

THE RIPON FORUM

VOL. XXV, No. 4, OCTOBER 1995

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AS A CANDIDATE
FOR PRESIDENT

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on the General's
Memoir

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Apocalypse

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Speaker
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Reveille for the General

So many to choose from; so few to recommend.

The current GOP presidential field resembles nothing so much as a K-Mart blue-light special: lots of knockoffs of yesterday's rage, nothing much innovative or appealing, just shopworn material, gaudy and ill-conceived. A thin stand of presidential timber. Sisyphus and the Seven Dwarves.

Let's start with rock-roller **Bob Dole**, a three-time also-ran in national politics. The lunatic fringe that seems to surface only on primary day and Halloween night accuses the Senate Majority Leader of being a moderate, seeing as he's supported the conservative coalition in the Senate only 95 percent of the time through the 1990s. Duly penitent, Dole recently returned the solicited donation of a fiscally conservative/soberly gay Republican group, declaring he did not agree with their agenda. Meanwhile, he clings to donations from Time-Warner, a company he has suggested undermines the values of America for a fast buck.

Then there's **Phil Gramm** to consider. There's the positive side—some-where. And a negative side, which we'll refrain from perusing in the interest of tree conservation.

Pete Wilson? His opponent last year—a charitable woman—called him "a weasel," raising nary a ripple of comment, though many suspected his true species was more cold-blooded.

Lamar Alexander looked promising, until he hired consultants off of Jesse Helms and Ollie North and became a born-again reactionary. Then there's the matter of his getting rich in the governor's mansion while insisting on a Tennessee prison system that made the Bastille look like the Trump Plaza.

Richard Lugar is well-versed on foreign affairs and a moral, reasonable man—who somehow thinks it's morally reasonable to replace a progressive federal income tax with a horribly regressive national sales tax.

Pat Buchanan forcefully expounds his consistent nativist/protectionist/isolationist/moralist views, and is striking a chord with the disaffected mid-

dle class. He says what he means and does what he promises—which makes him the most frightening man in America today.

An electrifying speaker spouting hellfire and brimstone, **Alan Keyes** should start his own congregation: First Righteous Church of the Divinely Legislated Truth. One of his first parishioners would be David Duke.

Finally, there's our own **Arlen Specter**, fearlessly espousing what most Americans want—an apostasy to the rest of this crowd. A capable man who finds it impossible to be endearing, he was a champion to women's groups—until he ran roughshod over Anita Hill (their *cause celebre*) on national TV.

Not that any one of these men wouldn't be an improvement over the current occupant of the White House, a morally bankrupt opportunist of no real political conviction. But Republicans—indeed, all Americans—deserve better: someone who can break the stranglehold of lobbies and partisan gamesmen who keep the federal government from serving the best interests of the nation at large.

Is Gen. **Colin Powell** that man? Or are we just projecting off his empty screen, wanting what we seemingly can't have? His just-published memoir [see review on page 25] suggests he may indeed be the Ike-like father figure who can bring government back to the people: an efficient manager and aspiring leader, a capable custodian of popular trust and support. The Powell who emerges here is not a mush-mouthed panderer, but a firm believer in individual responsibility, fiscal restraint and social tolerance. His moderate stands on such hot-button issues as abortion, gun control, school prayer reflect a mainstream viewpoint that is too often ignored in a politician's rush to please radical activists or special interests.

Are we backing Colin Powell? So far there is little to back, other than a book tour. We are urging the General to throw his helmet into the ring; then we'll make our judgment, along with the rest of America.

Hopefully, he will afford us that opportunity.



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One Year Subscriptions:
\$20.00 for individuals
\$30.00 for institutions
\$10.00 for students

Second class postage paid at
Washington, D.C. and
additional mailing offices.

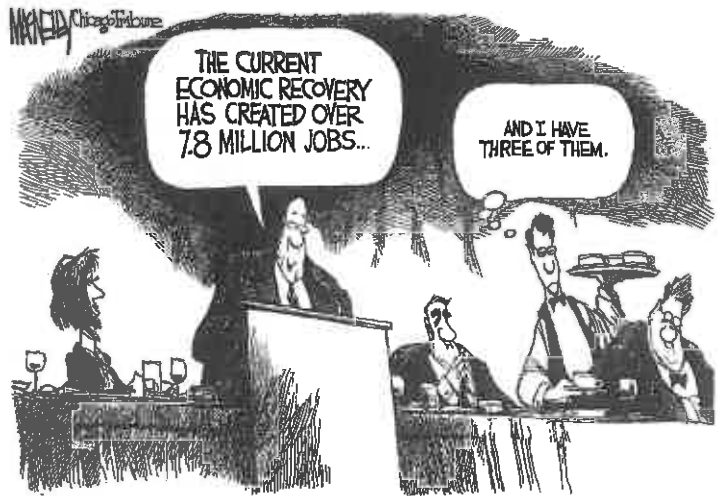
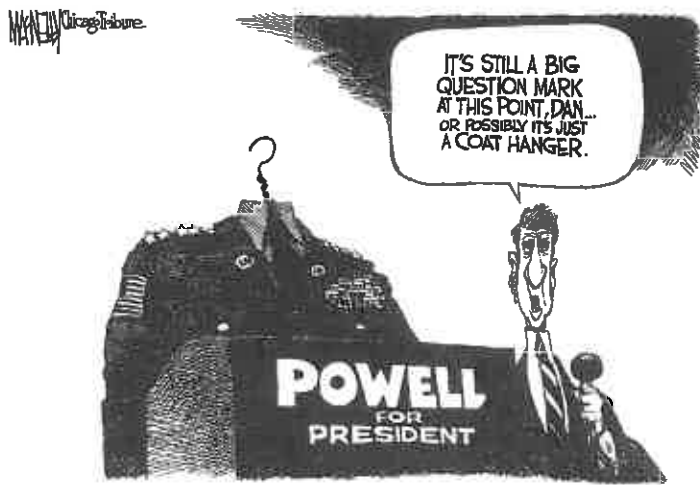
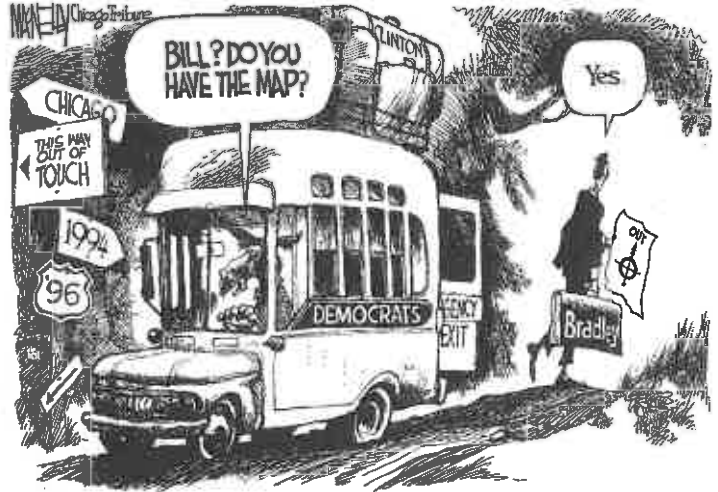
Postmaster, send address
changes to:
The Ripon Forum
501 Capitol Court, NE
Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20002

The Ripon Forum
(ISSN 0035-5526)
is published bi-monthly
by The Ripon Society.

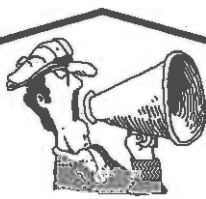
The Ripon Society is a
research and policy
organization. It is
headquartered in
Washington, D.C., with
National Associate members
throughout the United States.
Ripon is supported by
chapter dues, individual
contributions, and revenues
from its publications.

CaPiTOL COMIX

BY JEFF MACNELLY



UNDER THE BIG TENT



Media Motives

What is it with the media lately? Every political story from **Bob Dole's** check cashing problems to **Bob Packwood's** indiscretions to former Gov. **Tom Kean's** non-run for a Senate seat has prompted journalists recently to dismiss, denigrate and defame the centrist faction of the Republican Party. We at the Ripon Society can not figure out what is going on here. Nationally, our fundraising is up, our membership numbers are climbing and there is a new sense of cooperation within the moderate movement that hasn't been seen since the 1960s. So what is this consistent doomsday reporting all about?

Basically, the media is bored with the two-party system. Their appetites were whet by Perot in 1992 and they are desperate for a permanent third party. **David Broder's** words in the *Washington Post* are very telling. In a story written immediately after the Packwood resignation Broder trumpets, "Packwood's departure is one more bell tolling for progressive Republicanism, which seems likely to return only in third-party form, if indeed it revives at all." The media is plainly trying to set up the GOP for a great fall. By dismissing the moderates—the very people who can attract more Americans to the Republican Party—reporters are preparing for a 1996 election in which they can have *their* independent candidate and four more years of **Bill Clinton** too. (Apart from the obvious liberal bias of the press, to them it is much more interesting to write about **Dee Dee's** drinking and **Stephanopoulos's** driving than it is about cutting taxes, renewing America's community spirit or lowering the deficit.)

Well, Mr. Broder and cronies, it ain't going to happen. The Ripon Society intends to continue to grow

and—with the help of other fiscally conservative and socially tolerant mainstreamers—we aim to throw open the flaps of the GOP's Big Tent and invite more Americans to join us.

Murphy vs. Wilson

Michael Murphy, Ripon National Governing Board member and a Massachusetts Republican state committeeman, gave California Governor and presidential hopeful **Pete Wilson** food for thought at the Middlesex Club's annual Lincoln Dinner.

The *Boston Herald* explains:



L to R: Clinger, O'Connell, Scully, Lithgow.

"As keynote speaker Wilson sat stochically at the head table, facing 750 diners...he listened as Murphy, delivering the club's 'Lincoln Oration,' declared Wilson unfit to even tote the Great Emancipator's stovepipe hat. Murphy charged that the Republican Party's national convention 'bonus delegate' rules discriminate against big states and their minority residents. He laid a lot of the blame for that rule on Wilson. 'I find it most interesting that those who attack quotas that help minorities are strangely silent about the quotas that hurt minorities in the Republican Party,' said Murphy. 'If indeed this assault on affirmative action quotas is based on principle,' Murphy continued—openly questioning the guest of honor's motives—I expect Gov. Wilson to attack with the same daily vigor the inequities within the Republican Party.'"

Honor Roll of Abolitionists

The Ripon Society and the Freedom Republicans honored **Daniel O'Connell**, the "Liberator" of Ireland's Catholics, by presenting his great, great grandson with a copy of the *Honor Roll of Abolitionists* during the Ripon Educational Fund's TransAtlantic Conference in Dublin, Ireland. Daniel O'Connell's name appears on the "Honor Roll."

Bill Clinger (R-PA), Chairman of the Ripon Educational Fund, and New York Chapter President **Bill Lithgow**, representing the Freedom Republicans, presented the Honor Roll to Professor **Maurice O'Connell**, in the presence of **Brendan P. Scully**, Irish commissioner of public works. The Honor Roll will be displayed in Derrynane House, the ancestral home of Daniel O'Connell in County Kerry, which is today operated as a museum by Scully's department.

The Honor Roll of the Abolitionists is a scroll containing the names of the principal individuals active in the abolitionist movement from 1683 to 1883. The Scroll, which contains a border of African artwork, was conceived and researched by Ms. **Lugenia Gordon** of Brooklyn and is an original work of art. Ms. Gordon is president and founder of the Freedom Republicans.

Daniel O'Connell, whose statue stands on the main street of Dublin—a thoroughfare which bears his name—was a leading Irish political figure and statesman in the mid-nineteenth century. O'Connell was a leading supporter of the 1833 act of parliament which freed all slaves in the British Empire. He also supported the abolitionist cause in the United States, as well as the American suffragette movement.

The Federal Government faces a fiscal meltdown within the first decade of the new millenium: Boomers will find their entitlements piggy bank plundered and Xers will be enslaved to confiscatory taxes. Is it too late for a politically feasible way out?

BY JAMES RIDGE

If you're concerned that the threat of a so-called train wreck may thwart plans to balance the budget by 2002, you have every right to be. The threat is real. But the train you should be watching most closely won't be carrying vetoed appropriations bills labeled "domestic discretionary" spending. The wreck you won't want to miss will involve the federal budget's equivalent of a "bullet" train—entitlement spending.

If Congress and the president fail to slow this train down before too long, there will be a devastating crash that will make debates about how much to spend on defense, education, crime prevention and all other domestic programs irrelevant very early in the next century. Failure by Congress and the White House to address this crisis will also make balancing the budget by 2002, and thereafter, virtually impossible.

Budgetary Black Hole

While many Americans still blame foreign aid and government "waste, fraud and abuse" for our budget woes, entitlement spending is the major contributor to our fast growing federal debt. Entitlement programs such as the two largest—Social Security and Medicare—are open-ended, legally binding obligations of the government to pay benefits to all who meet specified criteria. The programs do not have to be reviewed by Congress. Nor do their expenditures have to compete against other programs and priorities.

They are essentially on auto pilot, growing out of control and gobbling up more and more of our tax revenues each year.

The phenomenal growth of these programs, fueled by our rapidly aging society, could not have been imagined by their creators. In 1963, mandatory spending on entitlement programs took up 29.6 percent of the federal budget. Thirty years later, they consume more than 50 percent of the budget. And by the year 2010, along with the interest we are required to pay on our massive \$5 trillion debt, these programs will consume *all* federal revenues. There won't be one penny left over to fund any other government programs, without raising taxes to unheard of levels.

Even scarier than these numbers is the fact that Republicans and Democrats in Congress can't even agree on the simple fact that America's current path of spending on our largest entitlement programs is unsustainable. With solid evidence in hand that Medicare is in serious financial trouble, Congressional Democrats recently paraded around the country telling their constituents there is no problem with the system. Republican efforts to cut Medicare spending, they say, are simply an attempt to pay for their proposed tax cut and balance the budget on the backs of America's elderly. Republicans, to their credit, have placed Medicare on the budget table and admit there's an urgent problem. But then, with a straight face, they join in a conspiracy of silence with Democrats when it comes to discussing the even larger crisis facing

Social Security.

Because they have taken Social Security — our largest government expenditure — "off the table" in the current budget debate, Congress and the White House have been forced to contend with much larger cuts to other popular programs that benefit the neediest members of our society. This action violates what should be the cardinal rule of budget cutting: shared sacrifice.

