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# National Journal

# 150

## Who Make A Difference

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# Making a Difference

Of the thousands of people and organizations that can influence the federal government, *National Journal* has identified 150 who stand out from the crowd.

It's not too Pollyannish to say that thousands and probably millions of Americans can influence the federal government. Some, though, can influence it more than others. Some, indeed, can make a living at it.

In a spirit of curiosity and careful skepticism, *National Journal* set out to cull from the crowd 150 who make a difference—who aren't in the federal government but affect what the government does. The entire editorial staff participated, calling on hundreds of treasured sources and players in Washington's workings. From their suggestions, names were sifted and then debated, reconsidered and sifted again. The results follow.

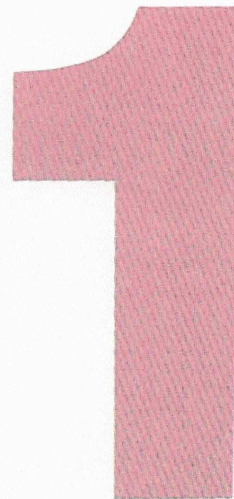
It's an interesting list. It includes people in a dozen walks of life—trade group leaders, academics, lawyers, consultants, public-interest advocates, business executives, labor leaders, political hopefuls and advisers, lobbyists, journalists, denizens of think tanks and state and local officials. The list is divided by category; people who straddle categories—lawyer-lobbyists, notably—were grouped according to their main source of impact.

Most of those named are individuals; a few are organizations where the contributions of several people are hard to separate. Most, not surprisingly, live in Washington. Less than a third of them influence the capital from afar—people such as California treasurer Jesse M. Unruh and Irving J. Selikoff, the nation's leading medical ex-

pert on occupational health who's at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York. And even they have at least a passing acquaintance with L'Enfant's street plan. (The list begins on p. 1436. An alphabetical listing of the 162 individuals and institutions named in the tally of "150 Who Make a Difference" appears on p. 1480. Profiles of 11 of the individuals and 1 organization begin on p. 1482.)

These are 150 you'd like on your side if you wanted the federal government to do something on a major policy matter or to leave things be. Decision makers consult them, listen to them, take them seriously. Many people wouldn't be on this list were it not for the institutions that pay them; but none are listed solely because of that. Any General Motors Corp. chairman could get through a decision maker's door, but Roger B. Smith has influence on economic policies that ranges far beyond automobiles.

Those listed aren't the usual suspects.





# The Influentials

Following is an alphabetical listing of the individuals and institutions included in the tally of "150 Who Make a Difference" and the page on which each is described. There are more than 150 names because some entries include multiple names.

