SPECIAL CONFERENCE REPORT

UNITY AND DIVERSITY

A Comparative Look At the Close Elections in 1978

Susan M. Marshner

FREE CONGRESS RESEARCH AND
EDUCATION FOUNDATION

The Free Congress Research and Education Foundation is a 501(c) (3), tax-exempt, research foundation, engaged in educational projects in two separate areas of concentration. The Political Education Division of the Foundation specializes in analysis of U.S. House and Senate elections. Each week, the Political Division publishes a newsletter, called *The Political Report,* which provides in-depth, nonpartisan coverage of campaigns and candidates, analysis of current races in progress, and key factors affecting winning and losing campaigns. Its main focus is to describe the races which will be marginal and which could change the makeup of the present Congress. The *Report* occasionally also covers related stories of political interest which may not have received widespread media attention.

Two other projects in which the political division is involved are a comprehensive study of the non-voter and a study of coalition politics, as opposed to traditional partisan politics.

The second major area of Foundation activity focuses on current trends affecting the stability of American family life. The Family Policy Division of the Foundation also publishes a newsletter, called *The Family Protection Report,* on a monthly basis. It gives major attention to the activities resulting from the United Nations-sponsored program, the International Year of the Child, 1979. Besides coverage of important legislation affecting children and families before Congress and at the state level, *FPR* also monitors developments concerning White House conferences on families, on children, and on aging. Finally, *FPR* monitors trends within the "human services" professions, which are significant factors affecting family life today.

The Free Congress Foundation has been the sponsor of conferences in both areas of its focus, designed to bring together experts in these fields. A major conference is planned for the summer of 1980, at which prominent pro-family spokesmen will discuss issues important to families and children. Other Foundation conferences have dealt with politics, and this publication is the result of one such meeting.

Except for these boxed paragraphs from July 2010, this PDF file replicates the whole (49 pages) of a 1979 monograph published by the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation Inc. Written by Susan M. Marshner (now Susan Arico), it's part of a landmark series of electoral analyses -- newsletters as well as monographs -- inspired by Paul Weyrich during a similar era of conservative and Republican rejuvenation.

Reproduction on ExactingEditor.com is approved by Susan Arico, Peter Weyrich, and the Honorable Jim Gilmore, President of the Free Congress Foundation -- see www.FreeCongress.com. Frank Gregorsky thanks each of those individuals. He also encourages all GOPers who take public policy and campaigns seriously to absorb this rigorous and readable account of a year that featured House candidacies by George W. Bush, William Clinger, and Newt Gingrich.

URL -- www.ExactingEditor.com/Close-Elections-1978.pdf

Unity And Diversity:

A comparative look at the close elections in 1978

SUSAN M. MARSHNER

A publication of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Unity and Diversity: A Comparative Look at the Close Elections in 1978.

4 Library Court, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
202-546-3004

Library of Congress Catalog Card No.: 79-66155

First Printing
Price: $2.50

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This past December, following the November 1978 elections, the Free Congress Foundation undertook the project of bringing together nearly 30 active participants in selected congressional campaigns for a three-day conference. These individuals, who graciously consented to hour-long interrogations and lengthy meetings both small and large, were invited to discuss nine selected campaigns for U.S. Congress, each of which narrowly won or lost the election.

With campaign managers present, along with a variety of outside experts, the object was not so much a case-by-case critique as it was to answer a deceptively simple question. What key factors (within our control) made the difference between the successful campaigns and those which only came close to victory? Were there any common reasons explaining why some campaigns won more than half of the voters' support, while others got less than a majority?

At first glance, the nine campaigns, involving entirely different people in entirely dissimilar parts of the country, did not seem to have much in common, except the shared ambition of electing someone to Congress.

With that problem in mind, the conference was organized so as to focus discussion on six separate functions present in most campaigns. Those functions or segments — campaign management, budget and finance, research, media, candidate, and voter identification and turnout — will provide the framework by which we hope to convey a few answers to our questions about common threads.

It would be impossible, not to mention undesirable, to provide an exact transcript of the discussions held at the conference. People involved in politics, after all, have the reputation for talking more than most, and even though what they say might be enlightening and interesting, the need to condense all of this information was obvious.

In the chapters which follow, we will first describe briefly the nine districts that were represented at this conference. Then, rather than take each campaign individually, we have organized the material around the functions, in order to compare the campaigns in each of these areas — management, media, budget, etc.

It should be noted that what is presented here represents the best information available to us. The conclusions in this paper are based almost entirely on the information given us by the primary sources — the campaign managers themselves and those who worked closely with them. In no way are any of the statements made

in this paper intended to be critical of anyone's personal performance. It is our intent, however, to accurately reflect what was discussed at the conference.

The nine campaigns under consideration were:

Jim Jeffries (R-KS 2)
Kent Hance (D-TX 19)
Jack Burgess (R-TX 11)
Sonny Kane (R-PA 7)
Bill Clinger (R-PA 23)
Rex Hime (R-CA 4)
Duane Alton (R-WA 5)
Tom Pauken (R-TX 5)
Newt Gingrich (R-GA 6)

The conference was held at The Abbey in Fontana, Wisconsin, between December 14 and 17, 1978. In order to preserve the free flow of discussion, opposing campaigns obviously could not be invited.

Nothing in the conduct of the conference or in this paper should be construed as support for any candidate or political party.

For the convenience of the reader, we have also provided a separate, complete listing of election returns for each of the nine districts, district maps, and a list of conference participants in the appendix.

The Districts and the Campaigns

Pennsylvania

Cong. Robert Edgar (D) vs. Sonny Kane (R) — Cong. Edgar narrowly won re-election in 1978 to the 7th district of Pennsylvania, receiving only 50.3% of the vote over his Republican opponent, Sonny Kane, who received 49.4%.

Since he was first elected in 1974 with 56%, Cong. Edgar has shown a steady decline in his winning margins. In 1976, he had received 54% against GOP candidate Jack Kenney. Although Sonny Kane was running for Congress for the first time, he has held public office before and was making the attempt at higher office from a fairly strong base as Mayor of Upper Darby, which contains about 25% of the district's population.

The 7th district is a suburban area, located southwest of Philadelphia. It is predominantly a Republican district in registration, and it chose Ford in 1976 by 54% and Nixon in 1972 by 64%. Prior to Cong. Edgar's tenure, the seat had been held by Republican Lawrence Williams for eight years. Williams was defeated in the GOP primary in 1974 by County District Attorney Stephen McEwen, who was in turn defeated by Edgar, then a 31-year old Methodist minister. The district has one county, Delaware County, and it is still the home of one of the most potent Republican machines in the country.

Bill Clinger (R) vs. Cong. Joseph Ammerman (D) — Pennsylvania's 23rd district had been represented by Republican Cong. Albert Johnson from 1963 until 1976, when Johnson was defeated by Democrat Joseph Ammerman. Probably one of the major reasons for Johnson's defeat was his weakness in the district after several successive years of strong primary challenges and relatively poor showings in November. In 1976, Johnson survived another primary challenge, but only by a margin of 52% to 43%. He then faced state Senator Ammerman in the general election, and lost it 42% to 57%.

In 1978, however, it was Ammerman who suffered the reversal, losing to Warren County attorney Bill Clinger, 45.7% to 54.3%. Clinger had not run for public office before and did not come from the more heavily populated area of the district. One problem for Ammerman was an automobile accident he had in the early fall, which forced him to stay in the hospital for several weeks.

The district is located in the rural, north central part of the state, and it is mountainous. Its largest city is State College in the southern section. Gerald Ford carried the district in 1976 with 54% and Richard Nixon carried it in 1972 with 66% of the vote.

Texas

Marvin Leath (D) vs. Jack Burgess (R) — Texas' 11th district was vacated in 1978 when Cong. W.R. Poage, first elected in 1936, decided not to seek re-election. Republican Jack Burgess, a Waco oil-distributor, had opposed Poage in 1976 and surprised many observers by winning 43% of the vote. His strong showing in that year on a low budget had convinced many Republicans that the seat might be taken from Democratic hands. Instead, Burgess lost to conservative Democrat Marvin Leath, a banker, by 48.4% to 51.6%.

The 11th district is located deep in the heart of Texas, only slightly off of the geographical center of the state. The 11th district has two larger cities, Waco and Temple, plus an Army base, Fort Hood. In its voting history, the district has mostly preferred Democrats. It voted for Senator Tower's Democrat opponent in 1966 and for Hubert Humphrey in 1968. It gave Carter 57% in 1976, but Nixon won 70% in 1972.

George Bush Jr. (R) vs. Kent Hance (D) — Having been first elected in 1936, Cong. George Mahon had represented the 19th district in Congress for many years when he decided to retire in 1978. He too had had a challenge in 1976 that produced a some-what unexpected result. Republican Jim Reese, running in that year, won 45% against Mahon. Reese ran again in 1978, but was unable to win the primary against fellow Republican George Bush Jr., an independent oil and gas producer from Midland. Hance, a conservative Democrat state senator, was far outspent by Bush in the general election campaign, but still won 53.2% to 46.8%.

The 19th district is located in west Texas, and it has many small towns and ranching communities. Two oil cities, Lubbock and Midland, plus a smaller portion of Odessa, dominate the 19th district. Bush is the son of former GOP National Chairman and U.N. Ambassador George H.W. Bush. Although both Hance and Bush had primary chal-lenges, Bush's was by far the more serious, since it was a fairly close election with a runoff. In the general election, Bush's main strength was in Midland County, while Hance relied more on Lubbock County.

Cong. Jim Mattox (D) vs. Tom Pauken (R) — Cong. Jim Mattox was first elected in 1976 by 55% of the vote against Republican Nancy Judy. Mattox, a liberal Democrat, had been a state representative and won the election with strong labor and black support.

The 5th district includes the south and east sections of Dallas and some of its suburbs. It had been held by Republican Alan Steelman, who gave it up in 1976 to run against U.S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen. The district also includes much of Dallas' black ghetto, but it is primarily a white, working-class district. In the 1972 presidential race, Nixon won 64%. Pauken, who had not run for political office before, surprised many observers

when he nearly defeated Mattox in 1978, losing the election by 852 votes, or 34,672 to 35,524.

California

Rex Hime (R) vs. Vic Fazio (D) — California's 4th district had been safely held by Congressman Robert Leggett (D) since 1962, and he had been unopposed as recently as 1974. Leggett then experienced some difficulties with a variety of scandals, one of which was Koreagate. As a result, he came very close to defeat in 1976, winning by less than 700 votes against Republican Albert Dehr. As could be expected, Leggett retired, leaving the 1978 congressional race open.

The 1978 Democratic nominee, Vic Fazio, a state assemblyman, had a number of advantages over his Republican opponent, Rex Hime. One was the nature of the district itself, which tends to be heavily Democratic. Another was the fact that Hime was a political newcomer and had not run for public office previously. In the final returns, Fazio received 87,764 or 55.4% to Hime's 70,733 or 44.6%.

The district is located in the lower Sacramento Valley. Its southern part, including Vallejo and surrounding Solano County, has long been industrial and Democratic. Traditionally, the more northern and more sparsely populated counties vote Republican. The district also contains the University of California campus at Davis. It voted for Carter in 1976 with 56% of the vote.

Kansas

Cong. Martha Keys (D) vs. Jim Jeffries (R) — Cong. Martha Keys was first elected to the 2nd district of Kansas in 1974, succeeding another Democrat, Bill Roy. Although Keys won in 1974 with a substantial 57% of the vote, her percentage declined in 1976 to 52% against a strong Republican challenge. This year, against political newcomer Jim Jeffries, she declined again to 48% of the vote, or 70,460. Jeffries received 52% or 76,419.

From the outset of his candidacy, Jeffries was not considered to be the favorite. In the GOP primary, he ran against an incumbent state senator from Topeka and narrowly defeated him. Jeffries is from Atchison, considered the "wrong" part of the district from which to run a congressional campaign. Topeka contributes about 40% of the district's vote. Prior to the election of Democrat Bill Roy to the 2nd district, it had been represented by a Republican in Congress for 63 years, until 1970. It gave Nixon 70% in 1972 and Ford 55% in 1976. It is located in the northeastern corner of the state.

