

VOX POP Newsletter

of Political Organizations and Parties

An official section of the American Political Science Association
Produced by the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, The University of Akron

*ISSUE THEME: NEW CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATIONS

Creative Campaigning: PACs as Presidential Campaign Organizations

Anthony Corrado • Colby College

The adoption of the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) and the party rules reforms of the 1970s and early 1980s dramatically changed the presidential selection process. These new rules placed conflicting strategic and organizational demands on presidential contenders, who responded by discovering new ways to organize and finance their campaigns.

One of the major consequences of the FECA has been to encourage candidates to begin campaigning early. The \$1,000 limit on individual contributions forces candidates to raise funds through small donations, which is a time-consuming task, especially for those who begin the race with a relatively small donor base. Even prospective front runners with well-established donor bases must begin raising money early if they are to generate the sums needed to meet the resource demands of the nomination process.

An early start is also encouraged by the indexing of campaign spending limits and the public subsidies program. Spending limits are adjusted for increases in inflation but contribution limits are not. Accordingly, in each succeeding election, candidates must devote more time to fundraising, which often means starting to raise funds earlier in the election cycle. The public matching funds program also promotes early fundraising since, under the program's rules, contributions received after January 1 of the year *before* the election are eligible for the subsidy.

This pressure to increase the length of campaigns and start early conflicts with FECA's expenditure limits. Although few candidates ever achieve the aggregate spending ceiling, it is a major concern of many contenders. Of even greater concern are the state limits, particularly in the crucial early states of Iowa and New Hampshire.

Since 1976, an increasing number of candidates have exceeded or approached the limit in these two states. Presidential aspirants must therefore develop their financial and organizational strategic with an eye towards spending in these initial contests.

The campaign finance regulations thus presented candidates with a fundamental strategic problem: how to conduct necessary early campaigning without violating the expenditure limits. To resolve this problem, presidential hopefuls began to search for ways to circumvent the restraints imposed on their campaigns. The solution they discovered was to establish a precandidacy PAC and use it as a surrogate campaign organization.

(continued on page 6)

THEME: New Campaign Organizations

From Headquarters	2
Scholarly Precincts	3
From The Field	4
Special Interests	8

Chair: Gerald M. Pomper, Rutgers

Secretary-Treasurer: Charles Hadley, University of New Orleans

Program Chair: Mark Wattier, Murray State University

VOX POP Editor: John Green, The University of Akron

Executive Council: Denise Baer, The University of Akron; Cornelius Cotter, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Emeritus; Frank Feigert, University of North Texas; David M. Olson, University of North Carolina-Greensboro; Robert Biersak, Federal Election Commission; Jo Freeman, Brooklyn, NY; Marjorie Hershey, Indiana University; Gary Wekken, University of Central Arkansas.

*FROM HEADQUARTERS

Dear Colleagues:

I have appointed the chairs of the various POP committees:

Eldersveld Award Committee

Margaret Conway, University of Florida

Epstein and Walker Awards Committee

Kay Lawson, San Francisco State College

Emerging Scholars Award Committee

Jerry Mileur, University of Massachusetts

Nominating Committee

Ruth Jones, Arizona State University

Sincerely,

Gerald Pomper

MINUTES

Political Organizations and Parties Section,
American Political Science Association
Chicago, September, 4, 1992

The section meeting was called to order by Gerald M. Pomper, Chair, at 12:30 p.m. The following order of business transpired:

1. **1991 Minutes:** Paul Smith moved adoption of the August 30, 1991, *Minutes* as printed in **VOX POP**, Volume 10, Issue 2, pp. 2,7.
2. **Treasurer's Report:**
\$4,576.30 Cash on hand August 31, 1992.
355.00 Workshop registrations collected by APSA.
(264.24) 1991 workshop reimbursements
(124.50) Awards presented at the 1991 POP Section Business Meeting
1,028.00* Dues portion from APSA through June 30, 1992
179.69 Interest earned; UNO Federal Credit Union
\$5,750.25
3. **Workshop Report:** Bill Crotty reported that the section workshop, "Representing Interests and Interest Representation," he organized with Mildred

Schwartz went very well. Some 47 participants, academics, and graduate students attended. The 1991 workshop papers and presentations were edited by Michael Margolis and John C. Green and will be published by the University Press of America in October 1992. Similar plans are being made to publish the 1992 workshop materials.

