relations Act
 Communications Workers of America, **2:372**
 Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International
 Union, **2:376**
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, **2:385**
 overview of, **2:351**, 354
 United Automobile Workers, **2:412**
 United Food and Commercial Workers, **2:414-15**
 National Labor Relations Board
 overview of, **2:351**, 354
 Public Safety Employer-Employee Cooperation Act's affect
 on, **1:87**
 Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees,
2:408, 409
 National Lawyers Guild, **2:423-26** *passim*, 452-53
 National League of Cities, **1:147**; **2:679**
 National League of Postmasters, **2:674**
 National Legal Assistance Support Project, **2:562**
 National Library on Money and Politics, **2:479**
 National Live Stock and Meat Board/Beef Industry Council, **1:232**

- National Lumber & Building Materials Dealers, **2:633**, 634
 National Machine Builders Association, **2:662**, 664
 National Manufacturing Week Expo, **1:333**
 National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, **2:399**
 National Maritime Union, **2:399**
 National Mining Association, **1:295**, 335-36; **2:641**, 644
 National Motor Vehicle Theft Law, **1:99**
 National Multihousing Council, **2:633**, 635
National NOW Times, **2:585**
 National Oil Heat Research Alliance, **1:115**
 National Oil Jobbers Council, **1:114**
 National Organization for Women, *2:556-59 passim*, 583-85, 659
 National Park Service, **1:292**
 National Pest Control Association, **2:632**
 National Pork Producers Council, **1:249-51**; **2:628**
 National Postal Union, **2:369**
 "National Publishers Association." *See* Magazine Publishers of America
 National Radio Broadcasters Association, **1:142**
 National Ready Mixed Concrete Association, **2:633**, 634
 National Recovery Administration, **1:118**
 National Restaurant Association, **1:63**, 83, 91, 106, 111-13
 copyright lawsuits against, **1:65**
 National Restaurant Association PAC, **1:90**; **2:630**, 631
 National Rifle Association, **1:62**, 63, 103; **2:532-35**
 Center for Responsive Politics' interest in, **2:480**
 challengers & competitors, **2:681**, 682
 Lautenberg Law amendment, **1:87**
 leading PAC, **2:622**, 623, 665, 667
 National Wildlife Federation's clash with, **1:281**
 support of GOP, **1:105**
 National Rifle Association Political Victory Fund, **2:534-35**
 National Right to Life Committee, **2:536-38**, 623, 665, 667
 National Right to Life Convention, **2:536**
National Right to Life News, **2:537**
 National Right to Work Act, **2:353**
 National Right to Work Committee, **2:353**, 623, 692
 National Roofing Contractors Association, **2:633**, 635
 National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, **2:641**, 645
 National Rural Letter Carriers Association, **2:674**
 National Safety Council, **1:332**
 National Savings and Loan League, **1:12**
 National School of Banking, **1:14**
 National Securities Markets Improvement Act, **1:35**
 National Silver Party, **2:507**
 National Society for the Promotion of Occupational Therapy.
 See American Occupational Therapy Association
 National Society of Professional Engineers, **2:633**, 635
 National Soft Drink Association, **2:631**
 National Stone Association, **2:633**, 634
 National Students Association, **2:509**
 National Summit on Homelessness, **2:451**
 National Swine Growers Council, **1:249**
 National Tax Payers Union, **2:455**, 458, 498-99
 National Tax Payers Union Foundation, **2:498**, 499
 National Transportation Safety Board, **1:301**
 National Treasury Employees, **2:674**
 National Truck Carriers, **1:312**
 National Truck Driver Appreciation Week, **1:312**
 National Turkey Federation, **2:628**
 National Union of Steam Engineers. *See* International Union
 of Operating Engineers National Utility Contractors
 Association, **2:633**, 635
 National Venture Capital Association, **1:4**, 22, 55-57
 National Venture Capital Association (*continued*)
 leading PAC, **2:646**, 650
 National Volunteer Fire Council, **2:379**
 National Voter Registration Act, **2:423**, 428, 432, 445
 National Welfare Monitoring and Advocacy Partnership, **2:450**
 National Welfare Rights Organization, **2:424**, 430
National Wildlife, **1:281**, 283
 National Wildlife Federation, **1:258**, 272, 281-83
 National Wildlife Refuge system, **1:278**
 National Wildlife Week, **1:281**
 National Woman Suffrage Association, **2:444**
Nations in Transition, **2:427**, 439
 NationsBank, **2:428**, 432, 623, 646, 647
 Nationwide Permit program, **1:282**
 Native Americans
 American Indian Movement, **2:556-59 passim**, 564-66
 discrimination against, **1:115**
 gambling, **1:72**
 Legal Services Corporation interest in, **2:447**
 Tax Treatment of Native Americans, **1:115**
 NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 Natural disasters, **1:30**, 31, 40
 Navy Scabies, **2:390**
 NBC, **2:372**, 680
NCC Washington Report, The, **1:234**
 NCR, **2:639**
 NEAPAC, **2:398**
 Needle exchange programs, **1:179**
 Neeld, John, **1:204**
 Neiman Marcus, **2:540**
 Neo Nazis, **2:423**, 434
 Neotropical Migratory Bird Habitat Enhancement, **1:279**
 Neptune Orient Lines, **2:704**
 Netanyahu, Benjamin, **2:601**
 Nevada, Yucca Mountain, **1:339**; **2:386**
New American, The, **2:494**, 495
 New Deal, **1:213**, 215, 231, 237, 244; **2:472**
 New Deal agencies, National Recovery Administration, **1:118**
 New Democratic Network, **2:657**
 New England Anti-Slavery Society, **2:506**
 New Jersey, Wildwood, **1:285**
 New Orleans, hotel industry, **2:376**
 New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, **2:496**
 New Unionism, **2:396**
 New York
 birth control laws, **2:542**
 Congress of Racial Equality fundraising, **2:569**
 Stonewall Riots, **2:558**
 New York Life Insurance, **1:17**; **2:651**, 689
 New York Society of Anesthetists. *See* American Society of
 Anesthesiologists
 New York Stock Exchange, **2:650**
New York Times
 Christian Coalition advertisements, **2:481**
 Sierra Club advertisements, **1:288**
New York Times v. United States, **1:151**
 Newkirk, Ingrid, **2:540**
 Newmont Mining, **2:512**
 Newport News Shipbuilding, **2:636**
 NEWS, **2:677**
 News America Publishing, **2:640**
 News industry. *See* Media industry
 Newspaper Advertising Bureau, **1:150**
 Newspaper Advertising Co-op Network, **1:150**

- Newspaper Association of America, **1:122**, 136, 150-52
 Newspaper Guild, **2:372**
 Newspaper Preservation Act, **1:150**
 Newspaper Research Council, **1:150**
Next 200 Years, The, **2:492**
 "Next Agenda, The," **2:493**
 Ney, Bob, **1:87**
NGO News: A Regional Newsletter for Non-Governmental Organizations, **2:439**
 Niagara Falls, **1:270**
 Nicaragua, **2:452**, 491
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, **2:466**
 Nigeria, **2:570**, 609-10
 Nigerian Democracy and Civil Society Empowerment Act, **2:610**
 Nineteenth Amendment, **2:423**, 444, 508
 Nixon, Richard, **2:447**, 510
 American Conservative Union's support of, **2:460**
 NFO on enemy list of, **1:242**
 pardoning of Hoffa, **2:387**
 No Electronic Theft Act, **1:130-31**
 No Ifs, Ands or Butts: Tobacco's Not For Kids, **1:90-91**
 "Nonmember" interest groups, **2:456**
 Nonpartisan League, **1:244**
 Nonprint trade associations, **1:122**
 Nonprofit institutions, lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
 Norfolk Southern, **2:668**, 670
 Norquist, Grover, **2:469**, 470
 North, Oliver, **2:594**
 North American Free Trade Agreement, **2:623**
 AFL-CIO, **2:351**, 361, 362
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:16**
 American Sugarbeet Growers Association, **1:223-24**
 American Textile Manufacturers Institute, **1:310**
 American Trucking Associations, **1:313**
 Business Roundtable, **1:319**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:488**
 Heritage Foundation, **2:490-91**
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters, **2:389**
 manufacturing interest groups, **1:295**
 Mexico and, **2:606-7**, 608
 National Association of Independent Insurers, **1:40**
 National Association of Manufacturers, **1:332-33**
 Public Citizen, **2:501**
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:415**
 United Steelworkers of America, **2:418**
 North American Log Homes Council, **1:330**
 North American Securities Administrators Association, **1:42**
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, **2:587**, 589
 Cato Institute, **2:476**
 Council for a Livable World, **2:520**
 European Union, **2:598**
 Freedom House, **2:438**
 Human Rights Watch, **2:442**
 John Birch Society, **2:495**
 Russia's opposition to, **2:612**
 Turkey and, **2:616**
 North Korea, **2:605**
 Northeast Dairy Compact, **1:226**
 Northern Mariana Islands, Commonwealth of, **2:688**, 704
 Northern Telecom, **2:640**
 Northrop Grumman, **1:298**; **2:623**, 636, 694
 Northwest Airlines, **1:300**; **2:356**, 357, 703
 leading PAC, **2:668**, 669
 lobbying expenditures, **2:700**
 Northwest Airlines (*continued*)
 soft money donations, **2:676**
 Northwestern Mutual Life, **2:651**
 Northwestern University, **2:703**
 Norway, **2:680**
 Norwest Venture Capital, **1:55**; **2:647**
 Norwood, Charles, **1:65**
Not Man Apart, **1:266**
 Novartis, **2:656**, 677
 Noyce, Robert, **1:346**
 Nuclear Energy Institute, **1:295**, 296, 338-39; **2:645**
 Nuclear Freeze Movement, **2:510-11**
 Nuclear Management and Resources Council, **1:338**
 Nuclear power industry
 cleanup funds, **1:327**
 Council for a Livable World, **2:518-20**
 Friends of the Earth, **1:266**
 leading PACs, **2:645**
 Nuclear Energy Institute, **1:295**, 296, 338-39; **2:645**
 Nuclear Freeze Movement, **2:510-11**
 Nuclear Management and Resources Council, **1:338**
 Public Citizen, **2:501**
 safety issues, **2:386**
 Union of Concerned Scientists, **2:546**
 waste storage, **1:339**
 Nuclear power plants, Diablo Canyon, **1:288**
 Nuclear Regulatory Commission, **1:266**, 338; **2:546**
 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, **2:519**
 Nuclear testing, **1:260**; **2:269**, 503
 Nuclear Testing Moratorium, **2:519**
 Nuclear weapons
 American Conservative Union, **2:462**
 North Korea, **2:605**
 Russia, **2:612**
 See also Arms control; Arms sales
 Nunn, Sam, **2:519**
 Nuppono Dunes, **1:288**
 Nuremberg Trials, **2:425**, 452
 Nurses
 American Association of Nurse Anesthetists, **2:653**, 655, 688
 American Nurses Association, **1:162**, 193-95; **2:653**, 655
 as anesthetists, **1:203**
 Nursing home industry
 American Healthcare Association, **1:163**, 181-83
 leading PACs, **2:656**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 Nutrition
 American Dietetic Association, **1:162-63**, 175-77; **2:653**, 655
 American Heart Association, **1:184**, 185
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:231**, 233
 National Center for Nutrition and Dietetics, **1:175**
 Nutrition InfoCenter, **1:175**
 Nutritional education, United Egg Association, **1:254**
 NWP 26, **1:282**
-
- O**
-
- Obasanjo, Olusegun, **2:610**
 Occidental Petroleum, **2:641**, 643
 Occupational hazards, **1:194**
 Occupational Safety and Health Administration, **2:624**
 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal
 Employees, **2:365**
 American Meat Institute, **1:221**

