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RIPON FORUM

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Ripon,
Republicans, and
Women

Poland: Past,
Present and Future

The American
Labor Movement:
Can It Survive?

A Moderate
Manifesto



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RIPON FORUM

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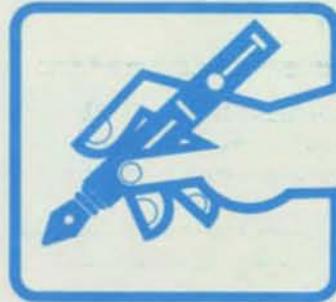
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Dear Readers:

This month's RIPON FORUM focuses on a topic of importance to us all: women's equality. Fighting for their rights since the last century, women face a critical hurdle as the 1982 ratification deadline approaches for the Equal Rights Amendment. And, after the 1980 Republican convention, many women were left wondering whether their party had abandoned them.

Whatever the outcome of the much needed Amendment, we maintain that Republican women are in the right party. With a new GOP administration, an opportunity exists to shape the values of the watching public. One way women can do so is by addressing "non-women" issues. By this, we mean issues that affect every one of us: inflation, jobs, housing, and national defense. To illustrate this opportunity, we have called upon three very talented female writers to discuss a variety of topics in this month's FORUM. In addition, we have profiled the careers of several women who are deeply involved in the affairs of our nation and party. In coming months we will be doing more of the same. I trust this will provide provocative reading and remind each of us of the constitutional mandate for equal rights.

—Bill McKenzie

Ripon, Republicans, and Women

by Susan McLane

In response to the March RIPON FORUM I wrote a rather firm-minded blast to the editors and thus found myself invited to contribute an article on the subject of Ripon, Republicans, and women.

The theme of my angry letter was that the editors of the FORUM showed a complete lack of awareness about female voters and female Ripon members. Specifically, I objected to the article on Reagan's cabinet choices, entitled "Not a Bad Start, Generally." I also chafed at the featuring of George Gilder at the one of his main meetings in Boston. I objected to Gilder because one of his main theses is that the problem with today's economy stems from women who don't stay home, as he thinks they should, but instead go out and threaten men in the workplace. And lastly, I objected to the sexist language of the RIPON FORUM. Does it seem to much to ask of the organization founded upon the word "individual" to use words such as "people" or "voters" or "elected officials" instead of always using the word "men?" (Perhaps you meant to pat us on the head and say, "Of course, I really am referring to you too, dearie.")

Well, for us "dear" Republican women, times are hard. Jill Ruckelshaus always refers in her speeches to the term, "Republican feminist" as if it were an anomaly - like honest bookmaker, or Army intelligence, or jumbo shrimp. She may be right, especially in regard to the last Republican platform and its stands against the Equal Rights Amendment and reproductive freedom. But it seems to me a marvelous opportunity exists for smart, forward-looking politicians, as well as for the Ripon Society, to tap a growing source of strength by cultivating political women within the Republican Party. We are feeling on the outs, and we need some allies.

As an example, I just returned from the 10th anniversary convention of the National Women's Political Caucus in Albuquerque, New Mexico. The theme of that convention - "We are the Majority" - characterized a very true, but often overlooked, fact of political life. Women are the majority, and as voters and citizens we constitute an important political bloc. One would suspect the wise politician would neither forget nor ignore it. Yet the reality for women seems worse than ever. We still earn 59¢ for every dollar a man earns - two cents less in comparison to men than we were paid 20 years ago! 60 percent of the single or widowed women over 65 depend on Social Security as their sole source of income, about \$250 a month. Only one woman sits in President Reagan's cabinet, and only 40 women out of the 400 in his administration required Senate confirmation.

Mr. Reagan's answer to complaints by women and minorities, and about the budget, was well stated in his recent speech before the NAACP. In essence he said inflation is the overriding economic problem. Programs designed to cure this ill shall benefit everyone far more than government subsidies. The latter, we are told, only contribute to inflation. Politically it is hard to argue with this premise. However, a dichotomy exists and women have been brave enough to point this out. Whereas budget cuts have been handed down somewhat disproportionately for services affecting women

Susan McLane is a former New Hampshire state senator, a six term member of the New Hampshire House, and former chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. She was also the chair of the Republican Task Force of the National Women's Political Caucus in 1978-79 and a candidate for the U.S. Congress in 1980.

and children, the Pentagon appears to be making off quite handily with its budget in tow. Although the administration has indicated it will take two billion dollars away from the fiscal 1982 budget, the walloping increase proposed for defense spending of 30 percent over the next few years can wreak as much havoc in the economy as any social spending. In addition, defense dollars rarely contribute to increasing capital formation or domestic productivity.

The point that I wish to make for the Ripon Society then is that the need still exists for women to contribute to the dialogue of the

"... the need still exists for women to contribute to the dialogue of the Republican Party. Women must be forging new paths for the GOP. It must remain the 'party of the individual'."

Republican Party. Women must be forging new paths for the GOP. It must remain the "party of the individual." True, consensus may be easier without us. We may insist on bringing up payments to AFDC mothers, or the startling increase in teenage pregnancies, or the dangers of nuclear power, or the need for clean water, or the fact that people die in wars. But the process needs our input. *Newsweek* stated recently that one of the hardest questions facing the demographers projecting the drain on Social Security is whether women will be having second or third children after age 30. Yet the decision on the correct population projections to use in reconstructing Social Security will be made in part by the 36 members of the House Ways and Means Committee - all of which are male!

Up here in our 400 member New Hampshire legislature, (125 women), the art of oratory often rivals the 600 member British Parliament. One of the techniques preferred is the "pertinent joke." It gets attention and the punch line can be used to underscore the point the speaker wishes to make. One of the North Country favorites is the question "How do porcupines make love?" The answer, once you've gotten everyone's attention, is "very carefully." Then the speaker goes on to describe how the state must deal "very carefully" with dog racing, or the liquor commission, or whatever topic the moment may bring.

I might use this phrase to describe how Ripon and the Republican Party should be treating women these days. *Very carefully.* We are feeling sensitive and very much left out of the process. It seems to me that intelligent political minds will be very aware of this, that they will not consciously or unconsciously use language excluding women, and that they will be aware of the issues which concern us. They should take heart from national polls which show that over 60 percent of the voters are in favor of equal rights for women and for the Supreme Court ruling on abortion. And, if they are smart politicians, it seems to me they will remember that we, after all, are the majority. ■

Interested in joining a Woman's Rights Task Force? Want to Serve with other noted Republican women in advancing the role of women? If so, please contact: The Ripon Society, 419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. (202) 546-1292.

POLAND:

Past, Present and Future

by Lucja Swiatowski

The August 1980 political crisis is reminiscent of crises involving Poland and the Great Powers during World Wars I and II. It also is reminiscent of the Polish struggles for independence in the 19th century. While most observers are fascinated by the current conflict, Poles are intensely conscious of history, particularly their own. Parallels may be drawn with previous critical periods in their struggle against foreign oppression, but most clearly the roots of the current crisis lie in the immediate post-World War II period. It was then that the Soviet Union imposed its own version of a Communist revolution on an unwilling Polish society. The resolution of the post-war crisis, brought on by the Soviet occupation of Poland from July 1944-June 1945, sowed seeds of bitterness which have been expressed in the current disturbances. The pattern of the July 1944-June 1945 struggle has become a hard lesson of history to be applied in solving future ordeals in Poland.

The formal end of the war with Germany in May 1945, and the imminence of the Soviet military withdrawal from Poland, caused a grave crisis. Internationally, Poland became a bone of contention between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. The Polish Communist government was not recognized diplomatically by the West, nor invited to the San Francisco conference on the United Nations. Domestically, the main actors in the crisis were the Polish society, the Polish Communist authorities, and the Soviet government. These three principals were set on a course of violent political and military conflict. Soviet war commanders severely repressed their potential opponents and involved themselves in exploiting the Polish economy.

The Polish society attempted to defend itself against these arbitrary Soviet actions. As soon as the Red army moved on to Berlin, the remnants of the underground units associated with the Polish government-in-exile regained control of large areas of the country. In addition, peasants did not provide food requisitions and strikes erupted causing the disruption of industrial production.

Torn between these two formidable forces, Polish Communists obviously lacked political authority. They decided to call into session the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to analyze the political situation and to devise a means for defusing it. The Plenum decided there were five major causes of the crisis: the blatant Soviet interference in Polish affairs which undermined faith in national sovereignty; a successful counteraction by wartime resistance groups; a lack of confidence in the Ministry of Public Security and its appalling methods of repression; the absence of a credible concept of a Communist economic policy; and hard-line dogmatism within the party itself.