Georgia

Newt Gingrich (R) vs. Virginia Shapard (D) — Georgia's 6th district had been held by retiring Cong. John Flynt since 1954. His re-election to Congress over the years had been virtually assured until the election of 1974, when he received a strong challenge from Republican Newt Gingrich, a college professor. After a very aggressive campaign, Gingrich came close to defeating Flynt, 49% to 51%, but did not succeed. Again in 1976, Flynt won re-election against Gingrich, 52% to 48%.

In 1978, Flynt decided to retire, and the Democratic primary was quite active. Virginia Shapard, a state senator, defeated several opponents in the primary, but could not retain her advantage in the general election. Gingrich won the election with 47,078 or 54.4% to her 39,451 or 45.6%. About 48% of the district's population lives in the Atlanta metropolitan area and its suburbs, which are largely middle class. These areas have gone Republican in some elections, but the tendency is usually Democratic.

Washington

Duane Alton (R) vs. Cong. Tom Foley (D) — In the past 36 years, the 5th district of Washington has had only two congressmen, Republican Walt Horan from 1943 to 1964, and Democrat Tom Foley, elected in 1964. Foley has mostly not had re-election difficulties but, in the 1978 race, he received only 48% of the vote cast. Republican Duane Alton won 42.7% in the contest, while a third candidate, Mel Tonasket, an Indian, won 9.3% of the vote.

The district is in the western part of the state, and Spokane contributes about 60% of its vote. Farming is also important here, and Foley is chairman of the House Agriculture Committee. While Foley won with 64% of the vote in 1974, he dropped to 56% in 1976 against Duane Alton, and in the 1978 race he declined to 48%. Alton is a Spokane tire-dealer, who was making his first bid at public office.

The Heights and Depths of Management

Chapter I

Most of us have known, at some time in our lives, a frustrated science student taking his first lesson in the laboratory. His assignment is to look at the cells of a potato, but when he finds that he cannot focus the microscope and he cannot quite cut a piece small enough for the slide, he picks up the whole potato and takes it to the window to have a good look at it, hoping to figure out the answers to his sheet of questions.

Political analysts, in spite of their increased age and experience, are often like frustrated science students, not so much because they are clumsy with the tools of their trade, but more because it is impossible to put a whole, live campaign on a slide.

Quite a number of the campaigns which were represented at the Free Congress Foundation's 1978 post-election conference were completely misread by some very experienced political experts.

Take, for instance, the Jim Jeffries campaign, which successfully opposed former Cong. Martha Keys (D-Ks. 2) in November 1978. Jeffries, who had never run for office before, was not supposed to win his Republican primary against a well-known state senator. Nor was he supposed to win the general election, according to most newspaper polls. Apparently Cong. Keys, who ran a low-profile campaign, was also not expecting him to win.

Or take Duane Alton, Republican candidate against Democrat incumbent Tom Foley in Washington's 5th district. Alton, like Jeffries, was not the party's preference. Yet, he won his primary narrowly and then came within 5% of Foley, who was considered a "safe" incumbent not very long ago.

The campaign of Republican Rex Hime in California's 4th district was virtually dismissed by most observers once Cong. Robert Leggett announced his retirement. Leggett had nearly been defeated in 1976 by Republican Albert Dehr. Yet, despite his disadvantages, the Hime campaign had its Democrat opposition on the defensive at one point, and came within 5% of reversing the outcome.

Campaign analysts did not give up quite so easily on Newt Gingrich's campaign against Democrat Virginia Shapard in Georgia's 6th district, since it was only logical that he run again after Cong. Flynt announced his retirement. Even so, one Republican consultant in the South told the Foundation that there was "no way in the world" Gingrich would win the election.

Clearly the most fundamental element and the beginning point of any campaign is its management. Ironically, it is perhaps one of the least discussed factors which political analysts normally consider in passing judgment on a campaign. When a candidate's name is mentioned, his name-recognition and who will support him are much more likely topics of conversation. Yet, neither of these seems to have made any real difference in the winning or losing campaigns under consideration at the conference.

In a way, management is something intangible because it touches every other aspect of a campaign, from budgets and hiring personnel, to such indirect factors as morale and a sense of purpose among paid staff and volunteers. It affects how quickly actions can be taken and any number of other delicate intricacies which have a bearing on how the public will perceive a campaign and the candidate.

But from the outset, management means the construction of a specific plan or strategy leading to victory and the development of the tools by which to carry it out. Ideally, good management should mean real control of campaign operations. It also should mean a simple decision-making process, where very few people are directly involved and where a chain of command is clear-cut.

As important as the last-minute attack on an issue or the last 5,000 voter ID phone calls may be, one of the most important conclusions reached by conference partici-pants, and to which they continually returned in their discussions, was that the early management of the campaigns was at least equally, if not more, important.

In comparing the nine campaigns, the single most clear-cut difference between winners and losers lay in what they did during the early months to plan strategies and ways to carry them out. An early, well thought-out strategy — planned by a manager who remained with the campaign throughout the effort and saw it to its completion — seemed to be an essential element of difference between winners and losers.

After two days of detailed discussions about the campaigns individually, it became increasingly clear that, as a general rule, the winning campaigns did not have frequent turnovers in management. They did not suffer from having too many people making decisions. And, especially, they did make early and realistic plans for how their candidate, a human being with x and y weaknesses, could win the election.

The plans were then implemented in almost every case by the same individual who helped make them at the outset.

Lastly, in all of the winning campaigns, the candidate did not run his own campaign effort. Rather, he entrusted it to this manager, who made virtually all of the key strategic decisions.

One of the most obvious examples of the importance of management from among the nine campaigns is that of the Jeffries campaign of Kansas. The campaign strategy was designed after the initial benchmark survey, taken in March 1978. As Bruce Eriksen, Jeffries' campaign manager, told the Foundation, "I am convinced the election was won back in March. That's when the decisions were made." From the outset, this was not a campaign in which committees made decisions, nor did the candidate try to run his own operation. Eriksen retained central control and the decision-making process was relatively simple.

At the beginning, Jeffries had very low name-recognition, and he did not have a prior political base from which to run. This meant that a candidate image could be portrayed "from scratch" and that he would be difficult to attack on issues, since he had no voting record.

On the other hand, Jeffries had a number of personal problems in his background which might have made him rather vulnerable to negative publicity. He had been a used-car salesman who had gone bankrupt. Kansas is a Bible Belt region, and Jeffries had been on the board of a distilling company. His wife is a recovering alcoholic. With these potential problems in mind, the campaign set out early to establish a positive image. It put Jeffries' wife on television to talk about her past problem and her confidence in her husband. Jeffries, who is a family man, was portrayed that way throughout.

Having once laid the groundwork and "framed" a potential problem in the campaign's own terminology, it was ready to look for ways to challenge Keys' voting record. As Eriksen put it, "we picked some screwball issues. Some things which stood out alone, and to which she could not respond." The selection included her vote to loan money to New York, GI benefits for draft-deserters, the fact that one year she paid $6.97 in property tax, and so on.

A main focus of the campaign throughout the primary and the general was precinct organization and election-day planning. The candidate, who was often described as shy, gave only a few public speeches during the campaign. Since this was perhaps not his strong point, the candidate spent most of his time recruiting volunteers, attending small meetings and coffees, which according to Eriksen, was Jeffries' strength.

The campaign clearly would have had major problems with fundraising, since the candidate did not like to ask for money. But, by means of a well-executed strategy to raise money from PACs, there were fewer money problems than there might have been. In addition, at a time when newspaper polls were showing that Cong. Keys would probably win, the Jeffries campaign's tracking data showed them that a last-minute effort would probably give them a victory. For this reason, Eriksen took the risk of going $50,000 into debt in the last two weeks.

Cong. Keys, on the other hand, used much of her time in the last weeks to visit with small groups and never did attack Jeffries on the issue they expected all along — "the danger from the right-wing." No campaign is perfect, and the Jeffries campaign had its problems with various press incidents and other technical difficulties. But execution of strategy was clearly the strong point.

By contrast, the Rex Hime campaign in California had serious problems in this area, and it seemed to suffer from a real lack of continuity in its strategy. Of course, there is no question that the fourth district of California, with its heavy Democratic registration and with the presence of a university in the area, would not naturally be a Republican stronghold. Kansas' 2nd district has long been considered "marginal," whereas this district has not.

Nevertheless, Jeffries did not have Hime's advantage of running in an open seat, and he had other problems as well. In the case of Hime, the campaign had been run by family members and the "kitchen cabinet" in the primary. Hime easily won the multi-candidate primary, and according to campaign manager Bob Hazeleaf, this victory was due mostly to precinct organization.

But the transition from the primary race to the general election race was a very difficult one, and a serious shift in strategy took place. Once the primary was over, a need was felt by the candidate or his advisors to reorient the campaign away from its focus in the primary — precinct organization. It then reoriented itself toward media.

Apparently, the consequences of that decision could not be carried out, since a media strategy at least would seem to require a full-time press staffer, which the campaign did not have. A consultant was obtained from a very distant state, and he remained very distant. There appears to have been a lack of planning for the general election and finally a loss of control.

It also seems that there was no one, central, decision-maker to execute a plan. For whatever reason, not enough staff people were hired. A total of five people, including the candidate, carried out all campaign functions. As a result, there was no person to handle media and no rapport with local media people was established. There was no finance director, and there was such a lack of funds that the strategy was disrupted.

The plan was to have short spurts of campaign activity, reaching a series of plateaus, until the final effort. But as a result of the money shortage, some vital activities could not be carried out. A signed letter from Ronald Reagan, for example, could not be mailed. According to campaign manager Hazeleaf, the candidate was involved in the daily decision-making process. Hime therefore inadvertently made a time sacrifice on the other end by taking himself away from activities only the candidate can perform.

Another interesting campaign to look at from the standpoint of strategy is that of Newt Gingrich in Georgia's 6th district. The Gingrich campaign had probably the most media-oriented effort of the nine campaigns studied. Whereas the Hime campaign had difficulty getting any coverage for its projects, Gingrich clearly had a good relationship with the working press.

But, from a broader perspective, the Gingrich campaign generally did not become "defensive," a problem which seemed to plague Hime. From the outset, Gingrich was not managing his own campaign, as he had done in his previous races for the same seat. Of course, having run in the district twice before was in itself very helpful. Gingrich also had the advantage of knowing where to go for votes, based on the previous elections. His campaign manager, Carlyle Gregory, established themes and strategy early, and he had charge of the major aspects of the campaign, including the budget.

Gingrich's opponent, Democrat Virginia Shapard, had been a state legislator with a base of support in the district, just as Victor Fazio, Hime's opponent, had been. One difference between them, however, was that Shapard's campaign became reactive and made a number of miscalculations. (Fazio had reacted to some of Hime's advertising by trying to get it taken off of the air, but later recovered his momentum.)

The Gingrich strategy, based on previous elections, was to try to make some inroads into the black community. The opposition strategy was adjusted once the Democratic primary was over, and they launched what they called "class warfare." Using a shopping cart as the campaign logo, the campaign drew a contrast between the debt-ridden Gingrich and Shapard "the country-club Democrat."

Another important point was in the campaign's use of survey research to make last-minute, tactical adjustments. Gingrich was not getting the support he needed among women and, as a result, the advertising on daytime TV was increased. The strategy in the last days was changed so that Gingrich would meet the most people in the largest of the two counties.

Certainly a factor in this election was the extremely low turnout. About 20,000 fewer people voted than expected, and this undoubtedly helped the Republican. But clearly the Gingrich campaign stayed on its planned course, and Shapard did not.

The campaign of Duane Alton against the incumbent Democrat Tom Foley was an amazing one in many respects. Of all the campaigns under consideration at the conference, Alton came closest to being defeated in the primary. Campaign manager Dick Minard speculates that if Alton's opponent, Dr. John Sonneland, had begun his television two weeks earlier, Alton may have been defeated.