4. **Program Report:** Charles Hadley represented POP at an Organized Section Breakfast with APSA officials and reported on the establishment of organized section checking accounts in Washington, D.C., co-signed by the APSA Executive Director and the appointment of two Task Forces: 1) Section Organization chaired by Virginia Gray, and 2) Evaluation of the Rule of Three chaired by Tom Mann.

Program Chair Ruth Jones noted that she was assigned 13 panels based on attendance at the 1991 annual meeting and that she was able to secure three additional time slots. Even though she cut deals with other sections to include people on the Program, she had to turn down a lot of participation requests. Ruth stressed the importance of attendance, which looked good to this point, because it was the major factor determining the allocation of slots for the following year. She thanked Mildred Schwartz and Bill Crotty for producing an excellent workshop and gave special thanks to John Green.

5. **Nominating Committee Report:** Chair Bill Crotty moved adoption of the committee recommendations: Charles D. Hadley, University of New Orleans, Secretary-Treasurer (2-year term), for a second term; and the following nominees for the Executive Council: Robert Biersak, Federal Election Commission; Jo Freeman, Brooklyn, NY; Marjorie Hershey, Indiana University; and, Gary D. Wekken, University of Central Arkansas. The committee recommendations were adopted unanimously.
6. **Awards Ceremony:** The several committees for that purpose made the following awards:
Leon D. Epstein, University of Wisconsin-Emeritus, the Samuel Eldersveld Award for a lifetime of distinguished scholarly and professional contributions to the field; (continued on page 3)

POP AWARD FOR EMERGING SCHOLARS

The Section on Political Organizations and Parties has established a new award to recognize research contributions by emerging scholars. Winners will generally be persons who have received their doctorate within the past five years, and whose scholarly contribution is evident in a published article or book. Nominations should be sent to the award committee chair, Jerry Mileur, Dept. of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003.

*SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

POP ANNUAL VOLUME

The Section on Political Organization and Parties will initiate its annual research volume in September 1993 (see below).

Proposals are welcome for future issues of the POP annual volume, each exploring a single theme of theoretical significance in the field of political organizations and parties.

The designated editor of the volume will be responsible for developing the theoretical structure of the theme, soliciting and reviewing articles, and developing a coherent, innovative and well-written final manuscript. This published volume will comprise about 200 pages, or 8-10 articles.

Prospective editors should submit a short, 2-4 page proposal, stating the theme, its theoretical significance, list of possible topics and authors, and the editor's qualifications to complete the volume. Send proposals as soon as possible to:

Gerald Pomper
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, NJ 08901.

FIRST ANNUAL POP RESEARCH VOLUME

"Political Parties in a Changing Age"

William Crotty, Editor
Northwestern University

The initial research volume will be a "foundation" book: it will set out ideas, themes, and avenues of research on political parties that show promise for the next decade or so. In one sense, it will be a research agenda, providing a benchmark that could be reappraised and, in effect, reassessed and redesigned to meet changing needs and orientations in the field. For further information contact the editor at:

Northwestern University
Department of Political Science
Evanston, IL 60201
(708) 491-2624

(continued from page 2)

Walter Dean Burnham, University of Texas at Austin, the Leon D. Epstein Award for *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), a book that has made a distinguished contribution to the field; and,

James Q. Wilson, UCLA, and **Peter Clark**, (the Jack Walker Award for an article of unusual importance and significance to the field) for their "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organization." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 6:129-166 (1961).

