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NIS EXCHANGES AND TRAINING PROJECT

**POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENT II
September 6-23, 1994**

Final Report

prepared and submitted by

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

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Final Report

From September 6 to September 23, 1994, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) organized a training program for a group of 13 political activists from the Russian Federation. The program was part of the NIS Exchanges and Training (NET) Project of the U.S. Agency for International Development, administered by the Academy for Educational Development (AED).

I. OVERVIEW

NDI's program was designed to give the participants an intimate and comprehensive view of the organization and structure of political parties in the United States and the role the parties play in national, state, and local elections. The program also highlighted the organization of political parties within the U.S. Congress and state and local legislatures and the role of public advocacy groups and the media in the political process. The program's main purpose was to provide the participants with skills and information that would enhance their ability to build stable, democratic parties in Russia.

Following immediately below is a concise description of the training component of the program. Detailed summaries of individual training activities are contained in section IX of this report. A full schedule is contained in Appendix 1.

A. Washington Program

The program began with a ten-day stay in Washington, DC. Orientation briefings provided an introduction to the U.S. political system and the 1994 elections. The participants then spent a full day at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), where senior officials explained the structure of the DNC and its role and that of its supporting committees in the current elections. To gain a balanced view of political party organization in the U.S., the participants also attended a day-long training session organized by the International Republican Institute.

During their stay in Washington, the participants met with several prominent media experts and public opinion research specialists to gain insights into how political parties and individual campaigns develop their messages and political strategies. At another session, political commentator Ken Bode, host of public television's "Washington Week in Review," gave a presentation on the relationship between the media and politics.

Meetings with members of the Senate and House leadership staffs served to familiarize the participants with the role of the majority leader in both chambers of Congress. A visit to the Federal Election Commission produced a detailed discussion of campaign finance in the United States.

Several training sessions were devoted to the role of unions, associations, and other advocacy groups in the political process. Participants met with representatives of the American Federation of Teachers, which generally endorses Democratic candidates, as well as with representatives of a number of nonpartisan or bipartisan groups, including Common Cause, the American Association of Retired Persons, and the Women's Campaign Fund.

The participants' visit to Washington coincided with the final days of the primary election campaign in Maryland and the District of Columbia. This gave the group a first opportunity to study grassroots organizing techniques and observe the U.S. electoral process in action. In Maryland, the participants shadowed the campaigns of gubernatorial candidates Mary Boegers and Parris Glendening as they made their final preparations for the election. In Washington, the group met with John Ray's campaign for mayor. On election day, the participants observed the polling at a number of sites around Baltimore and in the evening attended Glendening's victory party.

B. Regional Program: Massachusetts and Michigan

Following the Washington program, the participants were divided into two groups. One group traveled to Michigan, where the general election campaign was already underway, the second to Massachusetts to observe another primary campaign. Training activities mirrored the Washington program. In both Michigan and Massachusetts, the participants met with state party organizers as well as the director of the state bureau for elections, representatives of local advocacy groups, and journalists. The Michigan group also visited Congressman Sander Levin's district office to study constituent servicing; in addition, the group met with representatives of the Detroit mayor's office and city council and observed a city council meeting.

The primary focus of the Michigan and Massachusetts programs was the observation of campaign activity. In Michigan, the participants traveled to locations around the state, including Lansing, Boyne City, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, and Detroit, where they met with candidates and representatives from a number of federal and state-level campaigns. Each training activity highlighted a particular organizing technique (e.g., canvassing, voter targeting, etc.) or aspect of the campaign process (e.g., the role of the minority candidates, campaigning as a ticket, etc.).

In Massachusetts, the group spent an afternoon with Democratic Congressional candidate Kevin O'Sullivan as he campaigned in locations outside Boston. At a political event in Dorchester, the group observed a number of Democratic, Republican, and Independent candidates, including Governor Weld, as they made their last appeals to the

voters before the election. On election day, the group visited polling sites in downtown Boston and the suburb of Quincy. The following morning, the participants attended the State Democratic Party's traditional unity breakfast which brought together all the candidates on the party's state-wide ticket.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR EXPECTATIONS OF THE PROGRAM

NDI had been asked to design a program specifically for political party organizers. However, the group that arrived in Washington also included academics, government officials, and civic organizers. As a result, expectations of the program among the participants varied considerably: some were primarily interested in the administration of elections, while others wanted to study the work of city government; yet others were mostly interested in the sociological aspects of political campaigns. NDI made an effort to respond to the participants' individual interests beyond what was already covered in the program by scheduling professional appointments for a number of them. (See also section V of this report.)