- Occupational Safety and Health Administration (*continued*)
 American Postal Workers Union, **2:371**
 Associated Builders and Contractors, **1:315, 316**
 Chemical Manufacturers Association, **1:322**
 construction industry, **1:296**
 International Association of Fire Fighters, **2:379-80**
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, **2:382-83**
 Laborers International Union of North America, **2:395**
 manufacturing industry, **1:295**
 National Association of Furniture Manufacturers, **1:308**
 National Association of Manufacturers, **1:333**
 National Beer Wholesalers Association, **1:104**
 National Restaurant Association, **1:113**
 Petroleum Marketers Association of America, **1:115**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:344**
 United Automobile Workers, **2:412**
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:415**
- Occupational therapy
 American Occupational Therapy Association. *See* American Occupational Therapy Association
 Occupational Therapy Association, **1:182**
- Occupational Therapy Association, **1:182**
- Ocean Shipping Reform Act, **1:304**
- Oceanic Society, **1:266**
- Offe, Claus, **2:555**
- Office & Professional Employees, **2:675**
- Office of International Justice and Peace, **2:502**
- Office of Surface Mining, **1:336**
- Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, **1:5, 8, 43**
 ABA on advisory committees of, **1:10**
 insurance regulation, **1:15, 42, 45, 49-50**
- Office of the U.S. Trade Representative
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:16**
 American Meat Institute, **1:221**
 Center for Public Integrity, **2:477**
 National Association of Furniture Manufacturers, **1:308**
 National Association of Insurance Commissioners, **1:43**
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:232**
- Office of Thrift Supervision, **1:10, 14, 43**
- Ogilvie, Donald G., **1:10**
- Ogilvy and Mather Public Affairs, **2:679**
- Oglala, **2:565**
- Ohio Association of Mortgage Brokers, **2:652**
- Ohio Valley Coal, **2:644**
- Oil, Chemical, & Atomic Workers, **2:672**
- Oil Field Haulers Association, **1:312**
- Oil industry. *See* Petroleum industry
- Oil pollution, **1:260**
- Oil spills, **1:256, 257**
- Old-growth lumber. *See* Logging, old-growth
- Olive Garden, The, **1:111**
- Oliver, Wilbert Jean, **1:108**
- O'Melveny & Myers, **2:661**
- Omnibus Anti-Drug Abuse Act, **2:524**
- Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, **1:104**
- On Thermonuclear War*, **2:492**
- Online databases, protection of. *See* Electronic data, privacy concerns
- Online service providers. *See* Internet, service providers
- Open Secrets: The Encyclopedia of Congressional Money and Politics*, **2:479**
- Open Secrets projects, **2:479**
- Operating Engineers Local 12, **2:674**
- Operation Desert Shield. *See* Gulf War
- Operation Just Cause, **2:567**
- Operation Provide Comfort, **2:617**
- Operation Respond, **2:380**
- Operations Review*, **1:84**
- Ophthalmologists, AAOP's definition of, **1:164-65**
- Ophthalmology, American Academy of Ophthalmology, **1:162, 164-66; 2:653, 655**
- Opticians, AAOP's definition of, **1:165**
- Optometrists
 AAOP's concern over, **1:164-65**
 American Optometric Association, **1:162; 2:653**
- Oracle, **2:686**
- Orange County, California, **2:688**
- Order of Patron of Husbandry, The. *See* Grange
- Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen, **2:419**
- Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, **2:419**
- Oregon, Snake River, **1:282**
- Organic Food Production Act, **1:252**
- Organic Food Production Association of North America. *See* Organic Trade Association
- Organic Standards Board, **1:252**
- Organic Trade Association, **1:252-53**
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, **2:612**
- Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, **1:44**
- Organized crime, **2:387**
- O'Rourke, P.J., **2:438**
- Osborn, Fairfield, **1:256**
- Osh Kosh B'Gosh, **2:413**
- OSHA. *See* Occupational Safety and Health Administration
- Osnos, Susan, **2:441**
- Oswald, Lee Harvey, **2:533**
- Other America, The*, **2:423, 425, 447**
- Otolaryngology, **1:164**
- Ottawa Treaty. *See* Landmine abolition
- Out and Voting: The Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Vote in Congressional Elections 1990-96*, **2:581-82**
- Outback Steakhouse, **2:630, 631**
- Outdoor Advertising Association of America, **2:630, 632**
- Outdoor America*, **1:272, 273**
- Outdoor Channel, **1:293**
- Outdoor Ethics program, **1:274**
- Outdoor recreation
 Blue Ribbon Coalition, **1:291**
 Izaak Walton League, **1:272**
 Sierra Club, **1:289**
- Outdoor Recreation conference, **1:272**
- Outrage!, **2:556**
- Outvote, **2:559**
- OutVote Convention, **2:576**
- Overseas Private Insurance Corporation, **2:592**
- Owens Corning, **2:633, 634**
- Ozal, Turgut, **2:616**

P

- PACCAR, **2:670**
- Pacheco, Alex, **2:539**
- Pacific Gas and Electric, **1:288**
- Pacific Lumber & Shipping, **2:703**
- Paine Webber, **1:35; 2:680**
- Painters & Allied Trades, **2:674**
- Palestinian National Authority, **2:601**
- Palmer, Daniel David, **1:169**

- Palmer Method, **1:169**
 Palmer Raids, **2:433**
 Pan Am, **2:404**
 Panama, **2:567**
 Panama Canal, **2:390, 495**
 Panara people, **1:285**
 Paper industry
 American Forest and Paper Association, **1:295, 304-5; 2:629**
 Environmental Defense Fund and, **1:263**
 leading PACs, **2:629**
 Paper Recycling Awards, **1:305**
 Paper Task Force, **1:263**
 Paperboard, Paper, and Pulp, **1:304**
Paramount case, **1:139**
 Parents Music Resource Center, **1:154**
 Parsons, **2:635**
 Parsons Brinckerhoff, **2:633, 635**
 "Partial Birth" Abortion Ban, **2:527**
 Partnership for Drug-Free America, **1:78**
 Partnership for Regulatory Innovation and Sustainable Manufacturing, **1:263**
 Passengers, airline, **2:357**
 Air Transport Association, **1:301**
 passenger rights bill, **1:302**
 Patient privacy, medical record, **1:188, 200-201, 206-7; 405**
 Patient rights, decline of, **1:160**
 Patient Safety Bill, **1:194**
 Patient's Bill of Rights
 American Hospital Association, **1:187—88**
 American Medical Association, **1:190, 191**
 American Nurses Association, **1:194**
 American Psychiatric Association, **1:200**
 Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association, **1:206**
 Business Roundtable, **1:319**
 National Association of Retired Federal Employees, **1:63, 93, 94**
 National Association of Social Workers, **1:63**
 National Restaurant Association, **1:113**
 Service Employees International Union, **2:402**
 Transport Workers Union of America, **2:405**
 Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees, **2:408**
 Patients' Cure, **1:168**
 Patitz, Tatjana, **2:539**
 Patton, James, **1:244**
 Patton Boggs LLP, **2:701, 703**
 Paul Magilochetti Association, **2:661**
 "Paycheck deception" acts, **2:364**
 "Paycheck protection" acts, **2:409, 470-71**
 Peabody Coal, **2:644**
 PeacePAC, **2:519**
 Pearl Harbor, **2:509**
 Pell Grants, **1:127**
 Peltier, Leonard, **2:497, 565**
 Pennsylvania Food Merchants Association, **1:83**
 Pennzoil, **2:539**
 Pension legislation
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:15**
 International Association of Fire Fighters, **2:378**
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, **2:386**
 Investment Company Institute, **1:33, 34**
 National Association of Retired Federal Employees, **1:92**
 Securities Industry Association, **1:58**
 Pension legislation (*continued*)
 Transport Workers Union of America, **1:405**
 See also Retirement policy
 Pentagon Papers case, **1:151**
 People for the American Way, **2:657**
 People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, **2:539-41**
 People of the Earth, **1:284**
 People's Party, **1:244**
 Pepperdine University Law School, **1:126**
 Pepsico, **2:627**
 Percy, Ethel, **2:561**
 Perdue, **2:413**
 Perfluorocompounds, **1:347**
 Perot, Ross, **2:550**
 Persian Gulf War. *See* Gulf War
 Peru, Shell Oil gas project, **1:285**
 Pesticides, **1:211, 273; 2:682**
 DOT, **1:257, 262, 279**
 insecticides, **1:238**
 PETA. *See* People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals
 Petroleum industry
 leading PACs, **2:643**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:690, 697**
 Nigeria, **2:609-10**
 See also Gasoline
 See also under Specific group
 Petroleum Marketers Association, **1:63-66 passim, 1:114-16**
 leading PAC, **2:641, 643**
 Petroleum Marketers Association Small Businessmen's Committee, **1:90, 114**
 Pew Charitable Trusts, **1:263; 2:439-40, 480, 493, 505**
 Pfizer, Inc., **2:491**
 leading PAC, **2:653, 656**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:691, 694**
 soft money donations, **2:676**
 PG&E, **2:641, 699**
 Pharmaceutical industry
 AIDS/HIV, **1:179**
 clot-busting drugs, **1:184**
 Food Marketing Institute and, **1:84**
 leading PACs, **2:656**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:691, 697**
 Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, **1:295, 341-42**
 psycho-pharmaceuticals, **1:199-200**
 Public Citizen, **2:501**
 warning labels, **2:501**
 See also Prescription drugs
 Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, **2:691**
 Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, **1:295, 341-42**
 Phelps Dodge, **2:644**
 Philadelphia Bridges, **1:285**
 Philip Morris, **1:212; 2:681, 703**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 627, 629**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:693, 694**
 soft money donations, **2:676**
 Phillips Electronics North America, **2:639**
 Phillips, Wendell, **2:506**
 Phillips Petroleum, **2:643**
 Phillips Publishing International, **2:640**
 Phillips-Van Heusen, **2:441**
 Phonograms, **1:153**