7. Chair's Report:

- 1) He will appoint a new Nominating Committee for selection of a Chair and four members of the Executive Council; please send suggestions.
- 2) Mark Wattier is the 1993 Program Chair. He was nominated by the section, ultimately with two more requested names, and selected by APSA.
- 3) The Northeastern Political Science Association was an APSA Political Organizations and Parties (POP) section sponsored panel; Joyce Gelb agreed to organize it.
- 4) Approved in principal last year, POP entertained proposals for publication of an annual volume,

selected the *Midsouth Political Science Journal* to be renamed *The American Review of Politics*, and entered into a 3-year renewable contract which included provision a one time \$3,000 subvention in addition to \$2,000 from the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, distribution of the first annual volume to all POP members, and the establishment of a reasonable POP group price for the subsequent two years.

In response to Gerry's invitation, *The American Review of Politics* Co-Editor Gary D. Wekken indicated the journal was making good progress. It is a general journal with an American politics niche and quality authors, things that appeal to libraries. Manuscript submissions are welcome.

The meeting adjourned at 1:20 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Charles D. Hadley
Secretary-Treasurer

***FROM THE FIELD**

CALL FOR PAPERS AND DISCUSSANTS

ARKANSAS POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

1993 ANNUAL MEETING

The twentieth annual meeting of the Arkansas Political Science Association will be held on Friday and Saturday, February 26-27, 1993, in the Torreyson Library of the University of Central Arkansas. Political scientists and others interested in submitting a paper, serving as a discussant, or participating on a roundtable should contact the Program Chair, Gary Weekin, by calling 501-450-5686 or writing to him at the Department of Political Science, University of Central Arkansas, Conway AR 72035.

DEADLINE FOR SUBMITTING PAPER PROPOSALS:
DECEMBER 10, 1992

CALL FOR PAPERS AND PARTICIPANTS

NEW YORK STATE POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

The 47th Annual New York State Political Science Association meeting is scheduled for Friday and Saturday, April 23-24, 1993, in New York City. Those interested in participating should contact Robert Heineman, President, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York, NY 10027 or David Johnston, Vice President and Program Chairperson, Division of Social Sciences, Alfred University, Box 545, Alfred, NY 14802. The deadline for submitting proposals is November 20, 1992.

ELECTORAL SYSTEM WORKSHOP

TO BE HELD IN ESTONIA

An international workshop on electoral system design in the new CIS and Baltic nations will be held in Tallinn, Estonia from January 4 to 13, 1993. For further information, contact Professor Richard S. Katz, Department of Political Science, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore MS 21218, USA; Tel. (301) 516-7536.

The Electoral Systems Research Committee recently published a revised and Expanded 1992 *Third Edition* of the *International Bibliography on Electoral Systems* by Richard S. Katz of the Johns Hopkins University, USA. This 102 page compilation identifies in some thirty-five distinct categories over 2500 major works dealing with the forms and effects of representation and electoral systems, including national, cross-national, and sub-national studies.

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For more information please contact the Archives at (317) 494-9630. Correspondence may be directed to: Public Affairs Video Archives, Purdue University, 1000 Stewart Center, West Lafayette, IN 47907-1000. Or contact them via BITNET: PAVA @ PURCCVM or PAVA @ VM. CC. PURDUE. EDU.

(continued on page 5)

CALL FOR PAPERS — 1993 APSA

Mark J. Wattier, Department of Political Science, Criminal Justice, and Legal Studies, Murray State University, Murray, KY 42071; (502) 762-2695; FAX: (502) 762-3482; Bitnet: A03222F @ MSUMUSIC.

The theme of the 1993 annual meeting is "the politics of identity," its definition, and the consequences of social and political identities have been studied by such noted authors as Murray Edelman (*The Symbolic Uses of Politics*), Erving Goffman (*The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*), Harold Lasswell (*Psychopathology and Politics*), and George Herbert Mead (*Mind, Self, and Society*). Such studies typically explore several questions about personal Who am I? Who do I want to be? What am I worth?

Proposals for both papers and panels are, therefore, solicited which address themselves to how political parties and other organizations--interest groups, social movements, PACs, campaign organizations, etc.--construct their identities. Theoretical, empirical, and pedagogical investigations of this general problem are welcome. Of special interest are studies of how group leaders and group members construct both individual and collective identities within organized contexts. Possible topics along these lines include, but not need be limited to, the following:

- What, if any, new and interesting questions does "political identity" suggest for students of parties or groups or social movements?
- Is "political identity" a concept with demonstrated utility for micro-level studies, a relevant concept for micro-level studies of parties, groups or social movements?