The diversity of interests and professional backgrounds represented within the group hampered the overall effectiveness of the program in two important ways. First, not all of the training activities were of equal interest to all of the participants. Second, the participants' differing levels of political expertise meant that a number of the training sessions had to remain at the introductory level, at the expense of the more advanced members of the group. The participants themselves noted this problem at the evaluation session immediately following the Washington program. (See also section VI of this report.)

III. PARTICIPANT ATTITUDES

A. Attitudes toward the United States

All of the participants arrived with positive attitudes toward the United States; several had visited here before. All were eager not only to learn about U.S. institutions but also to experience the culture and meet with ordinary Americans. Their experiences during the program appeared only to confirm these positive attitudes, as the participants found that they had much in common with their American professional counterparts and with Americans generally.

In a few instances, the participants' perceptions of particular institutions changed as a result of the program. Most notably, this was the case with the participants' view of the press. Upon their arrival, the participants expressed skepticism about the ability of the press to be objective. In meetings with journalists, they repeatedly asked questions about the presence of political bias in the election coverage. The answers they received finally persuaded the participants that slanted political coverage is not accepted practice in the United States.

B. Attitudes toward the Program

The participants' attitudes toward the program were positive throughout. On the whole, the Michigan and Massachusetts portions were better received than the Washington program. Since a function of the Washington program was to introduce the participants to concepts whose practical application they would be able to observe during the regional visits, its benefits could only be fully appreciated in retrospect. Also, the Washington schedule was demanding, and much of the training took place indoors. The visits to Michigan and Massachusetts provided the participants with greater opportunity to explore life in the United States and come into contact with Americans from a variety of backgrounds.

At the end of their visit, the participants were generally enthusiastic about what they had seen and learned during the previous three weeks; most felt that the information they had received during the program would be useful to them upon their return to Russia. Those who had decided to run for office said they felt more confident about their chances of victory. The elected officials among the group who had visited Congressman Levin's district office in Michigan expressed their readiness to adapt practices they had observed there to their own offices.

The participants' attitudes toward the NDI staff and their interpreters were equally positive. Especially those staff members who travelled to Michigan and Massachusetts developed a warm personal relationship with the participants. The same can be said about the interpreters. In Massachusetts, one of the interpreters invited the group to have dinner at his home.

(For more information on the participants' reactions to the program, see sections VI and IX of this report.)

IV. LOGISTICS

A. Washington Program

In Washington, the participants stayed in a hotel located two blocks from NDI headquarters. Buses or vans were provided for travel to meetings and activities not held at NDI. Each morning, an NDI staff member met the participants at the hotel to accompany them as they began their schedule. To facilitate the training, NDI provided a number of breakfasts and lunches; otherwise, participants were responsible for their own meals. Upon their arrival, the participants were given a listing of affordable restaurants near the hotel as well as maps of Washington, D.C., and the Dupont Circle area. During the first couple of days of the program, NDI staff took the participants on a walking tour of the area and showed them how to use the public transportation system. As a result, the participants became increasingly comfortable with getting around Washington on their own.

B. Regional Program

NDI arranged for air travel to Massachusetts and Michigan. In Massachusetts, the participants were based in a hotel in downtown Boston. A van and driver provided transportation to training activities outside the hotel. Group meals were optional, except when required by the training. In Michigan, the participants had to change to hotels every night as they traveled to a total of five different locations around the state. NDI was able to meet the logistical challenges imposed by this schedule by having two staff members accompany the group in Michigan.

V. PROFESSIONAL CONTACTS

Throughout the program, NDI provided the participants with the opportunity for contacts with their American professional counterparts. At the end of every training session, time was allotted to allow the speakers to meet with the participants individually and exchange business cards.

In addition, NDI arranged a number of personal interviews in response to participant requests. These interviews took place in Washington following the participants' return from Michigan and Massachusetts. The following meetings were arranged: Iulia Rusova and Igor Dubov met with Kim Haddow of Greer, Margolis, a political consulting firm. Alexander Krutov met with Madeline Robinson of the D.C. Office of Zoning. Finally, Evgenia Kachouba met with Jennifer Lamson of Common Cause and with Kate Martin of the American Civil Liberties Union.