- Photorefractive keratectomy, **1:165**
 Physician unionization, **1:161, 188, 190, 206, 207**
 PIAPAC, **1:51**
 Pickle Family Circus, **2:540**
 Pilots, **1:302**
 Aircraft Owners & Pilots Association, **2:668, 669, 700**
 Airline Pilots Association, **2:356-58, 622, 671, 673**
 Allied Pilots Association, **2:673**
 Pinchot, Gifford, **1:291**
 Pinochet, Augusto, **2:442**
 Piracy. *See* Copyright
 Pitney Bowes, **2:704**
 Pizza Hut Franchisees Association, **2:631**
 PL. 480. *See* Food-aid programs
Planet, The, **1:289**
 Planned Parenthood, **2:497, 665, 667**
 Planned Parenthood Action Fund, **2:544**
 Planned Parenthood Federation of America, **2:542-44**
Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri v. Danforth, **2:543**
Planned Parenthood of Kansas City v. Ashcroft, **2:543**
Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey, **2:543**
Playboy, **1:136**
 Ploughshares Fund, **2:488**
 Plum Creek Timber Co., **1:304**
 Plumbers and Pipefitters, **2:671, 674**
 Podesta.Com, **2:701**
 "Poison pill" amendment, **2:394**
 Polar Air Cargo, **1:300**
 Police
 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, **2:365**
 brutality, **2:565**
 Fighting Police Abuse: A Community Action Manual, **2:434**
 Fraternal Order of Police, **1:62, 64, 86-88**
 Policy, Hudson Institute, **2:492-93**
Policy Briefs, **2:472, 473**
Policy Review, **2:490**
 Polish Solidarity movement, **2:438**
 Political action committees
 criticisms & reforms, **2:625**
 influence of, **2:624-25**
 number & types of, **2:621-22**
 overview of, **2:621**
 strategies & finance, **2:622-24**
 See also under Specific group
 Political interest groups, overview of, **2:454-59**
 PolyGram, **1:153**
 Population
 Zero Population Growth, **2:553-54**
 See also Family planning
Population Bomb, The, **2:553**
 Population Education Network, **2:553**
 Population Union, **2:542**
 Populist Party, **1:244; 2:507**
 Pork industry. *See* Meat industry
 Pork Industry Congressional Caucus, **1:249**
 Postal Rate Commission, **1:136, 151**
 Postal rates
 Association of American Publishers, **1:130, 131**
 Magazine Publishers of America, **1:135-36**
 Newspaper Association of America, **1:150, 151**
 print media industry's interest in, **1:122**
 See also United States Postal Service
 Postal Reform Act, **2:370**
 Postal Reorganization Act, **2:369**
 Postal Service. *See* United States Postal Service
 Postal workers, American Postal Workers Union, **2:369-71**
 Poultry industry
 leading PACs, **2:628**
 National Chicken Council, **1:234-36; 2:628**
 See also Meat industry
 Pound, Roscoe, **1:81**
 Poverty
 National Association of Social Workers, **1:95**
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union and, **2:413**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:502**
 Powell, Goldstein et al., **2:661**
 Power plants, public education of, **1:274**
 PPOs. *See* Preferred provider organizations
 Pratt, Larry, **2:477**
 "Prayer amendment," **2:514, 515**
 Precision Machined Products Association, **2:664**
 Precision Metalforming Association, **2:664**
 Preferred provider organizations, **1:161**
 Premises liability, **1:82**
 Prescription drugs
 advertising, **1:136**
 insurance for, **1:207, 341; 2:530**
 "Preserving the American Dream: NAHB Agenda for 1999," **1:330**
 Presidential debates, **2:445**
 President's Council of Petroleum Marketers Association, **1:114**
 President's Council on Small Manufacturers Action Committee, **1:333**
 Preston, Gates et al., **2:661, 701, 704**
 Price controls, **1:245**
 PricewaterhouseCoopers, **1:57; 2:646, 652, 701**
 Prime-Time Access rule, **1:139, 140**
 Principal Financial Group, **1:17**
 PRINT-PAC, **1:344**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:295, 343-45; 2:638, 640**
 Printing industry
 leading PACs, **2:640**
 postal rates, **1:122**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:295, 343-45; 2:638, 640**
 Prison conditions, **2:441**
 Prison Law project, **2:452, 453**
 Prisoner rights, **2:365, 452, 453**
 Privacy
 American Civil Liberties Union, **2:434**
 customer. *See* Customer privacy
 electronic. *See* Electronic data, privacy concerns
 medical. *See* Medical records, privacy issues
 Private pension policy, **1:15**
 Private Securities Litigation Reform Act, **1:22**
 Proctor & Gamble Co., **1:304; 2:540, 662, 663, 680**
 Product liability, **1:81, 82**
 Product safety, **2:458**
 Product Seller Fair Treatment Law, **1:91**
 Production Code Administration, **1:138**
Professional Agent, **1:51**
 Professional associations
 lobbying expenditures, **2:688**
 overview of, **1:62-66**
 See also under Specific association
 Professional Security Officers Association, **2:399**
 Professionals in Advertising, **1:78; 2:632**
 Programs of National Significance: Elementary School Counseling Demonstration Program (Title X), **1:96-97**

Progress and Freedom Foundation, **1:64**, 327
 Prohibition, **1:63**
 Prohibition Party, **2:508**
 "Project Exile," **2:533**
 Project Independence, **2:559**, 570
 Project labor agreements, **1:316**
 Project Learning Tree, **1:305**
 Project Vote, **2:432**
 Promus Hotel, **2:632**
 Property rights, **1:259**
 Cato Institute, **2:476**
 Environmental Defense Fund, **1:263**
 farmer, **1:248**, 331
 National Cattlemen's Beef Association, **1:231**
 National Wildlife Federation, **1:282**
 wise use movement, **1:293**
 Yosemite National Park, **1:291**
 Proposition 13, **2:510**, 529
 Protecting Children from the Culture of Violence, **1:90**
 Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State. *See* Americans United for the Separation of Church and State
 Protests. *See* Demonstrations
Protocols of the Elders of Zion, The, **2:424**, 435
 Prudential Insurance, **1:4**, 15; **2:413**, 563, 651, 689
 Prudential Securities, **1:61**; **2:684**
 Psychiatrists, American Psychiatric Association, **1:162**, 199-201
 Psycho-pharmaceuticals, **1:199-200**
 Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, **2:688**
 Public advocacy groups, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, **1:123**, 133-34
 Public Broadcasting Act, **1:143**
 Public broadcasting systems, funding cuts, **1:122**
 Public Broadcasting Trust Fund, **1:143**
 Public Citizen, **1:313**; **2:455-59** *passim*, 500-501
 Public Citizen Foundation, **2:500**
Public Citizen News, **2:500**
 Public Employees Organized to Promote Legislative Equality, **2:363**, 365
 Public Health and Welfare Committee, **2:682**
 Public Health Smoking Act, **1:78**
Public i, The, **2:477**
 Public Interest Research Group, **1:265**
 Public lands. *See* Land management & development
 Public Law 149, **2:532**
Public Opinion, **2:464**
 Public Safety Employer-Employee Cooperation Act, **1:87**
 Public School Excellence Act, **2:405**
 Public schools. *See* Schools
 Public-sector unions, **2:354**, 674
 Public Service Electric & Gas, **2:645**
 Public television, corporate takeover of, **1:133**
 Public transportation
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:488**
 United Transportation Union, **2:420**
 Public Utility Holding Company Act, **1:326-27**
 Publishing industry
 American Newspaper Publishing Association, **1:150-51**
 Association of American Publishers, **1:130-32**
 leading PACs, **2:640**
 Magazine Publishers of America, **1:135-37**, 153-54
 News America Publishing, **2:640**
 Software Publisher's Association, **1:157**, 158
 Puerto Rico, **2:548**, 688

Puerto Rico Economic Development Administration, **2:703**
 Puerto Rico Industrial Development, **2:703**
 Puget Sound Energy, **2:699**

Q

Quarterly Economic Forecast, **1:307**
 Quayle, Dan, **2:492**, 622
 Quill, Michael, **2:404**

R

R. J. Reynolds, **1:114**
 See also RJR Nabisco
 R Duffy Wall & Associates, **2:661**
 Rabin, Yitzhak, **2:601**
 Racism. *See* Discriminatory practices
 Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization, **2:387**
 Radio broadcasting industry
 commercialization, **1:142**
 increase in FM stations, **1:153**
 National Association of Broadcasters. *See* National Association of Broadcasters
 Radio Marti, **2:595**
 Railroads & railroad legislation
 Grange, **1:247**
 leading PACs, **2:670**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 Transport Workers Union of America, **2:404**, 406
 United Transportation Union, **2:420**
 Railway Labor Act, **2:356**
 Rainbow Coalition, **2:431**
Rainbow Warrior, **1:260**, 270
 Rainforest Action Groups, **1:284-85**
 Rainforest Action Network, **1:258**, 284-86
Ranger Rick, **1:283**
 Rapid transit, **2:420**
 Rathke, Wade, **2:424**, 430
 Ratings Board, **1:140**
 Ratings system, **1:139**, 140
 Ray of Light, **2:576**
 Raytheon Company, **1:298**; **2:636**
 RCA, **1:384**
 Read Across America, **1:396**
 Reading Excellence Act, **1:131**
 Reading promotion & programs, **1:131**, 151
 Reagan, Ronald, **1:103**, 218, 318
 American Conservative Union, **2:461**
 and antienvironmental movement, **1:257**, 258
 arms race, **2:510-11**
 conservatism and, **2:455**
 firing of air traffic controllers, **2:351**
 as governor, **2:510**
 "Reagan Ranches," **2:428**, 431
Real Estate Finance Today, **1:38**
 Real estate industry
 leading PACs, **2:646**, 652
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 overview of, **1:3-7**
 See also under Specific group
 Real estate settlement procedures, **1:13**
 Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act
 American Financial Services Association, **1:18**

- Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act (*continued*)
 described, **1:37**
 Mortgage Bankers Association of America, **1:37**
 National Association of Realtors, **1:52**
- Reardon, Thomas R., **1:191**
- Recommended Dietary Allowances, **1:177**
- Record Industry Association of America. *See* Recording Industry Association of America
- Record Rental Amendment, **1:153**
- Recording devices, **1:154**
- Recording Industry Association of America, **1:153-56; 2:687**
- Recordings, Gold & Platinum awards, **1:154**
- Recreation, leading PACs, **2:632**
See also Outdoor recreation
- Recycle America's Land Act, **1:53**
- Recycling
 American Forest and Paper Association, **1:305**
 Distilled Spirits Council of the United States, **1:324**
 Food Marketing Institute, **2:84**
 National Beer Wholesalers Association, **1:104**
 National Wildlife Federation, **1:282**
 programs, **1:257**
 Recycle America's Land Act, **1:53**
- Red baiting, **2:366**
- Red Cross, **1:75**
- Redwood National Park, **1:291**
- Reed, Ralph, **2:469, 481**
- Reeve Aleutian Airways, **1:300**
- Refugees, **2:496, 601**
- Regional and Distribution Carriers Conference, **1:312**
- Regular Common Carrier Conference, **1:312**
- Regulation*, **2:464, 475**
- Regulatory Action Alerts*, **1:221**
- Regulatory reform
 Business Roundtable, **1:319**
 Chemical Manufacturers Association, **1:321**
- Regulatory relief, **1:5**
 America's Community Bankers, **1:13**
 Credit Union National Association, **1:25**
 Independent Community Bankers of America, **1:27**
- Regulatory Right-to-Know Act, **1:319, 322**
- Rehr, David, **1:103, 104**
- Reich, Robert, **2:487**
- Reid, Harry, **2:577**
- Reid & Priest, **2:661**
- Reiner, Rob, **2:540**
- Religious interest groups
 overview of, **2:454-59**
See also under Specific group
- Religious liberty, **2:439**
- Religious Rights Watch*, **2:481**
- Remington, Charles, **2:553**
- Republican/Conservative
 leading PACs, **2:623, 658**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
- Republican Farm Bureau, **1:245**
- Republican Leadership Council, **2:658**
- Republican National Coalition for Life, **2:665, 667**
- Republican National Committee donations, **2:471**
- Republican Party
 business & trade associations and, **1:295**
 position on environmental regulations, **1:258**
- Research
 American Enterprise Institute, **2:463-64**
- Research (*continued*)
 Brookings Institution, **2:472-74**
 Center for Responsive Politics, **2:479-80**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:487-89**
 Hudson Institute, **2:492-93**
Resource Guide to Coming Out, **2:575**
Response and Analysis: Teaching Literature in Junior and Senior High Schools, **2:493**
Restoring Broadly Shared Prosperity, **2:487**
 Restoring the American Dream, **2:658**
- Retail
 leading PACs, **2:632**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
 National Association of Convenience Stores, **1:89-91**
 pricing laws, **1:83**
 Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union of Canada, **2:416-17**
 Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, **2:414**
 Retail Clerks International Union, **2:413**
 Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union of Canada, **2:416-17**
 Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, **2:414**
 Retail Clerks International Union, **2:413**
 Retirement Accessibility, Security, and Portability Act, **2:405**
Retirement Life, **1:92, 93**
- Retirement policy
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:15, 16, 17**
 Employee Retirement Income Security Act, **1:84**
 Food Marketing Institute, **1:84**
 Investment Company Institute, **1:33, 34**
 National Automobile Dealership Retirement Trust, **1:99**
 Securities Industry Association, **1:58**
 Transport Workers Union of America, **2:405**
See also American Association of Retired Persons; Medicaid; Medicare; National Association of Retired Federal Employees; Social Security
- Reuther, Walter, **2:411**
- Review of the News*, **2:495**
- Revlon, **2:539**
- Ribicoff, Abraham, **2:467**
- Rich, Howard, **2:550**
- Right-to-know, **2:501**
 Chemical Manufacturers Association, **2:321-22**
 Emergency Planning and Community Right-to-Know Act, **2:295**
 Regulatory Right-to-Know Act, **2:319, 322**
- Right to Organize campaign, **2:354**
- Right to Work, **2:353, 414, 667**
- Rights Of . . .* (series), **2:427, 434**
- Ringen, But Knut, **1:316**
- Rite Aid, **2:632**
- Riverwood International Corp., **1:304**
- RJR Nabisco, **2:627, 629, 676, 693, 695, 703**
- Road systems, **1:304**
 funding cuts, **2:624**
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, **2:383**
 Laborers' International Union of North America, **2:395**
 opposition to northern Brazil's, **1:285**
 rural, **1:248**
See also Highway safety legislation
- "Road to Victory," **2:481**
- Road Warrior award, **1:267**
- Robert Brookings Graduate School, **2:472**

Robert Welch University, **2:494**
 Robert Welch University Press, **2:494**
 Roberts, Pat, **1:212**
 Robertson, Pat, **2:455, 481, 537-38**
 "Rock against Fur," **2:540**
 Rockefeller, Jay, **2:529**
 Rockefeller, Nelson, **2:526**
 Rockefeller Family Fund, **2:505**
 Rockefeller Foundation, **2:473, 488**
 Rockwell International, **2:384, 636**
 Rodale Institute, **1:252**
 Rodale Press, **1:252**
Roe v. Wade, **2:433, 526, 536, 543, 583**
Roll Call **2:483**
 Roman Catholic Church, **2:455**
 Romer, Roy, **2:576**
Romer v. Evans, **2:433**
 Ronald Reagan Legacy Project campaigns, **2:469**
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, **2:424, 438, 466**
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., **1:68, 312, 326; 2:381, 472, 509**
 memorial building, **2:529**
 National Wildlife Week, **1:281**
 Roosevelt, James, **2:529**
 Roosevelt, Theodore, **1:287**
 Root Cause Analysis Pilot Project, **1:321**
 Roscoe Pound Foundation, **1:82**
 Rosen, Hilary, **1:154**
 Roth, Kenneth, **1:441**
 RR Donnelley & Sons, **2:640**
 RU-486, **2:527, 528, 544, 554**
 Rubin, Robert, **1:60**
 Ruebhausen, Oscar, **2:492**
 Ruma, Charles, **1:329, 330, 331**
 Rural areas
 Grange and, **1:248**
 post office facilities, **2:371**
 Rural housing mortgage loans, **1:27**
 Rush-Presbyterian-St. Lukes Medical Center, **2:703**
 Rusher, William, **2:460**
 Russia, **2:611-13**
 relations with Cuba, **2:594**
 steel imports from, **2:417**
 Russian Revolution, **2:611**
 Rwanda, **2:438, 442**
 Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act,
 2:575-76
 Ryder System, **2:670**

S

Sabo, Albert, **1:88**
 Sabre Group, **2:632**
 Safari Club International, **2:665, 667**
 "SAFE Act," **2:412**
 Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities (Title IV), **1:96-97**
 Safe Schools Act, **2:405**
 SAFE Trust, **1:105, 106, 107**
 SAFECO, **1:39**
 Safeguarding Our Last Link, **1:84**
 Safety belts, **1:100, 168**
Safety Network, **2:450**
 Safeway, **1:83; 2:413**

Sailors Union of the Pacific, **2:399**
 Saks Fifth Avenue, **2:540**
Sales Planning Guide, **1:307**
 Sallie Mae, **2:649**
 Salmonella, **1:221, 235**
 Salomon Brothers, **2:650**
 Salomon Smith Barney, **2:650**
 SALT I & II, **2:519**
 "Salting," **2:409**
 San Diego County, California, **2:688**
 Sanders, Bernard, **1:341**
 Sanders, WJ. Ill, **1:346**
 Sanger, Margaret, **2:542**
 Sarah Scaife Foundation, **2:440, 457, 464, 476, 491, 493, 499**
 Sarasin, Ronald A., **1:102**
 Saro-Wiwa, Ken, **2:609**
 Satellite dishes, home, **1:147**
 Saunders, William, **1:247**
 Save Our Streams, **1:273**
 "Save the City" campaign, **2:430**
 Savimbi, Jonas, **2:594**
Saving the Planet with Pesticides and Plastic, **2:493**
 Savings and Community Bankers of America. *See* America's
 Community Bankers
 Savings and loan institutions
 leading PACs, **2:648**
 scandals, **1:12, 14**
 Savings Banks Association of New York State, **2:648**
 SBC Communications, **2:638, 639, 677, 695, 699, 703**
 Scaife, Richard Mellon, **1:126**
 Scarborough, Joseph, **1:104**
 Scarborough, Bill, **1:104**
 Schering-Plough, **2:656, 691**
 Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., **2:466**
 Schloss Family Foundation, **2:440**
 School of Mortgage Banking, **1:38**
 School vouchers
 American Conservative Union, **2:461**
 American Enterprise Institute, **2:464**
 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal
 Employees, **2:365**
 American Federation of Teachers, **2:367-68**
 Americans United for the Separation of Church and State,
 2:514-15
 Anti-Defamation League, **2:436**
 Christian Coalition, **2:482**
 League of Women Voters of the United States, **2:445**
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored
 People, **2:579**
 National Association of Social Workers, **1:96**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 National Education Association, **2:398**
 United Automobile Workers, **2:412**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:503**
 Schools
 charter, **2:397**
 Christian, **2:455-56**
 class-size reduction, **2:396**
 conservation programs, **1:273**
 construction jobs, **2:394, 397**
 lunch programs, **1:211; 2:430**
 prayer in, **2:482, 514, 515**
 rural, **1:248**
 safety, **2:397, 405**

Schools (*continued*)