- Must one use only unconventional or novel theoretical approaches--symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, or schema theory, to name a few--to study parties, groups, or movements in terms of their identities?
- How may studies of parties, groups, or movements define political identity in concrete, operational, and observable terms?
- To what extent do party nomination processes, conventions, platforms, and general-election campaigns define political identities of leaders, followers, and party coalitions?
- To what extent, if any, do other organizations--particularly news organizations--influence political identities of group leaders and followers?
- What organizational structures--Weberian, Barnardian, etc.--create and sustain the construction of identities that engender both individual growth and organizational effectiveness?
- What are the sources and consequences of the "identity crisis" of PACs? What, if anything, have PACs done to ameliorate this problem?
- How and why have various social and political movements--labor, environmental, civil rights, gay rights, feminist, etc.--created political identities that either promote or impede their political objectives?

This list is meant to be suggestive, not exhaustive. Theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical pluralism reigns in this APSA section, and I do not wish to impose any dogma or orthodoxy--save scholarly excellence and the timely submission of papers--upon its membership. I welcome your suggestions on whether political identity either creates new puzzles or offers new solutions for students of political parties and other political organizations.

THE 1992 POP AWARDS

LEON EPSTEIN, University of Wisconsin-Emeritus, winner of the Samuel Eldersveld Award for a lifetime of distinguished scholarly and professional contributions to the field.

WALTER DEAN BURNHAM, University of Texas at Austin, winner of the Leon Epstein Award for a book that has made a distinguished contribution to the field for *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (New York: Norton, 1970).

JAMES Q. WILSON, University of California-Los Angeles (and Peter Clark), winner of the Jack Walker Award for an article of unusual importance and significance to the field for "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organization." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 6:129-166, 1961.

A PAC can be used to resolve the strategic problems of the reformed selection process because its financial activities are not subject to the regulations established for campaign committees. A PAC can accept contributions of up to \$5,000 a year from an individual, or an aggregate of \$20,000 over the course of the four-year presidential election cycle, as opposed to the \$1,000 donation that may be accepted by a campaign. A PAC can establish "soft money" accounts that operate outside of the limits established by the FECA. It can also raise and spend an unlimited amount of money. And, most importantly, its finances do not have to be reported as campaign-related spending subject to candidate limits so long as the PAC avoids five narrowly-defined types of activity (e.g., getting on the ballot or using mass advertising that describes the PAC's sponsor as a presidential candidate) that are used by the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to determine campaign-related spending.

A PAC operation is particularly valuable to a prospective candidate because it can function as a surrogate campaign committee. Although the FECA specifically states that a PAC may not serve as a candidate's campaign committee, FEC rulings over the past decade have established that a PAC led by a "prominent individual" or "potential candidate" can undertake most of the activities normally conducted at the outset of a campaign. A PAC can hire staff and consultants, establish state and local subsidiaries, and recruit volunteers. It can initiate and develop a nationwide fundraising network and conduct direct mail programs. It can finance political travel, party-building activities, and political outreach programs. In short, it can serve, as one observer noted, "as a presidential campaign in miniature" without having to report its finances as campaign-related spending.

The first presidential hopeful to sponsor a PAC was Ronald Reagan, who formed Citizens for the Republic early in 1977 as a means of disbursing the \$1.6 million surplus from his unsuccessful 1976 presidential campaign. The PAC was founded to support conservative Republican candidates and causes. Reagan and his advisers, however, soon realized that the committee could also be used to conduct a wide range of activities that would help maintain his public profile and expand his organization in preparation for another presidential bid. The surplus funds from the 1976 campaign were used as "seed money" to finance an extensive fundraising operation, which solicited close to \$5 million and developed a list of about 300,000 active donors, all of whom were likely prospects for future campaign contributions. The PAC used some of its funds to pay administrative costs and spent about \$674,000 in contributions to Republican candidates and party organizations. Most of the committee's revenues were used to hire a political staff, retain professional consultants, coordinate political outreach programs, organize volunteer efforts, finance a newsletter, subsidize Reagan's travel, and host receptions on his

behalf. In short, Citizens for the Republic served as a campaign committee, providing Reagan with the resources and services needed to launch his 1980 candidacy. Yet none of the funds spent by the committee were considered by the FEC to be campaign-related expenditures since Reagan had not declared his candidacy and the avowed purpose of the committee was to assist party-building efforts. He was thus allowed to raise and spend \$6.2 million outside of the limits established for presidential candidates.