VI. MONITORING AND EVALUATION

A. Methods Used to Monitor and Evaluate the Program

One or two NDI staff accompanied the participants at all times during the training. This allowed NDI to monitor the program constantly, respond to the participants' incidental needs (e.g., an emergency visit to the dentist), and make adjustments to the schedule after the program was already in progress. In Massachusetts, for example, a tour of a local jail was suggested by one of the participants and arranged on the spot by the NDI staff member.

NDI also conducted two informal evaluations during the program. The first evaluation took place at the end of the Washington program; its specific purpose was to identify gaps in the program thus far that might be filled during the remainder of the visit and to solicit the participants' recommendations for future programs. The second evaluation took place upon the participants' return from Michigan and Massachusetts and included a review of the program as a whole. Each evaluation consisted of an open discussion between the participants and NDI's program staff.

B. Results of the Evaluations

1. Washington Program

During the discussion, the participants raised a number of programmatic concerns. First, they felt that on the whole the Washington program had been too long. They suggested that some of the introductory information on the U.S. political system and the state of the 1994 elections could perhaps be more usefully presented as part of the written materials distributed to the group before the program. Second, the participants felt that, overall, the training had stayed too much at a general level, providing information that some of the participants were already familiar with. They acknowledged that this was not merely a consequence of the types of training activities that NDI had organized, but of the different levels of expertise represented within the group, which combined seasoned political organizers and relative political novices. They suggested that in the selection of future groups greater attention be paid to matching professional interests and levels of expertise.

The participants also expressed a desire for greater exposure to the culture of American daily life and contacts with ordinary Americans. They believed that this kind of exposure would have provided a useful context for and thus enhanced their observation of primary campaign activity in Maryland and the District of Columbia.

In commenting on training activities that had been of particular value to them, the participants singled out the meetings with Federal Election Commissioner Danny McDonald and political consultant Peter Fenn, who conducted a session on message development.

(For more information on the participants' reactions to the Washington program, see section IX of this report.)

2. Regional Program

The participants clearly favored the visits to Michigan and Massachusetts over the Washington program. Again, they suggested that much of the information presented in Washington could be presented during the group's orientation in Moscow so that the bulk of their stay in the United States could be spent in travel to sites around the country.

Both regional programs received high marks. The group that visited Massachusetts singled out the political rally in Dorchester on the eve of primary election and Democratic Party unity breakfast on the morning after the primary as program highlights. The main criticism of the program was that it did not provide a balanced view of Massachusetts politics in that there were no meetings with Republican candidates.

The Michigan participants commented that their tour across the state allowed them to observe a cross-section of American life. The opportunity to meet with both Democratic and Republican candidates was much appreciated. As program highlights the group singled out

the meeting at the Michigan Democratic Party headquarters; observation of G.T. Long's campaign for state representative in northern Michigan; meetings with Democratic Congressional candidate Betsy Flory and her Republican opponent, Congressman Vern Ehlers; as well as visits to Bob Carr's Senate campaign, the United Auto Workers, and Congressman Sander Levin's district office.

(For more information on the participants' reactions to the Michigan and Massachusetts programs, see section IX of this report.)

VII. FOLLOW-ON NEEDS

During the final evaluation, the participants expressed a variety of follow-on needs. Specifically, the group requested further information on lobbying, budgeting, and proposal writing, time management, fundraising, the creation of special documents, and successful joint ventures.

Mr. Alexander Krutov, Ms. Iulia Rusova, and Mr. Alexander Bekhtoldt can accurately represent the group's views and would be able to communicate effectively the group's follow-on needs.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRAMMING

Based on its experience with this program, NDI would like to make two recommendations to AED for future programs:

1) *The selection process should be improved to ensure that participants share basic professional interests and levels of expertise.* As a training provider, NDI was asked to design a very specific program. The full benefit of such a program can only be enjoyed by a very specific audience.

2) *The training provider needs to be informed much earlier of the final number of participants and their backgrounds.* In this case, NDI learned only days before the start of the program that the number of participants had dropped from 20 to 13. This necessitated dropping one state from the regional schedule at the eleventh hour. It was at this time as well, when it was too late to make significant adjustments in the schedule, that NDI was informed of the very different interests represented by the participants.