- separation of church & state, **2:513-15**
- student & teacher testing, **2:368**
- technology in, **2:397**
- See also* School vouchers; Teachers
- Schosberg, Paul, **1:14**
- Schroeder, Patricia, **1:131**
- Schumer, Charles, **2:577**
- Schwarzkopf, Norman, **2:517**
- Science Applications International, **2:636**
- Scientific research funding, **1:57**
- Scientists Action Network, **2:545**
- Scopes, John T., **2:433**
- Scorecards
 - American Conservative Union, **2:458**
 - Americans for Democratic Action, **2:466**
 - Christian Coalition, **2:481**
 - Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:483**
 - Heritage Foundation, **2:490**
 - National Tax Payers Union, **2:498**
 - U.S. Public Interest Research Group, **2:504**
- Scorsese, Martin, **2:540**
- Scott, Hugh, **2:479**
- Scott Paper Company, **1:304**
- "Scrap the Code Tour," **2:484**
- Scudder Kemper Investments, **1:35**
- Sea-Land Service, **2:668, 670**
- Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, **1:270**
- Sea transport
 - leading PAC, **2:670**
 - lobbying expenditures, **2:698**
- Seafarers Commercial Fishermen's Association, **2:399**
- Seafarers International Union of North America, **2:399-400, 671, 673**
- Seafarers Political Action Donation Department, **2:400**
- Seafarers Union of the Pacific, **2:399**
- Seagram, **2:413**
- Seal pups, killing of, **1:269**
- Sears Tower, **2:391**
- Seat belts, **1:100**
- Second Amendment, **2:534**
- Secret Order of the Star Spangled Banner, **2:507**
- Securities and Exchange Commission, **1:22, 33, 56-57**
 - charges against NFO, **1:242**
 - Investment Company Institute's liaison with, **1:35**
 - Securities Industry Association's liaison with, **1:60**
- Securities industry, **1:58-61**
 - leading PACs, **2:650**
 - lobbying expenditures, **2:684, 697**
 - See also under* Specific group
- Securities Industry Association, **1:6, 7, 22, 58-61**
 - leading PAC, **2:650**
 - lobbying expenditures, **2:684, 695**
- Securities Industry Institute, **1:60**
- Security affairs, European Union, **2:598**
- Security issues, **2:589**
- Security Traders Association, **2:684**
- SEMATECH, **1:346**
- Semiconductor Industry Association, **1:295, 346-47**
- Semiconductor Research Corporation, **1:346**
- Semiconductor Technology Roadmap, **1:346**
- Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee, **1:212**
- Senate Banking Committee, **1:28, 46**
- Senate Finance Committee, **2:623**
- Senior Community Service Employment Program, **2:562**
- Senior Environmental Employment Program, **2:562**
- Seniors Coalition, **2:692, 694**
- Sensenbrenner, James, **1:104**
- Serbia, **2:442, 598**
- Service Corp. International, **2:632**
- Service Employees International Union, **2:401-3**
 - leading PAC, **2:671, 675**
 - soft money donations, **2:676**
- Service industry
 - leading PACs, **2:632**
 - overview of, **1:62-66**
 - See also under* Specific group
- Servicemaster, **2:632**
- Setting National Priorities*, **2:473**
- Shabazz, Betty, **2:570**
- Sharpton, Al, **2:570**
- Shaw, Pittman et al., **2:661**
- Sheet Asphalt Pavers, **2:393**
- Sheet Metal/Air Conditioning Contractors, **2:633, 635**
- Sheet Metal Workers, **2:671, 674**
- Shell Oil, **1:114, 285; 2:539, 690**
- Shepard, Matthew, **2:582**
- Sheppard-Towner Act, **2:428, 444**
- Sherman Antitrust Act, **1:63, 294**
- Shields, N.T., **2:521**
- Shop Rite, **1:83**
- Shoppers Guide to Long-Term Care Insurance*, **1:43-44**
- Shoup, Harold A., **1:78**
- Sierra*, **1:289**
- Sierra Club, **1:63, 258, 259, 269, 287-90**
 - Brewer's resignation, **1:265**
 - coalition building, **1:260**
 - leading PAC, **2:622, 623, 665, 667**
- Sierra Club Committee on Political Education, **1:288, 289, 290**
- Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, **1:289**
- Sierra Club Political Committee, **1:259, 289, 290**
- Sierra Military Health Service, **2:703**
- Sierra Nevada mountains, **1:287**
- Silent Spring*, **1:279**
- Silverstone, Alicia, **2:540**
- Simon, William, **2:464**
- Sinclair, Upton, **1:175**
- Singer, Max, **2:492**
- Single interest groups
 - leading PACs, **2:665, 667**
 - lobbying expenditures, **2:692, 697**
 - overview of, **2:506-12**
 - See also under* Specific group
- Single State Registration System, **1:296**
- Six Day War, **2:436**
- 60 Plus Association, **2:692**
- Skadden, ARPS et al., **2:661**
- Sky Dome, **2:391**
- Slamming, **2:373**
- Slavery, abolitionist movement, **2:506-7**
- Slim-Fast Foods/Thompson Medical, **2:676**
- Small and Medium Manufacturers Initiative, **1:333**
- Small Business Abuse Protection, **1:91**
- Small Business Administration, **1:28, 100**
- Small-business interest groups, **1:64**
 - National Federation of Independent Business, **1:62, 105-7**
- Small Business Lawsuit Protection Act, **1:91**
- Small Business Liability Reform Act, **1:91**

- Small Business Survival Committee, **2:685**
 Small Employer Tax Relief Act, **1:112**
 Smith-Leaver Act, **1:213**
 Smith Richardson Foundation, Inc., **2:440, 457, 464**
 Smithkline Beecham, **2:691**
 Smokeless Tobacco Council, **2:693, 703**
 Smoking. *See* Tobacco
 Snake River, **1:282**
 Social protest movements, **2:455**
 Social Security, **1:5**
 American Association of Retired Persons, **2:561**
 American Conservative Union, **2:458**
 American Council of Life Insurance and, **1:15**
 American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, **2:361**
 American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, **2:364, 365**
 American Healthcare Association, **1:182**
 American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, **1:23**
 Americans for Tax Reform, **2:458, 470**
 Brookings Institution, **2:473**
 Business Roundtable, **1:319**
 Cato Institute, **2:475**
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:484**
 Communications Workers of America, **2:372—73**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:488**
 exemption from, **1:150**
 Fraternal Order of Police, **1:87**
 Heritage Foundation, **2:491**
 International Association of Fire Fighters, **2:378-79**
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, **2:385**
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters, **2:388**
 International Union of Operating Engineers, **2:390, 391**
 Investment Company Institute, **1:33—34**
 labor unions, **2:352**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 National Education Association, **2:396**
 National Taxpayers Union, **2:458, 499**
 Service Employees International Union, **2:402**
 Transport Workers Union of America, **2:405**
 Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees, **2:407-8**
 United Automobile Workers, **2:412**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:503**
 United Transportation Union, **2:420**
 White House Conference on, **1:33**
 See also National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare
 Social welfare, **2:350, 352**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:458, 467**
 Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, **2:430**
 Cato Institute, **2:476**
 Citizen Actions, **2:457-58**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:457-58**
 Food Stamps, **1:210, 211, 212**
 Lyndon Johnson, **2:509**
 National Association of Social Workers, **1:95—98; 2:95**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 Public Citizen, **2:457-58**
 United States Catholic Conference, **2:502-03**
 Social workers. *See* National Association of Social Workers
 Society of Independent Gasoline Marketers, **2:643**
 Society of Thoracic Surgeons, **2:655**
 Sodium nitrate, **1:221**
 Soft drink taxes, **1:83**
 Soft money, **2:625**
 leading donors, **2:676-77**
 nonprint trade associations, **1:122**
 Software and Information Industry Association, **1:157—58**
 Software Publisher's Association, **1:157, 158**
 Soil Bank program, **1:211**
Solidarity with Liberty, **2:475**
 Sons of the American Legion, **2:567**
 Sony, **1:153; 2:680**
 Sony Pictures Entertainment, **2:638, 639**
 Sorauf, Frank J., **2:514**
 Sorensen, Theodore, **2:466-67**
 Soros Foundation, **2:440**
 SOT. *See* Special Occupational Tax
 Source taxing, **1:94**
 South Africa
 AmFAR, **2:179**
 Apartheid, **2:509, 511-12**
 Boer War, **2:532**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:497**
 South Korea, **1:347; 2:587**
 Southern, **2:699**
 Southern California Edison, **2:641, 645, 699**
 Southern Environmental Law Center, **1:274**
 Southern Furniture Manufacturers Association, **1:308**
 Southern Minnesota Beet Sugar Co-op, **2:627**
 Southern Nuclear, **2:645**
 Southwest Airlines, **1:300; 2:356**
 Southwest Marine, **2:670**
 Soviet Union
 arms race, **2:510-11**
 grain sales, **1:242**
 Soyinka, Wole, **2:609**
 Special Occupational Tax, **1:65, 89-90, 91**
 Specialized Carriers & Rigging Association, **1:312**
 Sporck, Charles, **1:346**
 Sports Eye Safety Month, **1:166**
 Sportsmen interest groups. *See* Izaak Walton League
 Spotted owl, **1:260; 292**
 Springs Industries, **2:664**
 Sprint, **1:60; 638, 639**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:694, 699**
 soft money donations, **2:677**
 Sputnik 1, **1:127**
 Square D., **2:384**
 St. Louisians for Better Government, **2:666**
 Staley, Oren Lee, **1:242**
 Stalin, Joseph, **2:611**
 Standard Oil Company, **1:63, 114**
 Stanford University, **2:680**
 Star Wars, **2:518, 545, 546**
 Starr, Kenneth, **1:126**
 START II, **2:518**
 START III, **2:518**
 Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide, **2:632, 703**
 State Advertising Coalition, **1:78**
State of Working America, The, **2:487, 488**
 "State Postsecondary Review for Entities," **1:128**
 Steamship Sailor's Protective Association, **2:399**
 Steel industry
 leading PACs, **2:663**
 See also under Specific group