It also defies logic. As Concord Coalition President Peter G. Peterson recently explained to an audience at the United We Stand Conference in Dallas: "Trying to balance the budget without touching Social Security is like trying to clean out your garage without moving the Winnebago. You might be able to make a start, but you'll never be able to finish the job."

Entitlement Mythology

In order to fully understand how America's health and retirement entitlement programs are fueling our massive debt and why we must deal with them now to achieve a principled, and sustainable balanced budget, it is essential to expose several of the popular myths surrounding them.

Myth One: *These programs aren't a drain on our budget. They are trust funds in which duly recorded deposits are held for depositors. Rather than the "trust funds" they're advertised to be, these programs are strictly pay as you go. Obligations owed by the government to current retirees do not come out of individually labeled*

accounts. While rough estimates of Social Security and Medicare taxes are kept for accounting purposes, all types of federal revenues flow into the same IRS bank accounts and are spent immediately. Therefore, today's obligations to retirees are paid out of the pockets of today's taxpayers, and what's left in the "trust funds" is simply a pile of IOUs.

When Social Security was enacted in 1935 there were over 10 workers to support each retiree. But with the first members of the baby boom generation preparing for retirement around 2008, that ratio will soon plunge to 3:1. By the time our current newborns enter the work force, the ratio will be 2:1. In effect, each working couple will be supporting the Social Security and Medicare costs of an anonymous retired household, in

addition to whatever the couple can afford to put toward their own retirement.

Myth Two: *Medicare will be solvent until 2002 and Social Security will be solvent all the way to 2030.* Wrong. Although these are the official bankruptcy dates cited by the media and many policymakers, they have nothing to do with any real world definition of solvency.

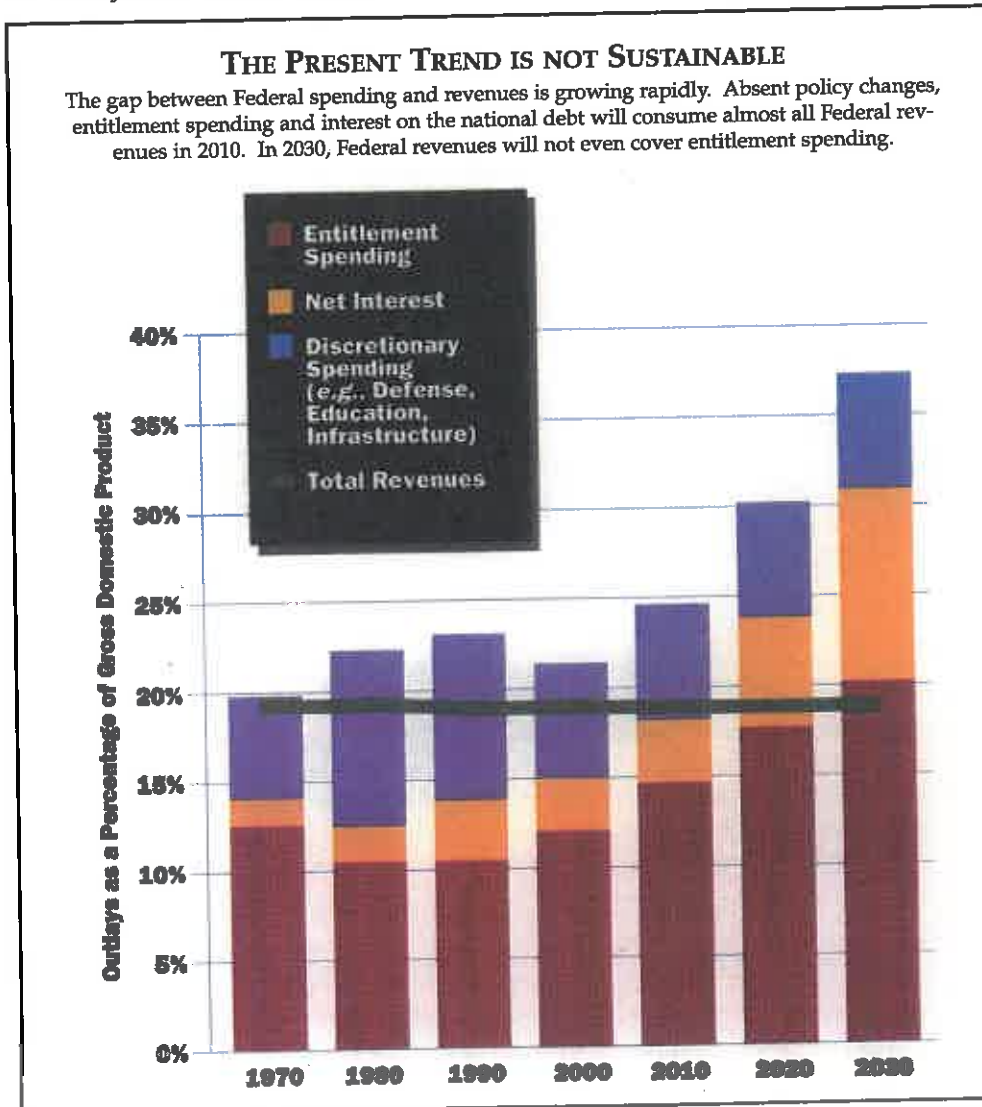
Most people assume that "bankruptcy" must refer to the date when the benefits paid out of the Medicare (HI) or Social Security (OASDI) trust fund will exceed the revenues coming in from earmarked taxes. This is not the case. By 2002 and 2030, these programs will have long since been running cash deficits — meaning that Congress will have had to raise taxes dramatically, or borrow

massive amounts from the public if it intends to pay promised benefits. In fact, Medicare has had an operating deficit since 1992, and Social Security will begin running a deficit in 2013, when too many retirees and too few taxpayers send its balance into a free fall.

Myth Three: *Talk of entitlement reform to balance the budget is really just a mean-spirited attack on seniors. Retirees are just getting back what they put in.* Although most seniors believe they are simply getting back what they put in, facts tell a different story. An average one-earner couple retiring in 1995 gets back far more than was paid in. With Social Security and Medicare combined, the average windfall is approximately \$350,000, much of it tax-free. Unfortunately, despite a higher tax burden, current taxpayers can never hope to experience these windfalls, and many younger Americans now believe they won't receive any benefits from the "trust funds" upon retirement.

Myth Four: *Most of the elderly are poor and therefore cannot afford decreased government benefits, even if it means raising taxes on younger generations.* While it's true that two out of every five Social Security recipients make \$20,000 or less, about 40 percent of total benefits go to households with incomes above the U.S. median average. According to the 1993 Census Bureau report, the Real Median Household Income of our elderly climbed by 26 percent between 1973 and 1992, while the incomes of Americans aged 25-34 fell by 10.6 percent.

Making matters worse is the fact that our tax system gouges young families like no other. In 1993, a couple retired on Social Security with \$30,000 a year in income paid, on average, \$850 in federal taxes. Meanwhile, their son and daughter in law, struggling to raise a family on the same income, paid a total federal tax of \$7,100.



What Can Be Done?

It's obvious that we can no longer afford to ignore our runaway entitlement programs and mounting debt. If we do, they will eventually overwhelm our economy and our society. The interest we owe on the debt will skyrocket. We will continue our vicious cycle of having to raise taxes, cut spending, and borrow more and more to pay interest upon interest. Our productivity will remain stagnant; more of our workers will have to settle for low paying jobs; and our economy will continue its anemic growth. America will decline as a world power.

Sometime early in the next century we will have to confront the fundamental truth that low productivity and slow economic growth, caused in large by our chronic budget deficits, have failed to generate enough goods and services to satisfy our demands. Working people will be required to pay an ever larger share of their earnings to support a growing retirement population and pay the exploding interest on the debt that the older generation accumulated.

Eventually, working people will refuse to submit to the crushing burden forced upon them by their elders. They will vote for leaders who will slash entitlement programs, even on the truly needy, rather than raise taxes still further. Millions of elderly people who thought they could count on their retirement benefits will find that the resources are not there to meet their needs. There will be a generational conflict pitting American against American, child against parent, in a way that our nation has not seen before.

We could, on the other hand, do the right thing. We could refuse to let our leaders borrow and spend and borrow and spend. We could insist that they stop wasting our money and our children's money on programs that do not work and on entitlement payments for the well-off who do not need them. We could insist that what spending is done is paid for now out of

current taxation.

If we do this, our deficits will disappear; our debt will shrink; our interest payments will become more and more manageable; our businesses will invest; our economy will renew its rapid growth of earlier years; more of our people will find employment in



“Eventually, working people will refuse to submit to the crushing burden forced upon them by their elders. They will vote for leaders who will slash entitlement programs...”

higher-paying jobs; our society will continue to flourish; and the American Dream will be restored to our children, and to our children's children.

The Zero Deficit Plan

The Zero Deficit Plan represents the Concord Coalition's blueprint for a balanced budget by 2002. Unlike the Congressional Budget Resolution, the plan puts all federal programs, including Social Security, "on the table." By putting all programs 'on the table' and omitting politically-popular tax cuts, the Zero Deficit Plan would avoid

some of the draconian cuts proposed in the Congressional Budget Resolution. For example, the plan would require Medicare savings of only \$150 billion over seven years, rather than the \$270 billion being sought by Congress. The plan would spread the sacrifices necessary to balance the budget more fairly across all segments of society. And, like the current budget resolution in Congress, the plan would be phased in over seven years to make the cuts as painless as possible.

Entitlement Reform

The centerpiece of the plan, and its single largest component of deficit reduction, is a proposal to means-test government entitlement programs, including Social Security and Medicare. Under the plan, entitlement payments to individuals would be subject to a sliding-scale, across-the-board means test starting at a family income level of \$40,000. This comprehensive means test would reduce federal entitlement payments by \$50.2 billion in the year 2002.

Reducing entitlement payments to people with mid-level and higher incomes is not only fair, but also the only way to reign in the deficit. We currently make annual entitlement payments of more than \$81 billion to six million citizens in families with incomes over \$50,000. We simply don't have the money to make payments at that level any longer.

Other entitlement reforms would include a modest increase in Medicare premiums, deductibles and copayments, accelerating the rise in Social Security retirement age to 68 in 2007, making changes to the federal employee retirement system, and instituting reforms to the federal agriculture and welfare programs.

Domestic Spending Cuts

The plan also proposes the elimination or reduction of a number of domestic

(Continued on page 27)



Co-opting the Angry Middle

Rarely a day goes by that we are not confronted with new evidence of increasing voter dissatisfaction. Voters are mad at Democrats; they're mad at Republicans; they want a third party, perhaps so they can be mad at them too. So much blame, so little understanding.

While politicians have cocked an ear their way, voters feel unheard and unappreciated. As if encountering some type of alien lifeform, elected officials wonder: who are they and what do they want from us?

While we do not promise to have all the answers, over the course of the next few months this column will be devoted to the state of voter disaffection and unrest in this country, specifically:

- What factors have contributed to the widespread voter dissatisfaction with politics, government, and the two-party system?
- How has the rapidly changing economic and cultural environment impacted political public opinion?
- As Generation X enters and the GI generation exits, what impact will these generational shifts have on political behavior?
- Who are the key independent voters and what do they care about?
- In what ways do both major political parties fail to address the concerns of such a huge block of voters?
- How can the Republican Party reach these disaffected, independent voters and fold them into a Republican coalition?
- What are the likely consequences if Republicans fail to win over these critical voters?

While there is much discussion about the critical "Perot vote," this categorization is too narrow to encompass the divergent groups of independent voters that populate today's political landscape. Talking about independent voters as a monolith is as futile as talking about the "women's vote." We will attempt to dissect this independent vote in a revealing way.

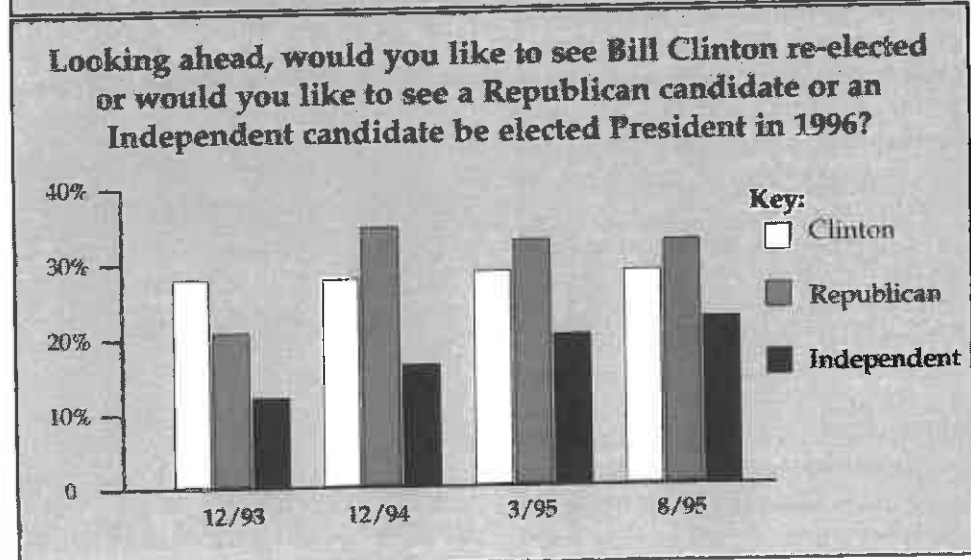
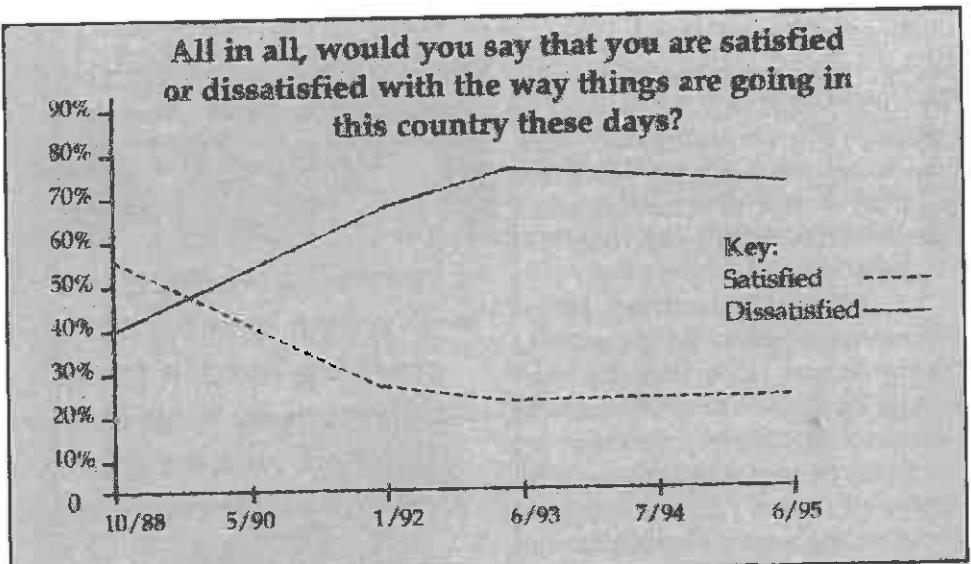
By taking a careful look at historical trends, public opinion surveys, census data, popular culture, and scholarly works, we hope to offer a more complete picture of how voters

have come to be so disaffected and cynical and what this bodes for the future.