Reagan was not the only candidate to establish a PAC prior to the 1980 election. Three of Reagan's prospective opponents, George Bush, Robert Dole, and John Connally, also recognized the value of a PAC and established committees of their own. After the 1980 experience, the number of pre-candidacy PACs grew and PAC operations became a common organizational component of most nomination campaigns. In the 1984 cycle, four Democrats (Mondale, Kennedy, Cranston, and Glenn) followed Reagan's lead and established PACs of their own. These committees spent approximately \$7 million, with \$4 million disbursed by Reagan's group and \$2.5 million spent by Mondale, who raised 10 times more than his closest counterpart.

Prior to the 1988 election, the first contest without an incumbent since the adoption of the campaign finance reforms, the number of precandidacy PACs increased substantially. Of the fourteen major party candidates, nine established PACs in advance of the election. Another candidate, Republican Pete du Pont, capitalized on the resources available through a non-federal PAC and two others, Democrats Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson, took advantage of the resources available through tax-exempt organizations they established. Only Senator Albert Gore and Governor Michael Dukakis, the eventual nominee, lacked a pre-campaign operation, although Dukakis used his 1986 gubernatorial reelection campaign to achieve many of the advantages afforded by a PAC.

The nine federal PACs established by candidates in the 1988 election spent \$25.2 million, more than twice the amount spent in advance of the two previous elections. George Bush's Fund for America's Future (FAF) led all contenders with \$11.2 million in total revenue and \$10.8 million in spending. Most of these monies were raised through contributions that would have been considered illegal in a presidential campaign. The committee received \$7.5 million in contributions greater than \$1,000, with 80 percent of this total (\$5.93 million) generated through the maximum allowable contribution of \$5,000. More than 200 of these \$5,000 donors gave to the committee in more than one year, resulting in an aggregate individual contribution of at least \$10,000; of these, at least 22 gave the maximum amount of \$20,000 over the four-year period, or twenty times the amount they could have given to Bush's campaign committee.

Bush followed the example of previous candidates

(continued on page 7)

and used his PAC as a vehicle for creating a campaign fundraising program. Since FAF was not considered to be a "campaign" committee under federal law, none of the committee's fundraising expenses were subject to federal limits. The donors identified by FAF could be resolicited by Bush's campaign committee and contribute the maximum amount of \$1,000. The Bush campaign simply had to purchase or rent FAF's fundraising list, which could be done at a fraction of the cost of creating such a list. FAF, in effect, provided the "seed money" for the campaign's fundraising program and paid the expensive start-up costs that accompany the early prospecting efforts needed to identify proven donors. Bush thus shifted the early fundraising costs of his campaign to the PAC, which provided him with two important strategic advantages: it improved his prospects for early success in campaign fundraising and saved his campaign more than a million dollars since his campaign committee was able to acquire the PAC's lists for less than \$15,000. (This estimate of the amount saved by the Bush campaign may be conservative; advisers to the Kemp and Dole campaigns estimated that the PACs associated with their candidates saved each of their campaigns up to \$2 million in fundraising costs.)

While Bush benefitted greatly from FAF's fundraising efforts, he did not take full advantage of the opportunities afforded by a PAC. For example, FAF did not establish "soft money" accounts, which would have permitted even larger contributions. In 1984 Walter Mondale's Committee for America's Future created four such accounts. These accounts received \$395,000, including about \$150,000 from corporations, \$160,000 from labor unions, and \$84,000 in large contributions from individuals and groups who had already contributed the legal maximum to the PAC's main account. In 1988, the PACs established by Democrat Joseph Biden and Republicans Robert Dole and Jack Kemp created soft money accounts that were used in part to funnel contributions to statewide and legislative candidates in Iowa.

