The Pleasures Of Losing
A Seat in Congress
How many former members find happiness as Washington lobbyists
By Bill Keller
The first phone call came the morning after Rep. Herbert E. Jones, D-Va., retired, was driving home to his farm near Staunton, Va. His secretary, Marilyn, called. "That's a drama queen. A lady to the district and the county, and now she's moving on to the next world to go to work in Washington, and talk it over, boy?"
A duty officer had failed to offer office work from a government employee union and the state transit industry, two interest groups he had worked for years. And with a job offer out of the question, his options were limited.
His transition will raise no eyebrows in the capital. Many members retired from service or cast off by the ballot box are forced to make new, every day and still hold the heads of politics by working on Congress rather than in it.

The generality of public officials into lobbying is nothing new, but two factors seem to have accelerated the trend.

One is that today's Congress, with its demanding year-round schedule and other roles, such as member of the party's leadership and sometimes chair of a committee, is no longer the protected world it once was for many members. An ex-member may find that he has little reason to go home, and little to sell (at least in the states of his former district) except for his name and the names of people he knows or once knew.

The second factor is that the Senate, responding to increasing government regulation, a dispersion of power in Congress, competition from public interest groups, and the demand for knowledgeable people to report on what the government is up to and to attempt to influence it.

A former U.S. congressman, no more capability, in Washington than anyone else — considerably more," said Dan H. Kuykendall, a former Tennessee Republican representative with a stinging history of lobbying clients. "You can't even get into the state of knowing who are the firms back home and up getting sent back to Washington."

The closing days of the 98th Congress were the occasion for a discreet musing about the change in administration made Washington a tight job market, interviews with a sample of in-transition Democrats and Republicans who were indeed in demand.

Rep. Robert Donlan (D-N.Y.), who lost his May primary, was promptly on the phone with one of the top firms. He said his details "will include some lobbying on transportation and some health issues."

"It would be nice to start in a new couple of weeks to the White House and take care of some things," Donlan said. "But the strength is not there." Donlan is Senate manager.

"It will be not dissimilar from what I've been doing here going down to the White House for a while," said Donlan. "It's not too long a step."

"I expect he'll get clients to be inroads, ads and images and some of these new Washington jobs," Donlan said.

Rep. Bob Dole (R-Kan.), a liberal Texas Democrat unseated Nov. 4, said he was "like everyone else, waiting to see what happens."

"I wouldn't rule out legislative advice and some lobbying to addition to legislation."

Chairman of the House, Senate, and House Democratic leadership, chairman of Commerce's communications subcommittee, declined invitations to talk over jobs the next day to the Senate, he seemed to be in transition.

Don't Dole, a former journalist, now a lawyer who stays in Washington "but something to sell other than influence. What do I have? All I have is the staff that worked on legislation and saw my colleagues. I really think I can hold my head a little lighter if I'm doing something else."

Bill Keller is a reporter for Congressional Quarterly, from which this is excerpted.

At Last, We May End Congress’ ‘Stafflation’
By Maurice Roelandt
A MIDSUMMER’S NIGHT’S blizzard of words since the election — so-called for the literal, er, eras, nonsense about a “sharp swing to the Right,” bold talk about the executive-homemaker, tone-deaf garbage about transition teams — one small note of hope. The new wave of Republican leadership has promised to reduce the size of committees staffs by 10 percent.

The promise is not that部位able, but to people who watch and care about Congress, it is a harbinger of light. It is further encouraging that the Republican’s real battle line has been the few blacks mouth and landed on the steps of the House, where the Democratic leadership allowed it might go the GOP one better by reducing staff 10 percent.

Though the proposed reductions are minimal, their border on the revolutionaries: perhaps only a small step for the Republicans, but a great step for Congress. Given a strong stimulus, Congress might even reverse the expansion trend and translate itself to what it can be the basic deficit and reform agenda.

Everyone who has been around the Capitol for some years has several stories illustrating the decline of the institution. One of my favorite concerns a lawyer friend, Bill, who had been tapped for em. The lead of the Senate, that of the classic farmer lawyer — diligent, learned, personally responsible. When Kevin Revine, my friend, went to work for a “media- menage” lawyer, a madamed lawyer with a smooth-media media. Bill’s first assignment was to analyze for the new source a proposed amendment to a civil rights bill. He prepared a brief, complete with pro and con, backed with 20 or 24 pages. The next day, he tossed it back to Bill and said, “Don’t you expect me to read that?”

That’s the real transition on Capitol Hill. It began when members of Congress abandoned decision-making to their growing staffs. It did not happen over- night, but evolved after World War II with the expansion of the federal govern- ment, and accelerated by a sense among legislative branch to keep up with the big- growing executive branch, the expanding industries and the new technologies.

Look around you today. A 30-year-old personnel in the Senate and House staffs has never worked in private enterprises. When they enter their offices and do not the political sphere, they will have been born to $25,000. In SW7, each agency client was expected to be, in contrast to 30 today. How did senators such as Noravi, LBJ, Johnson, Rusk and Andes never get anything done? Oh, no, we puzzled, could they have been accomplishing anything if they had been overwhelmed by factions of staffs, as are their modern-day peer? (see STAFFS, Page 84)

Ten Commandments for New Hill Members
By Eugene I. McCarty
R EW MEMBERS of Congress usually get a taste of office life awaiting service in the capital — most of it a bit of use in the real world of business. Those who are truly sure about accomplishing something might consider the following 10 commandments, which generally advise the opposite of what they will be told.

1. Vote against anything introduced with a "yes" and 1, it is usually finance, tax increases, budget reductions or popular support that is likely to have failed and is likely to be new again.

2. Do not have a perfect attendance record.

Any attendance record above 90 percent is evidence that you have been wasting time answering roll calls and participating in debate.

3. Do not master the rules of procedure. The staff rules read simple enough to be comprehended by the layman, but they are seldom honored in practice. The House rules are usually applied in a way they are not intended to be used. Use the prepa- ration, but be sure the business and number of the bill are right. Please forgive me. They won’t."

4. Do not show up to an appeal in the name of “party loyalty.”

5. Do not count on a special session in the case of “national security.”

6. Do not count on an appeal to act in the name of “national security.”

7. Do not count on an appeal to act in the name of “party loyalty.”

8. Do not count on a special session in the case of “national security.”

9. Do not count on an appeal to act in the name of “national security.”

10. Do not count on a special session in the case of “national security.”

Eugene McCarty is a former senator from Minnesota.

The Rise of Corporate Environmentalism
By William Greider
T H F T S IRINDA watchmen beware. Let the party-bred headlines seek refuge in their cardboard tombs. This year’s crop of 3% promises to deliver us from a decade of folly, that era of indignant nonsense known passionately as “envi- ronment activism.”

This, now, is what I keep hearing from the boat positions of power. Reason and prosperity restored. Let the good times roll.

I am exaggerating, but only to convey the flavor of the season. The president-elect himself talks about “extremism.” His designated budget director, Rep. Newt Gingrich, bestowful “common sense” on the commerce of the world. The environment is no longer a policy of the day, but the “new federal regulations. The man set to become interior secretary is a seasoned environmentalist who knows the federal government to cease and desist in waging campaigns to support “the transition group, a lead-in regulation skepticism, environmentalism. He has even been mentioned as a possible chairman of the Council of Environmental Advisers.

This is good news. It is the kind of news that is good news, to be explained. (See GRAIN, Page 83)

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