Look for these topics to be addressed in upcoming *Forums*:

- November: Why the electorate is so unhappy.
- December: How to co-opt the discontent.
- February: The train is leaving the station: consequences of Republican inaction.

Christine Matthews is principal of CM Research in Alexandria, VA.



Riponites Back Specter; Prefer Powell

BY DAVID R. BEILER

The response was gratifying, the results fascinating. Ripon's first poll of Forum readers is certainly an exercise we intend to repeat in the future. We are very grateful to the hundreds of readers who responded.

Today, we have a much clearer idea of who Riponites are, and what they believe. For one thing, a plurality prefer Colin Powell as their next president, even though he is still on the sidelines. Other segments of our newfound knowledge were even more surprising, a clear indication that progressive Republicanism is anything but static.

Ga-Ga For "Gramps"

Who, for example, would have guessed thirty years ago—shortly after Ripon's founding as a counterbalance to the GOP's expanding radical right—that Barry Goldwater would receive nearly four times as many votes for "Republican of the Century" than Nelson Rockefeller?

That journey was made from both ends of the spectrum: mainstream thought now looks upon paternalistic government with much the same jaundiced eye Goldwater had in 1964; and the firm libertarian beliefs the Arizonan always held have moved into the spotlight only within the last decade, as controversy over individual freedoms had increased. Progressives now delight in finding crusty old "Gramps" Goldwater in their corner, railing against pro-lifers, homophobes and the Religious Right.

Progressive purists needn't fear, however: their icon Teddy Roosevelt took the title, but by only two points over Barry, and a bare one over the even more conservative Ronald Reagan.

And contrary to the popular image of Riponites as "limousine liberals," we are instead overwhelmingly moderate and middle class: only four

Key:
* = a write-in. † = less than 0.5%.

percent of us are self-described liberals, while our median family income is a mainstream \$70,500. True, we are a bit of an elite when it comes to education: 98 percent of us have attended college, and just under half have graduate degrees.

Readers seemed well-pleased with the content of the *Forum*: no part of the magazine drew even a plurality of requests for less coverage. Demand for increased content was strongest for policy studies, state/local political news, investigative reporting, op-ed columns and letters to the editor. (The latter two were no surprise, as the *Forum* has published no letters or opinion columns this year.) Least-favored areas were DC political news and advertising (surprise!).

Socially Tolerant, Fiscally Conservative

In terms of policy preferences, Riponites are a surprisingly fierce breed of deficit hawk: By overwhelming margins, we favor reducing the budget, instituting means testing for Social Security, deferring tax cuts until the budget is balanced, and immediately passing the line-item veto—despite the Democrat White House.

We also back much of today's angry populist agenda, with a resounding "aye" for banning government officials from becoming lobbyists, a shattering "no" to racial preferences in hiring, and a thunderous endorsement for denying government services to illegal aliens.



Teddy Roosevelt: *Tops for 20th Century*

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES

	With Powell	Without Powell
Gen. Colin Powell (VA)	16%	NA
Sen. Bob Dole (KS)	13	20%
Gov. Pete Wilson (CA)	8	13
Sen. Arlen Specter (PA)	7	21
Sen. Richard Lugar (IN)	6	11
Ex-gov. Lamar Alexander (TN)	5	10
Sen. Phil Gramm (TX)	3	3
Publisher Steve Forbes (NJ)	2	3
Pundit Pat Buchanan (DC)	1	2
Prof. Alan Keyes (MD)	1	1
CEO Morry Taylor (IL)*	1	1
Others	3	3
Undecided	33	13

VICE-PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES

	With Powell	Without Powell
Gen. Colin Powell (VA)	34%	NA
Gov. Christy Whitman (NI)	8	20%
Gov. Bill Weld (MA)	7	12
Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (KS)	6	11
Ex-HUD sec. Jack Kemp (NY)	5	15
Gov. Tommy Thompson (WI)	3	5
Ex-Edctn. sec. Bill Bennett (MD)	2	4
New York Myr. Rudy Giuliani	2	2
Gov. George Voinovich (OH)	1	2
Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (TX)	†	4
Sen. Connie Mack (FL)	†	2
Others	1	4
Undecided	32	19

Riponites are hardly an isolationist claque, however, approving of GATT by a 5:1 margin. And although we are hardly bleeding hearts when it comes to immigration or affirmative action, we are also a remarkably tolerant bunch on social issues:

By better than 3:1, Riponites approve of allowing gays to serve in the military—and in combat roles at that. Such full-fledged soldier status was also endorsed for women, by better than 2:1. Repealing last year's ban on assault weapons—reportedly a goal of House Speaker Newt Gingrich—was overwhelmingly opposed by a nearly 6:1 tally. Only one reader in 25 favors keeping the pro-life plank in the party's national platform.

Callin' Colin

The virtually unanimous pro-choice sentiment was also apparent in choices for next year's national ticket. Listing only the major GOP presidential candidates now in the field, U.S. Sen. Arlen Specter (PA)—a Ripon board member—scored a narrow plurality with his uncompromising campaign against the agenda of the Religious Right and the "five percent radical fringe." The moderate Gen. Powell zooms to the top when

added to the mix, as the undecideds more than double to a third of those responding. That probably reflects a lack of knowledge about Powell's positions at the time of the survey, as well as a reluctance to commit to someone who has yet to enter the race or even indicate a party affiliation.

The hidden enthusiasm for the General becomes more apparent when Riponites are asked for their less guarded judgment on vice-presidential possibilities: There, Powell scores an impressive 34 percent in a crowded field, besting runner-up New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman by a better than 4:1 ratio. Overall, pro-choice veep picks overrun their pro-life rivals by about 6:1. With Powell off the list, Whitman finishes well in front of the pack.

PROPER POSITION FOR THE GOP PLATFORM ON ABORTION RIGHTS

Not mention	62%
Endorse	26
Oppose	4
Undecided	8

THE RIPONITE PROFILE

Ideological I.D.

Moderate	65%
Conservative	18
Libertarian	8
Populist	5
Liberal	4

Party Affiliation

Lifelong Republican	51%
GOP-leaning Independent	28
Converted Republican	14
Not a Republican at all	4
Not sure	2

Age

Under 30	8%
30 to 44	26
45 to 59	29
60 and up	37
Median:	53 years

Family Income

Over \$100,000	27%
\$75,000-100,000	18
\$50,000-74,999	28
\$25,000-49,999	20
Under \$25,000	7
Median:	\$70,500

Personal

67% Male
64% Married

POLICY PREFERENCES

	Favor	Oppose	Und.
Immediate enactment of the line-item veto	89%	5%	7%
The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)	77	14	9
Denying government services to illegal aliens	74	19	8
Prohibiting ex-members of Congress and presidential appointees from becoming lobbyists	74	22	4
Deferring tax cuts until the budget is balanced	71	25	4
Instituting means testing for Social Security benefits	70	24	6
Allowing gays to serve in military combat roles	69	23	8
Reducing the defense budget	69	27	5
Elimination of the capital gains tax	63	27	10
Allowing women to serve in military combat roles	62	32	7
Reducing federal funding for Medicare	53	37	11
Providing public school vouchers	49	44	7
Enacting term limits for members of Congress	48	48	4
Reducing federal funding for education	46	48	6
Repealing the ban on assault weapons enacted last year	14	77	8
Government-mandated minority preferences in hiring	14	77	8

REPUBLICAN OF THE CENTURY

Theodore Roosevelt	20%
Ronald Reagan	19
Barry Goldwater	18
Dwight Eisenhower	15
Richard Nixon	6
Nelson Rockefeller	5
Everett Dirksen	4
Newt Gingrich	2
Robert A. Taft	2
Others*	4
Undecided	6

* Write-in recipients. W. Wilkie, H. Baker, B. Frenzel, L. Weicker, H. Stassen, T. Dewey and J. Lindsay.

Beware the Green Wave

National survey of 1,005 adults taken
Aug. 3-6, 1995 by the Harris Poll

"The Republican majority in Congress is supporting new legislation to reduce the powers of the Environmental Protection Agency, the EPA, to control and regulate what companies must do to comply with environmental laws. In general, do you favor or oppose this proposal?"

	All	GOP	Dem.	Ind.
Favor	37%	50%	25%	33%
Oppose	60	48	71	63
Not Sure	3	3	3	4

Soundings From The Sunshine State

Mason-Dixon Media Polls of Florida Voters

Third Man Threat

Survey of 420 registered voters, taken
9/5-6, margin of error +/- 4.9%.

Ratings	Fav/Unfav
Clinton	33%/38%
Powell	53 / 12

General Election

Dole (R)	45%
Clinton (D)	37
Clinton (D)	32%
Dole (R)	30
Powell (I)	22

Buck Turns Up GOP Heat

Survey of 403 registered
GOPers taken 9/9-10,
margin-of-error +/- 5%

Dole	33%
Gramm	14
Buchanan	14
Wilson	3
Alexander	2
Lugar	2
Dornan	1
Keyes	1
Specter	0
Undecided	30

BELOW: Results from a national survey of 1,476 adults, conducted 8/17-20 by Princeton Survey Research for Times-Mirror.

Budget Priorities

In order to balance the budget... do you approve or disapprove of proposals to cut—

	% App.
Foreign aid	76%
Food stamps	58
Arts & humanities	52
EPA	39
Housing	37
Medicare	34
Schools	21
Summer jobs	21

Congressional Vote

'96 vote for U.S. House	GOP Margin
ALL	+ 7%
Men	+12
Women	+ 2
Under 30	+ 2
30 to 49	+13
50 to 64	+10
65 & Up	- 5

Granite State GOP: Come On, Colin!

Boston Herald/WCVB-TV poll of 385 NH GOP voters, conducted 9/5-7 by the Univ. of NH Survey Center, margin of error +/- 5%

GOP Primary	Now	6/95	2/95
Dole	38%	39%	41%
Buchanan	9	6	5
Gramm	5	3	10
Alexander	4	2	2
Wilson	4	2	2
Specter	3	1	2
Unsure	29	37	21
Other	4	8	16

Should Colin Powell Run as a Republican?

Yes	53%
No	23

Declaration of Independence

Would consider 3rd-party candidate	72%
Wouldn't consider 3rd-party candidate	22

California Steamin'

L.A. Times survey of 1065 registered CA voters, conducted 9/7-10, margin of error +/- 3%.

Nov. '96 Matchups	GOP Primary Prefs
Clinton 53%	Dole 35%
Dole 42	Wilson 17%
Powell 47%	Gramm 8
Clinton 41	Buchanan 7
Clinton 39%	Dornan 4
Powell 30 (I)	Alexander 4
Dole 24	Keyes 2
	Specter 1
	Lugar 0
	DK/other 18

	Pete Wilson's Job Rating	
	Now	3/95
Clinton 44%	33%	47%
Dole 32	60	44
Perot 20		

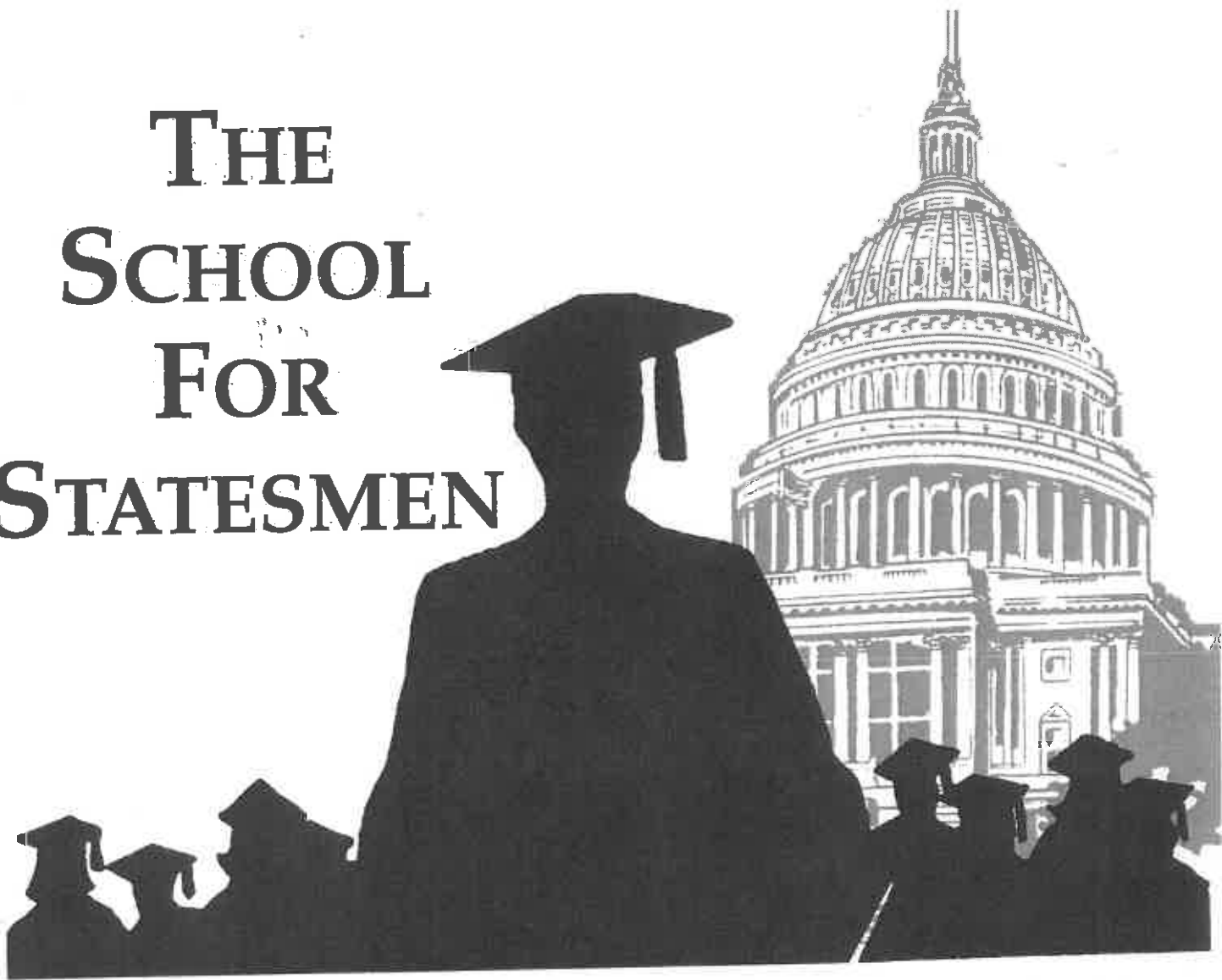
Wafflin' Wilson

Pete Wilson...	
Waffles on issues	59%
Doesn't waffle	29

CA, There We Go

California's Direction:	
Right direction	27%
Wrong track	64

THE SCHOOL FOR STATESMEN



How North Carolina Grooms Its Best For Elected Leadership

Editor's Note: The occupation of elected public official—executive or legislative—is one of the most complex in our society, and perhaps the most important.