The recommendation of the Plenum was to forge a compromise. In short, the Communists decided to moderate party policy. At the

same time they planned to keep the Red army units in Poland as the Polish army was too small and unreliable to fight the insurgents. They did not want to give up the possibility for further repression. They wanted to cooperate with other political groups, but only on their own terms. This led to a bloody civil war and a bitter distrust between the Communist government and the Polish people.

Despite efforts by the Communists, thirty-five years of their rule did not significantly change deeply ingrained Polish values. The crisis that enveloped Poland in August 1980 exploded over the same, never resolved issues of 1944 and 1945. Political pressures were applied by both hard-line Communists and the Soviets to suppress this continual unrest, but the majority of Polish Communists responded in a substantially different fashion in 1980.

The pattern of the July 1944 - June 1945 struggle has become a hard lesson of history to be applied in solving future ordeals in Poland.

Several major reasons exist for this present turmoil and its manifestations. First, for the past ten years or more, the Communists have aimed at satisfying the material needs of the Poles without allowing popular political participation. Neither have they removed the threat of repression. Obviously, this has been unsuccessful. The Communists have learned that in order to achieve economic success, they first have to establish a trust and cooperation with the Polish people.

Second, in 1944 Polish Communists were dominated by a group that spent the war years in the Soviet Union. Completely isolated from Polish thinking, they were convinced of the superiority of their Marxist-Leninist ideas over any "reactionary" instincts of the Polish people. They were willing to use Soviet bayonets to impose these ideas, and they thought that all Polish problems could be solved through the power of the Red army. But the Soviet military occupation deprived the Communists of almost all authority. They were left on the sidelines of a bitter struggle between the Soviets and the Polish underground. In addition, they were identified with the Soviet defrocking of all anti-Communist opposition. This inflicted such grave economic and psychological damage, Polish Communists have not been able to rebound.

Third, Polish Communists have been more afraid of a Soviet military intervention than have the workers. Not only do they understand the fragility of their own political position, they also understand the slowly evolving relationship with the younger generation of Poles. This generation was born and raised in People's Poland and have been largely freed from the bitterness and fear that marked Poles who lived through the turmoil of the 1940's. The actions and perceptions of this modern generation will determine the future of communism in Poland. Highly sensitive to this pressure, Communists are willing to modify their own policies to satisfy popular needs. This is true especially in the case of the younger workers who will soon be the backbone of the state.

Fourth, a large, politically mature working class existed in 1980 which allied itself with Polish intellectuals to devise a strategy of non-violence. Based upon the experiences of previous labor disturbances, these uprisings concentrated on two essential demands: organizing free trade unions and securing the right to strike. Fulfillment of these demands was crucial in guaranteeing future government compliance with other important concessions. In 1945, this working class had rallied around the Polish Socialist Party, whose bogus leadership was closely allied with the Communists. It

Lucja Swiatowski wrote her Ph.D. dissertation at Columbia University on "The Imported Communist Revolution and Civil War in Poland: 1944-1947." She was also an International Fellow at Columbia and a Junior Scholar at Warsaw University.

also had preoccupied itself with economic survival and the reconstruction of Polish industries.

But the most important difference in the success or failure of the Polish experiment has been the position of the Catholic Church. In 1945, the Church was reeling from the destruction inflicted upon it by the Germans. It was in no position to pick a fight with the Communists who studiously avoided it. In 1980, however, the Polish church was firmly identified with rejecting Communist oppression. This was imprinted in the popular psyche by the immense authority of its leaders: Cardinal Wyszynski, and later, Cardinal Wojtyla. Ironically enough, it seems that it was the German bishops who ensured the election of the Polish Pope as a sort of intellectual restitution for the suffering Poles endured during World War II. This election not only strengthened their self-confidence and gave their struggles a world stage, but it also obliquely served to place another barrier against a possible Soviet military strike. A confrontation with the Pope would likely alienate millions of Catholics all over the world, and the Soviets are aware that the future struggle between Catholicism and communism will take place in the Third World. They know an invasion of Poland will likely result in loss of face in the Third World and bring irreparable damage to the political influence of the Soviet Union.

The obvious question then is will worker's achievements survive? In the past, immediately after the quelling of disturbances, the party tried to erode the gains made by opponents while compromising on economic issues. While this will be tried to some extent this time, I suspect that conditions no longer exist for this solution. Workers, peasants and the intelligensia are now organized in social organizations - Solidarity Rural Solidarity unions and numerous professional associations. They also have a weapon: the right to strike to press for fulfillment of previous agreements and to demand possible new ones. And the fact that these demands were made by the young, who are not embittered and intimidated by their civil war experiences, makes the government more sensitive and open to their desires. This is coupled with a realization by most Polish Communists that they have more to lose than to gain from Soviet interference. They recognize their future lies in accommodation with the Polish people. Only an honest partnership can provide the basis by which these grave conflicts can be resolved.

It is clear that radical changes are needed in Poland and that the Polish society and the elite see a need for change. However, the question of a Soviet military veto is very much on everyone's mind. Already comparisons have been made with previous Soviet invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The political circumstances of the Polish crisis are rather different though.

First, the cost of invading Poland is staggering. It would entail maintaining an ailing economy and a war with the Polish people. In Western Europe, the costs would include a destruction of economic detente, a break with West European Communist parties, and an increasing military threat to NATO. In the United States, a more assertive mood already exists under the Reagan administration, and many conservatives are just waiting for an excuse to launch a full scale arms race with the Soviets. In the Third World, as discussed, an invasion would mean a further loss of prestige.

Second, what the Soviets want most in Poland is political stability. To a large extent, its place in the Soviet sphere is stable. The geographical position between the Soviet Union and East Germany reinforces its integration within the Warsaw Pact military structure and COMECON economic changes. No demands were made during the strikes to withdraw from these Soviet-dominated organizations. Since the Soviets learned in the Civil War that repression is not desirable, I believe they will be willing to allow the Poles freedom in nonessential matters. This will occur if the resolution brings greater political stability.

It is clear that radical changes are needed in Poland and that both the Polish people and the elite see a need for change. However, the threat of a Soviet military veto is very much on everyone's mind.

Third, the political, economic and social issues which fueled the powerful reform movement in Poland are also present in other Eastern Bloc countries and in the Soviet Union itself. While that prompted many analysts to predict an invasion, I think that it acted as a deterrent, at least in the absence of widespread disorders. The Soviets cannot afford to ignore such a prevalent weakness in their own system. In previous cases of radical change which were effected in smaller Eastern European countries, the Soviets watched with an interested eye. They hoped to apply novel solutions to their own internal problems. The same cautious approach may be applied in learning the lessons of the present Polish crisis. Its resolution could be introduced with time into the Soviet system, saving it from political shocks and improving its economic efficiency.

Still, radical change remains frightening to the Communists. If the Soviets do not want to crush the union movement, they certainly wish to contain and control it. One way to do so is to resort to time-tested Russian intrigues and to trouble-stirring actions. These precipitate internal self-destruction. The strong suspicion that the present economic unrest and continuing food shortages have been aided by the Soviets, and the belief that Soviet propaganda is trying to hold the Solidarity union guilty for economic dislocations, are examples of this strategy. While not all tactics will succeed, a chance exists that Solidarity will collapse under the weight of its own contradictions. Right now, it must act within the constraints of the Communist system and be all things to all people. The only hopes lie in the liberalizing reforms taking place in the political and economic spheres, and in the faith and wisdom of the Polish people. While this experiment in freedom may or may not be successful, it will indeed have left a permanent imprint on the world's conscience. ■

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The American Labor Movement: Can It Survive?

by Elizabeth Colette Nelson

The American labor movement is celebrating the 100th anniversary of its birth in 1981. As it enters its second century, the movement finds itself in a steep decline. The proportion of organized workers in the labor force has dropped sharply. The movement has lost a number of important legislative and political battles, and is currently locked in a struggle with the Reagan administration for the hearts and minds of its rank and file.

President Reagan is not responsible for this current crossroads. The setbacks of this historically innovative movement are due largely to a failure to adapt to a new era. Their leaders are looking back with nostalgia when they should be looking forward with creativity. They have reacted to the changing mood in this country with strategies formed in yet another time period — protests, demonstrations, rallies, and other such media events.

If the American labor movement is to survive a second century, its leaders must awaken from their Van Winkle slumber. They must reappraise every shibboleth of established practice. They must rethink the role of the union and the labor movement.

As a matter of historical record, union power grew considerably during the economic expansion of the 1950's and 1960's. Labor's strength stretched from the bargaining table to the voting booth. The collective bargaining process, which for years focused on higher wages, was expanded to include other "bread and butter" issues, such as pensions, guaranteed hours, vacation, and medical care. As these basic needs were being met, collective bargaining moved beyond traditional bounds to issues of less direct economic importance to its members.