Clearly one of the difficulties this campaign experienced was the fact that it had no early survey research, and the first benchmark survey was taken in September 1978. The strategy for the primary was initially designed by a committee and later reworked by Minard. There were no outside consultants for the campaign, with the exception of a media aide.

But a more serious problem seems to have been the campaign's failure to recognize and compensate for a personal weakness in Alton as a candidate. Whereas in the Jeffries campaign, those weaknesses were written into the strategy, in the Alton campaign they apparently were not.

Alton, who is a tire-dealer in the district, was fairly well known before he ran for Congress in 1976. He had frequently appeared on television in his own tire advertisements. Unfortunately, the transition from tire-salesman to U.S. Congressman is, in and of itself, difficult to make.

Added to that, in the perception of many observers, Alton had difficulty handling issues of substance before the media, so that by the end of the campaign, reporters who received campaign press releases would occasionally inquire whether in fact the candidate really said what his press release indicated. Cong. Foley, in the meantime, was also aware of the issue and also tried to portray Alton as incompetent.

The campaign's own effort was to portray Alton as learning and studying the issues. As Minard pointed out, Alton became "overexposed" to the media, which was even invited to small meetings and coffees. A deliberate approach similar to that used in the Jeffries campaign may have solved part of the problem. A second major difficulty was in the area of fundraising. No finance committee ever materialized for Alton. Again, Jeffries had a similar problem, but circumvented it by means of a strong PAC strategy. Alton had no PAC strategy either, and that created cash-flow problems.

Finally, Alton's election results showed that he did not do as well in Spokane as he had in 1976. Had tracking been possible — which it was not because of the lateness of the other surveys — the weakness may have been detected before election day. It was the tracking which enabled the Jeffries campaign to make a last-minute decision to go into debt.

The campaigns of Democrat Kent Hance (D-TX 19) and Republican Bill Clinger (R-PA 23) were widely different, as may be expected. But, with respect to the way in which the campaigns were managed, some definite points of comparison can be drawn.

One fundamental similarity was the absence of managerial obstacles. Both managers -- Richard Knox, with Hance, and Tim Gay, with Clinger -- were with the campaign all

along. Both had good working relationships with the candidates, both of whom were "managed," and not the reverse.

Both Knox and Gay repeatedly alluded to the enthusiasm within the campaigns, especially among volunteers. Knox, who has lived in that area of Texas and knows it well, was able to use that personal experience and his already established personal relationships with those who volunteered for key positions in the campaign. Gay, on the other hand, describes himself and the whole staff as "rookies," but said that because of inexperience they had a strong "esprit de corps."

The strategies between the two campaigns were quite different, of course, but both managers clearly were able to make last-minute adjustments in strategy and tactics. In the case of Clinger, the campaign shifted toward greater use of media to penetrate the district. In Hance's case, a voter ID program was implemented in the last month in one targeted section of the district.

When these two campaigns are compared to their fellows in the same state, the differences in the area of management are striking. In Pennsylvania's 7th district, Republican Sonny Kane, like Bill Clinger, was trying to unseat an incumbent. Kane had the advantage of being a present officeholder as the Mayor of a large township in the district, Upper Darby, whereas Clinger began as a political newcomer.

An important difference between these two campaigns is the nature of the opposition. Whereas Cong. Robert Edgar, Kane's opponent, makes an attractive candidate and uses the advantages of incumbency to his credit, Cong. Ammerman was weak on both points and had alienated much of his natural constituency. Both were known as "Republican" districts.

According to Kane's campaign chairman, James Gillin, perhaps the biggest difficulty the campaign had was in the area of management. "Communication was very difficult," he commented. Because of the illness of his wife, Kane retained his full-time job as Mayor, allowing only part-time for campaigning. There was a headquarters, but it was a place for the volunteers, rather than a central hub of the campaign wheel. There was no paid staff, and the campaign manager, Charles Sexton, was difficult to reach. It was a campaign which, in the end, did not have enough funds to pursue its media strategy, and Kane lost by 1,368 votes when other Republican candidates running in the 7th district carried it with little trouble.

A brief look at two other congressional campaigns, both in Texas, also would indicate that the most important reason for their failure was the management.

In the case of Les Burgess' campaign in Texas' 11th district against Democrat Marvin Leath, no one person was fully in control and directing the whole operation. It had

experienced some early changes in managers, and finally, Mark Lawless, who had conducted Burgess' 1976 effort, was chosen to run the 1978 campaign.

Several people who came into contact with this campaign were quick to comment that there were personality conflicts, office problems and, at the end, low morale. David Lewein, Burgess campaign field coordinator, commented, "volunteers kept on leaving the campaign," because in his view they were asked to do too much too soon and were "worn out" by the end.

Other serious problems seemed to dog this campaign throughout, and in the final analysis, when a strategy decision was apparently necessary at the end to draw a contrast between Burgess and Leath and to give voters a reason not to vote Democratic, that decision was deferred and not made. As a result, Burgess never attacked Leath, and the campaign did not seem able to make last-minute adjustments. If there was a strategy here, it is difficult to find.

While Burgess was confronted with the problem of distinguishing himself from a conservative Democrat, Republican Tom Pauken of Texas' 5th district did not have any such difficulty whatsoever. Democrat Jim Mattox is liberal by most ratings and presented a natural contrast to Pauken, a conservative. Pauken, then, had an easier target than Burgess, in the sense that Mattox had a voting record which he could subject to criticism.

In addition, Mattox himself, like Cong. Ammerman, was having some serious problems at home. Mattox had developed a hostile relationship with local media and had a high negative rating which appeared in opinion surveys. Pauken's campaign manager, Paul Caprio, adroitly caught Mattox in an apparent lie about his relationship with Howard Jarvis, originator of California's Proposition 13. Caprio brought Jarvis into the district on Pauken's behalf. The issue exploded in the press and was further amplified by other campaign efforts, such as direct mail.

Caprio's strategy was to find a cutting issue for the close of the campaign. Although Pauken had been trailing Mattox badly in the polls, his campaign began to gain momentum and other key elements in the effort fell into place.

The most evident problems from the standpoint of management date from before Caprio joined the staff in August. The campaign had had a whole stream of campaign managers, none of whom could work with the candidate, who wanted to manage his own campaign. As one knowledgeable observer commented, "there was almost nothing to start with when Caprio joined the staff." Although in the end, the campaign did succeed in attracting volunteers, it also had lost some because of the impression of disorganization.

So, one of the major contrasts between the Pauken campaign and the Clinger campaign, since both were running against weakened incumbents, was that Clinger allowed himself to be managed, while Pauken was obviously reluctant to be managed. While the entire Clinger effort gives the impression of consistent development, reaching a logical climax, the Pauken effort suffered fits and starts and had to take the very risky option of closing the campaign in the attack mode.

While it is very easy to oversimplify, from a managerial standpoint, the differences between winning and losing campaigns are very clearly defined. On the whole, those campaigns in which the candidate did not become involved in day-to-day operations and decision-making tended to succeed. Those in which he did act in a managerial capacity suffered from internal conflicts and tended not to succeed.

Survey Research and the Media

Chapter II

It was just three weeks before election day, and the campaign staff of Republican candidate Jack Burgess (TX 11) was resigned to defeat. According to David Lewein, field director of the campaign, "our campaign closed down three to four weeks out." Unfortunately, what the Burgess campaign apparently did not anticipate was that it would win 48% of the vote against Democrat Marvin Leath — a close election after all.

A closer look at the campaign showed that it had an abundance of survey data. Four surveys were taken in all, and tracking was also done. In fact, the Burgess campaign clearly had more data at its disposal than any of the four winning campaigns studied at the Free Congress Foundation's post-election conference. The Jim Jeffries campaign, by contrast, took two surveys plus tracking; Kent Hance took two without tracking; Newt Gingrich took two without tracking; and Bill Clinger took three without tracking.

A total of between $23,000 to $26,000 was spent on the Burgess surveys, taken in November 1977, March 1978, June and September. Despite the money spent and the data gathered, the Burgess campaign clearly lacked any real connection between the research and the media. There was no apparent link between what the research indicated should be done and what the campaign actually did, as far as the public could tell.

According to Lewein, there was also a lack of planning for all possible contingencies. "We thought Lane Denton [a Democratic primary contender] would win. So, when Leath won, all of our prior planning went down the drain. It was also demoralizing because we knew Leath was a conservative." Burgess is a conservative Republican.

Unlike Newt Gingrich of Georgia, Jack Burgess did not focus most of his campaign on the media, nor did he ignore it altogether. His paid advertising began in June at the time of the Democratic runoff. Burgess was on television 4-5 weeks in June and longer on radio. The ads basically showed "Jack the nice guy," as Lewein put it, and very few issues of moment were involved. Lewein commented that in his opinion the ads were of less than average quality.

By September, the campaign undertook a negative blitz, trying to portray Leath as a person skirting the law and of questionable character. The particular issue involved a "quit claim" law in Texas, which allows a person to claim property as his own if no taxes have been paid on it and if no one else claims it within a certain period of time.

The problem with the use of the issue was that Burgess apparently failed to prove that Leath had in fact really done something irregular. Burgess lost support from attorneys and realtors and essentially fueled Leath's claim that Burgess was "immature." Despite their counterproductive nature, the ads remained on the air virtually to the end of the campaign. Other positive ads about Burgess, showing him as trustworthy, were also broadcast at this time.

Leath did not use very much media, in comparison to Burgess, and it was broadcast mostly in the last three weeks. "Leath had no volunteer system, no phone banks, no door to door. He coasted into office," Lewein said.

On the Sunday before the election, Leath's campaign did run a newspaper ad in one key area saying that Burgess would cut Social Security by 33.3%. Burgess had previously distributed no issue papers and so had no solid evidence to the contrary.

Generally, the Burgess campaign did not have very good rapport with the local media, and Burgess' own personal relationships with the individuals were not always the best. On the other hand, the ability to charm local reporters was not really a cutting edge in the marginal elections.

In the case of the Burgess campaign, what is much more significant is the seeming lack of direction and the fact that the campaign never compensated for its errors. Clearly Leath, who portrayed himself as the successful, congressional man, won the battle of the image. The Burgess campaign spent too much of its resources too early, causing a devastating deficiency at the end. Again, as in the case of the Hime campaign, the media was not the cause for defeat. It was a contributing factor, but on the whole management was a more serious difficulty.

In only one of the losing campaigns, in fact, could the argument be made that more media of a specific type might have made the difference between victory and defeat. Of all the losers in 1978, Sonny Kane (R-PA 7) came very near to success, having lost by only 1,368 votes. When the results of any election are this close, almost any single factor might have brought about a reversal. But in the Kane campaign, one of the most outstanding omissions was in the area of media.

From the outset, it is evident that a much better effort was made to coordinate the survey research and the media program. Three surveys were taken in March, September, and October. With roughly three weeks to go, Kane was still trailing Edgar by 27%. According to Jim Gillin, campaign chairman for Kane, the polls showed three things were necessary: Use television; reclaim the Republican voters; and make the race competitive. No tracking was done. The survey results also indicated that Kane needed to create the image of a winner — a difficult task.

Certainly there was no lack of literature from the Kane campaign. As Gillin put it, "we had more literature out for this campaign — you wouldn't believe it." For the most part, both Kane and Edgar made heavy use of the radio. While Edgar emphasized his incumbency, Kane tried to show himself as the "concerned candidate" with experience as Mayor of Upper Darby. Some of the radio ads were negative, but mostly they did not point to Edgar. While Kane focused his radio and television on the blue-collar voter and Democratic areas, Edgar was focusing on the Republican areas. While Kane talked about tax cuts, Edgar criticized the Kemp-Roth proposal.

When the Kane campaign did attack Edgar directly, this was done primarily in the newspapers, by means of letters to the editor and some paid ads. One ad criticized Edgar for supporting aid to Cambodia, not cutting HEW spending, and for favoring abortion. The district is about 50% Catholic.