Aaron, Henry J. ....	1472	Hyland, William G. ....	1469	Quarles, John R., Jr. ....	1443
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Bartley, Robert L. ....	1464	Kaufmann, William W. ....	1474	Rother, John C. ....	1450
Bergsten, C. Fred .....	1472	Kilpatrick, Robert D. ....	1452	Ruckelshaus, William D. ....	1443
Boskin, Michael J. ....	1437	Kinsley, Michael E. ....	1469	Safire, William .....	1470
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Butler, Stuart M. ....	1472	Lehrer, Jim .....	1469	Schemmer, Benjamin F. ....	1470
Cable, William H. ....	1462	Leiken, Robert S. ....	1474	Schuler, G. Henry M. ....	1439
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Cassidy, Robert C., Jr. ....	1459	Lewin & Associates Inc. ....	1446	Schwartz, Victor E. ....	1443
Chapoton, John E. ....	1459	Lichtblau, John H. ....	1475	Schwartzman, Andrew Jay .....	1451
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Cisneros, Henry G. ....	1478	Loury, Glenn C. ....	1438	Smith, Roger B. ....	1454
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Coleman, William T., Jr. ....	1440	MacNeil, Robert .....	1469	Sorian, Richard M. ....	1470
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Corman, James C. ....	1460	Malmgren, Harald B. ....	1446	Sowell, Thomas .....	1439
Corry, Martin A. ....	1450	Mayer, Arnold .....	1455	Stein, Herbert .....	1471
Cox, Carol G. ....	1447	McGlotten, Robert M. ....	1455	Sternlieb, George .....	1439
Cunningham, Richard O. ....	1440	McIntyre, Robert S. ....	1448	Strauss, Robert S. ....	1462
Curtis, Charles B. ....	1440	McKenna, William F. ....	1442	Sunley, Emil M. ....	1447
<i>Defense Week</i> .....	1464	McKevitt, James D. (Mike) .....	1443	Tarrance, V. Lance .....	1458
Dine, Thomas A. ....	1460	Minarik, Joseph J. ....	1475	Teeter, Robert M. ....	1458
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Eagleburger, Lawrence S. ....	1446	Natural Resources Defense		Unruh, Jesse M. ....	1478
Edelman, Marian Wright .....	1447	Council Inc. ....	1448	Valenti, Jack .....	1437
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Feinberg, Richard E. ....	1474	Neas, Ralph G. ....	1450	Vaky, Viron P. ....	1477
Feulner, Edwin J., Jr. ....	1474	Neill, Denis M. ....	1462	Voinovich, George V. ....	1478
Field, Thomas F. ....	1464	Nelson, Norton .....	1439	Walker, Charls E. ....	1463
Froh, Richard B. ....	1436	Newhouse, Joseph P. ....	1475	Warden, Richard D. ....	1455
Galper, Harvey .....	1472	<i>Nightline</i> .....	1469	<i>The Washington Times</i> .....	1471
Geller, Henry .....	1438	Novak, Robert D. ....	1469	Weinstein, Allen .....	1440
Golembe, Carter H. ....	1444	O'Brien, Lawrence F., III. ....	1462	Weyrich, Paul M. ....	1458
Graham, Gen. Daniel O. ....	1447	O'Neill, Gerard K. ....	1452	Wiley, Richard E. ....	1443
Greenberg, Stanley B. ....	1456	Packard, David .....	1454	Will, George F. ....	1471
Greenspan, Alan .....	1444	Paster, Howard G. ....	1462	Williams, Eddie N. ....	1477
Greenstein, Robert .....	1448	Pechman, Joseph A. ....	1472	Winburn, John P. ....	1463
Hart, Peter D. ....	1456	Peterson, George E. ....	1477	Winston, David A. ....	1455
Hawke, John D., Jr. ....	1442	Phillips, Kevin .....	1470	Wirthlin, Richard B. ....	1459
Health Policy Alternatives Inc. ....	1444	Pike, John E. ....	1450	Wolfe, Sidney M. ....	1451
Hightower, Jim .....	1478	Pratt, Edmund T., Jr. ....	1454	Wolff, Alan W. ....	1463
Horlick, Gary N. ....	1442	Preston, Lewis T. ....	1454	Woolsey, R. James .....	1444
Horowitz, Michael J. ....	1442	Quandt, William B. ....	1477		



President Reagan's idea of a food farm program is "Hee!" Democrat Hightower has told audiences all over the country. "The President promised farmers a seven-course meal, and it turned out to be a six-pack and a possum."

This fiery language, delivered in a north Texas twang, has provided relief, if not hope, to frustrated farmers and their friends during the current agricultural crisis and made Hightower far more famous in rural states than the Democratic Members of the House and Senate Agriculture Committees.

His only competitor might be Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee chairman Jesse A. Helms, R-N.C., but Helms reserves his verbal powers for the tobacco industry and socially conservative causes.

Hightower has been sharply critical of Administration-sponsored reductions in federal commodity loans. He calls for mandatory production controls, subject to a farmer referendum. Federal loan programs would be structured to encourage "small and medium-sized" farms and discourage big corporate operations.