Throughout the history of our democracy, it has been filled by amateurs, there being no individuals trained in civilian leadership. The task of helping to elect these people became professionalized in the 1960s and 70s, with formal instruction widely instituted by the 1980s. But still, the leaders themselves remained uneducated for the formidable duties of governing.

That began to change in the late 1980s, thanks largely to Walter DeVries and Thad Beyle. One of the earliest major-league political consultants, Dr. DeVries gradually abandoned the profession, having become disgusted with the course of campaign practices. His books *The Ticket-Splitter* (with Lance Tarrance) and *The Transformation of Southern Politics* are landmarks in the all-important field of voter behavior. A past director of the Center for Politics and Research for the National Governors' Conference Dr. Beyle is a longtime professor of political science at the University of North Carolina, and the author of *Governors and Hard Times*, and perhaps the nation's leading authority on governorships.

BY THAD BEYLE AND WALTER DEVRIES

These practically minded academics were the catalyst behind the creation of the North Carolina Institute of Political Leadership, a revolutionary form of education that carefully selects potential elected leaders and fully instructs them in getting elected, as well as governing. Phenomenally successful in terms of graduates moving on to positions of power, the IOPL model has now been replicated in Virginia and Michigan, and is in the process of spreading to several other states.

Vital questions beg: How is the Institute funded? How are the students recruited/selected? What is the background of the educators? What is the content of the curriculum and how is it targeted? What have been the results? Aren't the students indebted (at least morally) to the sponsors? Couldn't the curriculum be slanted to promote a particular agenda? Isn't the whole concept elitist and anti-democratic?

For the *Ripon Forum*, DeVries and Beyle answer those queries, and offer tips on creating a successful program to produce tomorrow's leaders.

The idea for the North Carolina Institute of Political Leadership took shape in the Fall of 1987, when a small group of people who had been active in the politics and government of the state met to discuss how North Carolina could improve the quality of its political candidates and public officeholders.

The meeting was inspired by two disturbing trends, which had led Walter DeVries to stop working as a political consultant in the summer of 1984: the use of attack campaigns, and the critical news media coverage of candidates.

The rise of negative campaigns—attacking the personalities of the candidates—really began in earnest during the early 1980s. First appearing at the state level, then in presidential campaigns, their use is now common up and down the entire ballot. Combine this with the ever increasing critical coverage of candidates and officeholders by the news media and you have a situation that is depressing the recruitment of qualified people to run for public office.

Those who consider such a move more often opt out, because they do not want to subject themselves and their families to personal attacks and unfair news coverage. How many times have we heard...“I would run, but the personal costs are too high...”

America's founders knew the value of public servants and “citizen-politicians;” our country's first political leaders came from such individuals. That heritage is increasingly being lost. The disincentives to entering public service have gotten increasingly higher, and as a result, our governmental institutions have become increasingly dysfunctional.

Better Governing Through Education

Our discussions about these issues led us to create a non-profit, bipartisan Institute of

Political Leadership (IOPL), which provides an experience markedly different from those of leadership development programs found in almost every state.

For example: in our state, Leadership North Carolina, Leadership Greensboro—Raleigh, Wilmington and the like—are typical of these programs spread across the country. They are designed to: (1) provide certain leadership skills; (2) orient and educate the participants to the needs and problems of the counties, cities and regions; (3) introduce these potential leaders to existing community leaders; and (4) create networks of people all over the community who know each other and can work on public issues. Many of these leadership programs expect their graduates to go on to local and statewide appointive positions.

Our program—and others patterned after it now operating in Virginia and Michigan—take that a giant step further. Many of these com-

munity leadership graduates who have been sensitized to community problems want to run for public office and be part of the policymaking process. Consequently, many of our applicants have already graduated from these local leadership programs, but then come to us, as getting elected is a prime focus of our course of study. But there are many other applicants coming from communities without leadership programs of any sort.

Our goal is to improve the quality of elected leadership in our state and local governments, and for that reason we seek out potential candidates—and in some cases, campaign managers—who have a sense of vision, strong private and public ethics, and a willingness to deal with problems no matter what the political consequences. We believe that our program provides the necessary skills and training for potential candidates to handle attacks from opponents and foster proper relationships with the news media.

The IOPL also emerged from a concern regarding the lack of integrity found in our political system, and the belief that North Carolina holds untapped leadership potential which needs to be identified and informed. Since 1988, 294 individuals representing 54 of the state's 100 counties have completed our leadership program. We are constantly trying to extend our reach into the other 46 counties in the state.

In Search of Honest Leaders

The difficulty of recruiting good candidates to participate in a political system seen as being less than honorable is exacerbated each year. To address this problem, our board of directors interviews scores of potential fellows, and selects for each class 20 individuals with leadership potential, a strong sense of public service and personal ethics, and a vision for North Carolina

Helpful Hints From Hands-Up-the-Ladder

Among the guest lecturers in the IOPL program are: Daniel T. Blue, an African American who served as Speaker of the NC House of Representatives; David Broder, National Political Correspondent for the *Washington Post*; Ran Coble, Executive Director of the NC Center for Public Policy Research; Tom Covington, Director of Fiscal Research, NC General Assembly; Ralph Murphine and V. Lance Tarrance, Jr., national campaign consultants; Jack Hawke, former Chairman of the NC Republican Party; Michael Easley, NC Attorney General; Dan Hester, television news anchor; Wayne McDevitt, Executive Director, NC Democrat Party; Harry Payne, Commissioner, NC Department of Labor; Fran Preston and William Rustin, lobbyists; and Richard Vinroot, Mayor of Charlotte.

Alumni speakers have included numerous state legislators, county commissioners and city council members.

Most of these guest speakers have worked with most of the classes. All are volunteers and none are paid any form of honorarium or stipend. Each speaker and guest trainer is urged to deal with the ethics of their particular governmental or campaign activity.

and its communities.

Each applicant must answer questions about their own experience, perspectives and goals. [See sidebar.] We found that asking these questions increases student commitment to the program and reduces the number of frivolous applications.

Candidates for admission must face Board members and graduates of the Institute in a 30-minute interview designed to draw them out on party identification, philosophy of government, motivations for running and a sense of how to behave in different ethical situations in campaigns and governing.

The IOPL is not a finishing school for anyone with political ambitions or a training ground for future political consultants. We are concerned about the declining number of individuals from the business community who are involved in political affairs, for traditionally some of our country's brightest leaders have emerged from the private sector. The Board has made a concerted effort to recruit Fellows from the business community, and annually the percentage of such individuals participating in the program has grown. About 47 percent of current Fellows are employed in the private sector, and our goal is to increase that level to at least 50 percent within the next two years.

Increasingly, the IOPL Board has selected applicants who best understand the problems of race, class, children, youth and families, and who can articulate ways to solve problems. We have had specific foundation grants during the past few years that have targeted the recruitment of women and minority fellows, those who have worked their way out of low income conditions and scant educational backgrounds, and rural residents.

Competition to participate in the program is keen, with only about one out of

three applicants being selected as Fellows. The Board's choices are made strictly on the basis of individual leadership potential and motivation, without regard to age, race, sex, ideology, political affiliation or the ability to pay for the training.

Mechanics

All of our funding is private and is raised from North Carolina foundations, associations, corporations, and individuals. IOPL pays all of the costs of the Fellows, with the exception of car mileage. All of the money for individual fellowships comes to the IOPL and not to the individual Fellows. Sponsors may ask that their fellowship

go to a Republican or a Democrat or to a certain county, but the choice is up to the Board. We encourage the Fellows to contact their sponsors to thank them and report on their experiences in the program, but that is the end of the actual relationship between sponsors and the sponsored.

IOPL holds two annual classes - the Fall class (August-January) and the Spring class (January-May). Over ten alternative weekends, Fellows participate in a series of 50 seminar and hands-on training activities. The sessions begin on Friday afternoon and continue through Saturday. Six of the weekends are in the Research Triangle Park, three in Wilmington, and one in Greensboro.

Are You Leadership Material?

Applicants for admission to the North Carolina Institute for Leadership must answer the following questions:

- Describe your present leadership, administrative and management experience. List memberships and offices in major professional, civic, political and social organizations held during the past five years. What do you consider to be your highest leadership achievement so far?
- Have you been as active in academic, community, governmental, political, professional and other activities as often as you would like? If not, what are the major barriers to your becoming involved?
- Have you ever run for public office? When? What did you learn?
- What is your personal set of beliefs about the role of government, and political leaders in particular, in our society?
- What are your long-range, personal, professional and political goals?
- Each of us is a unique blend of strengths and weaknesses. When you think of your political leadership skills, what are your strengths and limitations?
- What specific skills, knowledge or resources do you hope to acquire as a result of participating in the Institute of Political Leadership?

A "Hands-On" Curriculum

Our curriculum—which combines education and information on current policy issues—has a major emphasis on training the participants in modern campaign technology. Each Fellow must, on the first weekend, pick an elected office for which they will simulate a "run" over the course of the four month program.

Individual sessions are divided into three general categories:

- **Personal Style and Communication.** The initial phase for each class takes place the first weekend convened at the Center for Creative Leadership in Greensboro. There the Fellows participate in a two-day program of self-evaluation, leadership development, multi cultural differences and group dynamics. An additional day, later in the program, is spent on racial perspectives.
- **Governing and Public Policy Issues.** Thirty-five percent of the sessions deal with governing and policy issues facing state and local governments. Fellows engage in extended dialogue with key elected and appointed officials

from state and local governments, advocacy group representatives, and community leaders—all of whom provide valuable information and insights into the dynamics of governing. One weekend finds fellows engaged in a governmental budget process simulation. (IOPL speakers for these sessions are all currently in the business of making or affecting public policy.)

• **Campaigning.** The balance of the program focuses on the skills needed to run a successful, ethical campaign for public office. Guest lecturers are practitioners of local, state and national prominence, and discuss all aspects of campaigning: strategy/organization, fundraising, polling, media relations, dealing with interest and advocacy groups and advertising. Hands-on training—learning by doing—is the key to the campaign segment. The Fellows conduct their own public opinion poll and become familiar with the many uses of computers in campaigns. The Fellows also spend three days learning how to communicate via television and radio. They write and produce 30-second television commercials and have several television interviews: on-set with news anchors, in the field with a reporter, and in a “live remote” format. This heavy emphasis on the media is needed as the methods of communication in politics and government have changed so dramatically during the past few years.

Each Fellow also writes a short paper on “Why I am a Democrat/Republican/Independent/Libertarian,” presents it to the class, and defends his or her philosophy. (We have had some Fellows actually switch their party affiliation during this part of the program.) Each Fellow also incorporates all the campaign skill training into a complete campaign plan at the conclusion of the program.

What We Accomplish

In summary, the Fellows leadership program provides a foundation in practical campaign, communication and governing skills for those who do not have access to gaining such experiences which are so necessary in today’s high technology climate.

Of course, a considerable amount of the growth the Fellows gain in IOPL comes from their “after hours” sessions during each of the 10 weekends. With or without guests and staff, it is here they learn to listen to and communicate with people they would not normally be with. They learn the skills of civil discourse with those of opposite political and ideological persuasions. They find out that the political and governmental worlds often painted black and white are really varying shades of gray, and that there is merit to what the other person believes and why he or she feels that way. These skills are too often missing from our very angry debates in campaigns and in government.

The majority of our Fellows run for public office—or help another candidate in his or her campaign,—within one or two years after graduation from the program. Basically, IOPL has operated through three elections cycles (1990, 1992, and 1994). We now have eight Fellows in the NC House of Representatives (five in Republican leadership positions); 13 on city councils; eight serving as county commissioners, and eight on school boards.

Other IOPL graduates elected last November include a State Court of Appeals Judge, a Superior Court judge, a Sheriff, a Clerk of Superior Court, and a Registrar of Deeds. In addition to the elected officials, many more graduates hold elected positions in their respective political parties or serve on appointed boards and commissions serving as advisory bodies to state and local governments. In conjunction with the IOPL Alumni Association, we are now surveying all of our alumni to determine the actual numbers of graduates in leadership positions.

Every effort is made by the Executive Director and the Board—through its broad-based representation—to keep the curriculum from coming slanted in terms of political partisanship, public policy options, or competing campaign technologies. We are currently in the process of having a program audit by a professional consultant as part of a continuing evaluation effort.

In short, identifying leaders and training them can produce immediate and measurable results. Our careful selection process and experiences with Fellows during the course of the program have proven that those selected leaders—regardless of race, sex, social class, geography, political party or ideology—can and do work together. They bring new and diverse leadership to our political processes and governmental policymaking.

New Horizons

We are not creating elites. Again, we feel the process of selection used expands the sample of citizens who feel that they can participate in politics. If it is an elite that we are creating, it is a much broader elite than what exists now in our body politic where money, position and fame too often are the keys to political success.

Our vision is to have an Institute of Political Leadership in every southeastern state and to see the program extended to other states as well. In addition to the similar institutes we have helped establish in Michigan and Virginia, and we currently have inquiries from Alaska, California, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas. Abroad, other institutes established with our assistance are operating in Ecuador and in all of the provinces of South Africa. We have received a request from St. Petersburg, Russia to explore the possibility of establishing an institute there. We have yet to find a state or country, that when informed of our mission, does not want to start a similar enterprise. We only lack the time and resources, not the motivation or interest to fulfill this ambitious vision.