In the political arena, a similar widening in organized labor's scope was taking shape. Claiming to represent a broad national constituency, labor began to cover the whole range of social and economic issues — civil rights, women's rights, environmental protection, and energy development. Much of this activity was designed to attract outside social and political groups in order to reinforce labor's political effectiveness. Such a vast coalition, it was reasoned, would form an almost unstoppable political force.

With this expansion of issues came a decline in the theory and practice of nonpartisan politics. The movement had consistently played a major role in mobilizing support for candidates who served their interests. However, with Roosevelt's New Deal, they moved closer and closer to the Democratic Party. Political scientist, John Hutchinson once noted that:

"It would be wrong to infer that labor either dominates or is dominated by the Democratic Party; or that the relationship is effectively exclusive, always smooth or wholly welcome on either side. But the alliance is national, enduring, and close, a major political fact, more important than the ceremonies which might appear to deny it."

Surprisingly though, as labor increased its power, it began to lose its influence with the average worker. While workers became

Elizabeth Colette Nelson is assistant director of government relations for Associated Builders and Contractors.

better educated, labor's organizing tactics and slogans were carried over from the 1930's. While younger workers became more insistent on self-expression, the rigidities of union work rules and seniority systems stressed conformity. While new workers, especially minorities and women, were resentful of authority of all kinds, the image of the muscle-bound labor boss pushing his members around still prevailed.

At the same time, management found that the cost of unions in lost efficiency was too high a price to pay in a period of chronic stagflation and savage trade rivalry. Management became adept at keeping the union from getting its foot in the door by convincing employees that the company was doing more for them than the union. They began to shift plants and jobs from union strongholds in the Northeast and Midwest to "right to work" states in the South and West. Management in labor-intensive fields, such as apparel and electronics, took their jobs to low-wage countries in the Far East and Latin America. The effect can be seen in industries such as construction and coal mining, historically the ultimate in union monopolies, which are now over 50 percent open shop.

The disillusionment of the American worker with the labor movement led to a decline in the number of union members. During the last decade, the number of workers in the private sector covered by collective bargaining agreements dropped from 11 million to just under 9.6 million. And the public sector, the only area of union growth in recent years, is now shrinking under budget cutting pressures at the national, state, and local levels. Ironically, much of the support for these cuts comes from labor's own tax-weary rank and file.

By the late 1970's, American unions found their loss of influence with union members was beginning to have a substantial impact on its political activities. First, efforts to obtain more favorable labor laws, such as common situs picketing and so-called labor law reform, met increased resistance. This was due in large to a growing feeling of uncertainty about our economic and social systems. The American electorate began to express an ambivalence toward the type of interventionist programs espoused by organized labor. Union workers, too, became less supportive of liberal social legislation that did not impact directly their economic welfare. To many union members, proposed program cuts meant reducing welfare and government giveaways, and they supported such cuts.

Finally, the sharp decline in power of the American labor movement has been revealed by its impotence at the polls. Labor has never been able to deliver the vote in a bloc sense, but recent elections have shown a surprising lack of rank and file response to union efforts to turn out the votes for Democrats. This is due partly to a weakening of workers' identification with the Democrats. It is also due to changing demographics. Not only do union members make up a smaller part of the electorate, they also are distributed in lopsided fashion from the standpoint of political effectiveness. They may still be able to raise political cash and mobilize campaign armies, but candidates who would give labor good voting records simply can't be elected in many congressional districts.

districts.

Thus during the 1980 election, organized labor, its ranks divided, was unable to stop a massive emigration of its rank and file to the Republican Party. This shift in working class votes resulted in the election of Ronald Reagan, a Republican Senate, and a conservative House of Representatives. It represents a widening consensus among workers that drastic measures are required to restore economic growth.

As it marks its own centennial, the labor movement is engaged in frantic efforts to mobilize its membership and to restore its alliances with other social groups. Their efforts, so far, have been unsuccessful.

If the American labor movement is to survive a second century, its leaders must awaken from their Van Winklean slumber. They must reappraise every shibboleth of established practice. They must rethink the role of the union and the labor movement.

Labor stood by as President Reagan's blitzkrieg budget attack rolled over programs they have nurtured for years, and they appeared stunned by Mr. Reagan's tough tactics in the air traffic controllers' walkout. With the exception of some ill-timed media events, their leaders have done little besides bemoan the fact that Reagan has captured the hearts and minds of union members.

But despite the public talk, the estrangement between labor and the Reagan administration appears more rhetorical than substantial. The administration has acted with moderation on many worker issues for fear of appearing "anti-labor." While calling on the business community to commit its resources towards passage of the economic package, the administration has made only half-hearted efforts to drain the morass of government regulations. The Reaganites apparently believe the easiest way to drive the union's rank and file away from the Republican Party would be to attack the workers' programs. So far, President Reagan has refused to oblige. He thus remains popular with many union members.

In retrospect, what can the American labor movement do to recapture its lost influence and power? It can move to the left, as labor movements in many other democratic countries have done. But this tactic could boomerang in a country making a distinct turn to the right.

Perhaps its most effective course would be to rebuild from the ground up. But, it must first persuade workers of every stripe that unionism has something to offer. It must offer a system attuned to individual needs - and disgusted at the sight of bureaucratic cellulose. Union leaders must be creative in encouraging workers expression and adaptable to changing roles. Novel approaches — not tired, dusty buzz words — are in demand. This will improve the plight of individual laborers and enhance their dignity. Progress can also be demonstrated by recognizing that a long-term economic recovery will prima-facie benefit the American worker. When this is recognized, a giant step will have been taken toward achieving higher wages, more secure pension plans, guaranteed hours, and better health plans. A bond will have been rekindled with the American worker who understands economics. And this bond will be ever critical in attracting a new generation of union workers and ensuring participation at every level of union management. ■

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor



by John C. Topping Jr.

In maintaining her judicial demeanor while sailing through potentially stormy confirmation hearings, Sandra Day O'Connor has vindicated the sound judgment of President Reagan in elevating her to the U.S. Supreme Court. She promises to bring to the Court not only a precise legal mind but also a thorough knowledge of the legislative process at the state level.

This understanding may prove particularly valuable to the Court as it grapples with the host of legal issues attendant to the devolving of federal programs to state administration. Already, the Burger Court seems increasingly inclined to give greater room for legislative discretion. This trend may accelerate with the addition to the Court of Justice O'Connor. As a former state senate majority leader, she understands the accountability of those bodies to the ultimate sovereign, the voter.

Justice O'Connor also seems to bring a careful legal craftsmanship somewhat reminiscent of President Ford's outstanding appointee, Justice John Paul Stevens. We look forward to the prospect of increased clarity in forthcoming opinions of the Court.

Besides making an outstanding judicial selection, President Reagan has also sent out a strong signal that he will not subordinate the judicial selection process to the demands of any single issue interest group. The generally high quality of Reagan nominees to federal court vacancies reinforces the impression that the administration has a proper reverence for the judicial process even as it may be seeking through appointments to curb judicial activism.

The O'Connor appointment should also underscore to this administration the availability of a reservoir of talented women willing to hold positions of public trust. The quality of women chosen for important appointments by the Reagan administration has been exceptionally high, but the number of such women appointees remains relatively low. The favorable reaction to the O'Connor appointment should, we hope, alert the Reagan administration to the political and substantive benefits of seeking such talent. This may require a willingness to set aside informal intra-party political litmus tests as "where was she in 1976?" or "where was she before the New Hampshire primary?"

If Ronald Reagan can reach out to this reservoir of talented women as he did so masterfully in the O'Connor selection, then the rhetoric about the Republican Party becoming an enduring majority may assume a ring of reality. ■

PROFILES AND PERSPECTIVES



Betty Rendel

Rendel sees women becoming more involved at the local levels in capacities such as city council members and mayors. This kind of involvement allows women the opportunity to participate politically and maintain a family.



Nancy Sinnott

"Women can do themselves a favor by defining issues as jobs, inflation, and how to have a family and a career at age 35 . . . [But] women must never forget history, never forget how fragile the victories have been, and remember, we can always go backwards."



Claudine Schneider

What does Claudine Schneider envision for women? A "new girl system walking softly and carrying a big stick." A system integrating women into the heart of economic and political life.

"Profiles and Perspectives" is a new addition to the RIPON FORUM. Offering in-depth interviews with prominent political figures, this column continues the FORUM tradition of insightful reporting. This month we profile three women who have been actively involved in the operation of the Republican Party. Their perspectives and responsibilities are different, but each offers something very important for future generations: a role model. We trust that future profiles will do the same and will keep our readers abreast of the perspectives of leading newsmakers.