IX. SUMMARIES OF INDIVIDUAL TRAINING ACTIVITIES

(See also Program Schedule attached as Appendix 1 of this report.)

A. Washington Program

Tuesday, September 6

Overview of the U.S. Political System

Speakers: Thomas Mann, Director of Government Studies, Brookings Institution

Thomas O. Melia, NDI Senior Associate for Governance

Thomas Mann's presentation began with remarks on the role of mid-term elections in U.S. politics. He listed four factors as determining the outcome of a mid-term election: the popularity of a president, the strength of a president, the state of the economy, and the number of open seats.

Next, he described the evolution of the two-party system in the United States, distinguishing U.S. political parties from the more dominant, more cohesive and more centrally controlled European parties. Mann highlighted three main functions of U.S. political parties: organizing for elections, building a national organization, and taking a role in the legislative process.

Mann was asked by the participants to define the terms "liberal" and "conservative" and characterize the message of each of the two main U.S. political parties during this election year. He responded that the Republicans emphasized a failed presidency and focused on recent tax increases while the Democrats were pointing to the creation of new jobs and the improving economy.

In his presentation, Tom Melia discussed the effect a strictly majoritarian system has had on U.S. politics. He explained that parties and candidates in the U.S. work to build support among blocks of voters to gain more than 50 percent of the vote. In recent years, American politicians have become increasingly sophisticated in identifying voter blocks based on religious, professional and ethnic affiliations.

In response to a question, Melia observed that developments in telecommunications have served to atomize American society and that as a result politicians have had to develop techniques, such as direct mail and the compilation of special voter lists, to target individual or small groups of voters. Melia also responded to questions about the cooperation between the two houses of Congress; which groups form the base electorate of each party; the optimum number of political parties for a democracy; term limits; the links of

communication among all levels of political parties; and which groups besides organized parties have political influence.

Overview of 1994 Elections

Speaker: Bob Balkin, Editor-in-Chief, The HOTLINE, a daily bipartisan political news service.

Balkin briefed the participants on the 1994 elections and their significance for the Democratic and Republican Parties, with particular emphasis on races in the states the participants would visit during the course of the program (Maryland, Michigan, and Massachusetts).

Balkin described several factors that had played a prominent role in the electoral races so far: anti-incumbency; President Clinton's low approval rating; the number of wealthy candidates running as independents; and the role of women candidates.

Questions were raised about the dangers of low voter turnout; which social groups are most active at the polls and their loyalties to a particular party; the youth vote; the degree to which Hillary Clinton is a political figure; the strength of the Islamic community and that of the Christian Right.

A Russian Perspective on American Political Parties

Speaker: Vladimir Boxer, Democratic Russia

Boxer spoke to the group about his experiences studying U.S. political party organization through a 10-month program organized by NDI and sponsored by the NET Project. Boxer highlighted the usefulness of certain technologies used in American campaigns, such as direct mail.

Wednesday, September 7

A DAY AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE (DNC)

The Democratic Party and its Governing Bodies

Speakers: Jim Brady, President, Association of State Democratic Chairs

Rick Boylan, Director of Party Affairs

Jim Brady gave a brief history of the Democratic Party during which he noted that political parties are not specifically mentioned in the U.S. Constitution and have evolved over the last 200 years. Brady briefly described the structure and role of the DNC and its supporting committees. He explained that the DNC chairman cannot give orders to state or

county parties. Rather, the DNC strives to retain a good working relationship with the state parties, assists in campaigns, and, together with the supporting committees, plans strategy.

Rick Boylan presented a brief history of the DNC. He described the current composition of the National Committee at their bi-annual meetings and outlined how the Democratic Party builds its platform during each election cycle. Each of the participants received a copy of the charter and by-laws of the DNC and the 1992 Democratic Party Platform.

Questions were asked about registration and the payment of full-time staff. Campaign costs and the formation of the platform were discussed as well.

The DNC and the 1994 Elections

*Speakers: Don Sweitzer, DNC Political Director
Greg Moore, Director of Voter Registration*

The purpose of this session was to explain how the DNC operates during an election cycle, using the current elections as a case study.

In his presentation, Don Sweitzer emphasized the need for the cooperation between the national party and each of the 50 state parties during an election year. He outlined the organization and mission of a coordinated campaign and explained how national party resources are prioritized. In addition, he gave a brief overview of races in Maryland, Massachusetts and Michigan.