From our Institute’s point of view, the only sure way to make changes on the state and local levels is to change those persons who make decisions in government, political parties and influential community organizations. Simply put, we were formed to improve the overall quality of political and governmental leadership in North Carolina at the state and local levels. And, we are now seeing the results of our efforts.

PYRAMID POWER

Bureaucracy's a Basket Case, and a Less Intrusive M.O. Must Be Forged For Government. But the High Priest of the "New Paradigm" Says Such a Revolution Requires the Power of a Massive Majority, a Coalition of Disparate Parts, Working From a Broad Base Toward a Lofty Pinnacle for All to Cherish.

BY JAMES PINKERTON

The decision of Sen. Bob Dole to return a solicited contribution to his presidential campaign from Log Cabin Republicans—a responsible, mainstream gay group—serves as a reminder that the hottest issues in American politics are not economic, but rather cultural. And sometimes even the savviest pols get burned when they play with the matches of “traditional family values.”

Feeling the heat on his right flank in the wake of his disappointing showing in the recent Iowa straw poll, the GOP frontrunner figured that snubbing the Log Cabiners would help him curry favor with social conservatives who dominate the early caucuses and primaries. Yet the always-calculating Kansan proved that he misapprehends the new, greater political chemistry.

First, even in crass, short-term political assessments, Dole's deed was a blunder. Staffers say they sent back the tainted \$1,000 when they realized the candidate did not share the gay GOPers “special rights agenda.” Yet Log Cabin has never espoused such a program, concentrating instead on conservative economic objectives. And if the Dole campaign is sincere about wanting money from only like-minded souls, why have they yet to return cash to Time-Warner and other purveyors of pop-culture “depravity” that the candidate blasted in his widely noted May speech in Century City?

Ironically, Dole is blasting gays at the very moment many of them are moving to the right. The new breed of gay leaders—such as New Republic editor Andrew Sullivan—preach against intrusive civil rights legislation

and affirmative action, seeking only to be treated equally with heterosexuals, such as in the legal recognition of matrimony. Indeed, if gays are born and not made, it makes no sense to exclude them from the conservatizing structure of marital obligation. At a time when the sex news from Washington concerns such rampant heterosexuals as Sen. Bob Packwood (R-OR) and Cong. Mel Reynolds (D-IL), anyone who seeks to promote modesty and restraint ought to be applauded.

More importantly, the crises faced by our government demands an immediate and profound overhaul in the way it operates. If present trends continue, America faces a bleak future in the 21st century; and Republicans know that if the economy crashes, both homosexuals and heterosexuals will be hurt. The revolution required can only be wrought by a large majority of Americans pursuing a common goal, a broad coalition that will require the participation of gays and evangelicals alike. Neither can achieve their basic objectives without the other.

Here's a relevant bad news-good news story. The bad news is that if present fiscal trends continue, a young worker today will face a lifetime tax rate of 84 percent. That is, if spending—particularly entitlement spending—continues to balloon, the cost of government will reach 84 percent of national income early in the next century. That's the bad news. The good news is that, if the new Republican budget passes, if President Clinton signs it, if both parties stay disciplined, and if there's no recession, then that same lifetime tax rate will fall—all the way down to a mere 73 percent!

Such ominous bits of actuarial soothsaying underscore why so many

Americans believe that—even though the economy seems to be doing reasonably well today—as a nation we are walking at the edge of an abyss. We look around at the fate of giant bureaucracies, such as IBM and the USSR, and we realize that even the biggest and most imposing structures are vulnerable to the entropic trend-geist. Perhaps we are all just one restructuring away from a layoff, just one big currency play away from a significant plunge in our standard of living.

Finding Truth in Fiction

Such justifiable forebodings are often best articulated in literature. Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin helped Americans confront the evil reality of slavery and spurred the Abolitionist movement; George Orwell's 1984; was such a profound evocation of what totalitarianism would be like that the West redoubled its resolve to prevent that virus from spreading here—and over many decades, was successful.

When the year 1984 actually arrived, three different Americans offered very different visions. Ronald Reagan said that 1984 was “Morning in America,” and for those in the top half of the economy, things were indeed never better. That same summer, Mario Cuomo delivered his famous keynote speech to the 1984 Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, declaring “Reaganomics” had divided America “into the lucky and left out, the royalty and the rabble.” If Reagan addressed the top half of the socioeconomy, then Cuomo described how the other half lived.

But the policies Cuomo's candidate offered the voters were more of what they had seen for decades: an

undigestible hairball of higher taxes and bigger government. So despite the New York governor's poetic evocative power, the voters rightly rejected his platform. But that still left us wondering: who had the best descriptive handle on the future?

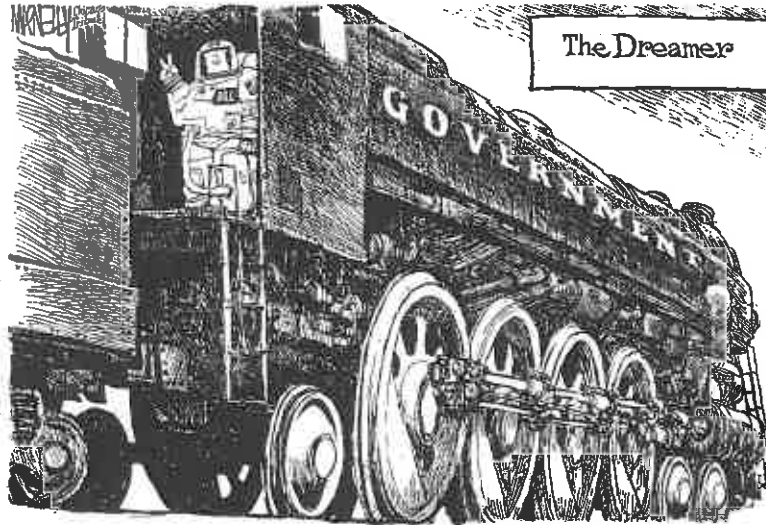
Perhaps newer works of fiction can fill the void left by the failure of even great political communicators. Also in the summer of 1984, William Gibson published his first novel, *Neuromancer*. Like Cuomo, Gibson saw yawning splits in America's future; unlike Cuomo, he pointed forward, not backward. In Gibson's un-rosy scenario, the flourishing electronic inner world of "cyberspace" contrasts with the crumbling outer world of "BladeRunner"-like crime and squalor; his award-winning work spawned the twisted science fiction genre of "cyberpunk."

Gibson's vision was better than either Reagan or Cuomo. The information age has accelerated the decline of industrial-era bureaucracies; old ziggurats of paperwork have been flattened by the just-in-time imperative. Communism, that most bureaucratic of systems, was least able to adapt. Yet the same techno-tremors that fractured the foundations of governmental giantism on the eastern side of the Wall also loosened the bricks of the welfare state in the West.

Problem Solvers as Problem

In January 1989, while deputy assistant to President Bush for Policy Planning, I participated in an extended meeting in the West Wing of the White House. The subject was education—specifically, helping the self-proclaimed "Education President" live up to his billing. Bush was scheduled to address the Congress in just a few days. We had a title for the speech, "Building a Better America," but no content. The meeting dragged nearly to midnight.

Not being an expert on education, I mostly listened. Yet as my mind started to wander, I imagined that the bureaucratic buzzwords, sports metaphors and flakes of stale imagery being tossed about the room were solid objects—and that I could see them bounce off the white-plaster walls and plop down on the wall-to-wall carpeting. There went one: "Invest in our future." Whoosh! Another platitude went past my ear: "The ball's in their court." Boing! "Hit the ground running" skidded to rest near my foot.



Most of the discussion meandered through a valley of abstraction obscured by clouds of jargon. If I didn't understand how these programs worked when the meeting began, I certainly didn't know the answer three hours later. Then it hit me: neither did anyone else. We'd been tasked with improving American education, but none of us were truly awake to what was happening in the schools and what needed to be done. The real issue wasn't money; it was what the schools were doing with the money. We could add or subtract zeroes from dollar totals, but we had no reason to think that either a lot of money or a little money would be well spent.

Our planning process was a micro-snapshot of the difficulties that 20th century bureaucratic planners face everywhere. All the technocratic talent on hand that night was not meaningfully connected to the actual process of helping some kid learn.

Nineteen eighty-nine was the year The Wall fell. It was the year the Central Park jogger case served notice that the social welfare system was making conditions worse, not better. It was the year of Tiananmen Square, when the Chinese decided to launch a new experiment: capitalism without freedom.

Searching for some tool of understanding, I picked up Thomas Kuhn's 1962 work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Click! I was reading along, about how the inquisitorial defenders of the old orthodoxy

insisted, in spite of all the new scientific evidence, that the sun revolved around the earth—the so-called geocentric paradigm. "The state of Ptolemaic astronomy," Kuhn wrote, was "a scandal" prior to the Copernican Revolution, the new paradigm.

Right there—on page 67—it hit me between the pupils. At the Bush White House I was, whether I realized it or not, a collaborator in the old, discredited thinking. As the pundit Michael Kinsley says, the real scandal isn't what's illegal, it's what's legal. Our political paradigm—our model, or structure—today is bureaucracy. To borrow a term from computers, bureaucracy is our "operating system," how we try to get things done—from delivering aid to the poor to providing education for all. Large-scale redistributionist bureaucracy was a great new idea a century ago, when Bismarck first implemented it in the Kaiser's Germany. It's a bad old idea today, as useless as spiked helmets. Bureaucracy worked reasonably well for awhile, but it survives today only because no one has yet developed a coherent replacement model.

Clueless about such things, George Bush's presidency collapsed in 1992. All the fears that people have—that the Gibsonian *BladeRunner* future is upon us—overwhelmed the Yalie certitudes that Bush grew up with.

The operating system metaphor

is useful because it reminds us that government, like a computer, is a tool. What's true for computer operating systems is also true of governmental operating systems: eventually a given technique hits the wall of diminishing returns—and then plunges down into the abyss of unintended consequences. Unfortunately, while computer users have Windows 95—and many other products, all continuously improved—what we might call Politics 96 seems to be the same old stuff.

There's an old joke: "How many Virginians does it take to change a light bulb? Ten. One to change the bulb, and nine to sit around and talk about how great the old bulb was!" Yet even Virginians—like Americans everywhere—are now thinking about what they must do to compete effectively. The only folks left to get teary-eyed about old ways are government bureaucrats and their allies. And we should reserve our sentimentality for the goals of government—liberty, opportunity, equality before the law—not the techniques that the government may employ at a particular time.

What it Will Take

As we think about shifting the governmental paradigm and installing a better operating system—we can be heartened by the success of great leaders in the past. U.S. history has witnessed three big evolutionary shifts, or realignments: first, the triumph of small "d" democratic, small "r" republicanism after Jefferson's election of 1800. Second, the Lincoln-Republican revolution of 1860. And third, the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. In each case, new leaders used new ideas to create new political alliances that led to great change for America.

In 1994, the GOP was victorious with a secular, economics-driven platform and accomplished a lot more than most in Washington thought it would. But the new Republican Revolution is now slowing down. The federal behemoth will shrink as a result of the first session of the 104th Congress, but there's a lot more work to be done. A government that was serious about getting smaller would not still be funding the Commerce Department, the Small Business

Administration, or the National Endowment for the Arts.

Some predicted that the Gingrichified Congress would be a hotbed of hate, but that hasn't happened. Steve Gunderson, the gay Republican Congressman from Wisconsin, is the chairman of an important education subcommittee and the House leadership's liaison to the District of Columbia. And the GOP has two black Members of Congress, Gary Franks and J.C. Watts, as well as many other African Americans in responsible positions.

The real problem we face is that even this diversification is not enough: we need more people on our team, in our tent. Fifty-four senators and 233 members of Congress is not nearly enough to shift the paradigm in America today. We need a grander alliance, because history shows that only with enormous majorities can a party achieve the profound change wrought by Lincoln and Roosevelt.

Political necessity is the mother of new alliances. A leader in the FDR mold, instead of emphasizing areas of disagreement—such as gay rights narrowly defined—could focus on areas of broader agreement, such as a stronger civil society. The point is not to sacrifice anyone's individual rights, but rather to include those individual rights in a larger and sturdier vision of what's best for society as a whole.

The image I use is a pyramid. At the apex of the pyramid is the goal—the good society—that everyone can agree upon. The base of the pyramid consists of all the groups and factions that may not like each other, but they are all united by their admiration for the goal. It would be nice if everyone loved everyone, but that's not the way the world works. An effective leader may wish to transform enemies into friends, but politics is the art of the possible. So the alliance-making leader must arrange the various constituent blocks of the pyramid so that they hold up the entire structure. That means, for example, that hostile blocs might be arranged at opposite sides of the base of the pyramid.

The best example of such coalition architecture is Roosevelt's New Deal coalition. FDR kept communists and klansmen pulling in the same

political harness for more than a decade. One wonders what words Congressman Vito Marcantonio, communist sympathizer from New York, and Senator Theodore Bilbo, racist rabble-rouser of Mississippi, might have exchanged as they passed each other in the Capitol—on their way to vote for the same piece of New Deal legislation that both factions felt was advantageous to them.

In the 1930s, the focus of the alliance was the New Deal, based on the feeling that the government had a responsibility to make life better for people in both New York and Mississippi. In the 40s, the focus of the alliance was the defeat of aggressive fascism. Reds and red-baiters were part of the same structure, but they rarely rubbed elbows. Instead, they were encouraged to look upwards, toward the crown of consensus at the top of the pyramid, an unblinking eye of alliance.

Obviously much has changed since then. But the alliance model can still hold, and it has the potential to unite all those who agree that America needs a new paradigm shift.

Today, the American people are waiting for a leader to build a new pyramid that stacks together the two logical conclusions we can draw from the post-industrial information age: first, people must think for themselves to be economically productive; they can no longer be widget-turning drones on an assembly line. Second, as a result of the same forces, people must think for themselves in terms of lifestyle and personal choice. The party which creates a new alliance to bring about a new operating system—one that provides choice and empowerment to all America—will be rewarded with power at the polls.

Next issue: "A Deal Between Devils:" how gays and evangelicals can join forces.

A former aide to Presidents Reagan and Bush, James Pinkerton is a lecturer at George Washington University and a columnist for Newsday. His book, What Comes Next: The End of Big Government and the New Paradigm Ahead, was published by Hyperion last month.