On a limited basis at the end of the campaign, Kane also took out some newspaper ads directed to the loss of 7,000 jobs at a Boeing-Vertol helicopter plant in the district. But when it came time for the Kane campaign to use television, the money was not there. As a result, Kane was on TV only for the last week. Edgar was apparently assuming he did not have a very close race on his hands, and used no television. Again the Kane ads were positive and aimed at the blue-collar workers. One said, "Sonny will have you eating steak instead of hamburger."

When everything was said and done, the media deficiency was clear. Kane focused attention on the blue-collar workers, but in so doing did not appeal to the white-collar workers. He lost his own Republican areas, which Edgar targeted, and won the ticket-splitting areas instead. In addition, television was not used as extensively as it should have been, according to surveys.

In a way, none of the three conditions laid out in the polls for Kane were met. He could not afford adequate TV. He reclaimed some Republicans but not enough, despite literature drops and precinct work. He may not, even by the end, have created a sufficient "winner" image. And, apparently because Cong. Edgar is a minister, the Kane campaign did not want to attack him, thereby making the race competitive.

Certainly some of the media problem could be traced to money, and there were other problem areas that should not be overlooked as well. The use of media, however, was clearly a major problem in what otherwise could have been a winning campaign.

In general, no one would deny that media was important to all of the campaigns under consideration. But certainly it was not crucial in every case by any means. One campaign which illustrates the point was that of Kent Hance in Texas' 19th district.

After an October poll showed that Hance was losing ground in some of his key areas, the decision was made to attack Republican George Bush more directly. "Directly" in this case meant mostly at local appearances for coverage in small-town newspapers. In no case did Hance attack Bush in his paid advertising. Likewise, Bush did not attack Hance. Only in one joint appearance with Bush did Hance label his opponent the rich candidate, trying to buy the district for the eastern establishment.

Bush outspent Hance by far in paid advertising, spending $91,000 on television production costs alone. Bush aired many five-minute television commercials, while Hance's media, from its description, was very normal and not even especially interesting.

In the first ads for television, used in the primary and in the general, Hance talked about how West Texas is growing bigger and stronger and how it needs someone with experience to measure up to its standard. Later the campaign used a "head spot" by Hance, but references to specific single issues were absent. In fact, according to the usual standards, the Hance campaign missed some "great" opportunities. It issued no press releases and held no press conferences, because, as the campaign manager put it, "we were already getting coverage by local appearances."

At the end of the campaign, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and other major national media came to the district to cover the race. While Bush diverted his schedule to take care of the media's needs, the Hance campaign did very little to cater to them. Richard Knox, Hance's campaign manager, said, "we told them they were welcome to go out and find Hance wherever he was campaigning, but we were not going to divert him from his plans." The resulting coverage strongly favored Bush.

At another point, the Hance campaign came into a head-on collision with the White House by refusing to allow Rosalynn Carter to come in to campaign. The Hance effort is an excellent example of the lasting appeal of the "down-home" style campaign.

Probably the most media-oriented campaign of the nine under consideration was that of Newt Gingrich (R) who opposed Democrat Virginia Shapard in Georgia's 6th district. There is no question that the aggressive media approach taken by this campaign, combined with its skillful use of survey research, made Gingrich's victory possible. Shapard's defensive reaction to the media was also helpful to the Gingrich cause.

Most campaigns studied took a minimum of three surveys during the course of the year prior to election day. Gingrich had two taken by Market Opinion Research, one in November 1977 and another in September 1978. No tracking was done. The second survey proved to be the crucial one, because it showed that many of the campaign's assumptions based on the first poll were erroneous.

The September poll gave 50% of the vote to Shapard and 36% to Gingrich. It also showed that Gingrich was losing the women's vote, 30% to 70%. Shapard's name-recognition stood at 92%, while Gingrich's was 74%.

Many political experts, looking at the Gingrich campaign, had solemnly pronounced that the effort would fail. No less than 48% of the district's voters are "hard core" Democrats. Only 11% identified themselves in any way with the Republican Party. According to David Warnick, press aide for the Gingrich campaign, the original survey in November 1977 was interpreted to mean that Gingrich could run the same kind of campaign against Shapard as he could against anyone. Specifically it showed him tied with former Cong. Flynt, long before there had been any campaigning.

The 2nd survey, however, meant that an attack was required and moreover it showed that Gingrich was losing a crucial area — the Atlanta suburbs — to Shapard. In order to carry out the changes required by the second survey, the Gingrich campaign hired Constantine Seder, a New Orleans media consultant, to design their television. The advertisements he designed were quite hard-hitting. The two negative ads criticized Shapard for a vote in closed committee against a bill to stop welfare fraud and for supporting various measures which dealt with taxes. The ads were very simple in their graphics, but very forceful and direct.

The welfare-fraud ad showed a wad of $100 bills in a pocket against a black background. Underneath the pocket was a sign which said, "welfare, take one." The announcer then described a bill which would have cut welfare-fraud costs and said that it died in committee. At that point, a hand enters the picture and grabs a group of $100 bills, and another hand reaches in to stop it. Then the other hand retreats and the first hand takes the remainder of the bills, as the voice says that Shapard voted against the measure. The conclusion was, "Virginia Shapard knows how she voted, she just hopes you don't."

Besides the negative ads, the campaign also had a group of 12 positive television and radio commercials which were used toward the end of the race. The two negative ads, which were the first ads used by Gingrich, were broadcast by themselves for three days, and after that point they were combined with positive ads in varying proportions.

What was unique about the Gingrich negative advertising was the way in which it was introduced. Rather than nefariously buying the time and keeping the secret until they were broadcast, the campaign held a press conference to show them to the press and explain them. Shapard's reaction was to label them "political pornography," but her explanation of the votes was technical and too hard for the general public to under-stand. From that point, according to Warnick, Shapard never regained her stride.

Everything else the Gingrich campaign did was designed to reach his targeted voters, particularly the suburban voters he needed to win. A great deal of advertising was purchased in order to reach women, among whom Gingrich was doing poorly. Seder designed some ads with that goal in mind. Another factor was that Gingrich personally had developed good rapport with the local media and his staff was attentive to the needs of the reporters.

That personal touch was rewarding in the end, when the Gingrich campaign received equal coverage for a peanut butter and jelly dinner they had, which was opposite a $50-per-plate Shapard dinner with Rosalynn Carter. The Gingrich dinner was also consistent with a major thrust of the campaign — to reach the middle-income voter and to make Shapard appear to be the "big money" candidate. When the election results were in, there was no question that Gingrich had regained the middle income, suburban voters. He ended the campaign in a good position strategically, but even Warnick admitted, "I had my doubts that we would win."

One of the hallmarks of the successful campaigns was the ability to make 11th-hour tactical changes. One campaign that could not do so was that of Rex Hime, Republican candidate in California's 4th district. As Bob Hazeleaf, Hime's campaign manager, put it, "we could not have reacted in the end if we had tried." The reasons for the problem are complex and deep-seated, and clearly go beyond media.

The three surveys taken for the campaign were conducted in March and July. There were no surveys after July, and no tracking was done. Two surveys were taken by Public Sector, one in March and one in July. Then a third survey was also taken in July, conducted by Arthur Finkelstein.

The timing of these polls was clearly problematical. At the insistence of the campaign consultant, Mark Barnes, the second July survey was taken at a cost of $7,500. Hazeleaf told the Free Congress Foundation conference attendees that the expenditure at that time "exhausted our funds for research completely." In addition, he said, the survey results were not significantly different. Nevertheless, the surveys were used, he said, to determine what issues would be discussed.

When Labor Day arrived, the Hime paid media began very strenuously and, judging from the reaction, very effectively. Based on the survey, it was known that while Democrat Vic Fazio had name-recognition, he had no specific image. Using Sacramento television, and some radio, the campaign attacked him for not living in the district and for not opposing crime strongly enough. Shortly thereafter the campaign ran another ad criticizing a vote by Fazio on an anti-rape bill. Fazio had voted for the bill, but only after it became obvious that the measure would fail. The ad quickly became an issue, and Fazio became defensive about it.

Fazio also apparently had some difficulty getting his own television spots on the air due to an error in script. At this point, the Hime campaign, in consultation with Barnes, decided to remain on television longer than originally planned. The original scheme had been to drop off at the end of September and spare resources for the later days of the campaign.

As it turned out, because the campaign spent so much money on the early media, it did not have enough money later on when a new television commercial was needed to counter a Fazio accusation. Hazeleaf also believes that the campaign was in the attack mode too long. And, as far as quality is concerned, he said that he considered it merely average.

During the remainder of the campaign, Hime's media was primarily positive, as was Fazio's. But, when the Fazio campaign arranged for an attack against Hime at the end, it came as a hard blow. Several people who served with Hime on the Sacramento Economic Opportunity Council charged that he was absent 50% of the time from Council meetings. They made other charges as well. The press conference received fairly good news coverage, but Hime's response did not. Several other members of the Council made equally strong statements in Hime's favor, but their remarks were buried in the papers or not covered at all.

One reason for the failure of the media to give Hime fair treatment may be that the campaign did not have a single person who consistently dealt with the local reporters to establish a relationship with them. Fazio's campaign also mailed out a brochure that attacked Hime for being inconsistent on Proposition 13. It excerpted quotations from newspaper headlines made during the primary campaign, and created a misleading impression. Altogether, Hime was in a defensive position by the conclusion of the campaign. The timing of the attack media and the budgeting were weak points.

There are several schools of thought about how campaigns should function. One school says that media is the all-important factor and that this single thing will win or lose a campaign. Clearly, in the case of Hime, various things were wrong with the whole media presentation and some things were right. But the miscalculations and problems seem to be the result of strategy and management difficulties, and the paid media was simply the outward manifestation of the inner contradictions.

Likewise, the opposite can be true — that the media will also manifest the basic soundness of prior strategy planning and management. This is not to say, however, that media cannot be the decisive factor in an election. But, based on the nine campaigns studied, the idea that "media is everything" is a horrendous oversimplification. And in many cases, it is completely wrong.

The Quiet Inner Workings — Precinct Organization

Chapter III

If media is the one element of a campaign to which the most public scrutiny is directed, precinct organization is probably the element that attracts the least attention. The hard work required to recruit and train volunteers on a large-scale basis is just plain unglamorous. It often requires a large time commitment from the candidate, and it takes him away from easier-to-arrange speeches and meetings with larger groups.

Even so, the results a properly functioning organization can produce are clearly documented by the returns from several of the elections studied at the Free Congress Foundation's post-election conference. None of the nine opponents to the campaigns studied utilized any significant precinct-organization effort.

At the outset, there is no question that the campaign which put the most time and effort into a well-organized and implemented precinct system was that of Jim Jeffries (R-KS 2). Immediately after Jeffries' 52% to 48% victory, Bruce Eriksen, Jeffries' campaign manager, had told the Foundation's *Political Report*, "the out-counties won the race for us. We carried them three to one and two to one. We were able to turn out that ratio because of our organization. I think the organization was what saved us. It got us 3-4% of the vote, and that made the difference."

Taking a look at the Jeffries organization is a startling experience. Unquestionably, this campaign spent much more time, money, and effort perfecting this system than did any other Republican or Democrat campaign studied.

Computer time and voter ID cost the campaign $24,000, and there were other costs as well. According to Don Cogman, an Oklahoma consultant who specializes in precinct organization, "they did the Kasten plan almost to the letter."[1] Roughly 90% of the voter ID was done door-to-door by the approximately 1,580 volunteers actively canvassing. From the top down, there was a large time investment in grassroots activity. The candidate, who was quite good at motivating volunteers, spent a great deal of time attending the 120 to 150 coffees Eriksen said the campaign sponsored.

Jeffries also regularly called the top precinct organizers, a tactic which "controlled rumors and circumvented the press," Eriksen said. Eriksen himself spent a great deal of time setting up the computer lists of voters to be canvassed and arranging for the printing of walk sheets.