Greg Moore provided a description of the DNC's voter registration activities. According to Moore, voter registration is an especially important element of the Democratic Party's electoral strategy, since unregistered voters traditionally tend to lean toward Democratic candidates. Moore described the party's registration efforts targeted at African Americans and Latinos and gave each of the participants a voter registration form.

Questions were asked about whether money alone was used by the party to support candidates, how Democratic Party officials are appointed, and the issue of statehood for the District of Columbia.

The Role of the Party Spokesperson

Speaker: Debra DeLee, DNC Executive Director

DeLee explained that her function and that of her staff is to energize Democratic Party activists and provide them with a sense of mission. She described some of the problems the Democratic Party had faced during this campaign cycle (such as anti-incumbency) and the DNC's response to them. She then answered questions regarding

speech writing, DNC publications and television presence, speech preparation, and media coverage of winning and losing campaigns.

Statewide Races and the Supporting Committees

Speakers: Katie Whalen, Executive Director of the Democratic Governors Association (DGA)

Ken Klein, Executive Director of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC).

The purpose of this session was to explain how, through its supporting committees, the DNC is involved in statewide races.

Katie Whalen emphasized the importance of gubernatorial races to the strength of the Democratic Party as a whole. She noted that Democratic challengers to current Republican governors in both Massachusetts and Michigan were unlikely to prevail in November.

Klein explained the role of the DSCC in assisting Democratic senatorial candidates in their fundraising efforts. This assistance is crucial, since individual donations to candidates cannot go beyond \$1,000; meanwhile, the DSCC can make donations of up to \$20,000.

Questions were asked about the relationship between President Clinton and Democratic governors and the size and function of the staff for each of the DNC's supporting committees.

Direct Mail at the DNC

Speaker: Brad Kiley, Director of Marketing of the DNC

Kiley began with statistics on the amount of direct mail sent out by the DNC in the past year (two million pieces). He explained that every month the DNC does a mailing of 200,000 to 300,000 pieces. He stressed that each letter must state its case clearly and that contributions should be asked for early in text of the letter. In addition, Kiley listed the standard components of a piece of direct mail: outside envelope, one-page letter, a reply device to be returned with a check and a return envelope.

Kiley presented the DNC's list as an example of a direct mail list. He explained that the information listed needs to be as accurate as possible, since even a misspelled name can result in a lost donation. Costs should be no more than 30% of the gross donations expected to be raised through the effort, Kiley said in response to a question. He concluded by displaying examples of successful direct mail pieces.

Thursday, September 8

**A DAY AT THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN
INSTITUTE**

An Overview of the Republican Party

Speaker: Chris Henick, Executive Director, Republican Governors Association (RGA).

Henick described the mission of the Republican National Committee (RNC) and its structure at the national and state level. He also described the RNC's role in a campaign year, a non-campaign year, and during the period immediately following a candidate's election. In addition, he described grassroots development and the coordination and communication activities performed by the RNC.

Campaign Strategies

Speaker: Bob Carpenter, American Viewpoint

The purpose of this session was to describe to the participants how a political campaign devises its strategy and the tools and personnel needed to implement it. Carpenter addressed the issues of developing a plan of action, identifying and allocating resources, and organizing and training staff and volunteers. He also described the processes of message development, candidate preparation and polling and focus groups.

Candidate Profile

Speaker: Bill Frenzel, former Member of Congress, Minnesota

Frenzel provided a list of candidate do's and don't's. He advised on responding to criticism and described different styles of campaigning. Finally, Frenzel explained how candidates connect with voters and the methods campaigns use to get out the vote.

Fundraising

Speaker: Elizabeth Montgomery, Montgomery & Associates

Montgomery began with an overview of fundraising techniques. She then talked about how to raise funds from target groups with different levels of income. Last, she gave examples of different types of fundraising events.

Friday, September 9

**THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA AND
NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
(NGO'S) IN THE CAMPAIGN PROCESS**

The Role of Partisan NGOs in the Political Process

Speaker: Rachelle Horowitz, Political Director, American Federation of Teachers (AFT)

Horowitz began her presentation by pointing out that trade unions in the U.S. are politically independent. At the same time, she explained, the unions' need to serve the interests of their members compelled them to align themselves with political parties and candidates. In the case of the AFT, members usually come from urban areas, often from minority ethnic groups, and a good percentage are women. These groups tend to identify with the Democratic Party.