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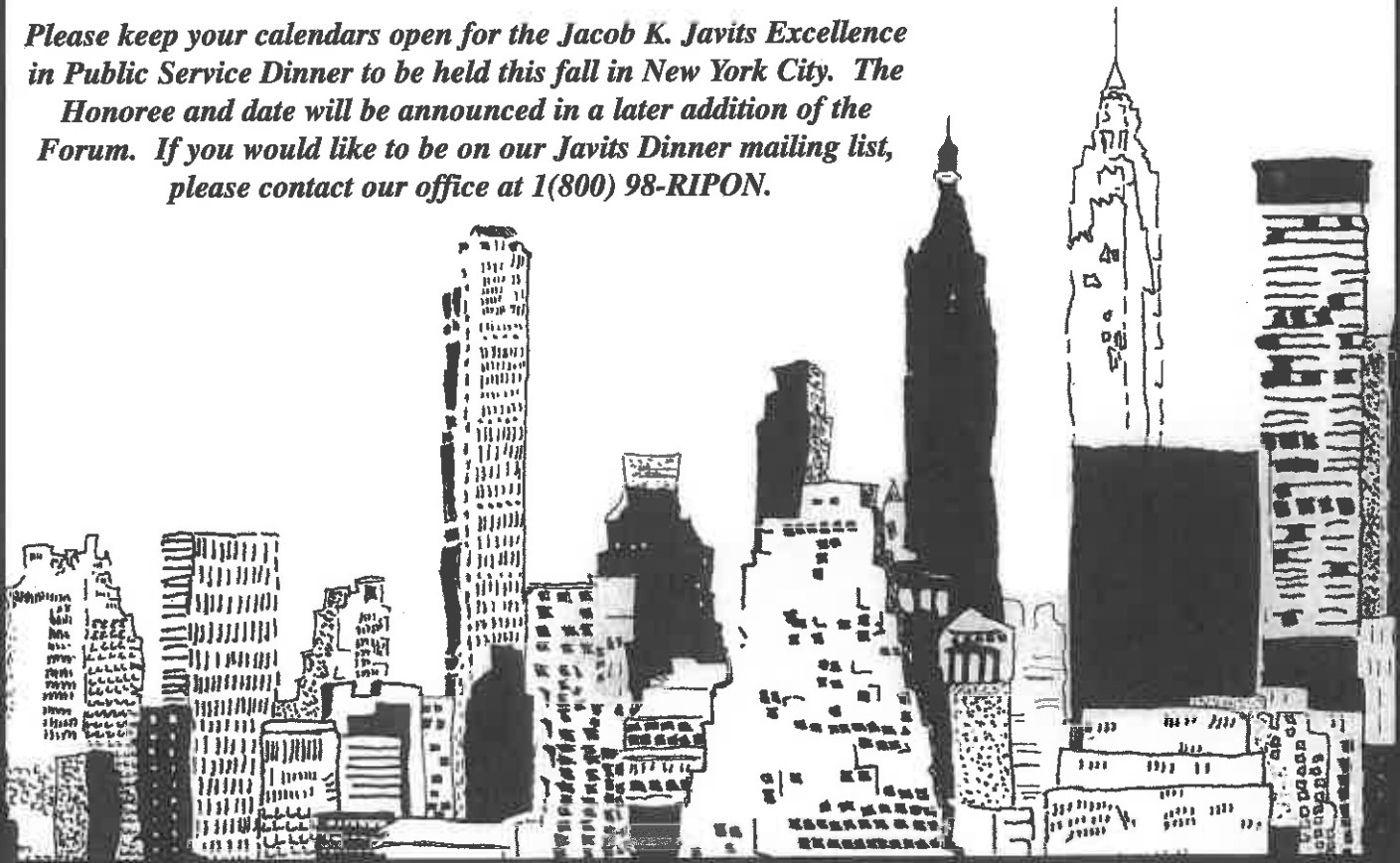
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Please keep your calendars open for the Jacob K. Javits Excellence in Public Service Dinner to be held this fall in New York City. The Honoree and date will be announced in a later addition of the Forum. If you would like to be on our Javits Dinner mailing list, please contact our office at 1(800) 98-RIPON.



BRING ON THE SMOKE-FILLED ROOM

A Veteran Political Consultant Looks at the Rules and Calendar and Concludes The '96 GOP Presidential Nod Will Likely Be Bartered.

BY PAUL WILSON AND STEVE GRAND

Considering the field of Republican candidates running for president and the region of the country from which each draws his strength, 1996 may well produce the first brokered convention in two generations. Although Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole is currently a strong frontrunner, the twisted Republican delegate selection rules threaten a Dole first ballot victory, as his strength is concentrated in states where the rules work strongly against him.

The Republican Convention will become *brokered* if Dole either fails to win a first ballot victory or—after the final delegates are elected in early June—he thinks he might not win on the first ballot. In either case, Dole will face the prospect of having to negotiate for the nomination.

A Brokered Convention Model

We began our analysis by assuming all states have identical "Winner Take All" rules—which they do not. In this model—with California holding to its Governor Pete Wilson and the South largely to Texas Senator Phil Gramm—Dole captures only 48.1% of delegates, 59 delegates short of a first ballot victory. We then applied a state-by-state analysis based on delegate selection rules now in effect or likely to be in place for next year. The adjusted analysis found Dole with 42.1% of the delegates, far below the support needed to claim a first ballot victory. The "Brokered Model" is based on two key assumptions: 1) Wilson will win his home state primary, collecting all 163 California delegates; and 2) Gramm (or Alexander or Buchanan) will win a large portion of the South.

The likelihood of a brokered convention increases further if just one of the "secondary" candidates survives to win their home state. Of these, Lamar Alexander (TN) and Senator Richard Lugar (IN) currently appear strong enough to score a majority of their home state—but only if they remain competitive until their respective home primaries. Alexander could potentially win 37 delegates, and Lugar 52.

The "Brokered Convention Model" asserts that Dole's strength is in the Midwest and the Northeast. Republican delegate selection rules in both regions tend to be more "proportional," making the core of Dole's delegate base enormously vulnerable to "delegate raids" by other candidates. Proportional rules typically mean a candidate who receives at least 15 percent of the vote will get a share of the delegates. Party rules also affect the early "publicity bonus" for Dole: Louisiana is competing with Iowa and New Hampshire to be first in the process, and will likely aid Gramm or Buchanan if it succeeds.

Additional assertions of the

models include:

- Gramm and Wilson are *most likely* to win delegates outside their region from Dole's base, increasing the likelihood of a brokered convention.

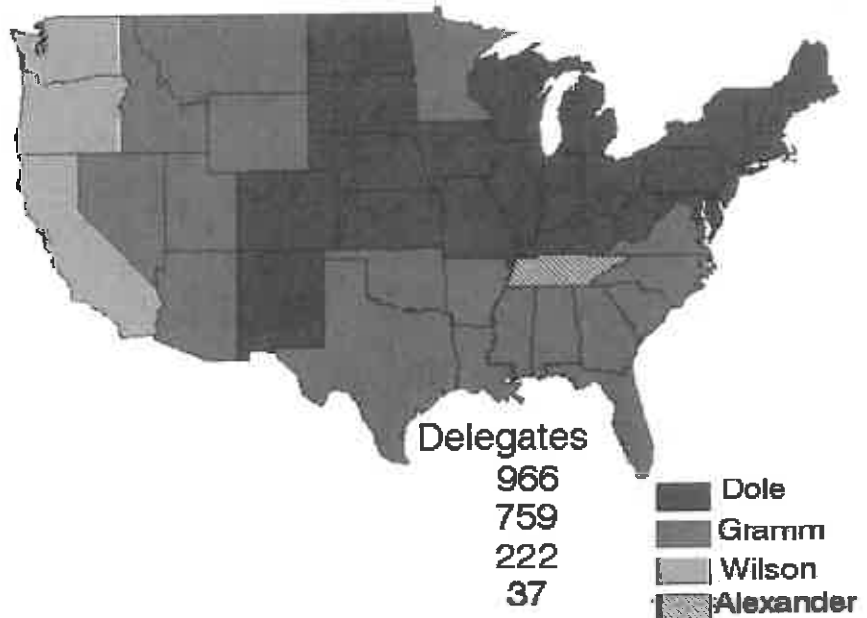
- Alexander, Lugar, Specter, Buchanan, and Keyes are *most likely* to win delegates from Dole's base, increasing the likelihood of a brokered convention. (Dornan is unlikely to win any delegates.)

- The eventual winner will not be known until the end of the process.

Based on the tremendous financial resources of the first tier candidates, it is unreasonable to think that the race will end in March, as some have suggested. The financial resources of the three frontrunners and all secondary candidates will be key. If Gramm, Dole, and Wilson each raise the \$25 million they have pledged to by the start of the primary season, they should be able to remain competitive in every state, until the end.

To fine-tune the model, we surveyed congressman and state party officials (June 20-July 12, 1995) to determine the likely outcome of primary and caucus contests in 194 con-

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE WINNER-TAKE-ALL MODEL



PAUL WILSON'S BROKERED CONVENTION MODEL

(This model allocates proportional delegates among candidates, incorporating a survey of 194 Cong. Dist. which are WTA.)

Date	State	Type	Tot.	Prop.	Dole		Gramm		Wilson		Alex	Keyes	Buch	Total
			Est # Del.	Thres hold	Del	Cum	Del	Cum	Del	Cum	Del	Del	Del	
1/8	IA	C	25		12	12	4	4	3	3	4		2	25
1/9	IA	C	28		1	13	25	29		3		1	1	28
1/16	NH	P	15	0.10	6	19	2	31	2	5	3		3	16
1/20	DE	P	12	1.00	12	31	0	31		5				12
1/29	AK	C	19		5	36	12	43	2	7				19
2/27	AZ	P	39		0	31	39	70		5				39
2/27	ND	P	18	0.00	9	40	3	73	3	8			3	18
2/27	SD	P	18	0.20	28	68	6	79		8	3		0	37
3/2	SC	P	37		9	77	28	107		8				37
3/5	CO	P/C	27	0.15	7	84	7	114	7	15	6			27
3/5	CT	P	27	0.20	12	96	5	119	5	20	5			27
3/5	GA	P	42		0	96	42	161		20				42
3/5	MA	P	37	.0263	17	113	5	166	5	25	5	3	2	37
3/5	ME	P	15		15	111	0	161		20				15
3/5	MD	P	32		23	134	3	164	6	26				32
3/5	RI	P	16	0.20	10	144	0	164	3	29	3			16
3/5	VT	P	12	?	6	140	0	164	3	29	3			12
3/7	NY	P	102		102	242	0	164	0	29				102
3/12	FL	P	98		80	322	18	182	0	29				98
3/12	HI	C	14		12	334	2	184		29				14
3/12	MS	P	32		22	356	7	191		29		1	2	32
3/12	MO	C	35		20	376	15	206		29				35
3/12	OK	P	38		6	382	29	235		29		3		38
3/12	TN	P	37		0	382	0	235		29	37			37
3/12	TX	P	123	0.20	0	382	123	358		29				123
3/12	WA	P	36	0.15	17	393	5	363	14	43	5			36
3/17	PR	P	14	1.00	14	407	0	363	0	43				14
3/19	IL	P	69		48	455	21	384	0	43	0	0		69
3/19	MI	P	57	0.15	26	481	11	396	11	54	9			57
3/19	OH	P	67		58	539	9	405		54				67
3/19	WI	P	36		30	569	3	408	3	57				36
3/26	CA	P	163	1.00	0	569	0	408	163	220				163
4/2	KS	P	31	1.00	31	600	0	408		220				31
4/2	MN	?	33		11	611	11	419		220		6	5	33
4/23	PA	P	73		44	655	7	426	10	230		2	2	73
5/2	NV	C	14		2	657	12	438		230				14
5/4	UT	C	28		0	657	22	460		230		3	3	28
5/4	WY	C	20		10	667	10	448		230				20
5/7	DC	P	14		14	681	0	448		230				14
5/7	IN	P	52		0	681	0	448		230				52
5/7	NC	P	58	0.40	28	709	30	477		230				58
5/14	NE	P	24		14	723	5	482		230		2	3	24
5/14	WV	P	18		18	741	0	482		230				18
5/21	AR	P	20	0.20	8	749	12	494		230				20
5/21	OR	P	23	.0435	7	756	5	499	9	240			2	23
5/25	VA	C	54		9	765	37	456		240		3	5	54
5/28	ID	P/C	23	0.00	7	772	14	513		240		1	1	23
5/28	KY	P	27	0.00	14	786	5	518	1	241	4	1	1	27
6/4	AL	P	39	0.15	39	825	0	518		241			0	39
6/4	MT	P	14		0	825	14	532		241				14
6/4	NJ	P	48	1.00	48	873	0	532		241				48
6/4	NM	P	18	0.15	10	883	3	535	3	244			3	18
?	VI	C	4		4	887	0	535		244				4
?	AM	C	4		4	891	0	535		244				4
?	Guam	C	4		4	895	0	535		244				4
			1,981		927		611		254		87	26	38	2,003
					4671		0.31		0.13		04	0.01	0.02	

NOTE: Model awards Lugar all 52 delegates from his home state (IN) and Specter 8 of his home state's (PA) 73 delegates

gressional districts that will award three delegates each under winner-take-all rules. If the local congressman had already endorsed a GOP candidate—as was the case in 64 districts—that candidate was considered the likely winner of the CD's delegates; Dole was the choice in 58 percent of these districts, Gramm in 28 percent. In the remaining 130 CDs (88 of which are represented by Democrats) we polled state party officials to determine the likely winner.

Of the fourteen states surveyed, eight are in the South: (AL, FL, GA, MS, OK, SC, TN, and TX) and six in the north (IL, IN, MD, NY, OH and WI). By coincidence, each region had 97 of these congressional districts, and each had with the same number of Republican (53) and Democrat (44) congressmen. But because of the rules favor smaller and conservative states, the affected southern states have 607 delegates to the North's 425.

With this added information, the model now shows Dole with 46.7 percent of the delegates. Gramm drops from 33 to 31 percent in the model as Dole encroaches on Gramm's southern base. The survey is particularly revealing in that it shows much higher vulnerability in the South for Gramm than earlier models supposed.

Furthermore, these northern states offer few opportunities for Gramm. His chances in New York appear slim. Ohio offers the Texan at best three and perhaps only the two congressional districts where he could still win. And all of these opportunities are in expensive media markets.