The planning for election-day activities began several months before November, and according to Eriksen, 1,500 people were working on that day for Jeffries. By November

7, 32,000 pro-Jeffries voters had been identified, and most of that vote was turned out by door-to-door efforts, with some calling to supplement door-to-door work in the less well-covered areas. Three field staffers coordinated these efforts.

By contrast, Democratic Cong. Martha Keys had no voter ID or turnout effort. In addition, the 1976 Republican opponent to Keys, Ross Freeman, also had made no effort at precinct organization.

It was not a perfect system. Eriksen believes there may have been some "overkill" in the pro-Jeffries precincts, and actual time spent making the computer system operational may have been excessive. But his entire effort unquestionably was essential to Jeffries' ability to upset the expectations of most political observers in Kansas on election day.

While other campaigns, such as those of Tom Pauken, Kent Hance, and Sonny Kane, also had functioning volunteer organizations, one element clearly set apart the Jeffries effort — the extraordinary election-day effort, in which precincts were walked and not just called by telephone. It was a tightly controlled organization, one which was Jeffries' own and not simply a redone version of an already existing GOP organization.

The strength of Jeffries' election-day effort was unique among the nine campaigns studied and in all of the other campaigns election-day activities were either non-existent or, in any case, inferior to Jeffries'.

Clearly one of the most important days for any precinct organization is election day, if in fact it is not the single most important day. One particular topic of interest to those who have attempted to assemble volunteer organizations for a candidate is the impact of door-to-door efforts, as opposed to telephone efforts.

Don Cogman, who has his own consulting firm in Oklahoma, undertook a study of different types of election-day activities, and he talked about the results at the Foundation conference. The study was designed to determine whether it is more effective to telephone identified voters on election day or to send volunteers door-to-door on election day in order to get people to the polls. For this purpose, Cogman took three kinds of precincts, somewhere in Oklahoma City -- one ticket-splitting precinct; one Democrat; and one Republican. The study was undertaken during an actual campaign on behalf of a candidate.

At first, the vote for that candidate was identified at some time prior to election day. Then, on election day, in each precinct, one-third of those for that candidate were not contacted. One-third were telephoned and reminded to vote. One-third were contacted person to person by precinct walkers. The results are reflected in this chart…

Ticket-Splitting Precinct	Percent of Those For "Our Candidate" Who Actually Voted
Not contacted	47%
Telephoned	59%
Walked	69%
Democrat Precinct	
Not Contacted	52%
Telephoned	54%
Walked	59%
Republican Precinct	
Not Contacted	71%
Telephoned	59%
Walked	75%

In other words, in the ticket-splitting precinct, for instance, 47% of those who favored "our candidate" but who were not contacted on election day (one-third of the total for "our candidate" in the precinct) actually voted. The turnout increased to 59% when identified voters were telephoned. And when voters were confronted with a precinct walker, the number who went to the polls increased to 69%.

Clearly then, the general conclusion is that the most effective way to turn out identified voters on election day is by door-to-door efforts. Only the Republican results seem slightly divergent, but not enough so to discount the conclusion. Among the campaigns studied at the Foundation conference, the only one which extensively used door-to-door walkers on election day was that of Jim Jeffries, described above.

Another campaign with a fairly effective organization was that of Tom Pauken. The major difference was that Pauken did not have volunteers actually walk the precincts on election day. Some calling was done to identified voters and many volunteers were asked to stand at the polls and pass out Pauken literature to voters as they arrived to vote. According to Cogman's assessment, the campaign "did a fairly good job of voter identification" but was "not organized for the maximum effort on election day." Most of the identification of Pauken voters was door-to-door, but turnout efforts were not. Altogether a total of 25,000 Pauken voters were identified, out of a vote goal of 37,100.

Campaign manager Paul Caprio described the impact of the local presence of precinct workers. "In all the areas where we had good precinct captains, we exceeded our vote

goals. And we were picking up support before Jarvis ever came in to campaign. We could tell this by our telephone canvassing. Prior to Jarvis, we had already reached the same level of support Nancy Judy had had in 1976." Judy received 44% in that year. Like Jeffries, Pauken was also good at recruiting volunteers. Other observers in addition to Caprio have also said that the precinct organization was quite important to his near victory.

Besides election-day activities, the process of identifying voters sympathetic to a candidate also was a major topic at the conference. The problem can be posed as a question. If a voter tells a volunteer who is working for a particular candidate that he supports that candidate, is that voter to be believed? Is he telling the truth or is he simply anxious to be rid of a nuisance tying up his telephone line?

Probably the worst problem experienced by the campaigns which implemented voter identification programs was inaccuracy — i.e. voters would say they favored so-and-so but really not mean it. Take for example the campaign of Duane Alton (R-WA 5). Dick Minard, campaign manager, told the Free Congress Foundation that at first the campaign had been using advocacy telephone calls to identify its supporters.

Then it decided to check the accuracy of its results. The responses were shocking. No less than 60% of those who said they were for Alton switched to Foley when they thought it was a Foley advocacy call.

Pollsters, then, are not the only people who are interested in eliciting the truth from the prospective voter, and, like them, consultants who worked on voter ID and turnout this year had difficulty getting correct information. According to Don Cogman, the reason for the inaccurate voter ID was simple. Advocacy and survey were too intertwined. It is a mixture that is especially deadly when the telephone is used.

On the other hand, when volunteers are taking the canvas door-to-door, the information gathered tends to be much more accurate, even though the volunteer does associate himself with the campaign. As one political activist put it, "most people find it harder to lie to your face than they do over the telephone."

Very few of the campaigns studied had the kind of precinct organization that would allow them to coordinate great numbers of volunteers conducting door-to-door canvassing, let alone turnout on election day. Only three campaigns had this kind of capability to any large extent. Two of the better organizations were assembled by Jeffries and Pauken. Although Jeffries had volunteers walking the precincts on election day and Pauken did not, both identified their supporters in the most effective way — door-to-door. Both supplemented door-to-door activities with telephoning into selected precincts. And both saw their organizations produce very positive results.

While many other campaigns attempted to assemble organizations and succeeded to a lesser extent, the campaign of Sonny Kane was far more fortunate than most. It had, in fact, a veritable army of volunteers marching about the precincts. With 2,000 volunteers, most of whom were part of the local party organization, the Kane campaign identified 67,500 households, or about 90,000 voters.

Delaware County is unusual in that it has still a very strong GOP organization. The campaign's vote goal was 89,000, and it was the only campaign to identify, at least on paper, enough voters to win. Almost all of the identification was done door-to-door. Out of 219 precincts in the district, 200 were covered. These volunteers went door-to-door in their areas four separate times to each house, working for all of the various GOP candidates running in the district.

The final canvas, however, was done for Kane's benefit only. As it turned out, as close as the election was, Kane was the only Republican not to carry the district. The identification of pro-Kane voters was 35% wrong, and Kane's total vote was approximately 78,000. Since the district is about 2 to 1 Republican in registration, the goal had been to recapture the Republican base already there.

According to Cogman and others who had contact with the campaign, the problem may have been a fundamental lack of control. The effort to turn out voters was not as carefully attuned as it might have been, and it was generally held up until 6:00 p.m. on election day.

"Overkill" is another theory that has been advanced. Possibly the voters were approached so many times that when the Kane canvassers came around, they had had enough of unexpected visitors on their front porches. It is also possible that the volunteers did sloppy work or that some puffing of figures was done. The training and control at the bottom level of the organization were not nearly so tight as it had been in some other campaigns, such as Jeffries and Pauken, both of whom had "personal" rather than party organizations.

Two other campaigns also had success with their efforts to identify voters, although on a more limited scale. The campaign of Kent Hance (D-TX 19) operated a phone bank to identify pro-Hance voters during the last four weeks of the campaign, almost as an afterthought. The results were "quite valid" according to one observer close to the campaign. On election day, Hance supporters were reminded by telephone to go to the polls, and the only door-to-door work which was done involved literature distribution.

Likewise, the campaign of Bill Clinger (R-PA 23) did not emphasize door-to-door work, nor did it put much stress on election-day activities. Most of the identification was done by means of telephone banks. Even so, what there was of a precinct organization

was called "the most ambitious grassroots organization ever tried in this region," by Tim Gay, campaign manager.

Two other attempts at precinct organization deserve some mention. The Rex Hime campaign actually identified about 9,000 pro-Hime voters, out of a total vote goal of 81,108. Where there was leadership to direct volunteers, Hime voters were identified and a victory squad was implemented.

The major problems were a lack of commitment to this phase of the campaign by the candidate and a lack of staff direction. Basically, not enough votes were identified to be really useful and the voter turnout effort was altogether weak. Due to a staff shortage, the organization director was often diverted to other tasks. Generally more staff and resources were needed for the organization.

Besides Hime, Duane Alton's campaign also made an effort to organize priority precincts (R-WA 5). With a total of about 400 volunteers, precincts were called or walked beginning in late September. Altogether about 27,000 voters were identified for Alton, but the figure may have been inaccurate because of the use of advocacy phone calls. Another problem experienced by Alton, and by some other campaigns as well, was motivating the volunteers to do the walking or calling. An effort at turnout was made on election day to turn out voters in 17 precincts. But the fundamental problem, according to Cogman, was that there were not enough pro-Alton voters identified and not enough volunteers available on election day.

In summarizing the efforts at precinct organization made by the campaigns observed by Cogman, they were mostly "a series of not-enoughs." Four campaigns did voter ID well and only one did turnout well. The campaigns with the best ID process -- Jeffries, Pauken, Clinger and Hance -- did only fairly well when it came to turnout on election day, with the exception of Jeffries. There was often, Cogman said, a lack of effort to recruit people for election-day work — and it is easiest to recruit people for work on election day. Much of the voter ID information, except in a few cases, was invalid and advocacy and survey were too intertwined — the basic problem of the Kane campaign. And invalid data equals an invalid turnout. Cogman also pointed to a general lack of training and control at the lowest level of the organizational pyramid.

Finally, if election day is the one day that matters most, it was also the day which was the most neglected by many of the campaigns.

1 A system of precinct organization first utilized by former Cong. Robert Kasten (R-WI) and later taught to other congressional candidates by the "New Right" Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress.

Image Perception and the Candidates

Chapter IV

A congressman can do exactly what he is supposed to do — not miss a vote in the House, attend committee meetings, debate legislative issues, spend time on the floor, and meet with important constituents — but unless he adds another whole element, one which was not important until the past decade or two, he may very well not be re-elected.

Surveys indicate time and again that this element is a personal touch — the creation of an impression with the average voter that the incumbent "works hard," "listens," "cares what the people think," and is "warm." This perception is also particularly important to incumbents or challengers in marginal districts, and is clearly a very important reason why the electorate will select one candidate over another.

V. Lance Tarrance, the pollster who did the survey work for Senator John Tower (R-TX) this year, told those assembled at the Free Congress Foundation's conference that "personality may now make such a big difference that it can overcome all else." He continued, "Party ID does not anchor an election any longer. It is just one of many variables."

Tarrance's polling firm, located in Houston, conducted a study of two congressional districts shortly after the 1976 general election. The districts studied, Colorado's 2nd and Pennsylvania's 25th, are represented by incumbents who, technically speaking, should not be in office. Both Tim Wirth (D-CO 2) and Gary Myers (R-PA 25) were elected in 1974 to represent districts which traditionally voted for candidates of the other party.

The two districts are also quite different in their make-up. Pennsylvania's 25th is located in the western, industrial part of the state, and it is predominantly blue-collar Democratic. The 2nd district of Colorado is located to the west of Denver, and it is mostly white-collar and traditionally Republican. Despite these differences, survey results compiled from open-ended questions showed that values and quality of life were more important to voters than party ID.

And, when voters in both district were asked what a congressman should do, 53% in Pennsylvania and 41% in Colorado said that he should help the district and provide constituent-service. When people from the Colorado district were asked why they supported Cong. Wirth, the verbatim responses were very similar to those from the Pennsylvania respondents.

