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tactics are part of a Republican strategy to reduce election participation.

"Slick Republican consultants in Washington have figured out that if you go negative early, get your Democratic opponents to respond in kind and keep the campaign on that level, you will drive turnout down, and low turnouts are good for Republicans," Hart said.

"The Republicans say it works, or they wouldn't do it," said James Klonoski, University political science professor and former state Democratic party chairman. The Democrats are "a little better at holding off," but both parties engage in negative campaigning, he said.

"I'm skeptical of that as the major explanation," said James Lemert, University journalism and public opinion professor.

"For example (Peter) DeFazio ran a negative ad about (Bruce) Long and said he had a really bad idea back in 1984 about diverting young people's Social

Security payments," Lemert said.

DeFazio's advertisement said Long's idea would "bankrupt" the Social Security program. DeFazio is the Democratic candidate to the 4th Congressional District, and Long is his Republican opponent in that race.

For his part, Long launched a direct-mail campaign accusing DeFazio of flip-flopping on tax issues.

"For reasons quite understandable, once one side starts slinging the mud, it becomes an escalation," Lemert said.

Ted Kulongowski was a victim of Gov. Vic Atiyeh's negative campaign in 1982, he said. While both parties participate in negative campaigns, Republicans "do tend to be more devious. Not because they're inherently more devious, but because they have more money," he said.

Some explanations have been offered as to why negative campaigns are so abundant and

vicious.

"There are no crisp ideological divides in 1986. This has left a vacuum, which politics abhors and which character assaults have rushed in to fill," according to Paul Taylor of The Washington Post.

Klonoski agreed. "There are no overriding national issues, so they get down to particulars," he said.

In the governor's race particularly, where the two candidates are struggling to gain acceptance as the most progressive moderate, their similarity in issue stands may lead naturally to character attacks.

Additionally, "The more it goes on nationwide, the easier it is to do it locally," Lemert said.

Another factor is the rise of political consultants. "As soon as you start hiring those folks you tap into the network," Lemert said. "In that sense, a mudslinging campaign in one part of the country hastens the spread, or diffusion, of that sort

of tactic," he said.

The sophistication of electronic media makes it easier to conduct negative campaigns, Klonoski said. "We live in an age of images, and you can make and remake images in a matter of seconds. Negative campaigns help create those images," he said.

The way journalists cover campaigns may encourage and increase the effectiveness of negative campaigns, Lemert said. Negative campaign ads played in the last days before the election leave little time or means for rebuttal, he said.

"If there is no way a politician who is subjected to that can respond, that doesn't say much for journalists," Lemert said.

"Ads repeat incessantly. In the news, journalists would feel very awkward about repeating the same rebuttal," Lemert said.

Kulongowski agreed. "The secret to campaign ads is its repetitiveness." People don't really listen to the specific charges, but do absorb themes,

he said. In the most recent advertisement attacking Goldschmidt, "It's not so much if he's really changed, it's the overall theme — he's inconsistent, you can't trust him," he said.

For the most part, negative advertisements are effective, said Ed Mellman, a Democratic pollster. "When we ask people about negative ads, they'll say they don't like them. But that's not the point. The point is that they absorb the information," he said in the Washington Post article.

Nevertheless, Kulongowski doesn't believe the Paulus ad will be effective, he said. "There is a question of whether her negative ad really has a bite," he said. Additionally, Paulus violated the 10-day rule, he said.

"It wasn't until a week ago they realized Neil had the momentum," Kulongowski said. A candidate should "never run negatives after Thursday. You want to run positives," he said.

"Surveys early on showed that Goldschmidt had a higher negative rating," Lemert said. "That would be consistent with Kulongowski's analysis that slinging mud is an act of desperation," he said.

When Atiyeh initiated a negative media blitz, "Our response was we'll take the high ground," Kulongowski said.

That was a mistake, he said. "When you have people run a negative with a bite, the people want you to respond. Otherwise you look weak," he said.

"The most effective thing to do is run negative on radio in July and August, drop a little in September for two or three weeks, then go positive," he said. Goldschmidt is wise to ignore the accusations because the Paulus ad "did not bite hard enough," he said.

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