Some other observations :

- Gramm appears strong in his home state of Texas, where he currently has nine of the 12 Republican congressmen endorsing and all are districts likely to be his. Georgia is Gramm's other stronghold with 6 of 8 Republican congressmen endorsing.
- Dole appears rock solid in New York with 14 of 14 Republican congressman endorsing and every other district in the state forecast to vote for Dole, producing a potential delegate bonanza of all 102 delegates. Dole is also staunch-

ly supported by Senator Al D'Amato and the Republican Party structure.

- Lugar and Alexander have little support in the survey outside their home states, where each is forecast to win all districts. Both candidates, however, appear to seriously wound Dole as they siphon first ballot delegates from the frontrunner.

One of the strategic conclusions drawn from the survey is Dole's need to win over Lugar and Alexander: combined these two dark horses hold enough delegates, 89, to put Dole over the top on the first ballot.

Pete Wilson's Role in a Brokered Convention

The underlying process for Republican delegate selection favors the more conservative/activist candidates (i.e. Gramm, Buchanan). Therefore, on the second (or third) ballot—when some delegates are “released” to vote their conscience—the process tips dramatically in favor of these more conservative grass roots candidates. Pete Wilson could be hurt most by second and third ballots unless he enraptures delegates, so he and Dole would do best to by colluding. To win:

- All candidates will adopt strategies to deny Dole a first ballot victory, but paradoxically try at the same time to “place second or third,” which may in turn be counterproductive to denying Dole a first ballot win.
- Pete Wilson may now be aiming for the presidency, but he will soon discover the strong conservative tilt of the Republican Party delegate selection process, and realize that to be president he must first be vice president.
- Both Dole and Gramm will want Wilson as their vice president because of the large bloc of delegates he may be able to deliver, and the 52 electoral votes California will cast in the fall.
- Wilson will have to boost his popularity in California and Gramm will be forced to campaign more in the South, as both are weaker in their respective bases than expected.

Later Ballot Scenarios

- An estimated 26 percent (508 delegates) will not be legally bound to any candidate on the first ballot though. most will have indicated a preference.
- By the second ballot, 58 percent (1,138) of the delegates will be free.
- More than seven percent (148) may have been elected—under proportional rules—to vote for a presidential candidate they might not support, and will be free to vote for whoever they want to after the first ballot.
- By the second or third ballot, Newt Gingrich could be nominated.

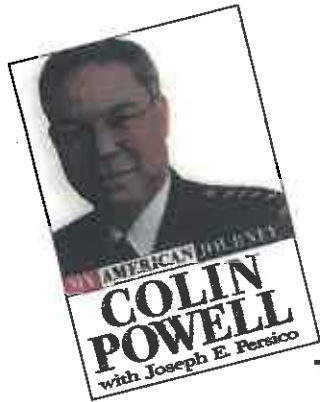
A Brokered Dole Veep

With the race very close, Dole must select a running mate who helps him win on the first ballot. He cannot afford to let the nomination be decided on the second or third ballot, because he will lose strength on each subsequent ballot. Some pre-first ballot considerations:

- In a brokered convention, candidates who don't control large numbers of delegates will not be considered: Jack Kemp, Gen. Powell, Dick Cheney, Gov. George Voinovich (OH), Gov. Tommy Thompson (WI), Gov. John Engler (MI), Gov. Christine Todd Whitman (NJ).
- If South Carolina goes for Dole—setting off a southern “domino chain” on Super Tuesday—former governor Carroll Campbell will likely get the veep nod as being the key to a Dole first-ballot sweep.
- If Dole can't hold the South, then Pete Wilson will be Dole's running mate because Dole will need his delegates to win on the first ballot.
- If Dole is closer than 50 votes to the nomination then Wilson, Lugar and Alexander have a chance to be offered the second slot because each will have more than 50 votes.
- If Dole loses the first ballot (because Wilson refuses the V-P nod) he is probably finished. His one chance to win at that point would be to move boldly to the far right to appeal to conservative

(Continued on page 27)

The Man America Needs—and Wants



Colin Powell's *My American Journey*

Reviewed by
STEVEN E. AMBROSE

Not since de Toqueville's prophetic "Journey to America," published a century and a half ago, has a book so precisely portrayed the American dream as General Colin Powell's perceptive, inspired and inspiring autobiography, *My American Journey*.

The road map of the book starts in the islands Columbus discovered. Family values frame the General's vision of America's future. He describes his parents, his siblings, his cousins and nephews, his wife and co-pilot Alma and his children in revealing anecdotes and humorous asides. He details his life in his other family, the U.S. Army, through a career that was marked by shared conflict on the battlefield and unique success in Washington, capped by his becoming the youngest-ever Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—the first immigrant's son, the first black and the first ROTC graduate to attain the position of America's First Soldier.

Presidential Echoes

Lincoln's handwritten mini-page autobiography (1860) and Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe* (1948) had tremendous impacts on presidential politics. So will *My American Journey*. It is getting unprecedented publicity: *Time* is running an excerpt; *20/20*, *Nightline*, *McNeil/Lehrer*, *Larry King* and others are featuring it; Powell has signed on for a twenty city tour, presenting himself as a shooting gallery target for reporters.

Headline hunters will avidly study Powell's candid discussion of his possible presidential candidacy. He writes: "To be a successful politician requires a calling that I do not yet hear... Nevertheless," he elaborates, "I do not unequivocally rule out a political future." Should he decide to run, he writes, "I would enter only because I had a vision

for this country. I would enter because I believed I could do a better job than the other candidates. I would not expect or desire to have anything handed to me; I would fight for the right to lead. And I would enter not to make a statement but to win."

As to the first prerequisite, he certainly has the vision: "We need to restore the blessings of family; and we should begin with the restoration of real families." To Powell, "real" families know how to balance their own budgets and fill their savings accounts for their children. "We need to restore the social model of married parents bringing into the world a desired child," he contends, "A child to be loved and nurtured, to be taught a sense of right and wrong, to be educated to his or her maximum potential in a society that provides opportunities for work and a fulfilling life."

There is no escaping it: this book makes you proud to be an American. "My life," the General writes, "is a story of hard work and good luck, of service and soldiering. Above all, it's a love story; love of family, of friends, of the Army, and of my country. It is a story that could only have happened in America."

Where He Stands

Powell succinctly summarizes his political philosophy: "I am a fiscal conservative with a social conscience." Some excerpts underscore his positions: The present tax burden on Americans is so high that it "seriously risks dampening our entrepreneurial vitality.... Jobs are the best answer to most of our social ills.... I am a champion of public secondary and higher education."

Deeply concerned by the eventual consequences of the current entitlement programs, he writes, "Realistically, we have only two alternatives; either reduce the entitlement system or we raise taxes to pay for it."

On racial preferences: "If affirmative action means progress that would provide equal opportunity, then I am all for it. If it leads to preferential treatment or helps those who no longer need help, I am opposed. Affirmative action in the best sense promotes equal consideration, not reverse discrimination."

As to party preference, Powell does not amplify his often quoted remark from a recent speech: "I have very



strong Republican leanings on economic and foreign policy matters, but I was a New Deal kid. I had pictures of Franklin Roosevelt on my wall." He writes of the need for "the sensible center of the American political spectrum" to assert itself. He says, "Neither of the two major parties fits me comfortably in its present state." He denounces "those on the extreme right who seem to claim divine wisdom on political as well as spiritual matters" along with "liberals who lavish so much attention on individual license and entitlements that little concern is left for the good of the community at large."

Comment on Controversies

Beyond his statements on parties, his political philosophy and future, there will be other headline items from the book. On Bosnia: "No American President could defend to the American people the heavy sacrifice of lives it would cost to resolve this baffling conflict."

He is candid about the men he has worked with and the controversies he has been involved in. His extended remarks about Ronald

Reagan and George Bush are a nice mix of criticism, praise, warm personal feelings and gratitude for the opportunities they gave him. His judgements on Dick Cheney, Bill Clinton and the other men he has served are bluntly and vividly expressed.

Powell covers in detail his advice to Bush leading up to, during and after Desert Storm. In summary: "War is a deadly game; and I do not believe in spending the lives of Americans lightly." The General presents persuasive arguments for his advocacy of stopping the slaughter after Saddam's army fled from Kuwait, and concludes: "I stand by my role in the President's decision to end the war when and how he did. It is an accountability I carry with pride and without apology."

It is not these headline items, however, that make this a great book, one sure to become an American classic. It is the personal side of the man. With the able assistance of Joseph Persico, he recalls gracefully, sometimes lyrically about his life. He neither discounts or exaggerates the problems a young black man faced in the 1950s, in the Bronx, at City College, or in the Army. He recognizes that he went farther and faster in the Army than he could have anywhere else in American life:

The Army is living the democratic ideal ahead of the rest of America, [with] less discrimination, a truer merit system, and leveler playing fields inside the gates of our military posts than in any Southern city hall or Northern corporation. The Army made it easier for me to love my country, with all its flaws, and to serve her with all my heart.

Book of Inspirations

My American Journey is a book that parents will be giving their children for decades to come, because what comes through is the central importance of character. Only Powell could have told reporters on the eve of Desert Storm, "Trust me," and get them to do exactly that. Readers of this book will react similarly.

The details of the many crises Powell has dealt with as National Security Advisor and Chairman of the JCS explain why he is the most trusted and admired man in America, a leader who knows more about the world and knows more of the world leaders than any contemporary.

Powell understands the importance of morale, and the role of optimism. He concludes with a prediction: "We will continue to flourish because our diverse American society has the strength, hardiness and resilience of the hybrid plant we are. We will make it because we know we are blessed, and we will not throw away God's gift to us."

As for himself, he quotes Jefferson on the debt citizens owe their country, then comments: "As one who has received so much from his country, I feel that debt heavily, and I can never be entirely free of it. My responsibility, our responsibility as lucky Americans, is to try to give back to this country as much as it has given to us as we continue our American journey together."

That sure sounds like a candidate to me; in fact, it sounds like Lincoln in 1860, or Ike in 1952. In ROTC, as a junior officer, in Vietnam, as Chairman, Powell has put into practice the most basic lesson he learned at the Infantry School at Fort Benning—"Follow me!" He is not through leading yet.

His opening line is: "I have had a great life," with the cryptic addition, "so far." The impression left is that this is Volume One of a continuing series, and not the best of the story.

Steven E. Ambrose is the author of the bestselling histories *D-Day* and *Eisenhower: Soldier and Statesman*. He has joined the board of a committee to draft Gen. Colin Powell for President as a Republican.

Deficit (Continued from page 9)

discretionary programs. Discretionary programs, which receive their money each year from Congress, are most of the things we think of as government, such as transportation, medical research, national parks, the space program and law enforcement. The plan recommends eliminating or reducing \$40 billion in 2002 from 38 specific programs that are no longer needed, that don't work or are inefficient, that are subsidies for narrow interests, or that simply can no longer be afforded.

National Security and International Spending

In 1994, America spent \$282 billion on defense. Spending on defense has been declining for several years, mainly because of the end of the Cold War. However, we still face threats from abroad. In Europe, the Middle East and Korea, for example, we still see danger. The United States should maintain a military capability far superior to that of any potential enemy. With that said, however, we can maintain a reasonable and prudent level of defense spending with \$275 billion in the year 2002 — \$5 billion less than proposed by President Clinton. Further reductions might not allow us to wage two large regional wars at once.

While international spending—or foreign aid—takes up far less of the federal budget than many people believe, there is still room to scale it back. We spent \$20 billion on international affairs in 1994, about half of it on embassies and diplomacy. That was 1.4 percent of the federal budget. The Zero Deficit Plan recommends a \$2 billion cut. A larger cut is not recommended because much of foreign aid leads to long-term gains for the U.S. in terms of reducing the need for future aid and expanding markets for our trade.

Increased Revenue

While it may not be politically popular, the plan recognizes the reality that federal revenues as a percentage of our Gross Domestic Product (GDP) have

been relatively flat for the past few decades. In order to balance federal spending and revenues at 19.5 percent of GDP, the plan recommends increases in gasoline, alcohol and tobacco taxes, a tax on excess employer paid health insurance, and a limit on the home mortgage deduction which currently subsidizes expensive homes and second homes.

In addition, The Concord Coalition endorses continued exploration and work to develop comprehensive revisions of the federal income tax system that would increase efficiency, encourage savings, and discourage consumption.

Interest Savings

If there is a single item in the budget that represents 100 percent waste, fraud and abuse, it is interest on the national debt. Under current projections, interest payments will rise to \$333 billion by 2002. Assuming no change in interest rates, phasing in The Concord Coalition's aggressive deficit reduction plan over seven years would reduce annual debt service by about \$44 billion in the year 2002. Actual savings may well be twice that amount or even more because deficit reduction of this magnitude will likely result in much lower interest rates.

Tough Choices

Under any plan, the path to a balanced budget will not be painless. Popular programs will be cut, and everyone will be called upon to make a shared sacrifice for the good of their country. The choice is nevertheless clear. Either eliminate the deficit and return to the kind of United States that leaves each generation better off than the one before, or do nothing; spend every cent we can get our hands on and borrow the rest; mortgage the future and betray the American dream.

James Ridge is Communications Director of The Concord Coalition, a 150,000 member grassroots organization dedicated to deficit reduction.

Convention (Continued from page 24)

delegates who will be released from their first-ballot encumbrances, perhaps by announcing that Jack Kemp or Pat Buchanan will be his running mate.

- Pennsylvania will become crucial in a brokered convention because it will have the largest number of uncommitted delegates (73). Governor Tom Ridge could play a key role in deciding how they vote on later ballots.

Conclusion

An eight-way Republican race in which the three major candidates each raise over \$25 million by the end of 1995 has only one logical conclusion: a brokered convention. If Gramm prevents Dole from making serious inroads in the South and Wilson wins in California, Dole cannot win outright.

A brokered convention will have many implications for the Republican Party, the first of which is financial. A convention with legitimate suspense would be a windfall for the GOP. Fundraisers at the RNC speculate that they could raise \$20 million at a brokered convention as for more people will want to attend.

Second, it would receive more media and higher TV ratings than would otherwise be warranted. The networks would be forced to provide live coverage of large portions of the convention, as it would be a very newsworthy event. Not since Adlai Stevenson was selected as the Democrat nominee in 1952 has there been a brokered major party national convention. This would produce a great bounce for the eventual nominee and dwarf the Democrat Convention in impact.

So make your reservations for San Diego early, because this is sure to be a barn burner.