For Wirth, some typical comments were "warm," "idealistic," "slightly conservative," "experienced," "he's for the people," "middle income," "young," "environmentally oriented," "independent and not for the special interests." For Myers, some comments were "pro-family," "honest," "doesn't wear anyone else's collar," "warm," "young," "he listens," "asks people to write to him." When Myers' supporters were asked why they voted to re-elect him, some comments were "he has the same values," "good man," and "independent." Very few people mentioned issues. Both Wirth and Myers are liked for personality traits and constituent attention.

Although surveys show that both personality and district activity are very important for incumbents, it does not follow logically that a challenger need only campaign on positive themes and he will win. In the 1978 close elections, one of the main examples of the failure of an almost purely positive campaign was that of Sonny Kane (R), who was opposing Cong. Robert Edgar (D-PA 7).

Throughout the campaign, Kane emphasized his experience as Mayor. The major theme was to show him as the "concerned candidate," with particular attention to unemployment, taxes, and inflation. The Kane campaign did purchase a few newspaper ads that attacked Edgar directly. But most of the "negative" media did not specifically mention him.

As a result of a last-minute shortage of funds, the Kane campaign's ability to attack Edgar in the media was prematurely restricted. Kane was left with the positive, having given voters too little reason to prefer him to Edgar. Cong. Edgar, on the other hand, is widely regarded in the district as a fiscal conservative, one who favors the elimination of government waste. In addition, he is personally an able candidate, who makes a good appearance.

His image, then, also remained positive enough that the Republicans who had crossed over for him initially, had no reason to reject their first choice.

While Kane was running on positive themes in Pennsylvania, the exact opposite was true of Republican Tom Pauken's campaign in Texas' 5th district. Virtually everything in this race was negative, and words such as "Nazi" and "liar" did not go unheard. Paul Caprio, Pauken campaign manager, commented, "the campaign was almost won on a purely negative thrust."

While Pauken's own efforts to organize volunteers and raise money were clearly important, they were projects that the public does not see. What the public did know, however, was that there was a terrible controversy between Democrat incumbent Jim Mattox, Howard Jarvis, advocate of California's Proposition 13, and Republican Tom Pauken.

In the course of the campaign, Mattox made a number of undocumented statements that hurt him with the local media. One error was his calling Pauken "a young Nazi," a statement which was not well received.

Another error made by Mattox was his claim that Howard Jarvis was a personal friend. At this point, Caprio brought Jarvis into the district, and he openly called Mattox a "liar." The remainder of the campaign centered around this issue. Mattox reacted by accusing Jarvis of taking a bribe from Pauken, and Jarvis responded by calling Mattox one of the most irresponsible public officials in America. From that point, Pauken's media and direct mail focused entirely on the Jarvis incident.

While the Jarvis controversy raged, however, very little was said about Tom Pauken as a person. There were some "man on the street" ads for Pauken, but, as Caprio put it, "there was virtually no personal projection in this campaign." In addition, little in the way of human interest or feature stories appeared about Pauken in the newspapers.

Mattox' positive approach was to send out a tabloid 12 days before the election which talked about the "Mattox Crusade" and showed him helping his constituents. For the most part, however, there was no aggressive effort to promote his favorable image either. By the end of the campaign, Mattox purchased only one full day of saturation radio. He also sent mailgrams to the voters in response to the Jarvis problem. Mattox managed his own campaign, for all practical purposes.

As a general rule, most campaigns tried to blend the positive and the negative elements, and that seemed to prove the road to success for all of the four winning campaigns under consideration.

Jim Jeffries, the Republican who opposed Cong. Martha Keys, probably had the largest number of potential liabilities of any of the nine campaigns under consideration. Throughout the campaign, a great deal of emphasis was placed on his family — something which presented a contrast to Cong. Keys, who is divorced. (She remarried, to Cong. Andy Jacobs of Indiana.) As described in Chapter One, advertisements were broadcast early in the campaign showing Jeffries as a "caring" person.

Having once established a positive image, the campaign moved into its more negative phase. By the end of the campaign, Keys had been attacked on a wide spectrum of issues. She did not respond to the attacks.

It is especially important to note that Jeffries himself did little, if any, attacking. All negative ads were sponsored by Democrats for Jeffries. Although the separation between the campaign and Democrats for Jeffries may seem a purely superficial one, it was very important in keeping Jeffries personally above the fray. At no point did

Jeffries appear on the platform with Keys, but rather carried on campaign activities with which he was more comfortable.

By election day, there were 1,580 volunteers for Jeffries, who had an ability to motivate people to work for him. Jeffries also kept to a highly organized schedule, something that Pauken and Kane did less well.

Another campaign which blended positive and negative elements was that of Bill Clinger in Pennsylvania's 23rd district. Tim Gay, campaign manager for Clinger, who opposed Cong. Joseph Ammerman (D-PA 23), remarked about his candidate, "Bill Clinger's personality was probably the biggest single factor" in his election. According to Gay, Clinger won the early support of the Republican Party, which helped fund a survey long before the election.

This campaign also carefully blended the positive, family-oriented advertisements about Clinger, with criticism of Ammerman's record in Congress. Ammerman, like Mattox, was suffering from poor name-recognition and from not having used the advantages of incumbency. He had alienated a number of natural allies in the district by his votes in Congress.

Clinger was tightly and strategically scheduled and had developed his own rapport with the local media. Neither Keys nor Ammerman responded to attacks from their Republican opponents.

Lastly, the campaign of Kent Hance (D) against George Bush Jr. (R) in Texas' 19th district was a subtle blend of down-home, "good ole boy," west Texas-style politics and an effort to develop a personal contrast between Hance and Bush. In the paid media, unlike the other campaigns above, Hance and Bush never attacked each other. But in public appearances in small towns all around the district, Hance continually tied Bush to the "eastern establishment," making him appear the "rich, slick kid." Hance's TV ads talked mostly about his experience in working in the state legislature.

According to campaign manager Richard Knox, Bush's ads, which were very professional looking, basically helped Hance's strategy. "Bush ran an ad in which he said, 'Hance is fine, but you need someone with national connections,' and that played into our hands," Knox said.

Generally, so much of the Hance campaign was a function of the candidate's personal ties to the district that it is hard to look at Hance apart from any other segment. Much of the fundraising was directly tied to his personal appearances. The campaign held only one press conference, when Hance announced his candidacy. It put out no press releases, as a matter of policy. Knox explained, "we wanted to thaw a contrast between the high-budgeted, slick campaign of George Bush and ours." While Hance's

effort was made to appear "extremely in tune with West Texas," Bush was portrayed as the easterner who went to Ivy League schools.

Hance, as a rule, followed the schedule as it was given him by Knox. "Hance understood that we were going to put him on the road and get him out to see people. And that is when he is at his best." Hance's wife participated to some extent in the campaign. But, in keeping with tradition in the district, she never spoke for the candidate.

Finally, because of Hance's long-time ties to the district, he was able to go into small towns and get a turnout for his meetings. According to Knox, this was something Bush found very difficult to do. In short, true to its strategy, it was a person-to person campaign directed at localities. Hance's whole campaign effort can be seen as an attempt to create two separate, distinct images in the minds of the average voter.

Budgetary Booms and Bungles

Chapter V

One campaign had no finance committee or director at all. Another had a fundraising letter already signed by Ronald Reagan but could not mail it due to a lack of postage money. A third campaign manager told the Foundation, "budget and finance were the weakest areas of the campaign." Despite these drastic sounding dilemmas, one of the three won a congressional race, defeating an incumbent.

On the other hand, another campaign set precise budget goals and met them, raising $229,000. It lost. Another had a finance chairman who single-handedly raised $115,000, and it lost too.

Obviously, money matters awfully much, especially to any enterprise as short-lived as a campaign, and when it comes in counts almost as much as the quantity. Federal Election reports, joyless documents that they are, have enabled interested political observers to monitor how much money each candidate in a race is raising. These figures can draw considerable comment, particularly if one candidate is far outspending the others.

And yet, money is by no means a true indicator of victory in the making. The point can be illustrated time and again this past election year and from previous years.

Take the case of George Bush Jr., Republican son of former Ambassador Bush, and the general election opponent to Democrat Kent Hance in Texas' 19th CD. Bush spent $395,000 solely on the general election and $525,000 including the primary and runoff. Hance spent $140,000 on the general election and $115,000 in the primary, for a total of $255,000. Hance won with 54%. Richard Knox, Hance's campaign manager, commented, "If I had it to do over again, we would have spent less money. We didn't need to spend that much." Many other examples could be cited.

But before we give up all attempts to learn something from this year's experiences with money, a few conclusions are possible.

Five of the nine campaigns studied at the Foundation conference were attempts to defeat incumbent congressmen. Only those challengers who substantially outspent the incumbents were successful. Jim Jeffries' total outlay was $340,000, compared to Martha Keys' $132,000. Likewise, Bill Clinger spent significantly more than did Cong. Ammerman -- $259,000 to $125,000 approximately. Tom Pauken more or less matched incumbent Jim Mattox, and Duane Alton was outspent by Cong. Foley, $160,000 to $263,000 total.

More conclusive results could be reached by looking at more campaigns, but given the advantages of incumbency, a challenger who does not at least match the opponent may have difficulty. Even so, Sonny Kane outspent Cong. Edgar (PA 7), $200,000 to $110,000 roughly, and, although he came very close, lost.

Besides the campaigns against incumbents, two winning campaigns studied took place in open districts. One of the two was outspent, while the other nearly matched the opponent. The one was Kent Hance, and the other was Newt Gingrich, who nearly matched Shapard, his opponent, but not quite. What the above suggests, then, is that it is probably more important to exceed the spending capability of an incumbent than it is to outspend another challenger in an open seat.

Thus far, so much is logical in and of itself. But a few other trends separating winners and losers are clear, even if less obvious at first. All four winning campaigns had a paid person in charge of fundraising, and the two closest losing campaigns likewise had a person in charge of fundraising in a professional way. The three Republican winners, in particular, all had a strategy for reaching PACs, while most of the losers did not.

The campaign described in the first paragraph that called budget and finance its weakest area, ironically, spent more than any other campaign studied. The Jim Jeffries campaign spent about $340,000, and even though it went into more than a $50,000 debt, one of the major reasons Jeffries could keep things together was the PAC strategy.

PACs donated a total of $155,000 to Jeffries, who had a mailing list of over 700 PACs, which received letters and calls in a steady stream. A total of about 62% of the campaign's income came from PACs. It had really no special events that raised money. Jeffries apparently would not often ask for money, and although the campaign had a finance director, the person did not work out very well.

The Bill Clinger campaign also found the PACs to be essential money sources. In terms of the amount it raised from them, it comes in second to Jeffries, having collected $70,000 in PAC money. Tim Gay, Clinger campaign manager, commented, "our salvation was the PACs. They bailed us out on a day-to-day basis."

The winning campaign that received the least from political action committees was that of Kent Hance, who also received only $3,000 from the Democratic Campaign Committee and raised almost all of the rest of his money from within Texas. Both Hance and Tom Pauken effectively motivated a peer group of businessmen in their areas who kept money coming in. Hance had a group in Lubbock, and Pauken's group members all agreed to either raise or donate a minimum of $2,000 each. Hance raised

about $60 to $70,000 from social events — chili or ice-cream suppers. Pauken's approach was to have special large events — visits from Connally, Bush, Jarvis — which enabled the campaign to collect about $55,000 net.

Both Pauken and Hance utilized direct mail effectively, as did Jeffries. Even more successful at direct mail was Newt Gingrich, who took in $40,000 from that source. Like Pauken and Hance, Gingrich also had a "big-givers program" which raised $25,000, and it had 35 active people on its finance committee. Gingrich also assembled between $30 and $35,000 from PACs and had a finance coordinator on the staff. While the Hance campaign apparently did not experience much trouble with finances, having only one dry period, Gingrich had a few cash-flow problems, a dry spell during the primary, and an extra $10,000 at the very end.