Elizabeth Hanford Dole, 
Assistant to the President for
Public Liaison



Betty Rendel, President, National Federation of Republican Women

Over the past century a number of Republican women's clubs have emerged on the political landscape. Perhaps one of the most important has been the National Federation of Republican Women. NFRW was formed in 1938 to unite independent Republican women's clubs into a national organization. Serving as their president this year is Betty Rendel, a soft spoken Indiana native and grandmother of three. Prior to being elected to her post, Rendel occupied a number of Republican Party positions, such as vice-chairperson of the Indiana Republican State Committee and president of the Indiana Federation of Republican Women.

Claiming that the primary purposes of the NFRW are to "spread the good will of the Republican Party" and to "educate women," Rendel believes her role is to provide guidance for the organization. With close to 2500 clubs across the country, NFRW provides an

extensive array of political training. Rendel said one of the most noted services is the NFRW training schools. Offering seminars in the art of campaign management, polling, press relations, fundraising, financial planning, and volunteerism, the federation serves as a catalyst to recruit women into the party as both workers and candidates. Rendel says they have held 21 schools over the past five years and through these schools have developed a substantial talent bank.

Another example of NFRW work is election polling. Rendel said that during last year's campaign NFRW trained six women who conducted 15 professional polls. After compiling the data, she said, the women ran the information through an extensive computer set-up operated by Dr. Vern Kennedy, a Mississippi pollster. Using his facility on a contractual basis, the women provided their clients with data analysis within 48 hours. Rendel pointed out that since much of

Continued page 10

Nancy Sinnott, Executive Director, National Republican Congressional Committee

Executive in appearance and polished in style, Nancy Sinnott is characteristic of a new breed of women entering the professional workforce. She is bright, young, and determined. Beginning her political involvement during the tumultuous days of the late 1960's, Sinnott started to work as a volunteer on Republican Frank Sargent's 1970 Massachusetts gubernatorial campaign. While a junior at Wheaton College in Massachusetts, she sat out a semester and worked for Sargent until he entered office in 1971. From there she spent summers working in the Massachusetts state government. In 1975 she won the Massachusetts Republican Party vice chairmanship.

She stepped on the road toward her present assignment by working as a field director for the National Republican Congressional Committee. Moving up quickly, she was named regional field

manager for the Committee in 1978 and political director for its campaign division in 1980. In early 1981 she was elected executive director, and has been working ever since to capture the House of Representatives.

Responsible for overseeing the operations of the Committee, along with Representative Guy VanderJagt, R-Mich., Sinnott is not hesitant to say the role of the NRCC is to achieve and maintain a Republican majority in the House. To do this, the Committee, which has been in existence over 100 years, performs a number of tasks. According to Sinnott, they are involved in candidate and staff recruitment, campaign training, research assistance, and fundraising. The Committee also puts on a series of campaign workshops geared toward assisting both incumbents and challengers with the full gamut of campaign work. Examining each congressional district in terms of candidate quality, district makeup, local endorsements, and

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Claudine Schneider, Representative, Second Congressional District of Rhode Island

"A woman's place is in the 'House-and-the-Senate,' for that matter a woman's place is in any office she can be elected to." In a parody of an old line, Claudine Schneider's words echo the sentiments of many women who are no longer standing in the kitchen barefoot and pregnant. Rather, they are women who are seeking a place in the modern day world. Schneider is one of those who has been able to enter this world and manage a two-career connubiality. In fact, her husband was one of the original few who urged her to run for office. Her first bid for the U.S. Congress came in 1978 when she fell just short of 50 percent of the popular vote. She ran again in 1980 and won the seat, thus becoming the first Republican to represent the district in over 40 years. She represents an area that is interested in cutting the budget, but not just social programs. Her constituents want to cut congressional perks as well as defense spending.

Primarily made up of blue-collar workers and dependent upon fishing from clean waters, her constituents are also concerned about environmental quality. Schneider reflects this concern as she has been active in several environmental organizations. She also sits on the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Asked whether she perceives herself as a "woman's representative," in addition to her congressional duties, Schneider points out that she represents her district first and foremost. She also quickly adds that she feels no more like a "representative for women" than a male counterpart feels like a "representative for men."

Schneider has spoken out, though, on some issues which go directly to the heart of the female population. She has urged the administration to be sensitive to the fact that 67 percent of minimum social security recipients are women. She has fought against the attempt to eliminate educational funding for women and minorities in science studies. And she has fought against the scaleback in Title

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Ann McGill Gorsuch, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency

Representative Millicent Fenwick, Member of Congress, Fifth Congressional District of New Jersey



Representative Margaret S. Roukema, Member of Congress, Seventh Congressional District of New Jersey



Rendel (from page 9)

the polling is done by trained volunteers, NFRW is able to offer this service at a cost of less than \$500. According to Rendel, campaigns in Texas and Indiana have taken advantage of this expertise and have applauded the valuable service.

Rendel envisions more women becoming involved at the local level in capacities such as city council members and mayors. She feels this kind of involvement allows women the opportunity to participate politically and maintain a family. Although she stopped short of criticizing the Reagan administration's record on appointment of women, Rendel expressed her displeasure with the administration's failure to expedite quickly inquiries by female applicants. She hopes there will be more active recruitment of women into all levels of the administration. Rendel also believes the failure of the GOP platform to endorse the Equal Rights Amendment made a difference in 1980. However, she does not believe ERA is the single most important issue women face. Instead she believes women are just going to have to "try harder and be better." This means being better skilled and more qualified than in years past.

To realize this equality, Rendel thinks women must be "looked at as people," not just as women. Freedom of choice must go hand in hand with this attitude to prevent her peers from becoming hemmed in by stereotypical roles. This freedom is essential, Rendel said, if women are to be successful integrating themselves into the economic and political mainstream. ■

Sinnott (from page 9)

an undefined "winnability" factor, Sinnott said the Committee then decides which candidates will be assisted financially. Last year they helped 40 challengers with money, polling, media, opposition research, and fundraising.

Sinnott is convinced she was able to get where she is today on the basis of her qualifications, not on the basis of her sex. She believes many Republican women have been able to assume a position of leadership on this basis. In fact, Sinnott wonders whether Republicans are alone in promoting women on the basis of ability, rather than sex. She recites war stories in Democratic campaigns as the kind of tokenism that may exist in their camps.

A firm supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment, Sinnott nonetheless believes that "women can do themselves a favor by defining issues as jobs, inflation, and how to have a family and a career at age 35." She feels ERA and abortion are important, but are not the only issues women face. She lists the economy as the primary sore that needs to be healed. Next to this, she cites national defense and foreign policy as the problems most on the minds of the American people. She points to polls that show a desire by many Americans to achieve parity in the defense race. There is, she says, "a feeling out there that we have slipped behind."

Interestingly enough, Sinnott looked beyond these traditional concerns to draw attention to what she calls the "baby boom" issues. These issues confront the 76 million people between the ages of 24 and 35. Reading like a list from the most recent bestselling "how to" book, the anxieties stem from the post-World War II era of abundance. Higher wealth, social mobility, quality of public education, affordable housing, astronomical mortgage rates, and oddly enough, senior citizen issues top the list. As adults see their parents enter a different stage of life, Sinnott believes the younger generation feels an increasing responsibility. They want to repay their parents for the provisions of their youth and are resultingly alarmed about the quality of health care and pension plans received by their parents. And, as Sinnott pointed out, this all leads back to the primary concern: a healthy economy. Without this none of the

rest would be possible.

As for the future of women's equality, Sinnott sees women influencing society on the basis of their merit. Referring to younger women who have entered the mainstream in responsible positions, Sinnott believes their role model may be the best for future generations. However, as she remembers the efforts of those women who have had to march for their freedom, Sinnott quickly cautions, "Women should never forget history, never forget how fragile the victories have been, and remember, we can always go backwards." ■

Schneider (from page 9)

IX of the Education Amendment Act of 1972. This prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in any educational institution receiving federal funding. On this one she even lobbied Vice President George Bush.

Schneider's role models have been Rhode Island State Senator Lyle Sapinsky and Senator John Chafee, Republican from Rhode Island. Some may think it odd that Chafee, a male, has been her role model, but a close look at their records shows a striking similarity. Strong on the environmental/social justice side of the ledger, both are also adamant about government waste and participatory democracy. In fact, the latter was one of the key factors in finalizing Schneider's decision to run. Residing in a state held hostage to the Democratic machine, Schneider hoped to provide voters of her district with a true alternative.