After his election, Hightower positioned himself quickly for a national role, chairing the Democratic National Committee's agriculture council in 1984 and presiding over party-sponsored hearings across the country. He cultivated key congressional allies, including House Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, and Sen. Tom Harkin, D-Iowa, who introduced a Hightower-approved Farm Policy Reform Act. Although the measure was defeated, Hightower's supporters say they have laid the groundwork for a bid this month to rewrite the farm bill Congress passed last year.

"We lost the fight on the farm bill," said David Ostendorf, director of Prairiefire, an Iowa-based advocacy group for family farmers, but Hightower "has projected a progressive agricultural agenda onto the national scene and will keep it there."

Some agricultural analysts believe that Hightower's populist program is outdated in an age of internationally competitive agriculture, and conservative agricultural policy makers play down his clout. Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., calls Hightower "noisy but ineffective."

Conservative agricultural leaders in Texas and Washington were, in fact, horrified at Hightower's election and contend that he is a populist pretender who knows how to attract news media attention.

Public theatrics aside, Hightower has transformed his \$20 million, 565-person agency from a sleepy bureaucracy into a thorn in the side of the state's powerful agriculture establishment. With a staff culled from state agriculture departments around the country, the agency has cajoled Texas supermarket chains into buying produce from local farmer cooperatives rather than from out-of-state suppliers, started an export program that sold \$78 million worth of Texas livestock last year to other countries and set up 40 farmers markets around the state. He has tried to push farmers into growing more high-profit specialty crops such as blueberries and gourmet onions and won passage of a multimillion-dollar bond program to help finance local food processing facilities.



Bob Dammrich

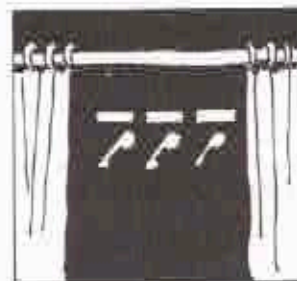
Hightower's stridency has attracted some enmity from powerful Texas farmers. When the agency tightened restrictions on pesticides, it sparked an unsuccessful effort in the Legislature to strip the department of its regulatory powers and downgrade the commissioner's post to an appointed slot.

His national politicking is not entirely popular either, but Hightower strongly defends his activities. The agriculture establishment would prefer "an agriculture department checking the scales and inspecting the eggs and not making any noise," he said. "Legislators have complained that they don't like me going to Washington to fight the federal government, but to me, that's where the battle is."

Hightower's Texas agricultural opponents appear powerless to unseat him because his political base is urban. "It's a folksy but intelligent image, communicated in a way that attracts urban voters who wouldn't normally fit the populist profile of the message," said John Hildreth, director of Common Cause in Texas.

Hightower had no major opponent in the May Democratic primary, in which he won 82 per cent of the vote, and his Republican opponent this fall is given little chance.

Don't look for Hightower to become Agriculture Secretary in Washington, however. He has said he is uninterested in the position and readily acknowledges he has set his sights on the governorship or the Senate seat of Republican Phil Gramm in 1990. —Robert Guskind and Jerry Hagstrom



## The GOP's Modern Populist Pollster

In the storied tradition of Texas populists, V. Lance Tarrance is a pretty unlikely figure.

Start with his occupation: He's a political pollster, with an academic mien and a buttoned-down wardrobe. It's hard to picture Tarrance with cow dung on his shoes.

Then there's the matter of his party. Tarrance is a Republican, whose nonpolitical clients include some of Texas's largest energy companies and utilities.

Tarrance's is clearly not the populism of Sam Rayburn or Wright Patman, two former Members of the House from Texas



who raged against banks, railroads, utilities and other special interests. To their modern successors, liberals such as Texas agriculture commissioner Jim Hightower, it isn't populism at all. But to many younger Republicans, the conservative populism Tarrance preaches is the road to salvation—or at least to the elusive majority party status.