Steel Workers Organizing Committee, **2:416**
 Stem cell research, **1:168**
 Steptoe and Johnson, **2:679**
 Stern, Andrew, **2:401**
 Stern, Philip, **2:479**
 Stewardship, **1:281-83**
 Stewart & Stevenson Services, **2:645**
 Stewart B. McKinney Homelessness Assistance Act, **2:428, 450**
 Stipe, Michael, **2:540**
 Stock Market Game, **1:60**
 Stock regulation, **1:240**
 Stone, Oliver, **2:540**
 Stone & Webster, **2:635**
 Stone Container Corp., **1:304; 2:627, 629**
 Stonewall Riots, **2:558**
 Stonier Graduate School of Banking, **1:10**
 Stop and Shop, **1:83**
 Stowe, Irving, **1:269**
 "Stranded costs," **1:296**
 Strategic Defense Initiative. *See* Star Wars
 Strauss, Robert, **2:678**
 Street Newspaper project, **2:450**
 Strickland, Ted, **1:106**
 Students Against Nuclear Extermination, **2:509**
 Stupak, Bart, **1:90**
 Suffolk County Mosquito Control Commission, **1:262**
 Suffrage, women's, **2:444, 508**
 Sugar Act, **1:223**
 Sugar Alliance, **1:223**
 Sugar industry
 American Sugarbeet Growers Association, **1:223-24; 2:627**
 Sugar Workers Union, **2:399**
 Sugar Workers Union, **2:399**
 Sullivan, Jere, **2:375**
 Summer and Casual Furniture Manufacturers Association, **1:307**
 Summer camps, **1:260; 2:494**
 Summers, Lawrence, **1:29; 2:613**
 Sun Microsystems, **2:686**
 Super Market Institute, **1:83**
 Superfund, **1:40, 304; 2:391, 505**
 Superfund Transformation Act, **1:40**
 Supermarket interest groups. *See* Grocery store industry
 Supplemental Security Income, **2:530**
 Supreme Court, nominations, **1:68**
 Surgery, in-office, **1:204**
Survey of Current Business, **1:307**
 Susan B. Anthony PAC, **2:574**
 Sustainability Education project, **1:274**
Sustainability Newsletter, **1:274**
 Sustainable Forestry Initiative, **1:305**
 SVERDRUP, **2:633, 635**
 Sweatshops, **1:310, 2:408; 409**
 Sweeney, John, **2:353, 361, 362, 401, 576**
 Swift, **2:413**
 Switchmen's Union of North America, **2:420**
 Symms, Lehn & Associates, **2:661**
 Symms, Steve, **2:678**
 Szilard, Leo, **2:519**

T

Taco, **2:631**
 TACT. *See* Truth About Civic Turmoil
 Taft, William Howard, **1:114, 117**

Taft-Hartley Act, **2:351, 354, 360, 361**
 Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office, **2:614**
 Taiwan, **2:614-15**
 arms sales, **2:591-92**
 "one China" policy, **2:593, 613**
 Taiwan Benevolent Association, **2:614**
 Taiwan Relations Act, **2:614**
 Taiwan Strait Crisis, **2:614**
 Takings legislation, **1:282, 293**
 Talk radio, **1:133**
Tame Yourself, **2:540**
 Tate & Lyle North American Sugars, **2:704**
 Tax Code Termination Act, **2:461**
 Tax codes, **1:5, 12**
 501(c)(3) & 501(c)(4) status, defined, **2:458, 557**
 provisions, **2:456**
 See also Taxes
 Tax Council-Alcoholic Beverage Industries group, **1:323**
 Tax credits, **1:349; 2:373**
 Tax-deductible meals, **1:111**
 Tax Reform, **1:52**
 Tax Reform Act, **2:385-86**
 Tax Reform Act Committee, **2:679**
 Tax Reform Immediately, **2:495**
 Tax Treatment of Native Americans, **2:115**
 Taxes
 American Conservative Union, **2:458, 461**
 American Enterprise Institute, **2:464**
 American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, **1:21**
 American Trucking Associations, **1:312**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:458, 468**
 Americans for Tax Reform, **1:64; 2:455, 458, 469-71**
 Association of American Publishers, **1:130**
 Christian Coalition, **2:481, 482**
 Citizen Action, **2:457-58**
 Citizens for a Sound Economy, **2:484**
 corporate, **1:15**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:457-58**
 Edison Electric Institute, **1:327**
 exemption, **1:64, 83, 150, 157; 2:88**
 flat. *See* Flat tax
 Heritage Foundation, **2:490**
 insurance, **1:45**
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, **2:385-86**
 Internet Tax Freedom Act moratorium, **1:54, 59**
 John Birch Society, **2:495**
 manufacturing industry, **1:295**
 National Association of Wheat Growers, **1:229**
 National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, **1:240**
 National Farmers Unions, **1:245**
 National Federation of Independent Business, **1:106**
 National Pork Producers Council, **1:249**
 National Tax Payers Union, **2:455, 458, 498-99**
 Newspaper Association of America, **1:150**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:343-44**
 Public Citizen, **2:457-58**
 Small Employer Tax Relief Act, **1:112**
 trade association income, **1:52**
 Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees, **2:407**
 See also Tax codes; Specific tax
 Taxpayer Protection Pledge, **2:469, 471**
 "Taxpayer Villains," **2:469**
 Taxpayers Against Fraud, **2:692**

- Taxpayers Against Frivolous Lawsuits, **1:56**
 Taxpayers Bill of Rights, **2:499**
 Taxpayers for Common Sense, **1:265**
 Teachers
 American Federation of Teachers, **1:97**; **2:366-68**, 674, 676
 competency tests, **2:368**, 473
 Team Drivers International Union, **2:387**
 Teaming with Wildlife, **1:282**
 Teamsters. *See* International Brotherhood of Teamsters
 Teamsters for a Democratic Union, **2:387**
 Teamsters National Union, **2:387**
 Teamwork for Employees and Management Act, **2:364-65**, 414
 Technology
 Heritage Foundation's interest in, **2:457**
 opposition to, **1:265**
 See also Computer industry
 Technology Network (TechNet), **1:295**, 348-49
 Techworld, **1:29**
 Teen Endangerment Act, **2:585**
 Teenagers, automobile legislation, **1:100**
 Tele-Communications, **2:677**, 687
 Telecommunications Act, **1:121**, 123, 141, 142
 cable and, **1:147**, 148
 Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, **1:133**, 134
 overview of, **1:144**
 Telecommunications industry
 Communications Workers of America, **2:372-74**
 deregulation of, **1:121**, 147
 leading PACs, **2:638**, 640
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**
 Telephone-cable operations, **1:148**
 Telephone companies
 leading PACs, **2:639**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:697**, 699
 Telephone Workers Organizing Committee, **2:372**
 Teleport, **1:60**
 Television Broadcasters Association, **1:142**
 Television industry, **1:51**
 campaigns, **1:32**
 leading PACs, **2:639**
 Tenet Healthcare, **2:656**
 Tenneco, **2:636**
 Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, **1:265**
 Tennessee Valley Authority, **1:327**
 Tennessee Valley Authority Retirement System, **1:92**
 Tennessee Walking Horse Breeders, **2:628**
 Tennyson, Leonard, **2:597**
 Term Limits America, **2:667**
 Term Limits Declaration, **2:551**
 Terrorism, **1:436**; **2:437**
 Testing, student & teacher, **2:368**, 473
 Tet Offensive, **2:509**
 Texaco, **2:539**, 641, 690
 Texas, Metro Transit Authority of Harris County, **2:688**, 704
 Texas Cattle Feeders Association, **2:628**
 Texas Farm Bureau PACs, **1:215**
 Texas Food Industry Association, **1:83**
 Texas Instruments, **2:686**
 Texas Utilities, **2:641**, 645, 699
Texas v. Johnson, **2:433**, 568
 Textile industry
 American Textile Manufacturers Institute, **1:295**, 309-11;
 2:662, 664
 leading PACs, **2:664**
 Textile industry (*continued*)
 Textile Workers Union of America, **2:407**
 Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees,
 2:407-9, 672
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:413**
 Textile Workers Union of America, **2:407**
 Textron, **2:636**
 Thanksgiving, protests of, **2:565**
 Thatcher, Margaret, **2:490**
*They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's
 Lobby*, **2:601**
 Think tanks, definition of, **2:456**
 Thiokol, **2:636**
This Is Dinosaur, **1:288**
 Thomas, Clarence, **2:482**, 490, 570, 584
 Thread Institute, **1:309**
 Three-tier system, **1:102**, 104, 114
 Thrift charter, **1:9-10**, 12
 Thrift Institutions Advisory Council, **1:25**
 Thurow, Lester, **2:487**
 Tiananmen Square, **2:592**
 Tilman Act, **2:422**
 Timber. *See* Logging
 Time Warner, **1:130**, 135
 leading PAC, **2:638**, 639
 lobbying expenditures, **2:687**
 soft money donations, **2:677**
 Timken, **2:662**, 664
 Timmons, **2:701**
 TIP, To Insure Progress, **2:377**
 Tip income, **2:377**
 Title branding legislation, **1:101**
 Title educational programs, **1:96-97**; **2:367**
 Tobacco industry, **1:213**
 leading PACs, **2:629**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:693**, 697
 support for growers, **1:248**
 See also Tobacco legislation
 Tobacco Institute, **2:629**, 693
 Tobacco legislation
 American Cancer Society, **1:167-68**
 American Heart Association, **1:184**, 185
 American Medical Association, **1:191**
 Cigarette Labeling Act, **1:78**
 and drop in sales, **1:89**
 Public Citizen, **2:501**
 public smoking, **1:112**, 185
 sales to minors, **1:90-91**, **1:115**
 taxes, **1:168**, 185
 See also Advertising, tobacco; Tobacco industry
 Tobin, Daniel J., **2:387**
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, **1:67**
 Toll-free phone lines, **1:65**, 115
 Tolls, highway, **1:312**
 Tom Creek Foundation, **2:505**
 "Tombstone Tour," **2:505**
 Tongsun Park, **2:587**
 Toole, Martin, **1:86**
 Toronto
 CN Tower, **2:391**
 Sky Dome, **2:391**
 Torricelli, Robert, **2:533**
 Torrington, **2:670**
 Tort reform, **1:81**

Tort reform (*continued*)
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:16**
 Business Roundtable, **1:318, 319**
 U.S. Chamber of Commerce, **1:118**

Torture, **2:442**

Toshiba Machine Company, **2:604**

Tourism PACs, **2:632**

Toxic chemicals/materials, **1:262, 1:269**

Toxics Release Inventory Phase 3, **1:295**

Toyota Motor Sales USA, lobbying expenditures, **2:700**

Toys "R" Us, **1:77**

"Tractorcades," **1:218**

Trade Act, **2:592**

Trade agreements
 affect on environment, **1:258**
 AFL-CIO, **2:351**
 environmental restrictions, **1:259**
 Free Trade in the Americas, **1:282**
 Friends of the Earth, **1:267**
 GATT. *See* Global Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters, **2:389**
 NAFTA. *See* North American Free Trade Agreement
 National Association of Insurance Commissioners, **1:43**
See also Federal Trade Commission; Free markets; International trade

Trade Alert Newsletter, **1:221**

Trade and Development Agency, **2:592**

Trade barriers, **1:221; 2:362**

Trade embargoes, **1:229**

Trade groups, **1:62-66, 294**

Trade unions, **2:354**

Trail of Broken Treaties, **2:564**

Trans World Airlines, **1:300**
 flight 800, **1:125, 126**

TransAfrica, **2:609, 610**

Transgenic species, **1:211**

Transport Workers, **2:671, 673**

Transport Workers Union of America, **2:404-6**

Transportation Communication International, **2:673**

Transportation Employee Testing Safety Act, **2:524**

Transportation Equity Act, **1:40**

Transportation industry
 interstate transportation, **1:339**
 leading PACs, **2:668-70**
 leading union PACs, **2:673**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:698, 700**
 overview of, **1:294-96**
See also under Specific group