As a moderate Republican, Schneider feels it is time fellow moderates "send out the clarion call." It is her belief they have been "shamefully silent" and must organize. She doesn't believe it is time to throw in the towel; it is time moderates recognize they represent the majority of the American people. On a note of congratulations to the Ripon Society, Schneider said the Society is the best national vehicle for moderate Republicans to rally around to loosen the conservative grip on most state and local party operations. The newly elected representative also believes the "Gypsy Moths," the band of Midwestern-Northeastern Republicans who have challenged the administration on a number of budget issues, are critical to the health of the GOP. To build a coalition in Congress, she feels they must reach out to other moderates from such places as California and Colorado. This will create the kind of "numbers" pressure necessary to be incorporated into the administration's decision-making process.

While admitting many women were angered by the GOP's choice not to support ERA in the 1980 platform, the articulate Congresswoman believes the party still has a chance to make up for its "mistake." She thinks President Reagan can clarify his intentions to support the "E and the R, but not the A" by appointing more women to key posts. He should also back legislation which provides greater economic equality for women. She cited the administration's support for estate tax reduction and the repeal of the marriage tax as examples of such legislation. She also applauded the administration for picking Sandra Day O'Connor to replace Potter Stewart on the high court. And, Schneider was encouraged by the president's personal support after she voted against the first round of budget cuts. She said he demonstrated a real understanding about her concerns, as did the vice president and key House Republican leaders.

What does Claudine Schneider envision for women entering the professional workforce? A "new girl" system that "walks softly and carries a big stick." She believes this network can work across professional lines integrating women into the heart of economic and political life. As they enter these spheres, Schneider is convinced women bring their feminist perspectives along with them. She also believes placarding may not be as prevalent as in years past, but change will be as great as women work within the system. ■

A Moderate Manifesto

Statement of Representative Jim Leach

September 21, 1981

As the newly elected chairman of the Ripon Society, it is my intention this morning to set forth a kind of "moderate manifesto" — a call to issues within the Republican Party under the assumption that moderates can be militant, too.

Before doing so, it should be stressed that this is a very precarious time for the moderate wing of the Republican Party. The man many believed had too limited a philosophy and too limited a background to become President of the United States swept every region of the country, including the one state that George McGovern carried in 1972. It may be that Mr. Reagan's victory was rooted in good fortune, good timing, and a singularly weak opponent. But the bankruptcy of liberal ideology and leadership which had become so manifest as the decade of the 1970s came to a close is insufficient explanation of the massive Republican victory in 1980.

Ronald Reagan proved to be a strong candidate. He articulated persuasively the views of millions of Americans who wanted change. After just eight months in office, Ronald Reagan has also proved to be a strong President. The new administration has designed and the Congress has approved the first peacetime reduction in real spending in this century and the most comprehensive tax cut in the history of the country.

Simply put, President Reagan has given the country a new sense of direction. Like Frederic Remington, he has painted in broad brush strokes a vision of a self-reliant America, a return to frontier individualism in an era where the new American frontier relates to the mastering of technology rather than the taming of nature, of private sector initiatives rather than debilitating dependence on governmental programs.

With few exceptions, moderates support this change in direction. There is no divergence of view on the need for change. There is, however, grave apprehension about the precise content of certain elements of the administration's program and the negativity that appears increasingly to be its driving force. Moderates are concerned that broad-brush policy initiatives will be jeopardized by a narrow and compassionless implementation.

Most of all, we are concerned that on a series of fundamental issues the ideologues on the Right will prevail over the principles many of us consider as representative of historic Republicanism.

What then is our agenda for action?

We should begin with foreign policy, for it is here where the gravest dangers to national security, if not the survival of civilization, rest.

It is apparent, but seldom dwelled upon, that the fundamental distinction between this generation of citizens of the world and all previous ones is that we have the capacity to destroy ourselves. It is also apparent, but seldom dwelled upon, that the U.S., as the leader of the free world and the center of technological innovation, has a special responsibility to lead in arms control endeavors.

Unfortunately, there has been a dangerously exclusive emphasis in this administration on arms buildups and arms sales rather than arms restraint. SALT has been put on the back burner, and just this week the administration has begun in earnest to push for an \$8.8 billion arms sale package to Saudi Arabia, including the transfer of AWACS technology. In Latin America, arms links have been established anew with the government of Guatemala and others of similar ilk, causing reasonable men and women who do not consider themselves impractical human rights extremists to question the

morality as well as the effectiveness of such undertakings.

A responsible sense of history dictates that worldwide security paranoias be replaced by prudent restrictions on arms buildups and transfers. The SALT process must be recommenced — quickly and forthrightly. A ban on the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons must be negotiated before their renewed usage in the last three years in Laos, Kampuchea and Afghanistan legitimizes their utility. Conventional weapons transfers should be subjected to renewed international scrutiny with the aim of reducing worldwide expenditures on arms. The long deadlocked talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Europe should be given higher priority, as should the growing problem of nuclear proliferation. In this regard, the Ripon Society believes that Nuclear Free Zones, as established under the Treaty of Tlatelolco for Latin America, should be explored in areas of the world in particular turmoil, such as the Middle East.

Most of all, responsible governments in the world should seek to strengthen rather than deprecate international institutions such as the United Nations. World government is neither practical nor desirable in the immediate future, but international institutions can, if prudently supported, help deter aggression and advance social justice. They can also serve as focal points for negotiation of conventions such as the Law of the Sea Treaty, which if completed would serve to deter the kinds of aggressive actions the Libyans recently instigated in the Mediterranean.

In the post-World War II era, the U.S. played the dominant role in the U.N. and most other international bodies. Not only did we never veto a Security Council measure, but for twenty years we never voted on the losing side of a U.N. resolution. In recent months, however, we have become increasingly isolated as stands have been taken to support the interests of pariah states like South Africa and narrow corporate interests as in the infant formula and Law of the Sea negotiations. Developing nations view the U.S., rightly or wrongly, as projecting a policy of almost exclusive paranoia against the Soviet Union with no complementary concern for the compassionate needs of the less-advantaged peoples of the world.

The administration must recognize that relatively speaking we will never again hold as great a percentage of the world's economic and military might as we did at the close of World War II. Hence our national security demands greater emphasis and sensitivity be applied to relations between states and to the major international institutions such as the U.N.

A realistic view of the world demands that the administration not perceive every action in the Third World as part of a strategic checkerboard where East-West forces are the primary actors. Countries, like people, must be respected for what they are rather than for their usefulness to others.

Here it should be clear that the U.S. has erred profoundly by sending military advisers to El Salvador. Interventionism is an idea whose time on the clock of history has passed. The reasons aren't just philosophical; they are deeply practical. Great power interventionism, as the last two decades have shown, is simply counter-productive. This was the final lesson of the Vietnam War and the lesson the Soviets are learning for themselves in Afghanistan today. The desire of people to make their own mistakes, to preserve and advance their own culture and way of life is unquenchable.

American foreign policy would be far better served by the Peace Corps than the Green Berets in Latin America.

As for human rights, the extremism that characterized the administration's initial approach to the issue demands modification. Human rights were not discovered by the last administration; they have always been the linchpin of American foreign policy. President Carter may have erred at times by wearing human rights on his sleeve. But the Reagan administration runs the danger of erring even more grievously if it denies the fundamental legitimacy of human rights concerns. Quiet diplomacy makes sense, but only if it reflects a firm and unequivocal commitment to American values.

With regard to the Soviet Union, the administration properly recognizes that the Soviet challenge, military and philosophically, is our gravest security concern. But just as reality dictates a clear-headed recognition of the need for preparedness, so prudence dictates a thoughtful understanding of the Russian psyche. Soviet society can change, but it is unlikely to move in more responsible directions if American policy at every turn appears unnecessarily spiteful.

As a student of Soviet history, I have often been struck by the warmth the Russian people, as contrasted with their government, project toward Americans and by the searing impact of World War II on Russian life. It is hard to believe that a strategy for taming the Soviet bear should include embargoes of grain and foodstuffs. Far better it is to trade butter than bullets. While U.S. military preparedness must be based on the assumption of Soviet antagonism, U.S. diplomacy must recognize that the future of mankind may rest upon the kinds of incentives the West provides Soviet society to change in a progressive direction. Responsible initiatives must be undertaken to expand rather than contract areas where the U.S. and the Soviet Union have a mutual self-interest.

Arms control is such a mutual self-interest. But, tragically, prospects for fruitful U.S.-Soviet arms limitation discussions appear as low now as at any time since Dwight Eisenhower first suggested the need. Just last week Secretary Haig revealed incontrovertible evidence that Soviet surrogates have battle-tested exotic chemical weapons in Indochina. Faced with evidence that the Soviets have not only a capability but also a willingness to use such weapons, the U.S. has only two realistic options. National security requires that we either upgrade significantly our own chemical arsenal or renew negotiations aimed at definitively eliminating bio-chemical instruments of warfare. Given the training and technological advantage currently enjoyed by the Soviets in this area, strategic as well as humanitarian considerations make arms control vastly preferable to a costly new arms race that in the long run no one can win.

