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These Guns for Hire

*The New Clinton Gang
Has a Lot of People
in Washington Scared.
So Why Are All These
Lobbyists Smiling?*

By KIMI EISLER

A FEW DAYS BEFORE PRESIDENT Clinton's February address to Congress, Robert Reich, the very bright secretary of labor, was previewing Clinton's economic message to a hotel-ballroom crowd.

"The lobbyists are going to hate this speech," the former Harvard professor declared. "It takes away from them everything they've won over the past twelve years."

In the back of the room, several dark-suited types leaned against a wall, smiling.

"Reich may know something about economics," one said. "He sure doesn't understand Washington."

Take away everything lobbyists won in the last twelve years and you'd make their day. They'd simply start the process over.

OUTSIDE THE BELTWAY, LOBBYISTS MAY be despised. But they are part of Madison's multiplicity-of-interests doctrine of political democracy. Here are Washington's top 50 hired guns, how they got to the top, and some of the clients they represent:

38. Richard L. Frank, Olsson, Frank & Wooda. A private attorney with an interest in consumer protection, Richard Frank demonstrates how well a lawyer can do when he has the public's welfare in mind. Frank was hired by a consortium of food companies to do something about competitors who falsely claimed their juices and sauces were "fresh." Frank launched a sixteen-month lobbying campaign—directed at Congress, the FDA, and the public—to prohibit calling a product fresh when it wasn't. It worked. Frank and his partner John Bode, a former assistant secretary of agriculture, now have a client list that includes Pillsbury, the National Food Processors Association, and the National Frozen Pizza Institute.

WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO BE A HOT lobbyist?

B • **Contacts.** Almost no one on this list became a lobbyist without first serving in government. The powerhouses of the future are now working for people like Senate Armed Services chairman Sam Nunn or New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who succeeded Bentsen as Finance Committee chairman. If you can't be at Finance or Appropriations, the energy, environment, and interior committees on both sides of the Hill are good. There, for example, you can pick up the business of the nuclear industry.

• **Money.** The successful lobbyist spends freely, picks up a lot of checks, and attends a lot of fundraisers—for people on both sides of the aisle. If two people are waiting to see a member and one has raised \$100,000 and the other \$10,000, guess who gets in first.

• **Grassroots organization ability.** Old-timers may scoff, but this is the wave of the present. Several top lobbyists, such as Anne Wexler, Tom Hoog, and Jack Bonner, got where they are because they are adept at raising support for a position back in the home district.

• **Discretion.** Even before Michael Deaver appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine and almost ruined his career, it was axiomatic that the best lobbyists stayed out of the headlines. Very few people on this list are eager to give interviews. Some, like J.D. Williams and Joel Jankowsky, have made a religion of anonymity.

• **Give and take.** The cartoon impression is that the lobbyist forks over an envelope full of money, then sits back and smokes his cigar. But the effective lobbyist provides members of Congress and their staffs with issue papers, polls, even the exact language that needs to be inserted into a bill.