Next, Horowitz described the complex set of laws that forces unions to consult continually with their members. She also described the ways in which unions are able to support political candidates.

In response to questions, Horowitz listed the types of teachers the AFT represents and the interests and problems of American teachers. She also fielded questions on the definition of education in the U.S.; campaigning in schools; and the process of filling a vacant post in a public school. In addition, she outlined the role of a local school board in the U.S. and explained the differences between public and private schools.

The Role of Nonpartisan NGOs in the Political Process

Speakers: Matt Freeman, People for the American Way

Suzanne Greenfield, Senior Lobbyist, Common Cause

Freeman described the history and mission of his organization. He defined People for the American Way as a non-partisan organization working on civil rights issues. He explained that his organization does not endorse candidates or make campaign contributions. Instead, People for the American Way publishes opposition and research papers, trying in this way to shape public opinion.

Greenfield also gave the history of her organization and its objectives. Common Cause is a membership-based organization concerned with election law reform. She explained that Common Cause uses lobbyists and its membership to influence state and federal legislatures. Greenfield described the system Common Cause has developed for communicating with its members and encouraging them to write or call their representatives.

Freeman and Greenfield answered questions regarding the criteria for membership, structure, and the number of paid staff and volunteers in both their organizations. Another question was asked about how conflicts within their organizations were mediated. In addition, Freeman and Greenfield explained how their organizations were funded.

Role of the Media During Electoral Campaigns

Speaker: Ken Bode, Moderator, "Washington Week in Review"

In his presentation, Bode described changes in the coverage of political candidates over the last thirty years. He described how television has changed the ways candidates use the press, pointing out that candidates now schedule their events deliberately to receive (free) television coverage.

Bode then discussed how advances in telecommunications have affected political news coverage; here he cited the influence of CNN, on-line computer information networks and fax machines. He explained that, as a result of these developments, candidates now have greater access to both the press and individual voters.

In response to questions about the objectivity of reporters, Bode explained the difference between news and commentary, noting that in recent times that distinction has blurred. Bode also answered questions about the reliability of sources; legal limits on the press's ability to report on the private lives of political figures; sensationalism and the claims of both Democrats and Republicans that the press is biased against them.

Public Opinion Research

Speaker: Mark Blumenthal, Vice President, Bennett, Petts & Associates

Blumenthal described polling as both scientific and sociological. He explained the difference between polls and focus groups, noting that the former is a quantitative research method, the latter a qualitative one. He then described his firm's activities in support of Parris Glendening's campaign for governor of Maryland.

Questions were asked about the composition of focus groups, the number of people queried in a typical poll, and the public's faith in the accuracy of polls. Blumenthal was also asked if polls were used to test or develop campaign messages and platforms.

Message Development and the Media

Speaker: Peter Fenn, Partner, Fenn-King-Murphy Communications

Fenn, whose firm advises Democratic candidates at the federal, state, and local level, began his presentation by describing the different elements of developing a successful

message. He explained that the message must be easily understood, unique and endlessly repeated. He warned the participants not to underestimate the intelligence of the voters or overestimate how much information they may have. Fenn used Vladimir Zhironovsky's campaign for the December 1993 parliamentary elections in Russia as a case study of message development. He asked the participants to list Zhironovsky's strengths and weaknesses, and define his party's target audience and platform.

Fenn stressed the importance of visual images. He showed the participants a brochure for one of his clients as well as three political television commercials. Each commercial presented the same message, which was concise, simple, unique and repeated throughout. The participants later described Fenn's presentation as useful and highly interesting.

Intensive NGO Sessions

- Speakers:*
- 1. Session: Eleanor Lewis, Political Consultant, EMILY's List*
Amy Conroy, Executive Director, Women's Campaign Fund
 - 2. Session: Fish Brown, Legislative Representative, American Association of Retired Persons*
Abby Spring, Press Secretary, World Wildlife Fund

The purpose of these short sessions was to give the participants an in-depth look at the activities of certain NGOs. The participants were given the choice of attending either session. Each speaker provided a detailed example of the work of his organization. The rest of the session was spent in open discussion between participants and speakers.