Perhaps as never before, the opportunity exists to test the much-discussed concept of linkage. A symbolic and meaningful way of reorienting the direction of arms control talks might well be to bring the issue of chemical weapons to the SALT negotiating table. Such linkage would bring Soviet Third World adventurism to the forefront and serve as well to broaden arms control concerns away from the U.S. and Soviet preoccupation with bilateral nuclear discussions.

A chemical weapons initiative of this nature might help break the deadlock in current arms control discussions. The Soviets face a choice that might be summed up as "pox" or "pax." If they are not prepared to be forthcoming in negotiating a verifiable ban on chemical weapons, they can have little expectation of meaningful progress in other arms control areas.

President Reagan, for his part, may not be as quick to endorse certain arms control positions as his predecessor, but he probably has the leadership to get any treaty that he might sanction ratified.

The fact that a reluctant Reagan has the potential to be a more effective arms controller than a too-willing Carter has more than

strategic significance. There would be no single announcement more apt to turn the stock market around — if not cause the biggest rally in history — than that of successful negotiation of a meaningful SALT treaty. There would also be no act more likely to ensure a generation of Republican government in America.

Security is measured in results, not dollars. In the long run, a more peaceful and secure world is likely to eventuate where arms restraint is undertaken. In the short term, the economic alarm bells ringing so loudly on Wall Street relate directly to the projections of profligate increases in military expenditures.

Restraining monetary policy while letting loose the Strangelovean spenders at the Defense Department is like stomping on the brakes and stepping on the accelerator at the same time. If the engine doesn't blow, a few gaskets will. Small business will be sacrificed to the deficit requirements of the defense budget.

It is no accident that the two countries Americans most point to as having impressive economic growth with minimal inflation in the last several decades — Germany and Japan — spend less than one percent of their GNP on defense. Because of their low defense commitments, they even have the luxury of operating with greater deficits in relation to their total economies than the U.S.

Moderate Republicans support revitalization of our conventional and tactical force capacities but generally have reservations about the expense and strategic relevance of military programs ranging from the MX missile to the B-1 bomber, to the neutron bomb, to a new generation of binary-chemical weapons.

As chairman of the Ripon Society, I propose that all funding for the MX missile be deferred for a full year while comprehensive efforts are undertaken to pursue a new SALT treaty.

The currently projected deficits must be reduced. This means either cutting spending even further or reappraising the scope of the recently enacted tax cuts. Moderate Republicans are prepared to do both, but we respectfully indicate that whereas our goals may be similar to those of the administration regarding the need to reduce the deficit, our priorities are somewhat different.

Military spending must not be considered sacrosanct. Neither must any commitments the administration may have made to the Boll Weevils on sugar price supports or specific public works projects. Moderate Republicans believe most social programs have already been substantially cut and that new spending reductions must concentrate on the military budget, public works programs such as the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway project, subsidies to the tobacco, sugar and peanut industries, and assistance to the Clinch River Breeder Reactor.

Fiscal restraint is a prudent objective, but it must be pursued prudently. While some public works projects can be eliminated or deferred without a great loss to society, moderates will object strenuously to further reductions in student loan programs and basic scientific research. Education is the best bet America makes every year on its future. Cutting back access to quality education and support for basic scientific inquiry robs America of its pioneering character. Congress has gone far enough in imposing new budgetary discipline in these areas.

Virtually all moderate Republicans in Congress supported the recently passed tax bill, but many of us believed it was overly generous to some very powerful special interests. This was perhaps more the fault of an undisciplined Congress than White House. But, wherever the responsibility lies, it is simply impossible to establish a persuasive social case for giving the oil industry another tax break. Instead of reducing the windfall profits tax on oil companies, Congress should commit these petroleum revenues to the social security system. Such an approach has the advantage of applying a responsible tax to an industry which because of the generosity of Congress pays very little in the way of income taxes and of adding a

substantial base of support to America's most important social program. As the social security dilemma deepens over the next year, it will be my intention to press this proposal before Congress.

The message moderates and the Ripon Society will be taking to the UAW assembly line worker and Main Street merchants is that tax equity should be given as much attention as tax cuts. There is a need for balanced sacrifice as well as a balanced budget. For every tax break Congress gives a privileged few, someone else is going to have to pick up the burden, either in higher taxes or higher interest rates.

While few in America would disagree with the precept that government has gotten too intrusive, we must recognize, too, that there is also a need for a modicum of responsible regulation. For instance, the Congress should not allow, as some in the administration are now proposing, complete deregulation of natural gas. Instead of granting a new license for the transfer of wealth from consumers to producers, from oil-consuming to oil-producing states, the administration should take a hard look at strengthening anti-trust initiatives.

Historically, the Republican Party is the party of free enterprise, not big business; of Teddy Roosevelt, not Jay Gould. When size reduces competition, government has a responsibility to make rules to constrain monopoly. And when big business, as in the recent merger syndrome on Wall Street, preempts the capital markets, government has the responsibility not only to protect a competitive environment in a particular industry, but access as well to capital in all other industries. The only way the supply-side tax cuts can work is if American industry takes the gamble to invest in new plants and equipment. To the degree capital is tied up in takeover efforts rather than new plants and equipment, the Reagan program will be stymied. Accordingly, the administration should press the Federal Reserve Board to put the clamps on banks that authorize excessive lines of credit to large companies seeking to take over other large companies.

The concentration of corporate power in America threatens the very premises on which our country was built. The success of big business jeopardizes our free market economy and, ironically, so does its failure. For when a mammoth company misjudges its market position, and gets in difficult financial straits, it inevitably becomes a matter of grave public concern because of the number of jobs at stake and federal contracts in process.

The problem of scale — actually the problem of increased centralization in all segments of American life — is the hallmark of modern society. Unfortunately as institutions grow larger, the role of the average citizen is eclipsed. Powerful institutions too frequently dwarf and isolate individuals and undermine public accountability.

We cannot turn the clock back to the eighteenth century. But there are things that can be done. We can vigorously enforce the antitrust legislation presently on the books, and develop new legislation where needed to control the growth of oligopolistic industries. Most importantly, we can safeguard the role of local government — where the scale is still manageable enough to allow local accountability.

The Ripon Society and moderate Republicans like Elliot Richardson have long been at the forefront of decentralization causes. We believe that the arrogance of the bureaucracy as well as the irresponsibility of Congress are directly related to the fact that Washington, D.C. lacks a Main Street. There are no Archie Bunkers or Willy Lomans buying their bread and milk on Pennsylvania Avenue. The ordinary citizen is crying for common sense in government. Yet common sense cannot be developed without a common community involvement by those who run our government.

Since federal government agencies began their rapid growth in the 1930s, Washington has become a one-company town — a public sector island in a private sector nation. Moderates believe that what

America needs is a strong dose of de-bureaucratization and that with few exceptions, such as Legal Services, handicapped education programs, and family planning, federal programs should be combined in block grants and returned to state and community control.

Moderates have concerns, however, about efforts by some to weaken the civil rights and affirmative action guidelines applicable to federal programs and about the lack of plans currently existent for reducing federal employment. For block grants to make economic sense, the government must be pruned. Three years ago I led the fight in Congress to halt the massive increases in federal employment that occurred under the Carter administration. The so-called Leach Amendment represented an arbitrary but useful restraint on the natural tendency of the bureaucracy to expand. It caused the Carter administration to cut out approximately eighty percent of the 115,000 jobs it added in its first eighteen months of office. Today the Reagan administration should not only be concerned with restraint but with serious reductions in the federal workforce. Decentralized decision-making means transfer of authority as well as program titles.

Some of us also believe that consideration should be given to moving a cabinet office or two from Constitution Avenue to Main Street. Clearly, Washington should always remain the focal point of our government. However, there is no reason why the Department of Agriculture could not be headquartered in Des Moines or the Department of Interior in Denver. There are no cornstalks or oil wells on Constitution Avenue. It's time to send the Government home.

It is the nature of governments, like people, to make mistakes. But the greatest protection against abuses of power rests with decentralization of authority. A century ago an English philosopher, Lord Acton, observed that "power corrupts and absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely." Vietnam, Watergate, Koreagate, and most visibly the Bureaucracygate implied in the enormous programs of the federal government today make it clear that big government jeopardizes the very foundation of American democracy.