Transportation Political Education League, **2:419**

Transhipping, **1:309, 310**

Trapping, animal, **2:281**

Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, **2:546**

Trends: Consumer Attitudes and the Supermarket, **1:84**

Trial lawyers. *See* Association of Trial Lawyers of America
TRIAL magazine, **1:82**

TRIM. *See* Tax Reform Immediately

Trucker Shuffle Relief Act, **1:304**

Trucking industry
 American Trucking Associations, **1:312-14; 2:668, 670**
 leading PACs, **2:670**

"Truckline," **1:312**

Truman, Harry, **2:354, 360, 513**

Truman Doctrine, **2:466, 616**

Trump Organization, **2:680**

Trust companies, **1:8-10**

Trusts, **1:294**

Truth About Civic Turmoil, **2:494**

Truth in Employment Act, **2:385**

Truth in Lending Act
 American Financial Services Association, **1:18**
 described, **1:37**
 Mortgage Bankers Association of America, **1:37**

Truth-in-lending requirements, **1:8, 13, 18, 24, 25, 27**

Truth-in-savings requirements, **1:8, 27**

TRW, **1:18; 2:636**

Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union, **2:393**

Tuppling, Lloyd, **1:266, 275**

Turkey, **2:588-89, 616-18**

Turlington, Christie, **2:539**

TV Marti, **2:594-95**

TWA. *See* Trans World Airlines

Two-parent families, **2:464**

Tyson Foods, **2:413, 628**

U

Uganda, **2:442**

UHF, **1:143**

Underwriting, legislation proposals, **1:15, 16**

Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, **2:430**

Unemployment insurance, **2:352, 353, 361, 395**

Uniform Accountancy Act, **1:23**

Uniform Certified Public Accounting Examination, **1:21**

Uniform National Standards for Securities Litigation, **1:348**

Uniform Standards Coalition, **2:684**

Unilever United States Foundation, Inc., **2:440**

Union Camp Corp., **1:304**

Union for Democratic Action, **2:466**

Union for the Total Independence of Angola, **2:594**

Union of Concerned Scientists, **2:545-46**

Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees,
1:407-9; 2:672

Union Pacific, **2:668, 670**

Union Pacific Railroad, **2:680**

Union Pacific Resources Group, **2:641, 643**

Unionization
 nurse, **1:193**
 physician, **1:161, 188, 190, 206, 207**

Unions. *See* Labor unions

Unisys, **2:512**

United Airlines, **1:300; 2:356, 668, 669**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:700**

United Automobile Workers, **2:350, 381, 410-12**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 671, 672**

United Defense, **2:636**

United Egg Association, **1:254-55; 2:628**

United Egg Producers, **1:255**

United Federation of Postal Clerks, **2:369**

United Federation of Teachers, **2:366**

United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:413-15**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 671, 675**
 soft money donations, **2:676**

United Garment Workers Union, **2:407**

United Industrial, Service, Transportation, Professional, and Government Workers of North America, **2:399**

United Industrial Workers of North America, **2:399**

United Labor Union, Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now and, **2:431**

- United Mine Workers of America, **1:335; 2:416, 671, 672**
- United Nations, **2:587**
 American Enterprise Institute, **2:464**
 American Nurses Association, **1:195**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:457**
 Heritage Foundation, **2:491**
 John Birch Society, **2:495**
 League of Women Voters of the United States, **2:444**
 National Lawyers Guild as co-founder of, **2:452**
 U.S. debt, **2:589**
- United Nations Population Fund, **2:554**
- United Parcel Service, **1:263, 300; 2:388**
 leading PAC, **2:622, 623, 668, 669**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:700**
- United Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society, **2:513**
- United Retail Workers, **2:414**
- United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum, and Plastic Workers of America, **2:417**
- United Seniors, **2:658**
- United Services Automobile Association Group, **2:651, 689**
- United Space Alliance, **2:703**
- United States Catholic Conference, **2:502-3**
- United States Department of Agriculture, **1:213, 215**
 American Forest and Paper Association, **1:305**
 Farmers Union, **1:244-45**
 Grange, **1:248**
 National Chicken Council, **1:234**
 organic farming, **1:252**
 United Egg Association, **1:254**
- United States Department of Education, **1:197**
- United States League of Savings Institutions, **1:12**
- United States Postal Service, **1:301; 2:369-71, 623**
 postal subsidies, **1:120**
See also Postal rates
- United States Steel, **1:318; 2:416**
- United Steelworkers of America, **2:350, 381, 416-18, 671, 672**
- United Stone and Allied Product Workers of America, **2:416**
- United Technologies, **1:298; 2:636**
- United Textile Workers of America, **2:414**
- United Transportation Union, **2:419-21, 622, 671, 673**
United Voices, **1:254**
- Universal Air Travel Plan, **1:296, 300, 301**
- Universal Studios, **2:638, 639**
- Unsafe at Any Speed*, **2:500**
- Upholsterers International Union of North America, **2:416**
- Urban League, **2:570**
- Urban sprawl, **1:256, 257, 259, 290, 331**
- U.S. Agency for International Development, **2:440, 612**
- U.S. Airways, **1:300**
- U.S. Army Air Corps, **1:301**
- U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, **1:256, 265, 282**
- U.S. Catholic Conference, **2:458, 514**
- U.S. Chamber of Commerce, **1:64, 81, 106, 111, 113, 117-19**
 Hudson Institute's liaison with, **2:493**
 lobbying expenditures, **2:685, 694**
- U.S. Chamber of Congress, opposition to labor unions, **2:353**
- U.S. Conference of Mayors, **1:330**
- U.S. Council for Energy Awareness, **1:338**
- U.S. Department of Agriculture, **1:221, 232**
- U.S. Department of Commerce, **1:43, 221, 254, 256**
- U.S. Department of Defense, **1:298, 299, 301; 2:493**
See also Defense budget; Defense PACs
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, **1:182, 186, 187, 195, 203**
- U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, **1:38, 53-54, 330; 2:431-32**
- U.S. Department of Interior, **1:256**
- U.S. Department of Justice, **1:221; 2:493**
- U.S. Department of Labor, **1:100, 195**
- U.S. Department of Social Development and World Peace, **2:502**
- U.S. Department of the Treasury, **1:5, 10, 25, 53**
- U.S. Department of Transportation, **1:40, 301, 302, 313**
- U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, **1:36, 184, 186; 2:568**
- U.S. English, **2:547-49**
- U.S. English Foundation, **2:547**
- U.S. Federal Housing Administration, **1:36**
- U.S. Flag Code, **2:568**
- U.S. Forest Service, **1:305; 2:383**
- U.S. Hide, Skin, and Leather Association, **1:220**
- U.S. High-Tech Industry Coalition on China, **1:347**
- U.S. Hispanic music industry, **1:154**
- U.S. Information Agency, **1:75; 2:440, 595**
- U.S. Maritime Coalition, **2:704**
- U.S. Medal of Freedom, **2:569**
- U.S.-Mexico Binational Commission, **2:606**
- U.S.-Mexico Binational Drug Strategy, **2:608**
- U.S. National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, **1:100**
- U.S. Postal Service. *See* United States Postal Service
- U.S. Public Interest Research Group, **1:322; 2:455, 504-5**
- U.S. Public Interest Research Group Fund, **2:504, 505**
- U.S. Telephone Association, **2:699**
- U.S. Term Limits, **2:550-52**
- U.S. Tobacco, **2:627, 629**
- U.S. Trade Representative. *See* Office of the U.S. Trade Representative
- U.S. Treasury. *See* U.S. Department of the Treasury
- U.S. West, **2:638, 639, 676, 699**
- USA Today*, Christian Coalition advertisements, **2:481**
- USAA, **1:39**
- UST, **2:693**
- USX, **1:318; 2:643, 690, 695**
- Utilities industry
 overview of, **1:294-96**
 regulation, **1:326-27**
See also under Specific group

V

- V-chip, **1:141**
- Valenti, Jack, **1:138, 139, 140**
- Value-added tax, **2:470**
- Value in Electing Women, **2:659**
- Van Scoyoc Associates, **2:701**
- Vegetarianism, **2:541**
- Vehicle manufacturing, **1:263**
- Vehicle safety legislation, **1:99**
See also Automobiles & automobile legislation
- Venezuela, Republic of, **2:680**
- Venture capital interest groups, **1:55-57**
- VenturePAC, **1:57**
- Verner, Liipfer et al., **2:661, 701, 703**
- Veteran benefits, **2:399**
- Veteran groups. *See* American Legion
- Veterans Administration insurance centers, **2:568**
- Veterans Affairs and Rehabilitation Commission, **2:568**
- Veterans Home Loan Guarantee Board, **1:38**
- Veterans of Foreign Wars, **2:679**
- Veterans rights, **2:430**