Saturday, September 10

Overview of the Montgomery County Democratic Party and Fall '94 Elections

Speaker: Susan Turnbull, County Chair, Montgomery County Democratic Party

Turnbull began her presentation by providing basic information on Montgomery County (size, population, number of voters). She walked the group through a ballot for the Maryland primary election and described the various offices up for election, as well as the candidates. In addition, she provided the participants with samples of campaign literature. She then described the structure of the Montgomery County Democratic Party.

Literature Disbursement Training

The purpose of this field trip was to give the participants a chance to see volunteers and campaigns working in an effort to accomplish a major organizational task. The participants were brought to Richard Montgomery High School during a literature pick-up organized by the Montgomery County Democratic Party that involved roughly 50,000 pieces of literature and 200 volunteers.

The participants were taken to the site of the literature pick-up, the cafeteria of the high school, and invited to observe the activity. They were welcomed by Turnbull and introduced to all present. Finally, three candidates spoke informally with the participants about their campaigns and key issues for the citizens of Montgomery County.

The participants were very impressed by the number of volunteers. The activity was seen as very useful because it presented a concrete example of campaign organization and allowed the participants to interact with candidates and campaign staff.

Observation of Gubernatorial Campaigns

The purpose of these field trips was to observe campaign activities for a state-wide office. The participants were divided into two groups. One visited the gubernatorial campaign of Mary Boergers; the other visited Parris Glendening's gubernatorial campaign.

The first group joined Boergers and her campaign staff during a visibility event at a busy street corner in Silver Spring, Maryland. After the event, the participants visited the campaign headquarters where Boergers explained why she had decided to run for governor. The participants were given a tour of the office, and learned the function of each individual on the campaign staff. In addition, the participants were shown several of Boergers' campaign television advertisements. After the visit, the group accompanied Boergers and her staff to another visibility event at Montgomery Mall.

The second group traveled to Baltimore to meet with Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, Parris Glendening's running mate and candidate for Lieutenant Governor. The participants accompanied Townsend to a crowded festival downtown, where they observed the candidate making direct contact with Baltimore voters. After the festival, the group traveled to the Glendening campaign's Baltimore field office, where Paul Devlin outlined the campaign's Get-Out-the-Vote (GOTV) strategy during the final four days before the primary. The participants received voter targeting maps and Glendening campaign literature. The participants asked questions concerning the prioritization of districts for targeting resources and the campaign's level of contacts in the city's main precincts.

The two groups met that evening at a University of Maryland football game in Baltimore to observe Kathleen Kennedy Townsend shaking hands.

Sunday, September 11

D.C. Campaign Observation

The participants traveled to the D.C. campaign headquarters of mayoral candidate John Ray, where they were briefed on the campaign's strategy for the final days before the election by campaign staff member Stewart Harris. Harris outlined the campaign's GOTV efforts during the final three days of the campaign, gave the participants a tour of the headquarters, and then took the group to two campaign events on Capitol Hill. The first was a literature table at Eastern Market, where the participants observed discussion between campaign volunteers and D.C. residents. The second was a Baptist church where campaign volunteers were distributing leaflets. The participants received campaign literature.

Monday, September 12

Federal Election Commission (FEC)

Speakers: Danny McDonald, Vice Chairman of the Commission

Michael Stoddard, Special Assistant to the Vice Chairman

The purpose of this session to provide a discussion of campaign finance. The first subject addressed was the reporting of campaign violations. According to McDonald, the FEC does not pursue complaints unless they are serious and well documented. Usually 25-50 cases are in court at any given time. He explained that the most violations and opposition to the activities of the FEC come from the local level.

McDonald discussed the historical significance of Watergate and the resulting campaign return legislation. He described the recent evolution of limits on individual, private and public contributions to campaigns. He also explained matching funds. Ross Perot's 1992 Presidential election campaign served as a case study of campaign finance. To close his presentation, McDonald described the FEC's staff structure.

The Role of the Majority Leader in the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate

*Speakers: Craig Hannah, Congressman Gephardt's office
Martin Paone, Senator Mitchell's office.*

Hannah discussed the leadership strategy for the House and explained the modus for selecting the majority leader and his functions, such as serving on the Rules Committee and constructing the coalitions needed for new votes. Paone's presentation covered the same points from the perspective of the Senate majority leader. In addition, Paone passed out a calendar of bills before the Senate.