Moderates also believe unequivocal support should be given to extension of the Voting Rights Act and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

We can hardly proclaim concern for human rights abroad if women are not given equal protection under the Constitution at home, if blacks are not given full voting protection, if legal services are not provided the poor or to those who because of their sexual preference are an unpopular minority, if immigrants are subject to unconscionable employment practices, if foreign nationals are harassed on the campuses of American universities by foreign agents, and if women's bodies are nationalized through passage of legislation or a constitutional amendment making abortion illegal.

Just as a South African policy dictated by Senator Helms is insensitive to our friends in the world, so a government refusing to commit itself adequately to women's rights, fair housing, affirmative action, and minority and non-citizen rights is insensitive to our constitutional heritage.

The Republican Party was born out of the anti-slavery movement. It should not go back on its Lincolnian tradition.

Nor should it forsake its historic leadership role on environmental issues.

In the 1960s and 1970s the Republican Party lost the political support of most minorities. It also lost a generation of young people concerned with the deteriorating quality of American life. For moderates, James Watt is an aberration. The tradition of Teddy Roosevelt is the real tradition of the Republican Party. All Americans have a responsibility to be stewards of the environment. Our clean air policy, national park system, and off-shore leasing must be based on an understanding of the impact callous use of

natural resources can have on future generations.

Representing Iowa — which has twenty-five percent of the Grade A farmland in the nation — I feel obligated to put in a strong plug for soil conservation. Saving our soil may be the single greatest environmental challenge of the century and our farm population will need help in this endeavor from their city brethren.

The Republican Party should also be the party that takes the lead in ensuring the primacy of individuals rather than privileged groups in politics. In this regard, there has never been a greater case for limiting the influence of political action committees (PACs). It is simply no accident that when big money enters the political arena, big obligations are entertained. A government of the people, by the people and for the people cannot be a government where influence is purchasable through substantial campaign contributions.

Accordingly, with the support of Common Cause, two Democratic Members of the House and I have introduced legislation imposing a ceiling on contributions Congressional candidates can receive from PACs. The legislation represents a kind of domestic SALT agreement between big business and big labor.

Unless the trend toward more expensive races and thus heavier financial obligations for candidates is curbed, individuals elected to the Congress of the United States will increasingly become indebted to either big business or big labor. Congress will become a legislative body where the small business man, the farmer, the worker and ordinary citizen are only secondarily represented.

Finally, I would like to touch on what many Americans are coming to consider the most alarming phenomenon in American politics — the politics of polarization. It is symbolized by the New Right and its use of explosive social issues, although there are analogies in some of the single-issue tactics of the Old Left. Particularly disappointing is the apparent use of political issues for profit. The advancement of causes for some is less important than the income achieved.

Rather than debate the merits of the issues currently at the center of public attention, I would like to stress that the Republican Party is not only in need of new disciples of Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt, but Grantland Rice as well. It does matter how you play the game. American civilization — all democracies — depend upon consensus and a healthy tolerance for opposing views. There are many sincere adherents to one view or another endorsed by the New Right, and they must be respected, but the manipulation of emotions and the appeals to the lowest rather than highest in human feelings must be forthrightly condemned. Emotional appeals — which often are the

primary basis for fund-raising efforts — polarize society and destroy the bonds of decency that hold us all together.

We must cease pitting prejudice against prejudice and attempt to build instead on responsible national discourse. Here it should be stressed that the real divisions today in the Republican Party are not between liberals, moderates and conservatives; they are between pragmatists and ideologues. The ideologues talk about the social issues; the pragmatists, about making government work.

The trouble is that most issues of government are issues of pragmatism, not ideology. This is particularly true at the local level. City councils are bastions of citizenship, not orthodoxy. There are no conservatives or liberals in local politics — just citizens.

In terms of activism, it is local government where pragmatists have always dominated. To the degree the Reagan administration is able to decentralize decisionmaking, moderates become more, not less, important, in contrast not only with ideologically bent conservatives, but even more so with regard to the liberal Democrats, the Royalists of the 20th century.

Pragmatism is a pervasive American trait in all classes, all races and ethnic groups. Ironically it is only the national political arena where the ideologues seem to hold sway. This is true because involvement in political parties has decreased to the point that generally speaking liberals control the machinery of the Democratic Party and conservatives the Republican Party. Yet the biggest block of voters in America are moderate and there is no people in the world more averse to the extremes than the American body politic.

If the center is to hold, if the Republican Party is to avoid being lashed to the guillotine of the New Right's social and security agenda, a basic appeal to American reasonableness must be launched. In this regard, I expect the Ripon Society to play an active and responsible role. The Republican Party is too great an institution and the Reagan presidency too great in potential to be sacrificed to the whims of a few.

America's first great political tract was titled "Common Sense." It was reasonableness that Tom Paine attempted to appeal to. But his cause was militant. It is pragmatism we moderates must appeal to today; but our cause, too, is militant. What's at stake is whether reasonable people can govern reasonably, whether pragmatism or narrow ideology will govern relations between man and state, and state and state. Common sense means a common concern for our common destiny. It must be reinstilled in the American political process. ■

419 New Jersey Avenue

The Ripon Forum is pleased to announce the election of Congressman Jim Leach, R-Iowa, as the new chairman of the Ripon Society. Assuming office after a September 21 Capitol Hill press conference, Congressman Leach has already provided new visibility for Ripon. During the press conference he articulated the concerns of many moderate Republicans in a statement entitled, "A Moderate Manifesto." The text of these remarks has been included in this month's FORUM. If you missed the media coverage of the event, it was reported and analyzed by *The Washington Post*, *The*

Des Moines Register and Tribune, *The Dallas Morning News*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, and syndicated columnist David Broder, among others. Congressman Leach was also asked to appear for the Ripon Society and moderate Republicans on the "MacNeil-Lehrer Report" as well as on the Cable News Network. Even our "loyal opposition," the right wing tabloid *Human Events* and talk show host Patrick Buchanan, offered its tidbits on the Manifesto. All of this assures us the moderate voice, which Broder says is best known for the quality of its ideas and its

people, is being heard and the channels of communication are open . . .

Speaking of channels of communication, the Ripon Society was invited to testify before a July 23 hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Appearing before the Subcommittees on International Security and Scientific Affairs, and International Economic Policy and Trade, the Society was asked to present the Ripon policy paper "Avoiding Armageddon: Reintroducing Stability in the Nuclear Arena." Ripon was given the chance to reiterate its proposal to create a nuclear free zone in the Middle East and to urge a tightening of international nuclear proliferation safeguards. There has been some talk already by the Arms Control Disarmament Agency about the creation of a Middle East free zone. We wait to see what will happen . . .

On the policy front, the Ripon Society has just completed its study on thrift institutions and money-market funds. Entitled "The Future of Financial Delivery Systems," this paper studies the effects of deregulation upon investment firms. It recommends a similar course be tried for thrift institutions. A far-reaching goal is also taken into interstate banking and fully integrated capital markets. Some interesting futuristic proposals are made. For a copy send \$1.50 to the Ripon Society, 419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 . . .

Rep. Millicent Fenwick, R-N.J., has cosponsored a resolution calling for a new strategy to improve current safeguards against the spread of nuclear weapons. Saying that the current International Atomic Energy Agency standards are "woefully ineffective," Fenwick hopes to work with suppliers of nuclear materials and technology to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Her resolution unanimously passed the House . . .

In other matters of nuclear proliferation, several key votes have occurred in recent days. One was led by an unlikely non-proliferation ally, Senator Jesse Helms, R-N.C. In action during debate on the 1982 foreign aid bill, Helms introduced an amendment calling for suspension of all aid to any country detonating a nuclear device. This includes American allies as well as adversaries. Excluded are members of the nuclear club: India, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Helms' amendment passed the Senate . . .

In the last issue of the RIPON FORUM we reported on the development of the "Gypsy Moths," a collection of Northeastern-Midwestern Republicans. Well, their pesky bite is still being felt on Capitol Hill. While basically agreeing with the need to harness the federal budget, the Moths have disagreed with the priorities of the administration's second round of budget cuts. Instead of the two billion dollar defense cut presented by the president, these 32 Republicans have countered demanding nine billion dollars in defense cuts. They also want to raise revenue by repealing more than one billion in new tax breaks given the oil industry. Led by Congressmen Carl Pursell, R-Mich., and Bill Green, R-N.Y., these moderates recognize the need to organize and have spent a lot of time building a unified coalition . . .

This month's FORUM has spotlighted several Republican women's organizations. However, there are many other Republican women involved in different organizations and occupying various posts. One such person is Pat Goldman, former Ripon activist, who is now a member of the National Transportation Safety Board. Pat was the former president of the Republican Women's Task Force. This organization has acted as a coordinating network for many GOP projects. Involved in expanding the base of the party, the Task Force has provided over 1000 names for different posts in past years. However it has been somewhat in abeyance this year. It was

officially severed from the umbrella National Women's Political Caucus this spring, when the parent organization closed its ears to the Reagan budget cuts. The Caucus claimed no women's groups should support the president's moves. The Task Force does have a new head, Nancy Thompson, so it will be interesting to watch its much needed comeback . . .