Paul Wilson is president and Steve Grand is vice president of Wilson Communications, a Republican media consulting firm based in Alexandria, VA.

BEYOND THE BELTWAY

(Population 250 million)

ALABAMA—Former state business council head Frank McRight (R) has scored a coup by signing Atlanta consultant Tom Perdue to run his U.S. Senate campaign. Perdue is widely regarded the most effective southern-based strategist in the Republican Party; he generally occupies himself with one campaign at a time, and has had phenomenal success recently, guiding Sens. Paul Coverdell (GA) and Bill Frist (TN) to upset victories over incumbents in the last two cycles. His entry poses a serious threat to the prospects of Atty. Gen. Jeff Sessions (R), who was beginning to believe he had the nomination locked up. Incumbent Howell Heflin (D) is retiring.

CALIFORNIA—A Field Poll taken just before Labor Day shows not-so-favorite son Pete Wilson gaining on frontrunner Bob Dole among the presidential choices of state Republicans. Dole led Wilson by 12 points (34-22%), down from a 20-point bulge in May. Wilson's national ambitions are not popular in the Golden State, however: putting him on the ticket in the second slot makes 22% more inclined to vote Republican, 39% less inclined. The same survey showed President Clinton leading all Republicans but Colin Powell in general election matchups. • Wilson is trying to get a proposition on the November '96 ballot that would cut state income taxes by 15%. Assembly Democrat Leader Willie Brown claims the governor is acting "out of desperation, trying to find a way to get his campaign jump-started." • Moderate Cong. Steve Horn (R-38th CD) will be opposed in next year's GOP primary by Rick Dykema, a right-wing aide to Cong. Dana Rohrabacher. Dykema is attacking Horn's pro-choice views and alleged lack of parsimony. • Ex-Cong. Tom Campbell (R)—the moderate college professor who narrowly lost a U.S. Senate primary in '92—is about to launch a special election campaign for the 15th CD seat of Cong. Norm

Mineta (D), who is resigning to take a post with Lockheed Aircraft. Campbell hails the neighboring Silicon Valley, but has represented much of the 15th (San Jose area) in the past. Campbell is expected to win the GOP nod, but will face a tough battle in the Fall. • Ex-Cong. Mike Huffington (R) is eyeing a '98 gov bid. • Under pressure from a recall effort, Doris Allen (R) has resigned the office of Speaker of the California Assembly. She had been elected 101 days before with a "bipartisan" coalition: all the Assembly's Democrats, plus herself, frustrating the will of the GOP majority. Elected in her stead was Brian Setencich, yet another renegade Republican elected with unanimous Democrat support, plus his own vote and that of Allen.

FLORIDA—Cong. Mike Bilirakis (R-9th CD) has drawn a primary challenge from Safety Harbor city Cmsr. Pam Corbino. Pro-choice Corbino is expected to run a Perot-style reform campaign; Bilirakis has compiled a fairly populist record and has good relations with labor for a Republican. Perot scored a hefty 25% in the Ninth.

GEORGIA—After weeks of bitter infighting punctuated by partisan and racial divisions, the legislature adjourned from its special session on Sept. 12 without adopting a new congressional map. The old document was tossed out by the U.S. Supreme Court for being a race-driven gerrymander. The task now falls to a panel of three federal judges. The resulting redistricting is expected to result in fewer blacks and Republicans in the state's delegation. • Cong. Jack Kingston (R) is exploring a Senate bid.

ILLINOIS—Lt. Governor Bob Kustra (R) has entered the race for the seat of retiring U.S. Sen. Paul Simon, and become the immediate favorite of oddsmakers. Kustra has the backing of popular Gov. Jim Edgar (R), but will likely face wealthy and conservative state Rep. Al Salvi in the GOP primary. Abortion will likely be a focus: Salvi is adamantly pro-life while Kustra is a convert to pro-choiceism. The LG may also have to explain why he was resigning last year that he was resigning to become a talk show host, then changed his mind when Edgar underwent emergency heart surgery. • Lawyer/activist Jesse Jackson, Jr. (D) is seeking the Chicago U.S. House seat of the recently convicted and resigned Mel Reynolds (D).

IOWA—Moderate state Sen. Maggie Tinsman has entered the GOP U.S. Senate primary race against 30-year-old state Rep. Steve Grubbs, a conservative. The winner will face incumbent Tom Harkin (D) in November '96. Sparks may fly: Tinsman is pro-choice, Grubbs pro-life; Tinsman opposes the death penalty, Grubbs backs it.

LOUISIANA—The official gubernatorial candidate of the radical right-controlled state GOP organization has withdrawn, State Rep. Quentin Dastugue was never able to rise above three percent in the polls, despite the party endorsement. Meanwhile, state Sen. Mike Foster—already in the race—has switched parties, setting up the possibility that two Republicans (the other being frontrunner/ex-Gov. Buddy Roemer) might make the runoff, which passes for a general election here.

MICHIGAN—Cong. Dave Camp (R) has decided not to seek the seat of Sen. Carl Levin (D), leaving the GOP primary field to talk show hostess Ronna Romney and bizman Bill Nicholson. Still looking: state Sen. William Van Regenmorter (R).



Edgar:
Push for pal



Horn:
Wingnut target



Romney:
Less cramped

NEBRASKA—Popular Gov. Ben Nelson (D) has unofficially declared his candidacy for the seat of retiring U.S. Sen. Jim Exon (D), despite pledging last year to serve out his four-year term. Nevertheless, he becomes the heavy favorite.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—The *Manchester News Leader*, by far the largest and most influential newspaper in the state, has characteristically waded into the presidential battle early with both barrels blasting. The beneficiary of its traditional front-page endorsement this time is commentator/ex-White House aide Pat Buchanan. "There are large blocs of voters out there" publisher Nackey Loeb observed, "—from the Religious Right to former Perot supporters...individuals fed up with politics as usual—all looking for a champion....Buchanan would be a great leader for America, and if you join us, he can win." The endorsement is much sought-after, but the paper is so far right, only Buchanan and U.S. Sen. Phil Gramm (TX) were thought to have a realistic shot at it. Gramm hurt his cause when he reportedly encouraged party leaders in other states to upstage New Hampshire's historical first-in-the-nation primary status.

• Locals are still waiting for the other big endorsement the state has to offer: that of hugely popular Gov. Steve Merrill (R). Those who have wondered why the governor has seemed to tease so long about throwing his support finally got an answer last month: Merrill let slip that he now considers candidacies by Gen. Colin Powell and/or Speaker Newt Gingrich strong possibilities.

NEW JERSEY—Popular ex-Gov. Tom Kean (R) has announced he will not run for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated next year by Bill Bradley. His reasons were somewhat distressing: "I'm a moderate," he declared. "I'm in a party that is becoming radicalized. That creates a problem. I'm not



Kean:
Party pooper

sure this is the time in history for someone with my views...to get something done in the U.S. Senate." Ironically, the right-wing primary opposition Kean seemed so concerned about would have come from Cong. Dick Zimmer, a former Ripon chapter president. Zimmer is now a prohibitive favorite for the nomination, and a solid favorite overall.

NEW YORK—Erstwhile Pepsi pitchwoman/Demo veep nominee Gerry Ferraro is reportedly testing the waters for a '98 stab at Gov. George Pataki (R).

OREGON—The abrupt departure of Bob Packwood from the U.S. Senate has shifted the political landscape. Republican Gordon Smith—heir to a \$400 million frozen pie fortune and President of the state Senate while still in his first term—appears to have switched targets: he had been expected to run for the seat of U.S. Sen. Mark Hatfield—who may retire—in next year's primaries, but is now headed for the imminent special election for the Packwood seat. Of course, if at first he doesn't succeed, he could try again, running for both. He certainly has the cash to do so. Other GOPers ambling up to the special's starting line are Labor Cmsr. Bill Roberts and state education Supt. Norma Paulus, a former gubernatorial nominee and secretary of state. Of the trio, Paulus is considered moderate, while Roberts and Smith are moderately conservative. Both primaries will be conducted by mail—a first for statewide American elections. Congressmen Pete DeFazio, Elizabeth Furse and Ron Wyden will slug it out in the Demo contest. Paulus and Wyden lead the first polls.

• The special election deflects a lot of opposition to Hatfield's re-election, should he decide to run: the losers (other than Smith) will find



Rendell:
Bustin' Rocks

it difficult to replenish their coffers in order to take him on. He still faces an important primary hurdle, however. Bizman Bill Witt—who nearly upended Furse last year—announced his challenge to the veteran Senator just two days before Packwood was shown the door. He is unlikely to move. Hatfield also faces bizman Harry Lonsdale (D), who came close to beating him six years ago.

PENNSYLVANIA—In a media poll conducted just before Labor Day (Strategic Research Team, +/-4.9%), popular Philadelphia Mayor Ed Rendell (D) piled up a 59-17% margin over his GOP challenger, ex-state Sen. Joe Rocks.

RHODE ISLAND—The expected retirement announcement of U.S. Sen. Claiborne Pell (D) has intensified the pressure on popular Atty. Gen. Jeff Pine (R) to enter the race. GOP officials fear that neither state Treasurer Nancy Mayer or conservative bizman Tom Post have the recognition, appeal or fundraising abilities to beat Cong. Jack Reed, the likely Demo nominee.

Problem is, Pine has no desire to go to Washington. • Ex-Gov. Ed DiPrete (R)—already under indictment for bribery—has now been hit with a lawsuit by the federal government which charges he rigged state bidding procedures to benefit a company he partly owned.



Hatfield:
In the ring?

TENNESSEE—Freshman U.S. Sen. Bill Frist—a renowned heart surgeon—recently saved the life of a visiting constituent who had suffered a heart attack in the hallway of his Capitol Hill office building. Frist directed a 30-minute impromptu emergency mission, utilizing the assistance of a Capitol physician, a registered nurse, and a Senate staffer schooled in cardiopulmonary resuscitation. "He was absolutely amazing," gushed the staffer who had summoned the surgeon/Senator to the scene.

U.S. Sen. Arlen Specter (PA)—the only member of

Who's Paying You?

Interesting observations from White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the political future of Gen. Colin Powell and his recently revealed moderate views: "I wonder how easy it would be for him to advance those ideas in a Republican presidential primary process. But Gen. Powell is an enormously impressive figure, and might carry those ideas well, and thus demonstrate that a form of liberal Republicanism that has a proud tradition in that party...is alive and well. I didn't think it was, but maybe it is."

Right-wing guru Bill Kristol was equally sanguine about Powell's prospects. "If I had to bet on one person for the Republican presidential nomination," Kristol wrote in the debut issue of his magazine, *The Weekly Standard*, "I'd put my money on Colin Powell.... By Christmas, Bob Dole could be out of the race."

Dole's Gay Snub Draws Blast From Gunderson

The pundits are nearly unanimous: GOP presidential frontrunner Bob Dole dove into deep doo-doo when he returned a \$1,000 contribution from the Log Cabin Club, a conservative gay group. Particularly incensed was Ripon Board member Steve Gunderson, the only openly gay Republican member of Congress and a longtime Dole supporter.

"Are you rejecting the support of anyone who happens to be gay?" Gunderson asked in an open letter to the Senate Majority Leader. "If this is so, do you intend to now reject my support and request those on your staff who happen to be gay to resign?... One need not be anti-gay just to prove you are pro-family. I know of no gay Republicans (and frankly, few gay Democrats) who seek any special class or privileges.... Please do not allow your historical commitment and integrity be compromised by the politics of the moment." After later

conversing with Dole, Gunderson seemed mollified: "He responded in a class way....He regretted the incident."

The press was not so forgiving, ascribing Dole's action to panic over a disappointing finish in an Iowa straw poll shortly before. Dole "seems to think born again means born yesterday," scoffed the *Washington Post's* Richard Cohen. "He must wake up in the morning wondering who he is."

Moderates Blow Cap Off Family Welfare

A provision in the House welfare bill that would have denied welfare mothers more assistance for additional babies went down to defeat in the Senate, 66 to 34, with 20 Republican moderates crossing party lines to deal a severe blow to Majority Leader Dole. Sen. Pete Domenici (R-NM) led the charge, declaring that anyone who supposed capping payments would reduce illegitimate births must also "believe in the tooth fairy." Domenici added he could not live with a bill "that effectively tells [poor women], 'Maybe you ought to get an abortion.'"

Candidates Croon at Christian Coalition Confab

The parade of GOP presidential candidates at the Christian Coalition's DC convention in September practically out-preached Pat Robertson. "You've got a lit fire, and you must keep it hot," exhorted Bob Dole to the 4,000 gathered zealots. "You're going to have a big say about what happens in '96." Keynoter Pat Buchanan played Samson and brought down the house with his calls for terminating federal judges and shutting down "outcome-based education." But the hottest fireworks came when House Speaker Newt Gingrich, declared: "It is liberalism which brought a pact with the devil."

the Republican prez field not invited—staged his own counter-event at the Lincoln Memorial, where he declared: "The guiding principles of America are inclusion and tolerance."

Beltway Myopia—At the end of 1993, the Hotline asked political consultants and reporters to handicap the race for the GOP presidential nomination. Both groups picked the same trifecta: ex-HUD secretary Jack Kemp to win, Dole to place, and ex-Defense secretary Dick Cheney to show. For a fresher perspective, check the mid-September odds from



Kemp:
Early pop pick

Ledbroke's, the British bookie firm: Clinton 7:4; Dole 3:1; Powell 4:1; Gramm 5:1; Wilson 8:1; Gingrich 12:1; Alexander, Gore, Bradley each 33:1; Buchanan 100:1.

Forbes in the Blocks—No formal entry as yet, but publishing mogul Malcolm "Steve" Forbes, Jr. already had a presidential campaign rolling as of mid-September. Pollster John McLaughlin has left his firm (which is working for Dole) to join the effort, longtime Jesse Helms manager Carter Wrenn is on board with his Congressional Club organization, and Empower America President Bill Dal Col is signing on as campaign manager. Strategic advisors include ex-Ronald Reagan manager John Sears and former Helms strategist Tom Ellis. Handling media is the California firm of Russo-Marsh, which is already gathering information for TV buys.

Wilson Wilts—September found the presidential camp of California Gov. Pete Wilson retreating and regrouping. Wilson abandoned the nomination's opening battleground in Iowa, and transferred campaign chair Craig Fuller to a newly opened DC office, where he will concentrate on fundraising. Left in Sacramento to oversee the candidate's message is longtime Wilson hand George Gorton. Wilson admits to slow fundraising.



Gunderson:
Dole disciple

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