Bush's Fund for America's Future also exemplifies the ways a prospective candidate can use a PAC to develop the framework for a campaign organization since the committee's approach was typical of the tactics employed by many candidate PACs. By May 1986, FAF had a national staff of approximately 50 persons, half of whom worked in the Washington, D.C., office under the direction of committee chairman Lee Atwater. FAF also hired a number of consultants, including specialists in the areas of major donor fundraising, direct mail, accounting, federal election law, and political organizing. The PAC set up a political operation coordinated by four regional political directors, who directed and monitored the activities of state-level staff and state and local volunteer coordinators. In particular, FAF hired full-time staff in crucial early primary states, including Michigan (the 1986 precinct delegate contests in this state were essentially the first step in the state's delegate selection

process), Iowa, and New Hampshire. FAF thus created a shadow campaign organization, which worked to build the framework of state campaign organizations and recruit political support in the years before Bush declared his candidacy. When Bush announced his decision to run, this organization was easily converted into a campaign operation.

The proliferation of candidate PACs that occurred in the 1980s demonstrates that the FECA has failed to achieve its objectives. The law's major goals are to promote a more informed electorate by requiring full public disclosure of campaign finances; to limit campaign spending in order to equalize the resources available to candidates; and to limit contributions in order to reduce the influence of wealthy donors and the appearance of undue influence that is associated with such contributions. Candidate PACs undermine these objectives since the funds received and disbursed by these committees are not subject to the limits imposed on presidential campaigns.

The problems posed by candidate PACs also illustrate one of the major obstacles to effective administration of the campaign finance reforms: the conflicting policy demands imposed on the FEC. Under current statutes, the FEC is responsible for controlling political spending, but it is also supposed to encourage participation in political process. These broad administrative responsibilities often force the FEC to choose among competing goals. The agency cannot unduly restrict an individual's right to form a PAC because such groups increase participation in the political process, assist candidates, and promote party-building. But, as the experience with candidate PACs indicates, such activities undermine the achievement of full disclosure and limits on spending and contribution.

Fortunately, the 1992 election did not follow the patterns established in the 1980s. Although a number of the possible Democratic contenders, including Jesse Jackson, Richard Gephardt, Mario Cuomo had PACs early in the cycle and appeared to be ready to follow the tactics employed in previous elections, they did not initiate substantial PAC efforts. This was largely due to the unique political environment formed by Bush's high public approval ratings, the Gulf War, and the consequent early perceptions of a likely Bush victory. Future candidates, however, will probably turn to PAC operations as a means of circumventing federal election laws unless the regulations are changed to ease the conflicting pressures on candidates.

Anthony Corrado is the author of *Creative Campaigning: PACs and the Presidential Selection Process* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992).

CALL FOR PAPERS
THE STATE OF THE PARTIES:
SCHOLARLY AND APPLIED PERSPECTIVES

The Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at the University of Akron will sponsor a conference on American party organizations September 23 and 24, 1993. The purpose of the conference is two-fold: to assess the state of American party organizations as the century ends and to foster communication between party scholars and practitioners of party politics.

Scholars of party organizations and related phenomena are invited to submit proposals for the scholarly portion of the program. We anticipate selecting ten to twelve papers to be presented at the conference. Individuals selected to present papers or serve in other capacities will receive a small honorarium and travel expenses. In addition, suitable papers will be published as part of the conference proceedings.

While proposals from any methodological, theoretical, or substantive perspective are welcomed, preference will be given to the following concerns:

- 1) emphasis on party **organizations** (at any level of government, major or minor parties and partisan organizations);
- 2) emphasis on the actual **operation** of party organizations (political, administrative, or technical);
- 3) emphasis on **future** developments in party organizations; and
- 4) emphasis on **new** sources of information on party organizations (empirical, theoretical, or applied).

Interested scholars should submit a one page proposal to John Green, Director, The Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, The University of Akron, Akron, Ohio 44325-1904.

Application Deadline: January 30, 1993

— 8 —



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