One Republican woman making headway in Tennessee is Linda Miller. Miller is one of the five appointed members of the state's Board of Pardons. Appointed in July 1979 by Republican Governor Lamar Alexander, a Ripon supporter himself, Miller has approached her task with dogged determination. Working like yeomen, the Board hears from 250 to 300 cases a month. Her view on prisons? "If we didn't find that people could change and rehabilitate themselves, we shouldn't be sitting on the board. (But) we are also sensitive to the safety of the citizens. If a prisoner had a jury trial, there are citizens who listened to the case and gave what they considered a good, fair sentence" . . .

Millicent Fenwick has taken the lead on another critical issue - this time freedom of the international press. She has charged that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) will endanger this very important principle if it follows the recommendations of the recent MacBride Commission. This UNESCO-sponsored study of press relations and the Third World came up with some advances for improving the technological transfer of information by Third World nations. Unfortunately, it also proposed that journalists be licensed. The implication that comes along with adopting a journalist's code would be that licenses could be revoked for violation of the code. Rep. Fenwick, along with Rep. Bob Shamansky, D-Ohio, have introduced a resolution protesting the committee's proposals. They hope to awaken individuals about such powerful encroachments . . .

For those who may be skeptical about the merits of this resolution, a quick look at what has happened to two foreign journalists should cause concern. Cynthia Stevens, an Associated Press staff writer stationed in South Africa, was recently expelled from that country. Reason? Reason? None was given. Said J.C. Pretorius, South African minister of internal affairs, "It is not our policy to give explanations for such decisions." And, United Press International Johannesburg bureau chief Nathan Gibson is currently being tried for sending a story "calculated to alarm or depress members of the public." The charge is a misdemeanor and can bring a fine of up to \$1,000 and five years in jail. Resolutions like Fenwick's will serve notice about U.S. opposition to restrictions placed on the press . . .

Following on the heels of Colette Nelson's insightful FORUM piece was an interesting revelation that organized labor is planning to give the Democratic National Committee at least one million dollars in "hard" and "soft" money. "Hard" money can be given from union political action committees to prospective candidates. "Soft" money cannot go directly to federal candidates, but must be used for activities such as voter registration and education. The DNC is seeking \$15,000 in hard contributions and \$100,000 in soft contributions from individual unions. How bi-partisan is labor? . . .

Hosting a cocktail reception in October at the Philadelphia home of William Coleman III, the Ripon Society entertained members and guests before the quarterly meeting of the National Executive Committee. Attending the reception were Reps. Jim Leach and Claudine Schneider, as well as local political hopefuls and members of the Philadelphia press. Thanks go to Bill and his fiancée Marie for a splendid evening . . . ■

Political Notes and Quotes

Reports from the states show interesting things are shaping up. **California**, for example, recently has been served a redistricting plan marked with the imprint of the Democratic Party. Led by Rep. Phil Burton, D-Cal., the Dems drafted a plan that has left Republicans hopping mad. California will pick up two new seats as a result of the westward shift in population, leaving the state with 45 representatives. The Burton plan, which has already passed the Democratically-controlled state legislature and remains only to be signed by Governor Jerry Brown, will expand Democratic seats to nearly 28, leaving Republicans with only 17. Previously the ratio was 22 Democrats to 21 Republicans. One of the people yelling "gerrymander" is Congressman Norman Shumway, R-Cal. At one point Shumway was asked by the plan's author to pinpoint the exact location of his Stockton home. Only a short time later Shumway learned his district will now run from his front door to the Oregon border! This will split the representation of Stockton, and has led Congressman Shumway to support Republican efforts to devise a more equitable plan. If Brown signs the Burton plan, Republicans are threatening to use the California ballot box in June 1982 to seek an initiative or referendum on this matter . . .

The August issue of the FORUM reported that Rep. Pete McCloskey has announced his candidacy for Senator S. I. Hayakawa's seat from California. Now, it seems President Reagan's daughter, Maureen, is throwing her hat in the ring, too. Polls still show, thought, that McCloskey is the only Republican candidate able to beat Democratic hopeful Jerry Brown. But polls also show McCloskey running third behind Barry Goldwater Jr. and Senator Hayakawa . . .

On the local level (where all good Republicans know the heart of power rests), Ripon member Lawrence Kent is seeking election for the office of trustee of the San Mateo County Community College. Good luck Larry . . .

In **Texas**, State Senator Walter Mengden has led efforts to secure the use of initiative and referendum on that state's ballot. The measure was defeated in a recent special session of the colorful Texas Legislature. Mengden is not daunted about the bill's long-term prospects though. He says initiative and referendum "have been used responsibly and effectively." People are not likely, Mengden says, "to vote for 'pig-in-the-poke' measures" . . .

Republican activities have also been noticeable in the **Midwest**. One of the most interesting **Iowa** primary campaigns may prove to be the Secretary of State's. The current occupant is Mary Jane Odell, a two-time Emmy Award winner. Opposing Odell in the Republican primary will be Byron "Thatcher" Johnson, a deputy to Iowa Agriculture Secretary Bob Lounsbury. Odell is a real budget cutter, eliminating travel expenses and using her predecessor's stationery for official correspondence. Should be an interesting race . . .

In **Cleveland**, Republican George Voinovich retained his seat as mayor in a landslide victory over Democratic challenger Patrick Sweeney. Winning with over 75 percent of the vote on November 4, Voinovich demonstrated what an urban Republican mayor can accomplish. Congratulations from the RIPON FORUM . . .

In **Minnesota**, Thomas Bedeson, a 34 year old Minneapolis attorney and Ripon member, is considering a bid for the Minnesota state legislature. A delegate to that state's 1980 Republican Caucus. Bedeson would seek a state rep's seat from Minnetonka . . .

Moving eastward, rumors are still afloat that Prescott Bush, the brother of the vice president, may oppose Republican Senator Lowell Weicker in **Connecticut's** 1982 Republican primary. Bush, a New York insurance exec, insists his brother has been entirely neutral. The vice president has indicated that he has "not really discussed" the matter with his brother. Weicker's opinion? No comment . . .

The RIPON FORUM extends its sympathies to the families and friends of Jeffrey Bell campaign workers Karen Michalchuk and Mac Carey. While on assignment for the Bell Senate campaign in **New Jersey**, Michalchuk and Carey were involved in a tragic auto accident. Michalchuk, 26, was killed, while Carey, 24, was seriously injured. However, Carey has recuperated and is now back on the campaign staff . . .

The RIPON FORUM also extends its sympathies to the family of Ray Saltzman, a member of the Ripon National Governing Board. Saltzman died on September 30 following a light plane crash on the way to the Mackinac Conference. Those attending the Republican convention last summer will remember Ray's gracious hospitality. The family has asked that no expressions of concern be sent, but that contributions be made in Ray's memory to the Burn Center Research Fund, Wayne State College Hospital, 540 Canfield East, Detroit, MI 48201 . . .

In national Republican Party affairs, rumors have existed that Republican national chairman, Richard Richards, may be on the way out. Richards, however, has denied such reports and presidential aide James Baker III was reputed to have assured the national chairman "everyone in the White House is 100 percent behind him and would say so if necessary" . . .

The August FORUM reported on the development of an RNC political election reform committee headed by Ernest Angelo of Texas. Since then the committee has held its first meeting. They met behind closed doors to consider plans to extend and improve the enforcement provisions of the Voting Rights Act. After further study, a recommendation will be made to the RNC. The committee plans to consider other topics such as the announcement of election results before the closing of polls, the role of political action committees and independent expenditure groups, and the length of political campaigns. The report will be presented in 12 to 18 months. The committee will hold its next meeting in December at a Kennedy Institute of Politics seminar in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The seminar will be cosponsored by the Democratic National Committee which is engaged in election reform studies of its own . . .

In the "bureaucracy isn't beautiful" category, a recent Ripon telephone call to the Department of Housing and Urban Development revealed that the receiving end had never heard of revenue-sharing. Only the principal mainstay of past federal-state relations, perhaps this shouldn't surprise us. However, a call to the Department of Education was even more revealing. According to the operator, the number is no longer in service. President Reagan wastes no time . . .

And in a final note, the Ripon Society was recently visited by David Shaw, political director of our sister organization, the **Bow Group**. A British parliamentary organization which focuses on research development, the Bow Group inspired the creation of the Ripon Society. Mr. Shaw recently "stood" for election to Parliament in 1978 and is considering another bid in 1982. ■