Some of the greatest fundraising problems, however, were experienced by those campaigns which, for one reason, or another, were unable to generate an active finance committee or did not have a staff person assigned to that task. Duane Alton, for instance, did raise $130,000, but he had no finance committee. As Dick Minard, campaign manager put it, "the people never surfaced." The campaign did not have a PAC strategy.

In addition, the money came in to the campaign somewhat too late for purposes of buying media time, and when it did come in, there were no financial problems. Although it raised $123,000, and spent $135,000, there was a real need for another $50,000. There was essentially no finance director and the finance plan could not be implemented. The finance committee raised $5,000. Hime's opponent, Vic Fazio, was able to outspend him and raise over $200,000.

Perhaps the most significant funding shortfall was experienced by the campaign of Sonny Kane, who was able to carry out his planned expenditure for television spots at the end of the campaign. Kane outspent Cong. Edgar roughly two to one, $200,000 to about $110,000. It was Kane who had the finance chairman who personally raised $115,000. The campaign had several successful special events, and it raised $57,000 from PACs.

Yet, apparently Kane had trouble competing with the statewide candidates for funds and, at the end, when the crucial need was felt, for whatever reason, the money was not at hand. As mentioned previously, Kane had trouble creating a "win" image, and this could have exacerbated his problem. The campaign managers also apparently made a conscious choice not to go into debt, as some other campaigns did, and ended with a $2,000 surplus.

All of the nine campaigns attending the Free Congress conference were asked how much more money, if any, they needed. None said that more than $50,000 of

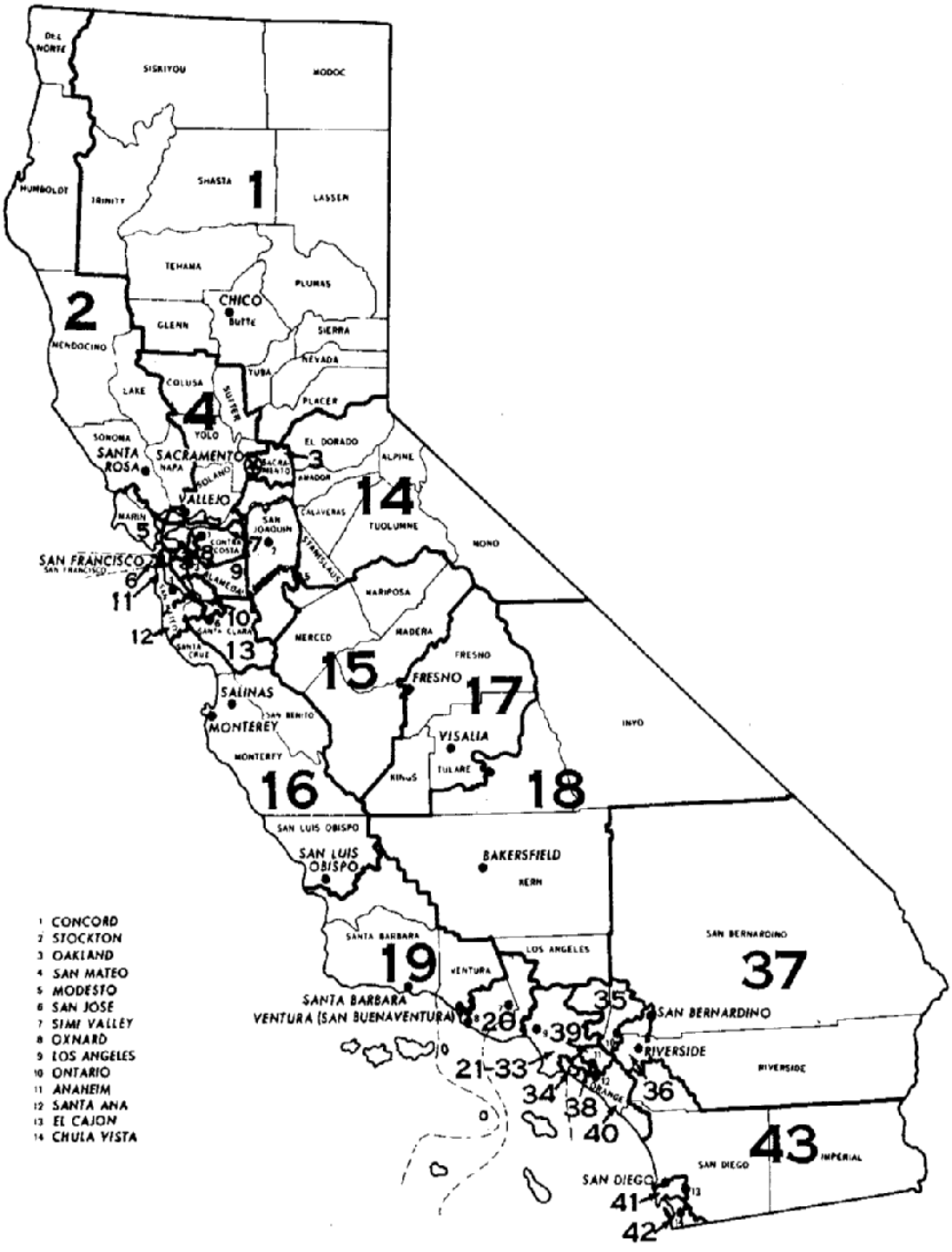
additional money was necessary to win. And again, the distinction between the winning and losing campaigns clearly was not the amount of money they had, but rather how they managed what they did have — whether it was used to avoid shortfalls and whether the right people were found to handle fundraising matters.

In most of the cases where a campaign said that it needed more money, that difference clearly could have been made if they had carried out a more aggressive strategy for reaching the political action committees, after the manner of Jeffries or Clinger. Early in the campaign, Clinger identified Ammerman as having voted solidly against oil and gas interests, and he pursued those PACs in that industry. If those campaigns had developed such a strategy, clearly they should have had more money than the amount each said was necessary to win.

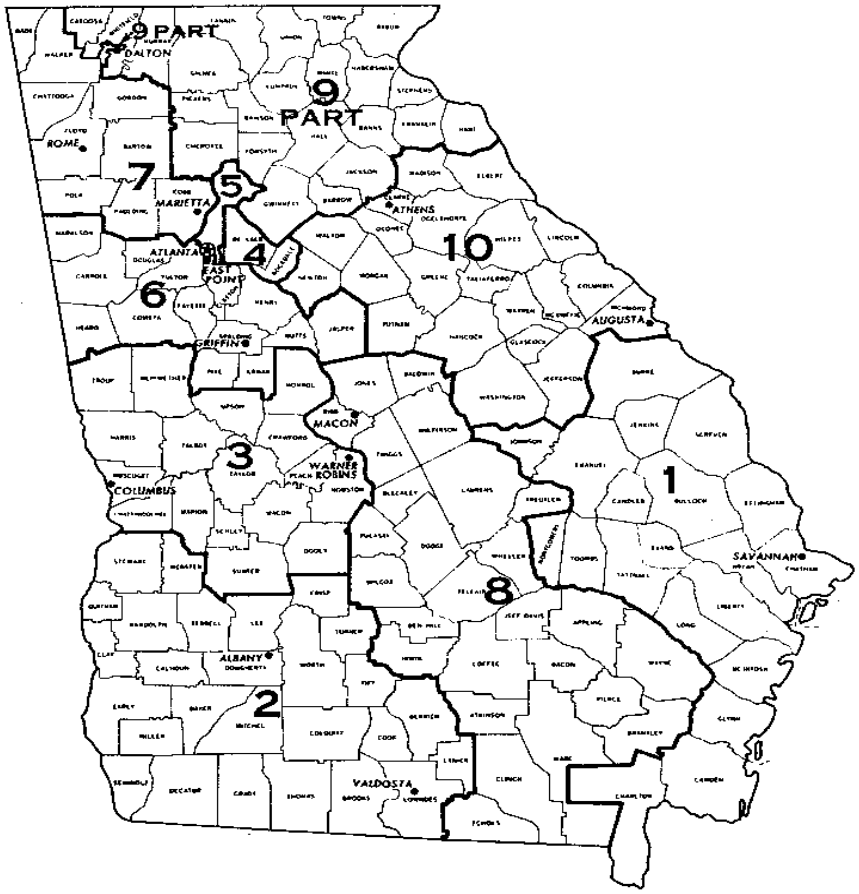
Table of Election Returns

California			
4th CD	Vic Fazio (D)	87,764	55.4%
	Rex Hime (R)	70,733	44.6%
Georgia			
6th CD	Virginia Shapard (D)	39,451	45.6%
	Newt Gingrich (R)	47,078	54.4%
Kansas			
2nd CD	Martha Keys (D)	70,460	48%
	Jim Jeffries (R)	76,419	52%
Pennsylvania			
7th CD	Robert Edgar (D)	79,771	50.3%
	Sonny Kane (R)	78,403	49.4%
	Anthony Esposito (LAB)	540	0.3%
23rd CD	Joseph Ammerman (D)	61,657	45.7%
	William Clinger (R)	73,194	54.3%
Texas			
5th CD	Jim Mattox (D)	35,524	50.3%
	Tom Pauken (R)	34,672	49.1%
	James Michael White (Soc Work)	397	0.6%
11th CD	J. Marvin Leath (D)	53,354	51.6%
	Jack Burgess (R)	49,965	48.4%
19th CD	Kent Hance (D)	54,729	53.2%
	George Bush (R)	48,070	46.8%
Washington			
5th CD	Thomas Foley (D)	77,201	48%
	Duane Alton (R)	68,761	42.7%
	Mel Tonasket (I)	14,887	9.3%

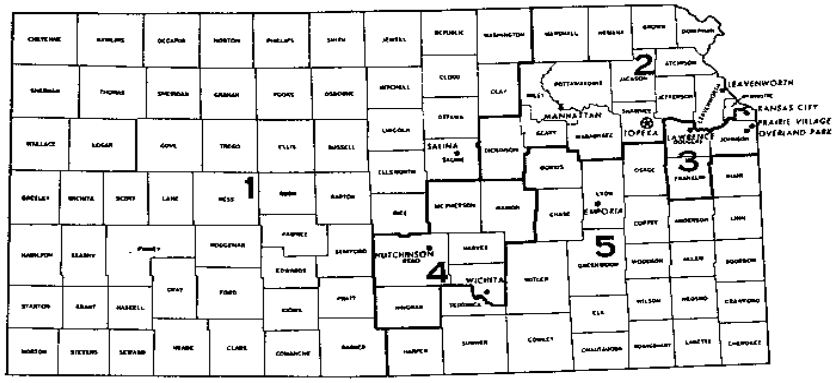
CALIFORNIA


DEL NORTE
SISKIYOU
MODOC
HUMBOLDT
TRINITY
SHASTA
1
LASSEN
TEHAMA
PLUMAS
2
CHICO
Butte
GLENN
SIERRA
MENDOCINO
NEVADA
COLUSA
SUTTER
YUBA
LAKE
4
PLACER
YOLO
SONOMA
SANTA ROSA
SACRAMENTO
NAPA
SACRAMENTO
3
EL DORADO
AMADOR
ALPINE
SOLANO
VALLEJO
14
MARIN
5
SAN JOAQUIN
CALAVERAS
TUOLUMNE
CONTRA COSTA
7
STANISLAUS
MONO
SAN FRANCISCO
SAN FRANCISCO
8
9
6
ALAMEDA
MARIPOSA
11
10
12
SANTA CLARA
MERCED
MADERA
13
15
FRESNO
FRESNO
17
SANTA CRUZ
SALINAS
SAN BENITO
MONTEREY
INYO
VISALIA
MONTEREY
TULARE
KINGS
16
18
SAN LUIS OBISPO
SAN LUIS OBISPO
BAKERSFIELD
KERN
SANTA BARBARA
SAN BERNARDINO
19
VENTURA
LOS ANGELES
37
SANTA BARBARA
VENTURA (SAN BUENAVENTURA)
20
35
SAN BERNARDINO
39
RIVERSIDE
21
33
RIVERSIDE
34
ORANGE
36
38
40
43
IMPERIAL
SAN DIEGO
SAN DIEGO
41
42
1 CONCORD
2 STOCKTON
3 OAKLAND
4 SAN MATEO
5 MODESTO
6 SAN JOSE
7 SIMI VALLEY
8 OXNARD
9 LOS ANGELES
10 ONTARIO
11 ANAHEIM
12 SANTA ANA
13 EL CAJON
14 CHULA VISTA