Tarrance, 45, has been around numbers and politics all of his professional life. In the late 1960s, he served as research director for the Texas Republican Party and then the Republican National Committee. From 1970-73, he studied demographic trends and survey techniques as special assistant to the director of the Census Bureau and later joined Richard H. Wirthlin's polling firm, Decision/Making/Information Inc., as a vice president. In 1977, he established his own polling firm in Houston.

Tarrance has his share of top-drawer Republican clients, primarily throughout the South and West—among them, Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, Alabama Sen. Jeremiah Denton, California Gov. George Deukmejian and Rep. W. Henson Moore, now seeking a Senate seat in Louisiana.

Wirthlin and Robert M. Teeter, the other leading Republican pollsters, have more impressive client lists. What gives Tarrance his influence is that to an unusual degree for a pollster, he has developed and articulated his own vision of how the political world works.

"Tarrance is more of a philosopher pollster, and he has a theory of public opinion," said University of Virginia political scientist Larry J. Sabato, author of a book on political consultants. "I don't think you could say that about Wirthlin. I think Teeter has theories about specific demographic groups, but they are not as enveloping as Tarrance's. . . . In that sense, he may be the Republican [Patrick H.] Caddell."

The philosophy Tarrance sells is a populist-tinged appeal to conservative rural southerners and urban northern ethnics—former Democrats who are disaffected from their party largely on fiscal and cultural issues. Tarrance is prominent among those who believe

that the GOP can lure Democratic voters by first attracting Democratic officeholders to switch parties, and among his clients are some of the most prominent switchers, including Gramm and former Rep. Kent Hance, who lost in the Texas Republican gubernatorial primary last month.

"Not only is he identified with [the development of conservative populism]," Gramm said, "he has been an important part of it. He was one of the first people to really see there was a shift under way where people are sitting around a kitchen table saying, 'What are the Democrats doing that I support?' He has probably done more than anyone else in helping us to understand the underlying reasons for that."

To Tarrance, the conservative populists are a swing group with views that draw from both parties' traditional appeals.

Unlike traditional Republicans, the conservative populists are not reflexively antigovernment; they see a "role for the government protecting the individual" against economic hardship and promoting economic change. Culturally, they are conservative, holding "values that are somewhat nostalgic—restorative, patriotic" though they don't necessarily support the religious right agenda on specific issues such as abortion or back aggressive foreign intervention, Tarrance maintains. And, in pure populist tradition, they are skeptical of big institutions, "including big business as well as big labor and big government."

For a candidate, acquiring a pollster with such a developed world view can be a mixed blessing. Some candidates have hired Tarrance for a different perspective on how to assemble a majority coalition. But some politicians worry that such clear-cut opinions lead to rigidity. "Sometimes Lance lets his own personal political preferences bias the strategic view of the campaign," said Karl C. Rove, a Texas Republican consultant who has worked with and against him.

Conservative populism's place in the GOP is still unsettled. The backbone of the Republican Party remains business executives and affluent suburbanites—the kind of "elites" that populists don't like. Sometimes the two groups agree on candidates, sometimes they don't. As a party switcher, Gramm was spectacularly successful; Hance flopped badly against former Gov. William P. Clements Jr., a classic country club Republican.

Gramm and Tarrance maintain that showing doesn't constitute a rejection of party switching or a populist appeal, but it certainly is a reminder that "the Republican Party is still a suburban, upper-income, upper-educated party," said Stuart



Rothenberg, political director of the conservative Institute for Government and Politics. "Let's face it. [Clements] the old-time Republican won."

The major test of the conservative populist appeal will come in 1988, when Rep. Jack F. Kemp, R-N.Y., is expected to seek the presidency under that banner. If Kemp runs, Tarrance is likely to be his pollster. Tarrance said that a populist appeal like Kemp's "is just absolutely critical if the Republican Party is going to be a majority party. If we allow Wall Street rather than Main Street to take over the Republican Party, we may find it was only a Reagan revolution, rather than a Republican revolution."

The 1988 primary season may show how many rank-and-file Republicans agree.—Ronald Brownstein