- VHP, **1:143**
 Viacom, **2:130, 638, 639, 687**
 VIAD, **2:632**
 Victim Assistance Institute, **2:524**
 Video industry. *See* Film industry
 Vietnam Veteran's Organizing Committee, **2:430**
 Vietnam War, **2:467, 485, 509, 567**
 Tet Offensive, **2:509**
 See also Anti-war movements
 Vigilante Justice, **2:436**
 Vinson & Elkins, **2:661**
 Violent and Repeat Juvenile Offender Act, **1:97**
 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, **2:521**
 Virginia Clean Air Now, **1:274**
 Visas, **1:57**
 Vision, **2:492**
 Vocational education, **1:332, 373**
 Voluntary Community Action Program, **2:411, 412**
 Volunteer training, **2:459**
 Vote Tally, **2:498**
 Votenet, **2:468**
 Voter registration, **2:445, 569, 578**
 Voters for Choice/Friends of Family Planning, **2:665, 667**
 Voting age, **2:485**
 Voting Rights Act, **2:436, 509, 578**
 Vouchers. *See* School vouchers
 Vulcan Materials, **2:634**
-
- W**
-
- Wage laws. *See* Minimum-wage legislation
 Wagner Act, **2:351**
 Wagner-Hatfield amendment, **1:142**
 Wal-Mart, **1:10, 51, 83; 2:415**
 leading PAC, **2:630, 632**
 Walker, Charles E., **2:678**
 Wall of Separation: The Constitutional Politics of Church and State, The, **2:514**
 Wallace, Henry, **2:466**
 Walt Disney, **1:87-88, 121, 140; 2:589**
 leading PAC, **2:638, 639**
 soft money donations, **2:676**
 Wamp, Zack, **1:90**
 War
 Air Transport Association and, **1:301**
 aircraft industry and, **1:298-99**
 See also Anti-war activists; Specific war
 War Air Service Program, **1:301**
 War criminals, **2:589**
 War Industries Board, **1:118; 2:472**
 War on Poverty, **2:467, 564**
 Warner Music, **1:153**
 Warnke, Paul, **2:678**
 Warren, Earl, **2:494**
 Washington, **2:665, 666**
 Washington, George, **2:422**
 Washington Council, **2:701**
 Washington Letter, The, **1:68**
 Washington Mutual, **2:648**
 Washington Post
 Christian Coalition advertisements, **2:481**
 Sierra Club advertisements, **1:288**
 Washington Summary, The, **1:68**
 Washington Weekly Report, **1:29**
 Waste Management, **2:645**
 Waste management/environmental service PACs, **2:645**
 Water pollution, **1:262, 272, 273**
 Water quality, **1:262, 281**
 Watson, Paul, **1:270**
 Watt, James, **1:260**
 Web Offset Association, **1:343**
 Web Printing Association, **1:343**
 Webb-Pomerence Export Trade Act, **1:138**
 Webber, Frederick, **1:321**
 Webster, Daniel, **2:587**
 Webster v. Reproductive Health Service, **2:537**
 WebTrust, **1:21**
 Weight-distance taxes, **1:296**
 Welch, Robert, **2:455, 494**
 Welfare. *See* Social welfare
 Wells Fargo, **2:684**
 Wells-Barnett, Ida, **2:578**
 Wertheimer, Fred, **2:485, 679**
 West Virginia v. Barnette, **2:433**
 Western League of Savings Institutions, **2:648**
 Western States Public Lands Coalition, **1:291**
 Westinghouse, **2:384, 390**
 Westinghouse Electric, **2:638, 639**
 Westvaco Corp., **1:304; 2:629**
 Wetland Reserve program, **1:279**
 Wetlands, **1:259**
 Army Corps of Engineers, **1:282**
 Environmental Defense Fund, **1:262**
 Izaak Walton League, **1:272, 273**
 National Association of Home Builders, **1:331**
 National Audubon Society, **1:279**
 National Wildlife Federation, **1:281**
 Wetly, John, **1:346**
 Wexler Group, **2:661, 701**
 Weyerhaeuser Co., **1:304; 2:629**
 Whales & whaling, **1:259, 260**
 Environmental Defense Fund, **1:262**
 Greenpeace, **1:269, 270**
 Makah tribe hunt of, **1:270-71**
 Wharton School, **1:60**
 Wheat industry, **1:229-30**
 WheatPAC, **1:229**
 Wheeler-Lea Amendment, **1:78**
 Whiskey Rebellion, **2:506**
 White House Conference on Social Security, **1:33**
 Why Are They Lying to Our Children?, **2:493**
 Wilderness Act, **1:288**
 Wilderness campaigns, **1:281, 288**
 Wilderness Society, **1:288**
 Wildlife, PETA, **2:541**
 Wildlife habitats, **1:260**
 Environmental Defense Fund, **1:262**
 Izaak Walton League, **1:272**
 National Audubon Society, **1:278, 279**
 National Wildlife Federation, **1:281**
 Wildlife Stewardship Awards, **1:305**
 Wilhelm, John W., **2:376**
 Willamette Industries, **1:304; 2:629**
 Willing, Paul, **1:182**
 William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, **2:473**
 William and Naomi Gorowitz Institute on Terrorism and
 Extremism, **2:435**
 William H. Dormer Foundation, **2:499**

- Williams & Jensen, **2:661**, 701
 Williams Companies, **2:643**
 Willkie, Wendell L., II, **2:438**
 Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering, **2:680**
 Wilson, Richard, **2:565**
 Wilson, Woodrow, **1:63**; **2:435**, 606
 Windfall Elimination Provision, **1:87**
 Wine & Spirits Wholesalers of America, **2:630**, 631
 Winfrey, Oprah, **1:233**
 Winn-Dixie, **1:83**
 Winston & Strawn, **2:661**
 Wisconsin Farm Bureau, **1:215**
 "Wisconsin Works," **2:492**
 Wise use movement, **1:257**, 258, 291-93
 Wofford, Harris, **2:467**
 Wolfe, Sidney, **2:500**
 Wolves, **1:262**, 282
 Women Vote!, **2:572**, 573
 Women's Alliance of Israel, **2:665**, 666
 Women's and Children's Resource Act, **2:538**
 Women's Campaign Fund, **2:622**, 623, 659
 Women's Field Army, **1:167**
 Women's Political Committee, **2:659**
 Women's rights, **2:508**
 Emily's List, **2:556-59** *passim*, 572-74, 623, 659
 Human Rights Watch, **2:441**, 442
 leading PACs, **2:659**
 limited Medicaid coverage, **1:203**
 National Organization for Women, **2:556-59** *passim*, 583-85, 659
 suffrage, **2:444**, 508
 See also League of Women Voters; Planned Parenthood Federation of America
 Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology, **1:202**
 Woodmen Accident and Life, **1:4**
 Woods, Harriet, **2:572**
 Worker Advocacy Project, **2:413**
 Worker exploitation, grocers and, **1:85**
 Worker-related interest groups, **1:64-65**
 Worker rights. *See* Labor laws & rights
 Worker safety
 American Conservative Union, **2:458**
 American Nurses Association, **1:194**
 American Postal Workers Union, **2:371**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:458**
 Americans for Tax Reform, **2:458**
 Chemical Manufacturers Association, **1:321**, 322
 Citizen Actions, **2:457-58**
 Communications Workers of America, **2:372**, 373
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:457-58**
 International Association of Fire Fighters, **2:378**, 380
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, **2:381**, 382-33
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters, **2:389**
 International Union of Operating Engineers, **2:390**
 National Association of Manufacturers, **1:332**, 333
 National Chicken Council, **1:235**
 National Cotton Council, **1:238**
 National Education Association, **2:396**
 National Taxpayers Union, **2:458**
 Printing Industries of America, **1:343**, 344
 Public Citizen, **2:457-58**
 Service Employees International Union, **2:402-3**
 Transport Workers Union of America, **2:404**
 Worker safety (*continued*)
 United Automobile Workers, **2:412**
 United Food and Commercial Workers Union, **2:413**, 415
 United Transportation Union, **2:419**
 Workplace Preservation Act, **2:113**
 World Bank, **1:267**, 285
 World Council of Credit Unions, **1:25**
 World Health Organization, **1:195**; **2:615**
 World Intellectual Property Organization treaties, **1:122**, 131, 139, 151, 154, 157
 World of Difference Institute, **2:435**, 436
 World Population Conference, **2:542**
World Rainforest Report, **1:284**
 World Resources in Relation to the Family, **2:542**
 World Semiconductor Council, **1:347**
 World Trade Organization
 American Council of Life Insurance, **1:16**
 American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations, **2:362**
 Brookings Institution, **2:473**
 Business Roundtable, **1:319**
 China and, **2:592**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:488**
 European Union, **2:598**
 Friends of the Earth, **1:267**
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters, **2:389**
 Semiconductor Industry Association, **1:347**
 World Wide Web
 AIMNet, **1:125**
 American Civil Liberties Union, **2:434**
 American Conservative Union, **2:460**
 American Dietetic Association, **1:175**
 American Enterprise Institute, **2:463**
 American Trucking Associations, **1:312**
 Americans for Democratic Action, **2:466**, 468
 Anti-Defamation League, **2:436**, 437
 Brookings Institution, **2:472**
 Cato Institute, **2:475**
 Center for Responsive Politics, **2:479**
 Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, **1:292**
 Common Cause, **2:485**
 Economic Policy Institute, **2:487**
 Environmental Defense Fund, **1:263**, 264
 environmental groups' use of, **1:260**
 Friends of the Earth, **1:267**
 Greenpeace, **1:270**
 Hudson Institute, **2:492**
 Human Rights Watch, **1:442**
 Independent Insurance Agents of America, **1:32**
 Izaak Walton League, **1:273**, 274
 League of Conservation Voters, **1:275**
 Legal Services Corporation, **2:448**
 National Audubon Society, **1:279**
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, **2:496**
 Public Citizen, **2:500**
 Rainforest Action Network, **1:284-35**
 recording artists', **1:155**
 Sugar Alliance, **1:223**
 U.S. Public Interest Research Group, **2:504**
 WebTrust, **1:21**
 Wounded Knee, **2:452**, 565
 Wright, Orville, **1:298**
 Wye-River Agreement, **2:601**
 "Wylie Amendment," **2:514**

X-Y

Xerox, **2:407**
 Yannecone, Victor, **1:262**
 Year 2000. *See* Y2K
 Yellow, **2:668, 670**
 "Yellow dog" contracts, **2:366**
Yellowstone National Park, 1:282, 287
 Yellowstone vision document, **1:291—92**
 Yeltsin, Boris, **2:594, 611, 613**
 Yingling, Edward L., **1:9**
 Y2K
 American Institute of Certified Public
 Accountants, **1:22, 23**
 Credit Union National Association, **1:22**
 Independent Community Bankers of America, **1:29**
 Independent Insurance Agents of America, **1:32**
 Investment Company Institute, **1:35**
 liability, **1:5**
 Securities Industry Association, **1:60**
 Semiconductor Industry Association, **1:347**
 TechNet, **1:349**
 Year 2000 Disclosure Act, **1:60**

Y2K *(continued)*

 Year 2000 Fairness and Responsibility Act, **1:347**
 Year 2000 Readiness and Responsibility Act, **1:347**
 Yom Kippur War, **2:436**
 Yosemite National Park, **1:287, 291**
 You Don't Need a Home to Vote campaign, **2:450**
 Young Men Christian Association, **1:75**
Your Big Backyard, **1:283**
 Youth for Democratic Action, **2:466**
 Youth-related programs, **2:559, 568, 570**
 Yucca Mountain, **1:339; 2:386**
 Yugoslavia, former
 Brookings Institution and, **2:473**
 Cato Institute and, **2:476**
 Human Rights Watch and, **2:442**
 John Birch Society and, **2:495**

Z

Zeller, Janet, **1:308**
 Zero Population Growth, **2:553-54**
 Zero Population Growth Education Network, **2:553**
ZPG Reporter, The, **2:553**