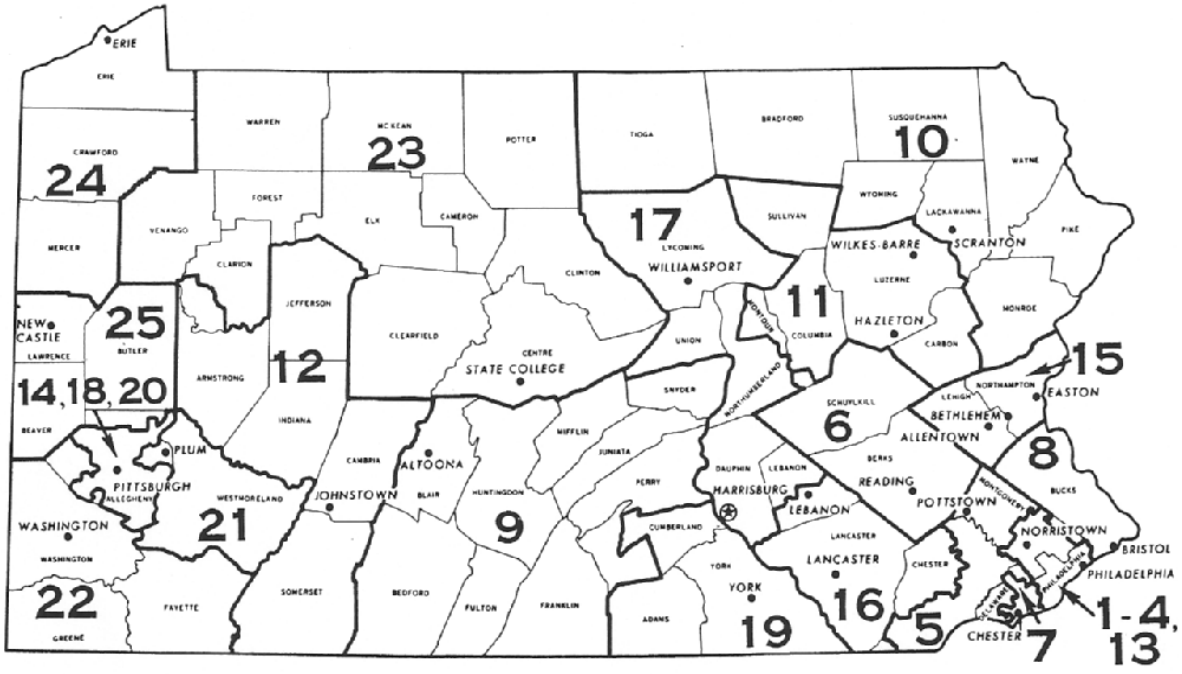
GEORGIA



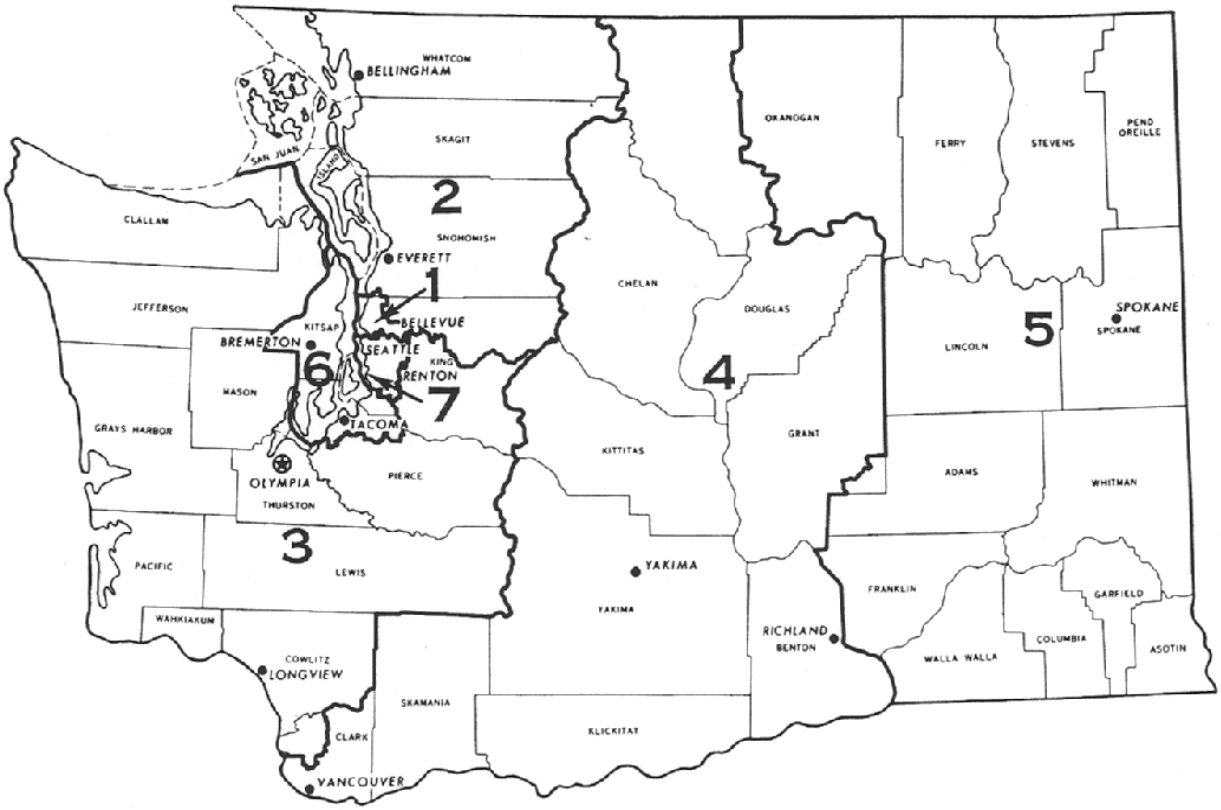
KANSAS



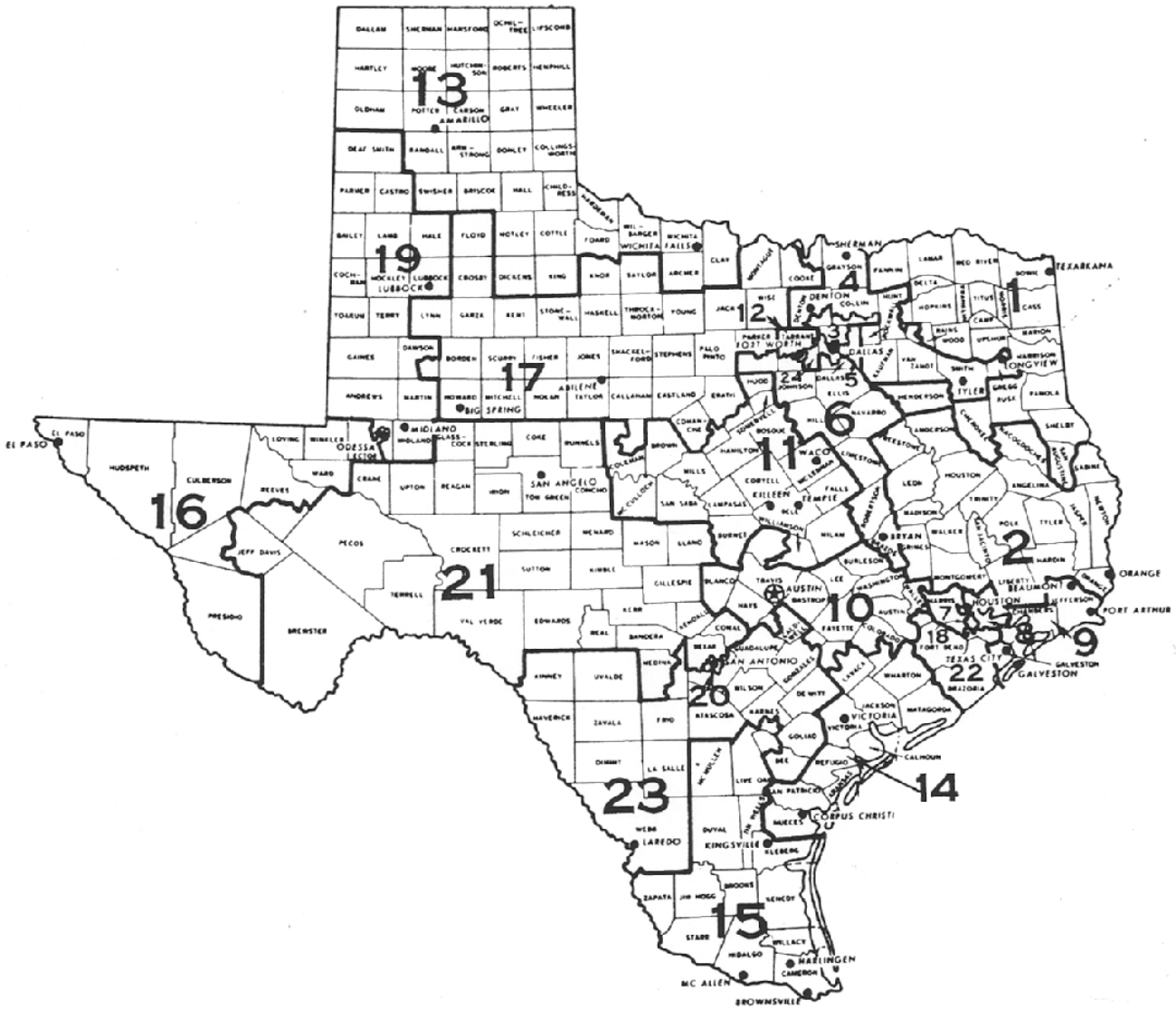
PENNSYLVANIA



WASHINGTON



TEXAS


13
19
17
12
4
1
3
5
24
6
11
2
10
7
18
8
9
22
20
21
16
23
14
15
TEXARKANA
SHERMAN
DENTON
DALLAS
FORT WORTH
WICHITA FALLS
ABILENE
MIDLAND
ODESSA
SAN ANGELO
WACO
KILLEEN
TEMPLE
AUSTIN
BRYAN
HOUSTON
BEAUMONT
PORT ARTHUR
ORANGE
TEXAS CITY
GALVESTON
SAN ANTONIO
VICTORIA
CORPUS CHRISTI
LAREDO
KINGSVILLE
HARLINGEN
BROWNSVILLE
MC ALLEN
EL PASO
LUBBOCK
AMARILLO
BIG SPRING
LONGVIEW
TYLER

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Staff

Paul M. Weyrich, President, Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, Inc.

Susan M. Marshner, Editor, *Political Report,* Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, Inc.

Campaign Personnel

Bruce Eriksen, Manager, Jim Jeffries for Congress Campaign, Kansas 2.

Tim Gay, Manager, Bill Clinger for Congress Campaign, Pennsylvania 23.

Carlisle Gregory, Manager, Newt Gingrich for Congress Campaign, Georgia 6.

Richard Minard, Manager, Duane Alton for Congress Campaign, Washington 5.

Robert Hazeleaf, Manager, Rex Hime for Congress Campaign, California 4.

Richard Knox, Manager, Kent Hance for Congress Campaign, Texas 19.

David Lewein, Field Director, Jack Burgess for Congress Campaign, Texas 11.

James Gillin, Campaign Chairman, Sonny Kane for Congress Campaign, Pennsylvania 7.

Paul Caprio, Manager, Tom Pauken for Congress Campaign, Texas 5.

Special Presentation

Lance Tarrance, V.Lance Tarrance & Asso., Houston, Texas.